

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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SECOND PLENARY SESSION

PERSONAL COPY:

R MOKOENA

[NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS/
TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS]

VOLUME IV : 16 MAY 1992

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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16 MAY 1992

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CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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SECOND PLENARY SESSION

DIRECT TRANSCRIPTION & RELEVANT DOCUMENTS

16 May 1992

CONVENTION RESUMED

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Good morning Ladies and Gentlemen. Welcome back at the Second Plenary Session of CODESA. Hine LOMELMIMG EWO SSSCAKeIHS Om WS Wes Forward, are the Leaders of the Delegation of the South African Government and of the African National Congress. Their contributions

have been eagerly awaited here.

Dames en Here, die Staatspresident.

/ ORGS UDIGNL ooo

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Honourable Judges Chairmen, eminent visitors from overseas in various missions, your Excellencies, Ambassadors to South Africa, Leaders of Delegations and Members of Delegations, Ladies== and

Gentlemen.

Hora jewel to eae Issmes ac Stake, Â© woulc juse Mike CO mex
ETOH Â© tra Cem To Ta Â© TO TTT rn en WT EO Cest coe Â© pra SAT Le Tee CO TLL ANY
delegations here, in the presence of our foreign visitors. I am
pleased to announce that in response to we, See eee of the Minister
of Foreign Affairs to the Commission of the European Community
for Drought Aid, the Senior Vice-President of the Commission
informed us yesterday that outside and in addition to assistance
to the Southern African region, the Commission is prepared to
consider providing emergency relief to some of the worst affected
population groups and areas in South Africa. The Government, Ladies
and Gentlemen, will follow this up as a matter of urgency to make
the necessary arrangements, ie â\2027@tails cain lose Eumeningeel, eyacl Wwe
thank the mission of the European Community and ask them to transmit

South Africa's appreciation for Enis Gesture.

Mr Chairmen, I have been tempted to react in detail to some Ons
the statements made yesterday but have decided to resist the
temptation. However, - want to make one clear BREST Ent in reply
to the accusations and innuendos that the Government promotes
continued minority domination or privilege. I cannot allow that
cÂ® Sittainel. He 18 Samoly mote ieicWeo When we say that the book on
apartheid has been closed, we mean it. When we say Mr Chairmen,

tele ere nt fae Sen eS eT) URI Cen n cme SO Mteltns Aur ten Celn nation,

eure

we ane in earsnestt about it. Vos To WW a oct au oe cll Sl Â© Tne teen tel)
 louticl A MEW CoMmSiclicUElOMm We MUSE aASSure ehac UWRnere 18 moO Giseiedimilmac
 cioOm lowmiilic AmMcoÂ© Unate mew CcomsicAicmicdomal system, amc toate also im
 entee HIwiGces Sowa Mercieca wall line iwieaeael OF CiScreimimeacion, we

WEA ates We Axe cocaliy Ccommitercee Â© Wie.

En) idaawoms Meneem,) swanneecr Ons) mpisdate un nnerc lel soncderrhandel inaâ\200\224
 Situasië oor die probleem van verskeidenheid, dan praat ons nie
 HIN Il MESSOSGLIN Cleeveyeyn wieë Gla jxeaerce OMS wan Cis Wemlliwaaiel wen
 SUC Moca, Gea jMeAE OMS SOOS wae Soveel ameer axryaaccigimes
 gepraat het, van die bekommernis in die harte van bepaalde taal-
 groepe, kultuurgroepe, belangegroepe, gebiedere, dat hulle wil
 verseker wees dat hulle ruimte om te lewe, veilig en beskerm sal
 wees; dat een vorm van onderdrukking nooit deur hn ander vorm van
 onderdrukking vervang sal word. Dan praat ons soos ons praat as
 gevolg van die ingewikkeldheid van ons probleme. in CALLS einclcase
 lande wat nie eers so nh komplekse samelewing soos ons s'n het nie,
 was dit nodig gevind om ook met wigte en teewigte op allerlei

maniere seker te maak dat ook die belange van kleiner belangegroepe
 in daardie lande effektief beskerm word teen die misbruik van

mag.

Ons wil op geen wyse hn yoortsetting van diskriminasie hÃ© nie en
 ons wil op geen wyse spesiale voorkeure en spesiale voorregte vir
 enige minderheidsgroep, nie die Blankes of enige ander minderheids-

Gi2OC Deen OL een We men Wem crac Glycol Â© Tenet me mILW.e me SMECl SAE waa ici stey.

The Government, the National Party and the many other delegations

/ Mira Chiavivrmeny eee

Mr Chairmen, Wim TMSilsie Woon jorooeie CIECKs Eiocl lsallainces Go so,
 MOE COQ) SWOIECE Ay mejoriliay |cO Mlmoelicy winims., Wresy ClO SOQ win ae
 Sjouedte aba Walela axe Aaereieeia Meyeiaclisne, WeaeiSics Ine Worse reuicecl iclovSitt
 e

checks and balances. Wigere Gyoulselfe Wes iS Sjeplicrte iene VS MEB|Crerirey
 Sinoullel Gye Inxs aole CO miSMSe Aes joerc oO whecloddimins el Cee ticuq
 ENO Ge tÂ© Comimace Oe CO Caimage Cre AMeeresics Oe melinowrreslas
 however ateligs iitshig Jers) lepanbyevevoln | VK) aLigl (ExopideparetKssohe Wale) jovo
 ie Kol=peavialah oe;
 the concept of minorities in any way in terms of race, or colour,

Ora) anya One ne TGass Gis nae e is Vaan Olen Ste

Mr Chairmen, we are speaking about The Way Forward. FSO Mp aeis
 reports of the various Working Groups and also from the progress
 which has been made in Working Group 2 - unwritten as yet - emanates
 fairly clear and Janudable guidelinesâ\200\231 for the future; for The Way
 Forward; GuaCeilines joebliimerincg ili GO WS ikewWENIS jolSceieleuIL Eval!
 attainable goals. mime Coas aoc alloy MS tO GO wee Ceicarl-
 Important in the consensus which we have reached in many Working
 Groups, in the consensus which has been growing amongst alli Ose

us, are the following:

Thateswe. cise ss/Onmelny a COmmaecCmmee ponent the levelling of
 heavy anIN Cpe teens We must ensure a Mevelauplayvang. fuclicd< â\200\224 Wemarne
 jointly committed to the creation of an atmosphere and a situation
 on the ground which will make free and fair elections truly OSS MOLE
 We share with each other the conviction that the continuing violence
 must come to an end and we recommit ourselves, also within the frame-

work of the Peace Accord, to attain that and to do that.

/We

We jointly believe that we need to move forward in phases, and we have agreed upon frameworks in that regard. The frameworks are becoming clear, are crystallizing and are materialising. And from what we have already attained, certain common practical goals are

materialising. Thus it is materialising that there is a need for specific legislation on a basis of urgency, and certain legislative

necessities have already been identified.

A common practical goal which has materialised is that we must have a transitional executive council with sub-councils doing the important preparatory work in many fields without WildkChamrlermcry, event, we can't really move forward. A common practical goal which is materialising is that we need a CODESA-inspired and negotiated transitional or interim constitution, and from that will result

a democratically elected, transitional multi-party Government which Walligovenrn initial sSpiisist to fencielwOnar munis gee Clk Om that will emerge

and will flow also a transitional parliament, fully representative Of aie Sou hea tratC ams) meisrammnWinen llaln laut ean etal Canc Cer sO Me atelicate, in turn, must flow a final constitution agreed upon in the jeigcinis ie tionary parliament inva Mannene yet. to) bey tinaliy negotiated between MS Innere alin CODNAS/AF a final constitution which must serve this Ccoumeci ame aics people, Ingjpermilily, woe CEmewweles iO Cees good CONS seu EL Ome cam la@ U1 ClmmnC Ola Sites NIU ern ny amc! EOMSE1, EWIEALOM in step wi th

the best which the rest of the world can offer.

We have made remarkable progress Mr Chairman, notwithstanding the Ons auyowicame SEioeelx wichâ\200\231 H Clo WOE Weime co underestimate. All

of us I believe face a choice; do we go forward along these guide-

/lines

ASICS IS tet 1S eiet 1s Â© Tete C lsc mC] O Ula mele NES) - ear eta OT Cap laiec hoy aa
 r@
 do we elevate the disappointment of delaying Working Group 2 toa
 Cause GOntensi on, an fucghtimcgeand seven CONmalctrmmsune Government
 has no hesitation in Saying, let us move forward and build on the
 TOUMCAELOAS oO CODESA 1 ame 2 witia A SERSS OX WeGencGy. Let us
 SI etl fan y a Cs toes WW rl Cot on tor otra le latn) Chamilia = ono Â© ODES AMAatee
 reach agreement on such issues. There is no reasonable alternative

ft aun estates

Let us review our procedures and methods if necessary, in order
 (ce) iin eohy~S Cwke joreerlckaiwiliay ais! Cwbe SreirSSieiVyentess. In the same
 breath one must emphasise - however much we may be in a hurry - what
 we do we must do well. De ateaclnsHateet@ lic Gam Â© Tamme ee tan nC OM Giese uted On
 cannot be a slapdash rickety affair. Win alteseise aie jmbisie elbeSerchy
 make all South Africans proud. We must strike a balance between
 speed and thoroughness, between the need for time frames and the

avoidance of mistakes which will later cost us dearly.

OMESICS cars Wee wee are millions OF SOUT MveienC@eins Wal isis)
 MS, CeineiaNGsiine Sec MS ie Succes. They want peace, they want
 development, jobs and food, they want the fighting to stop and
 she melo tel ciency OdamrciNNS CleteC meh CMO am ele amr O Onl eine taralne ain siata@
 ele Galiaaelan
 Shove, Wie, Weime jxoverccy e@ ioe elllewaeneses Neva Wielniaaae Ss ee)

succeed.

Olite Jrecices GO Owe co all owe joeceile, We 1S moe wee Ourselves elsele
 we are working in CODESA. iM TOT mOuGE DCODle) | som Ours soln,

for our country that we must work and that we must succeed. We

IGATO ooo

Claxce@ moe TANI loa@k imtto Seite amcl COMixomceerOMm amc, CimMerexcoxe,
 WemISay Ale t asUISmimMoVCuNtorswalsc antiemetic eliueciGueniumlOpel aelhc Ee WSmiconii
 nue
 ZoOmE Cachmollte zona MlotmaE people mai cintOmed(> imo tenets O mo lating Ouro e@ pie
 together in peace and in harmony, and through reconciliation to
 ONG Ieee ain CODISA ALGO im ieee WEEKS TO FOLLOW Gia iS iMemelns
 cO sc@ LOW , tT @ = Oe Ta Natl S19) lta Co Â© S00) 2) niet cllt= pk) eee OME Torte
 AlaGl 2 Biodliay Gre joi QoOSE woalela willl Weal cis Cowley Che OF ie

mistakes of the past, into a prosperous and a stable future.

Ons benader ons taak nie in n hoogheilige sin nie, maar in diepe
 nederigheid in die gees dat ons geroepe is tot geregtigheid, en
 dat alleen op die fondament van geregtigheid, van Jost ILibalia@alel e@Sievoroue
 elke Suid-Afrikaner, alleen op daardie fondament h veilige en nh
 voorspoedige toekoms vir hierdie land en al sy mense gebou kan
 word. Ek verklaar met oortuiging hier vandag, ons is gereed om
 vorentoe te beweeg. Die icvcl wie mageceldmg mee gesem, ONS ye
 het gekom dat daardie nuwe grondwet gestalte kry en dat alle Suid-
 Afrikaners deel word daarvan en dat die Suif-Afrikaanse nasie as
 n nasie sy trotse plek inneem in die internasionale arena van state.
 ime daciduem gees sale OnsmPOstale men konstruktief bly saamwerk,
 bly hard werk, bly gee alles waaroor ons beskilk â\200\234sen soinde =sze
 verseker dat ons so gou as moontlik - want ons aanvaar spoed is
 pellanicae igus =n time SelO Geen Dlomme SS 1 Cems Oy finale oplossings en
 antwoorde uitkom wat blywende vrede in ons land kan verseker.

ae CAMK We

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our next speaker has many titles, I WEelele tise hese OMe inese eel che eSt,

Chancellor Mandela.

/Chairpersons...

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Chairpersons, Distinguished International Guests, Fellow Leaders,
Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen. We gathered here yesterday and
ade MecislncCEmAcgceen a Ocdayame nm Se misunG | awhliCheeougges es) mC OmtslmlUisiays
stable! processes and a familiar and predictableâ\200\235 environment. The
oneneal GieeGunsStancecn sun swghiChaew en Meee ismG GC eS ies mst lcitemec tama le ac
m cl

Of athe midayveamwenewael laishowmpnEOgnEess) luINie won what awe adchmeveds ais:
YererSsiloeese Chuiciline) lS aedicsic InlSicepele SeSEwCiel Cz elo Copayainiea(eyâ\200
\231 se ope

a Democratic South Africa. Yet the overwhelming message that was
communicated from this hall yesterday both to our own people and
Go) Behe eemtetrnat l onala sCOMmMUnusty suche | lacie mmmW a Stinehcle MO; IpTOgmEes(s
towacds them news, South â\200\224Aerilcamsthatawemallawant nadia a netact,, soeen
made over the last five months. The things we did and said conveyed
this perception despite the valiant efforts that some amongst us
MadecwaEoOn Gemonstracem ands sano seminal IsOCmCSicn Mage elncdeed) | been
achieved. So often the speeches that were delivered, carried the
Selin> waSscieclaye ielgelie eleyblilcl inne Jobe aiesjoulieS GCfillerein| ckate! ele js
vepalslejovey ,
asniweljasas al senses Ehatawe sacmepoOlitelcHanc,mecoulds dom nosmone= than

speak as I do now.

And yet the actual situation we face demands that we make a
wadacal sidepastume se~cons Many ee sehincmmwheh detenemeEhe sepalame ters
of what. we must. do) jas!) these spolisererans. We meet here today as
we did yesterday, ae â\200\230cÂ© jollasy joolitcies lomte lsecanse our country
16 ijl 6 Webay cles Grmisis, Onc peqole comeimue co Cilia as a ~esule
Of, brutal avielence micarnaed mm OUEEEDYy mesOrceoe halt) garcumoppOsed: EO
democratic change. Fear stalks our land because none of us seem

to know when the identifiable as well as faceless assassins are

CONG; TO Siciwalleq Whethe quOnm tiem: gchsicsy in senem Gowns nipomsanG

Vixvep lela Sauer.

Villa els mae ieemate ne roads, or elsewhere. Many feel emboldened to carry and brandish guns, spears, battle-axes, pangas, knobkerries and other weapons of death as tela Ch Int Nel eelee ements Â© ee Ce tig cautâ\200\224 T mctTOGl

actually to perpetrate violence against other human beings were the most natural thing in the world. It even seems that political organisations have no problem whatsoever when theix= members and supporters or those who act in their name, take the lives of innocent

people in the pursuit of one Goals on another.

Tad cutlonenthnes terminals whoe usoOb), Misa pcrancsmUndciqgnOL sper sonal benefit seem to grow in number every day and seem to get more desperate and brutal with each passing moment. The crisis facing our country is also expressed by the haunting reality of millions of people without jobs, without homes and WLEAOWE TEOOC, Wa hayes of many of our people will be made even more miserable by the terrible drought which afflicts many parts of â\200\230NS GOWboreay, reels many years of gross mismanagement, the economy iS a nedeciame wand holds no immediate or foreseeable prospect to address any of the urgent and pressing needs of our people. On the horizon we can therefore

see nothing but even more misery and further deterioration of the fabric of society affecting all aspects of life including health, education, Â© tamidyealine: andmevesythumag selse @ that defines human

existence.

The question ea that aLdcesmausmc Wimmic, Wows ong icant iwe wae CGlasdim co be the leaders of our people, sit here, talk eloquently, spin out a complicated formula and enjoy the applause, while the country Sinks deeper and deeper into crisis. From where can we claim the moral

/eTapIKG) on oemeetens

right to assert that we need to move with less speed? Why do we put off
 Lao Mom Owes OmlUieiko imma taWieneclanseclClimmsOCla yc allem CO piece anol
 POs pOMe Me encase Gleza. Similarly they do not want their freedom
 postponed. Anyone of us who acts to delay that freedom, only serves
 to perpetuate our bondage. Mats as Situation which none of
 us should be willing to accept. And let none of us make the mistake
 Cf heh eien Cy entelichemnteh Om CO oles FllelaeGlÂ©MernÂ© elt ken cjamntaO mic) Comm S
 ie retammco Cee
 Akos WioKe wulsy cle (eS WeSSEOS Ile ell) seseloha, ielaesy lates ily Cleesy
 to engage in struggle to change their condition, change any govern-
 ment or leader they see as acting against their common good. We
 all know that it is the relentless struggle of these masses that
 has brought us to where we are today. ABeneoybyepo, icielSstiq Sissewlejed less
 they mcreated the possibility for 8a â\200\234negotiated = sesolticiom Of â\200\234the

EOOLSMS Ope Ore Coyne

And so, when we met here last December at the first session of
 CODESA and as we convened again yesterday, we held out the hope
 that indeed we were on course towards a peaceful resolution of
 She. problems â\200\234thar ahave splaguecde soul MCOUMtsy, atom sam = OO slong:
 Clearly, we cannot gather here today and send out a message to
 our country and the world that we have taken no steps towards
 the goall vot wending@sthemsosciy ss OrmsoutTs = DCOprer Ai \eietonan es erence ley,
 impermissible.

Wore as ae weer Gwe pegodle weimee Winewe AS aie wWimeie Olue CGoOlinesy
 needs? We have to move as quickly as possible to arrive at a new
 CGSjarsreniepuenr(oyr VroarCi worse Sievsloicwiovs icles joedierjolS xe Cl wewircsel,
 leinloâ\200\224

cratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. If there is anybody

nee se

in this room who is opposed to this Oloyjeelewe, we vroulel Inxs crore if they would let us know. TO GS to EME A COiMsictiewreroi we imeecl an elected constitution-making body, a democratically constituted constituent assembly. ONS AGAIN, Wie â\200\230elavsvet) 91) GNieieveyelyy aL ial eau. S OCIEWhOMmetSHEODDOSCCMmEOnmenedS ebyective, it would) be good if) they

would let us know.

With regard to this matter there are a number of propositions that Tewould sskemto putLestom the ConvenGuoneecdoe c whole. Mom mIner sD) Oia country and people move forward, I would like anybody with a dissenting view to speak out openly against any of these propositions. Firstly, Wet us all agree that we have tito â\200\224Caeate sa Cconsitutionâ\200\224 making body, elected on the basis of one person, one vote, with the votes being of equal value. Is there any party here today opposed Eon thier sitet use allie henes agucemiiciapamtles Silage ae â\200\230Ells leerchy will be represented within it, in proportion to the number OL vore they obtain. Is there any participant who is opposed to this? Het usalso sagree thal snemadd UlongEco a Tatabek@ cll meee terme will also be candidates whow wills be velected ony a regional basis.

Is there any participant who is opposed to this?

Let us further agree that the constitution-making body shall be a one chamber national assembly with sovereign powers to negotiate, draft and adopt a new constitution. Is there anybody who is opposed Too ea BIE Se Let us again agree that the work of Gisahier NG ce ew constitution will be carried out within the aainew Ca aC ime Once uC tional principles that have been and will be agreed here at CODESA. We cannot allow the interim constitution or any FTiMecerei Mm SieewCcicewseS

ac Omen

to sbe Imposed supon sore Tom constrain, Che constaeuevon-making sbody.
isp ahneracmeciny 00 Cymer OMmenSE OD DOS CCmmsOn se bamens Clem UiomEc! OOnmc crac em
melicus

fae @leaceioas we walk elsoume Slmalh Joe cCoruelwerceel ciel SeysSiaylsecl lox
an independent electoral commission made up of respected members
Oe Owe Cowmemiicy, eel BSSuSieSel Joy7 elSjoreDeysimesicokwKers Cpe iejgva inter-

national community. Is there anybody who is opposed to this?

The present Government of our country has admitted to the fact
fee ote oS plone Å«bbe Coe lly, ieSorCSoeAMiceie WS Che clo) joer Chi (bbe
country. For the majority of our people the matter, however, goes
beyond this. These masses consider this regime to be illegitimate.
Tet AES CUS Cannes ee ee siaical\ pinion ra @ ey tame a mS OUIa teagan = One lS @) Tort
a atic

in which it is through the pursuit of the evil and immoral system
of apartheid. They are, therefore, convinced that it has neither
the legitimacy nor the moral authority to take the country through
tts â\200\224edemocra tic = Eransrormataon. The shocking recent revelations
abouts thes thert of = publ ce aunds emt ncmassacsumati one Of, Leaders (of
the) Democratic) Movement yl ConunomoOnlmtOp Ore eDEcvtOUs) sdeuSCHOSUEes;;
confirm the view that the sooner all our people are able to decide

whomshouldngovernetheycounmtpmay, seme soemler =

ine the meantimen actsusssagain sageecemOonmamnUMNDeIEE Or mMaGtems. her
USeagrees that bysthes Ginette adsioumns tle tricameral parliament
will have passed the necessary legislation to create as a statutory
body with executive powers, a multi-party transitional executive
council charged with the task of moving the country towards the
adoption of a democratic constitution, levelling the playing field

and creating the climate of free political activity that will enable

/Eree 2...

fea eel eaecliN Cl aeechistCe CEO Mcm On nealice! joleace. SSS eae no oacmmmenions oO c
lyamWia@)

18 O/IOSEC 1cO ElMMISF LSec US Kwvenic Acree iaaie OmileS ils Slacicid@ns
have taken place, the elected body will also be the interim parlia-
ment operating with a new executive together constituting an elected
interim government, which will remain in power until a new consti-

tution has been adopted. Se eras mecihy oo chy AW OmESEE@ |) OSE Chm Ommelntes 2

Our people want to hear our answers to these propositions. Without
hee lea comma enenta Or seach and CVverymapaGEIcupant= in CODESAy we
shall be unable to overcome the deadlocks, unable to give the
leadership our people are looking for and unable to establish

the basis for negotiations to succeed.

Having agreed to all these matters, where next should we go? We
must move speedily to conclude all outstanding matters concerning
the elected constituent assembly, begin discussion about the compo-
Sition and other matters related to the elected interim government
GINGÃ» WKS, AGESS OM ENS Amecrim CGomSicilteuelon Aeeorciing tS
Wi Chae ssitSe | stisanoit tonal Government = Wallie fimetnon: For these
purposes the Management Committee should meet soon after the conclu-
sion of this session of CODESA, to look at how it can restructure
the Working Groups to ensure that we move forward urgently with
eC crede Once Enos cmmomectecnChsnomeinctateias al a line Management Committee
will also have to look very closely at the question of time frames
in particular to determine when the election should take place,
and how long the process of drawing up the new constitution should

take. Other outstanding matters must also be resolved.

isin la eS mee

In this instance I refer in particular to the release of remaining political prisoners. St mG Gen te IE aco NIE Tare to AC Mh en Seta Bao countrymen remain in prison while we sit here and talk piously

about creating a climate of free political eateite a ceriKe live

Let me conclude by thanking you for your patience and by urging everybody in this room with all fam ae Curie mya) Schley mmm Â© Mises themselves in word and deed to the speedy (HCEVNSICOMAMEVENOM Oi Oye COUMECY IMO A peaceful, stable, prosperous, non-racial and non-

sexist democracy.

Dniceeenialllays cawoTCunEOmstiCmmGG crane cmnon: the day; the time has come that you should truly cross the Rubicon. You must understand Cllectain athe E ne aday,cu of anW nae cin M@rs ihe domination are over.

During the period of change and while you remain in power, you cannot and will not be both player and referee. Whether you are genuine about change will be judged not by what you say, but by Wiicltelsy Ol (Cl On ce tsuismicelalnmo CEO TaW/ceacl together to arrive as speedily as possible at our common objective OCG @ Gracias SO Uli imme wistaeIne cies

lf (EINER S7OW

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Ladies and Gentlemen, after those two contributions and the contributions of yesterday, the Management Committee needs to consider its recommendations and we have agreed to have a tea break of between thirty and forty-five minutes to enable chem GQ Coasicleic

a report which will then be presented after tea.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED FOR TEA

CONVENTION RESUMED

MR_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

BY CERT can eT Ts I SE) Tefen Cl mrALG) ctl] P rT 1S) LAUT Sei hy an, oc Talo) Kommela
TALS Iai Â«O jxeOeS@cl waliela ielMe ele@jacle\.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been felt that you have probably heard
Ene UG emsOin EleNe eimC alo Ca Gyan ch Cleeno lich clk tse eG eee G menell cise /Oulm
esiT@ veld

also see something; after all, seeing is believing.

i now cCaldeeupon â\200\224MiaeiCordhan, =swhomsCharmemnan Of sthe= Management
Committee, who will perform a certain task here - he will present
certain slides.

PSwLLDF, WRBSINIWANWION ooo

SLIDE PRESENTATION BY MR P_ J GORDHAN

CHAIRMAN : MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The Chairpersons, Ladies and Gentlemen. Yesterday I, on behalf of the Management Committee, (jpeesSmcecl ies) WOH els Meimereeinenc Committee report on the progress made in respect of agreements in the various Working Groups. We have also captured the vision graphically capture that report with a view to capturing the vision of the people outside who are observing this, an opportunity to assess what has been accomplished in the five months that we have been working in CODESA on the one hand,

and what remain as outstanding matters on the other hand.

At the Management Committee there has been a consistent concern on your behalf that marketing CODESA and the negotiating process, is) ala eclleltaspecte oO fLO U=EWOrrkWEanclmemciaice EtNnG) mOmeacoOursemmeccains . thi chs

we have to take CODESA and the negotiation process to our people and they should understand what is it that we are doing in this mysterious place called the World Trade Centre, and are we indeed reaching agreements which can affect their lives and take them

forward to a secure and peaceful future.

On the next slide we begin to capture the CODESA objectives. What was at that) CODESA's establishment was established, as we understand it, to move us from the current situation in South Africa to a democratic future and a democratic South Africa, that the crucial aspect that we need to resolve within the CODESA forums,

the future South Africa would be based, and that remains today the

key) for) ec hi veut hot equides slicne i nmEEhCLEDEOCesSes etic =e Tow. even

CODA 556

ECODESAW Zi

On the next slide we examine the various aspects that emerge from
 â\200\230one Declarcatciom Ox Inceme loy CORSA 1, Aincl idn@ Worle telnaie nas loaam
 ecieclolease cmc sme Nemes SO taco aon CCu Gime lcm cla kOUSm Oils anncmGISou asi
 Ii (elN@ iilieSig AMSCaAMAGS, â\200\230cee O COMSiEMicWEIOMm Melding? tin ill Seconmel
 instancessagneement ion al Tsanisiteionale Exccucive- thirdly, levelling
 of the playing fields, some agreement on the future of the TBVC
 States and then, finally, having reached these agreements, agreement

on how do we implement them and within what kind of time frame.
 And it is these agreements that will finally take us to the

democratic future.

On the next slide we begin to examine the process that has been
 eNO PVC Cerne ellcelei) Chen S ist Onto lat meee ite ay, that at CODESA 2 we will
 reach agreements on those various aspects, on the aspects of consti-
 (EWNNeteeL jinelecerces, ial WisevnysslienOielll iapseetneya, Aelavs Mrenedlilatiove; op
 e
 the playing fields, and the TBVC States, and that these agreements
 would result in implementation according to time frames that we

agree upon.

On the next slide we capture the total process from the past, so
 OMS Call mts@atelne fires ii Oreliese Worcs, INOW CLO WS WES iEscCW
 present-day. South vAtalcalee tom anidenocratac (South Afvicae the pilue
 on your left-hand side, reflects what we have become used to calling
 Phase Oe th Cmmataa nico nn ao Cecio tmaci Commi camp IdO COS SW emicise siEO
 BeSOLvel the Bssueswmeindicatedssthese, sin pamntaculan the ~levelling

Ommceie playange frelidsmand sonectung the climate son jeree political

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Sidi

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tasks of the â\200\234Eransmtionall EPxecutive: Councilâ\200\235 ais to) establatshe Ge
he
conditions for, and via the Independent Elections Commission, the
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iInaaci Oe tin eiccow icGlle ws Weare waese EClleCicienms wali seeswilde aja
El Asiceollasinne Che CobdlSicslicthedlOmamvealsowe Jeyorehy, Whosiieln Ines e\info
OENeGla waASPeCES = aSSOCH cee Ce swase hl att ta@Â® ties, CoOmsiciicuciomal
Te Tan BLS opm Eb EW SRL T OCC en CSOT ete el) Cc i) Kael ents Clee
the second, the election and establishment of an interim parliament
andmexecutivies) = ince le. Jism t huss mwittGhiamwiM Glam CumtS atm eMC mClemM@Ciach
eiac
future. The period between the elections and the ultimate establish-

ment of a Gemocratic South Africa will be based on an interim

constitution.

In the next slide we begin to examine Phase 1 of this process and
Phase 1, as I indicated, involves those three elements, levelling,
the climate for free political participation, and the establishment
Ome a Lransieronl â\200\224 Execntavem Council amino aaNiOrmicinG â\200\224GEOupl= Gas
ilas

already agreed upon. Ie 2S toe cAI Oe WMS WHE wee CreSeyeS (coicie
appropriate climate and it is the task of the Independent Election
Commission, to Set = up! them maciuMenveetorm democratic, elections ai
eth be SECO Uae ae Ge Course, Guring nis periloc, as indicated above

the arrow head, the current Government and the Tricam Parliament

continue, as do the TBVC States.

What then, Mes wae Sigenceoess Oe iene Wieveerssaire wepyarelh Executive

Commes, 1? Nocl sai toe meric Slide we See temac ells Steruccure wal

ESOmsShssieeae

consist of what has been called "the overarching body", the Transi-ciloemal mxrecwuciye Couneil dieselt, de will Gomsist of Mo==connetis and there are four Sub-councils that we have agreed upon, and there will be two independent bodies. The first, the Independent Elections Commissaton whose â\200\234eask, as!) 1 haveâ\200\235 siavdâ\200\235 already, 1s to cre ate the

STNG Cee @) ol a) Tae HEL Cl 11 mT CNEL Tah y ae @) Ta, Moe) Th LT tes Le OU eanya and secondly, an Independent Media Commission whose terms of refe-

rence still need to be defined.

What then happens in Phase 2, as reflected in the next slide?

In Phase 2 we see that the elections, on your left-hand side, usher

AM Ae - COMSiericiettoaoneviquas loos, amc aes eagk 18 Â@ cheaste icae

MEY EGOASicLieMciom, Ci we one Imescl, Om Cl@Q bASIS OG CGCOaSeELicmicLomeal

principles that we have already agreed upon in what was Working

CrOuPe 2 ane, Secondly, = vaicusenecmiclCeLecm DOC ys ime OmiCEedite ane Linters im

Executive. There is, however, as a result of the events of yester-

day, still uncertainty about what the National Assembly will be,

what its association within a Senate would be and whether there

will be a Senate, and how the interim legislature will actually

work. Nonetheless, these are some elements that have developed

as a vesuleÃ© of â\200\234discussions Im the past and, as you are aware, this

still remains a matter for agreements to be arrived at.

AS We MOS Om cO wae mexic Slice, walda ts agemaliy G@ wepeate Olt

the first one, we will see that the period between the elections

and the constitution-making phase, is a period which will be based

on an interim constitution to be agreed upon in the prior phase.

/sigeetalnc wee

In the next slide, at the top of the slide you see a mefillectilon
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 - which will facilitate the establishment of the Transitional
 Executive Council. aqalsecliisy, â\200\230elise alin in@ joaresloel O1 iene GLECEicone
 and the subsequent period, there would be an interim constitution
 on which these structures and processes would actually be based
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 bojll 3! Siloveyel

its task, a democratic constitution will be established.

The Government. and â\200\224Ehe iricam baa lilaneniawacOntlaie. Up mEO the
 point, that we have (elechion sens sans COUnisinyg. DUiEm VOUs Wille norTece
 elavene ele) seibhebbba> oye ieoy Wee Sieewas Well Cale los ixSsyoll\WeCl eurccie
 the elections. The yellow frame around the elections and the
 COMME See uenige) lxechy jsdaSe, aleclliceices â\200\230eens iWeSG EbeS imeleeeics

to be resolved by processes that we establish at CODESA 2 itself.

Let me then summarise in the next slide, what we have established
 as the parameters of Phases a Haims lng ene hransitil onal Hxelcuta ve
 Coumei ls, oO eae connec and its Sub-councils. Next the Independent
 Media Commission. Liew Guestlonenacksmeandlcave Ehae sahems precise
 terms of reference of the Independent Media Commission are still
 to be determined. Thirdly, the Independent Election Commission
 which, as we said, will establish the machinery for elections but

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 which would underpin the drafting of the constitution and provide
 usa Cw Ora quart @ Iqumnte lactate Secondly, the elections will establish a
 COMSIELICMELOMâ\200\224MEUCING; loxehy, Was casic Ox walls loochy womlcl los co Glicaiz
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 a new democratic constitution. The elections will also establish
 an interim Parliament. The precise relationship between the
 interim Parliament and the constitution-making body, still remains
 a matter for discussion. Emerging from the interim Parliament
 will be an interim Executive. Some call it a Government of National
 Unity, or an interim Government of National Unity. And once the
 clemocracle CoOmsiilichelon mas loeem created, it 18 tor cals lsacky to
 then adopt the constitution as the foundation of a new democratic

Somea AstieidCa,

If we then take an overview in the next slide, of both the processes,
 we will see that CODESA 1 as of December 1991, took place in the
 Conese Wie Wiire WO manele CGaill jreaesame GCasy Somicla iWitieslecy. That
 following on CODESA 2 there was the hope that we would move on
 OR ae CR ated Sikes ota eda cls Cia ry amma ela TOE co OTT Cy eto tel Omron RCA yale ac
 y mnle InenIECIS

anda CrRece Ce CmC OlGun ten lcm lemme ee lmo OMe noche Octs eC oaie hom), tclnG
 ames

the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council.

The question that JMSe Sieill xaces CODBSA 2, aAiacel Fwewsee jolemeicy SEGcHOncto tame Â© DESAY mee Smawitcltameas the time frame for these future processes, as indicated in the block above the slide, and it is at this stage very difficult to anticipate what that time frame WO MPLG EO) elo Ue @ fo Cr Welln auuichommaWic discuss The Way Forward, we will

be able to address this issue.

Ladies and Gentlemen, that is the graphic summary of the processes in CODESA on the one hand, of an overview and a vision of how we could move into the future. It indicates very clearly areas in pacriculacly PiaKese 1, where we have agreement in the Working Groups that have been established by CODESA 1. ie Also iinclleaces wWwesy clearly the outstanding tasks to which CODESA 2 has to address itself, and it is in this context that the Management Committee will present to you certain proposals on The Way Forward, as we move to the next item on the agenda.

Thank you very much.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Tien Mexcte temas mca tac layaupacial culmmOners ic eS Hem Ore C mn el Ommnae Ola of the Working Groups, and the report of the Management Committee on their activities. Tec toma op tr ite is moe ECO CLSCUSS p fife eS aus te ate Olin @ te tcl Io Glens lu eins meee cl formality. ifetae rambo, Intel lntol cya Te ee Cle telains tyme raster Zee ital leera Â© (Uta) Daily Management Committee,

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interval by telling us what the recommendations of the Management Committee are in relation to the reports of the Working Committee, which you all have before you. lea weeilianc cb elm Ones case elte ior

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MR Z TITUS
MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Thank you, Chairpersons. Distinguished Guests, Honoured Delegates, Leaders of our country, Fellow Countrymen, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Flowing from the discussions we had yesterday and today, regarding the manner in which the various Working Group Reports would be handled, the Management Committee had to consider the way in which the CODESA negotiating process would be taken further, taking fae aceoume dm josvecsemlese tela Cliierclewiltey Wintel GO)oiasy. IP keisisbesy has had with the further consideration of the work of Working Group Bc We have analysed carefully the different remarks made by the

various leaders who addressed Plenary yesterday and today.

Without going into detail, it has been observed that despite varying views on this matter, not a single leader has rejected negotiation als et hebebesteeacceptablemsopelCMmmmsor sSOUGHme i car) Nap ohel ol bam ene speakers have emphasised the urgency of the matter under discussion, and expressed the view that unless an acceptable solution is found Aismesoon as) poss) bile) am corericmiserhesm malyan aued's Cl We are conscious of the fact that the impasse which retarded progress yesterday, May endanger the whole negotiation process and consequently as the Management Committee we are committed to finding an acceptable way in which the views and aspirations of all can be accommodated. The Management Committee has taken all the above considerations into account and after having had recourse to the Working Groups views on The Way Forward, we have now formulated a Way Forward which we think will meet the requirements of all concerned, and

thespeopile Of SoutheAtareamim pamteieulan -

We are mindful of the fact that the outside world too is anxiously

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awaiting the final outcome of CODESA negotiations. But before
 Tecnico ikteh ac CcHatoor l lmWwoUlcml ice) Onntai<e mc few brief comments
 on the reports of the other Working Groups, for the recommendation
 he) Ioe MEGID ImExceeuecese COS inion, Cimllyy iesNecS tere) iikeieleieve; (Cheleys 4,
 but to all CODESA negotiation structures.

The Working Group Reports which have been tabled, indicate clearly
 that there is still a lot of ground which needs to be covered before
 it can be said that we have reached the goals we set for ourselves
 when we agreed and appended our signatures to the Declaration of
 Intent. The question which now arises for consideration esi What
 kind of structures should be put in place to ensure that outstanding
 work is processed properly and on a coherent and urgent basis.
 It is clear from the reports referred to that a number of decisions
 and agreements need to be implemented. CODESA needs to devise
 2 Weby Gielen yyalikil Gels telere iene implementation process goes on
 smoothly and in a well-structured and well co-ordinated manner
 which will be worked out by the Management Committee, at which

abl. the CODESA pastictpantcmase Gepresented.

As has already been said, the Management Committee has given careful
 consideration to the views expressed by the leaders. In the light
 of the above, the Management Committee recommends that for purposes
 of promoting co-ordination and improving the efficiency and effec-
 tiveness, CODESA 2 approves of a complete review by the Management
 Comex Ce WN Suceremcees Clkersrciy win jollace, WA SewrUciewuces
 currently in place were created at a time when we were ignorant

of the programme which would be encountered during the course of

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Te Maragamemne Commiecee Salil Joe Giwem wesoomS Wor latey
for resolwimg all owcsicamcing iMmeccers itlowding sticom

the work of Working Groups.

The Management Committee shall examine all Working
Group agreements with a view to establishing what work

can be done in order to facilitate implementation.

The Management Committee shall establish such structures
(GoGo technical committees, sub-committees, Working
Groups) as are necessary to assist the Management

Commicres aim accomplisialm â\200\230dae casks adloceed wo illic.

The Management Committee shall call a CODESA plenary
with suitable representation as a matter of urgency
to adopt all agreements and to receive a report on
all matters which have been assigned to it by CODESA

oo

The Management Committee shall be given the authority
EON SCOTS ten tet mel TS Colne TT mmm) LA: i iam Wil lee len GheTayctite (eumtceler ems
legislation required as a result of agreements reached

at CODESAY.

SUpjece Oo 2.5 aloee, ie Menecgeaneme Commlecee oe
authorised to exercise such authority as is necessary,
uo) ensune Ehat the sobsyjectaves, of the Declaration of

ineene ase abvained; including the power to implement

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any agreement reached by Working Group 1, and also
any other agreement falling within its mandate.

Sr CLOSING REMARKS

The Management Committee is extremely conscious of
the fact that the participants in CODESA entered

the negotiation process in the belief that it can
take our country to a stable order. We have a
responsibility to approach our task in such a manner
that the confidence of the participants, and our
people, in the negotiation process is reinforced.
The Management Committee's commitment in this regard

has been made public on a number of occasions.

I accordingly move the adoption of these recommenda-
tions. The recommendations, it will be observed,
are inclined more towards flexibility. They also
take into account the dynamics of the negotiation
process. I also attach hereto a summary of the
substantive agreements reached so far at CODESA, and
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MAcESes Wale euce Serilil Cwiesneainclliag aiacl (nwela, iclvseeâ\200\224
fore, deserve further consideration by the Management

Committee.

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/MR JUSTICE MAHOMED ...

MR_ JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you, Mr Titus.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you have heard the recommendations. Mercifully "MC" does not mean my learned friend or me; it means the Management Committee is going to be given all these powers. You will see that it is not a recommendation dealing

with the specifics of the reports of the Working Committees.

MR_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall call the speakers forward in tandem so that the one is waiting here to commence his speech as soon as the other one has finished.

The first speaker is Dr Zach De Beer of the Democratic Party and after him, Mr Reddy of Solivdanity.

{Gentlemen ...

DR Z J DE BEER
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Gentlemen of the Chair, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.
A few months ago we - all of us 4 came to know and CO USE amc co
believe in, a new phrase. That was: Hume Sho siete ls eee) ODE eres What
Sets eS pS oe eter com cl SUN the acceptance and the application
in our work, of the idea that it is more important to obtain agree-
ment about the new South Africa Tae CHE ONS C Olac eam Oneigtesacce!

points on behalf of our panties.

Now, of course, this is not to ask anyone to sell his or her moral

principles, but it does suggest an approach, an ele maneie mcs ener,

which strives for agreement. Yesterday â\200\230la@ Syosiselic Oi COMA SEES!
to have evaporated. It was regrettable but perhaps understandable,
that Group 2 could not reach agreement. [eee WoSmnVC ay aes Cumeenclecc

that there was a great deal of public recrimination between two
very important organisations in the sight of all the world. South

Africa was, ill-served by those events.

This morning we listened to the leaders of these two organisations.
I select from the President's speech the key phrase:

"There is no reasonable alternative to CODESA."

I believe he spoke for us all when he said that. Mr Mandela's
Speech contained a list of extremely important matters on which
he believes we are all agreed. Subject perhaps to interpretation

here and there, I think we all support those views.

We see, therefore, that CODESA is the vehicle we must use and that
we have an urgent agenda of vitally necessary things we must do.

The Management Committee has just put forward workable proposals

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to make this possible and we urge Plenary Session to endow that
Committee with the authority and the responsibility it needs, to
Heim WS ACR OM HRACK AS SOOM AS POSEwale. 1 IN@pae wae syoslsealte

of CODESA is coming back into our hearts.

(OMA GFIUESONS coo

MR J N REDDY
SOLIDARITY PARTY

Chairpersons, following upon yesterday's presentation here, a gloom had descended over our land and thank God that President Mandela, demonstrated beyond any doubt that the South African people. Mr Mandela talked about the unemployed, the starving, the sick; yes, about that we haven't got to be told anything,

it's there, a reality right around where we look.

And therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, calling people names or trying to tear people apart is not the way forward. We must bury the past and leaders have demonstrated over and over again that we need to kindle the flame of reconciliation. Because you cannot with anger and hurt go forward to find solutions when you have to work with those with whom you have disagreed in the past. So we need that Spirit Of Reconciliation. That should become the 11th Commandment of South Africa: Reconciliation. And we must

go forward.

And to those of you who are critical of what has been happening here in the past few months, and who were prepared to lay blame

One

on some because an agreement had not been reached at Committee 2, you frac befiosne vou the developments: of a number of other Committees who are the very same people working together through a process of compromise, give and take, and have found answers. So, therefore, in pointing a finger because there was a measure os tealuee aim CommlltcceOQ 2, WAS Mor Ginicalse@lyy wilGinte, We will have failures but failures must be a challenge to cause us to approach the matter with much more determination to succeed, and we will et ca Â© Bam TT eA Sec Toe 9 TS UNL a Va teiclp le eta Oe cl Ge ONEE SO Clu cl Gl Oumic lmES tae eG

stone to success.

And I want to again say to Dr Mandela: We need that reinforcement from you. At the moment when there seems to be no hope, you have come forward with words of encouragement. This country needs that from you regularly and it also needs it from the State President. Boeh) you, gentlemen have agtask.. This) country, Canmet suceed withoutc a partnership between Black and White both politically and economically, and anybody who has any ideas that one group can go alone, 1S wi a2 Ccheoamlamel. Fowl Awiciea'S wtewmee clajsencs om a jyoillieieall and economic partnership between Black and White and to that this MECILOM WMOASiG COMMlic aeSellit, It means sacrifices, it means a process of give and take. That alone will bring success, prosperity, peace im Â©owe lamel, WO that 1 pray Almighty God will commend this land

ern Gaels ste S ele alcieas nano um Uilictial any ,C)llve

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MR M C ZITHA

INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Chairpersons, Leaders of Delegations, Ladies and Gentlemen. I wish to speak on point 2.5 of The Way Forward and propose an amendment so as to be very specific about the time frames, because it is our feeling that we need to strike a balance between urgency and the proper resolution of the remaining matters at this Convention. Our belief Mr Chairman, is that a clear target date for the completion of our work, concentrates our mind to achieve that objective, We jWaltewa (Mae idee wemadaiing merccors Calm Ise completed by June, and we therefore propose that the date of the end of June should be our target for the next Plenary Session.

Teeelbec eels enc mllcemen cnt Ser mu Creat oc 2.5 could read:

D5 The Management Committee shall call a CODESA plenary

with suitable representation before the end OeuUMe

1992 to adopt the agreements and to receive a report

on all matters which have been assigned to it by

CODESA 2, and to confirm the composition of the Transi-

tional Executive Committee.â\200\235 |

We need to see those delegates or those persons who will be serving as memseics iin idae Wale. That is my proposal to this Convention,

that by the end of June we have CODESA Sie Thank you very much.

/The Chairpersons ..-

MR A RAJBANSI
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

The Chairpersons, members of the various participating organisations. All of us want our task to be concluded urgently and the necessary actions must follow. These recommendations of

the Management Committee are designed to improve upon the structures and the procedures to reach our goals within the shortest possible

time.

In addition to deliberations in the structures of CODESA, we exhort participants to have more paella te raul @ ritieias Naeisc lant cul St. My party wants to emphasise that while there has been a tremendous measure of emphasis on nation building, we must apply equal or

sometimes more emphasis, on foundation building.

These proposals ladies and gentlemen, have a message CUTE MCA, a message that the deliberations of Working Group 2 MASc ISS COM= Gimded on an urgent basis, so that South Africa can have the first

and second phase of the transitional arrangements implemented

urgently.

Accusations against each other about police matters or police actions, or the actions of MC eC lnaitiny meO mecca Olu ac lc actions of the private armies, HUGG Cals meee Ciaen eS clea)O Inc Goiisis@) ammo

key matters in South Africa, especially the security matters.

ALC

The Management Committee's proposals will move, Ladies and Gentle-
 mam, Â«co tex Carly aSiecloliseneme Cx els Transitional Executive
 Councagiss This is also needed in particular to enable the inter-
 national community to lift sanctions against our country. The
 past is over and I want to suggest to the various participants
 at CODESA: TU tet Cee TCs Cl ANT Â© > WoC Ce > Ta el ne |S) Gl
 yesterday afternoon and today - early this morning - that we must place
 a tremendous emphasis on what Dr J N Reddy has said, that the past
 is now over and the future beckons, and as far as national recon-
 CeO Reset Nope ANT Cl 0) GS] TTT TIUL T tLey a Tc SUT dee tan NT) =0) 10) Ch mac Lo) Ne
) CL)

without the other communities, I want to compare it with a common
 thing which we have used all our lives: HUI Bae ee)i010)@) iba alo nl UI
 classrooms. The blackboards that are used in the various forums
 in this country are useless without a white chalk. And on the
 other hand we must realise that all the white chalk manufactured

in this country is useless without a blackboard.

We recommend that these proposals be adopted as has been proposed

yy itrgue stair. Thank you.

/Mr Chairpersons ...

MR_C SALOOJEE

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS/TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

Mr Chairpersons and Honoured Participants, we wish everyone to know that the central issue for us to address in the next few weeks is the unwillingness of this Government and the Nationalist Party to give up minority domination. No matter what they say and how often they say it, the position on minority domination should be understood;

not from what they say but from what position they take on what constitutes a majority; what percentage determines a meaningful

Maia] Oasys

We maintain that one of the great advances in the development of human society over the ages has been universal agreement on mechanisms by which we resolve differences of opinion. One of the abiding achievements of civilisation has been the recognition when differences exist between groups of people, that the majority view must prevail. What this recognition implies is that although everyone is entitled EOunOncdm an yew cainiGun-OMmex > 1405 Smniney mano mm al CMe llClumte mo Osh On OimOS nous

the people or groups must be accepted.

Another interpretation flowing from this essential contribution from humankind's endeavours to find ways of living with each other in peace and without conflict, is that each vote, each person's view,

is of equal importance and that no man or woman is superior or inferior. WIN VOU GQySicebicn idalSs DASE joicdlnsiple oÃ« Siwlideed mules, meine , procedures, then you are endangering a fundamental rule which allows societies to resolve differences. This is what the Nationalist Party

and the Government's proposals are asking us to do.

/We...

We also recognise that in recent years society has increasingly been called upon to deal with problems which occur when nation states reflect many divisions/diversities in the population. We do not wish to undermine the importance of this problem, and we believe that the solution to such problems is intended to prevent the domination and oppression of minorities by the majority. To this end, the universal trend has been to address these problems through a well-constructed Bill of Rights which is approved by a substantial majority and which is enforceable and testable by an independent judiciary.

In preventing domination and oppression by the majority, we should not be trapped in opting for a minority veto which is what the government and the Nationalist Party proposals amount to. We have lived through a sad history in which the minority has been systematically

privileged through practical domination.

Finally Mr Chairpersons, we wish to indicate that the proposals made by the Management Committee are acceptable to us, with minor modifications which we might suggest later. But we hope desperately in terms of the cause of peace and justice, and for us to move to a situation where we could live in justice and in peace, that we will achieve

fe iciteme DOs aeestaclOneCelaya

Thank you.

/Honourable Chairpersons ..

BRIGADIER O J GQOZO

CISKE GOVERNMENT

Honourable Chairpersons, their Excellencies Members of the International Community, Fellow Leaders, Ladies and Gentlemen. My delegation wish to express its acceptance of the recommendations of the Management Committee, and we want to appreciate and commend the Management Committee for these brisk and clear-cut recommendations which will reduce the workload and the pressures placed on all our

delegations as far as the business of CODESA is concerned.

However, although some of the points I want to endorse here fone recording are more of a bilateral nature between the Ciskei Government and the South African Government, I would like the delegates here to take note of them. On Group 4, the recommendations as stated in this Working Group's report have omitted one of our very strong points which we think touches on the fundamental principles of my

Government's policy.

The Ciskei Government wishes to put its position clearly in regard

to the first draft of the report of Working Group 4 to CODESA 2.

Ciskei has consistently on all previous occasions stated its position

Clearly on re-incorporation into South Africa: In regard to Ciskei's

participation in an interim government, our position is clear in itellntant

Giiskei, will not pantieurate in an interim government at this stage,

Jjote wyemilel isis (ee) TESST] IIE) JOSOEUICWCI\, Ginvsl Shi Bl ferefsialreuly7S Matle
sotie, oral

The Way Ahead, reserve ite SiO GS Pimele OI em ia toca SiC) aes Cuma ly cyte te has see
n

how these interim government structures are going to work.

LO Uline

Our position is also clear that, until the COME SWE WHENOwe sl jorcsbinSaljoles have been clearly stated and approved by CODESA and regional boundaries ana all other related matters have been determined, Ciskei will keep its options open. At that stage Ciskei will decide on re-incorporation into South Africa.

The fundamental considerations on the part of the Ciskei Government is that Ciskei must be better off in the new South Africa than has been the case under its present circumstances. Therefore the Ciskei Government would like the endorsement on the report of Working Group A, joeicel So oH, ie aacIs

"The Ciskei Government wishes to record that it will keep its options clear and may participate at a later stage in the interim government structures."

A comment on the report of Working Group 4 on the subject of land

TaeNeosan euacI llevacI woieereopeiim., iWin Whoicsiacg; Geouo â\200\2341S wejoeiee,; w e aS we>

corded that sufficient consensus was reached that no further transfers

Oe ilemel Sinxouilel ease jolace sieom IRSA icO Ae IMSWS Srearcas, We wire

however be remembered that there are a number of communities of people in the Republic of Ciskei who have been waiting for almost twelve or fifteen years for the fulfilment of promises on land issues made to them by the South Atwican Government. in some) Or these cases the community has been waiting more than fifteen years for these promises

EOMbe Ulerdeloc ee AnCetneCmCEMEtnC UMC OmConMec Mr ct=Cuncinc imate se

people will be denied the compensatory land promised to them. The Ciskei delegation would wish to propose that these land issues be

/addressed...

addressed with immediate effect, and the promised compensatory land be transferred to the communities without further delay.

Our argument in this regard is that irrespective of whether the Ciskei is re-incorporated into the greater united South Africa today or tomorrow, this inevitable fact should however not overshadow the rightful historical claim to their compensatory land. These communities were resettled from Herschel, Glengrey and Humansdorp since 1972. The negotiations between the RSA Government and the Ciskei Government in this regard has already progressed to a point of merely formally transferring these lands to these people. It will be unthinkable while these people are awaiting the actual transfer, to tell them that they are no longer getting these lands.

Thank you very much.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you, Brigadier Gqozo.

Whilst these contributions are being made, if anybody wishes to, he can also address his mind to the amendments which were proposed by

Wee BiAaelna

/Mr Chairpersons ...

MR W S FELGATE

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Mr Chairpersons, Mr President, Distinguished Guests from overseas, Delegates. I am going to comment on behalf of Inkatha Freedom Party. STae ws, Ub IE Cl me eels cecum tere ete cael Os RNa een ites cinta em cts elt cy, Â©) (Cl Â©) eS Ut =ela(©) Ta en es citar Oye

Working Group 3 reads as follows:

"The following recommendations are made in regard to the first stage of the transition. These recommendations and their implementation are dependent upon agreement being reached by CODESA in respect of the second stage of the transition (and mark these words) including an interim GOMSedtiebiesoa Ebel Gine@icel CoselieoOima sl joresdineijoles First there must be an interim constitution, and first there must be an agreement on general constitutional principles. And then, and then only, are we in any position to establish any transitional mechanisms whatsoever. That is the agreement that we've come to in Working

EGieowjo 3.

I believe that there is a tendency in the Management Committee to rush too far ahead, and is rushing ahead of the people. Dr Mdla lose this morning I believe, urged the Management Committee not to rush ahead at such great speed. And I'd like to just point to one event this morning which bears out I think the need for us to just to stop

elie) Gleeson ot Kae a ental lta

Dr Mandela, in his address to us, made a number of statements and asked on a number of occasions for those in our midst who disagreed with what he was saying to make his/her disagreement known. When

/Dr Mandela...

Dr Mandela had finished speaking, you'll have noted that something like less darin InalsÃ© Ot tae Inaldl sicooc Wo cO acOvVe OF Whoa Ine Saulcl, EN Gly, Wwe led eet @ elke tate incl TOM Oneal le) ae eeu MO Tau tal cle icin staan ata icumintculale

- well, let us not say half, let us say that a substantial proportion of the delegates - remained seated, registering disagreement with

the statements that were made; not in principle but in the context

in which they were made.

We, in IFP, believe that despite the difficulties and the shortcomings that there are in CODESA, the real achievers of CODESA in establishing the basis of consensus politics, and the way in which CODESA has actually reached agreements across very difficult lines of division, must be praised. We are today faced with the consequences of yesterday's disruptions. And the Managing Committee is asking us to make .decisions about what we do to remedy those disruptions; to remedy

Phiewrace that Workings Group Zac oulGmnotmacach anys CamClusiHons.

The next meeting of the Management Committee is scheduled I believe for 25 May, that's just over a week and some days away, and we in the IFP urge - we really urge - that no decisions are made about the restructuring of CODESA today because we just have not had the time to consider them, we've not had the time to discuss them amongst ourselves, we are being rushed into a request to decide now on issues

which will have long-term implications.

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In order to relieve the pressure on the decision-making process in each of our delegations, we would propose that the work of the Working Groups be suspended and that Management Committee

must debate on the 25th, some revised working structure for

CODESA.

At this stage, we want to urge that we are dealing with the future of the nation and that mistakes made now are going to be enormously costly in terms of the time that it will take to recover from them. And we really do urge that we do not allow ourselves to be rushed

into decision-making about the future of CODESA this morning.

Thank you.

/Chairpersons ...

MR M N N RAMODIKE
UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT

Chairpersons, Dignatories, Ladies and Gentlemen, the UPF endorses the proposals as submitted by the Management Committee to improve efficiency and to facilitate the urgent implementation of the agreements made in the various Working Groups. We believe that a period of four weeks will be reasonable for the Plenary Session to come together to endorse the progress made. And in view of a comment by my colleague, the leader of Inyandza National Movement, Comrade Cpahivsaels want to support his proposal that the Plenary Session should re-

convene by the end of June, before Parliament adjourns in Cape Town.

May we further state that the Management Committee should ensure that the appointment of the sub-councils and technical committees, should INS GHG ielere joeucteal Gajoeresiing; organisations and governments are not prejudiced in any manner.

Furthermore, we in the United People's Front, wish to state categorically that as patriotic South Africans who place the national interest over and above sectional interests, fully endorse the sentiments expressed by the leader of the African National Congress, Dr Nelson Mandela, with specific reference among others, to the immediate eMtaTaO Gi CitesOm Outs legislation by the Tricameral erase mcm eomena lollies the election of an interim transitional ExOOMElwve loyocw ico GCheeuere aA new constitution. Such a constitution will, we agree, be approved

of by a single supreme Parliament for the whole country.

Furthermore, we endorse the principle that the election of that body

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will be conducted by an independent electoral commission which should enlist the assistance of an international monitoring body to ensure that the elections are free and fair. However, to facilitate that process Messrs Chairpersons, as leaders of the respective political organisations of governments, we MUST take it Upon ourselves (eO Inzane, WAOIEINGS AE slinesiMiclaricioin iO Ein Cincly AIS SO eyeloeiWereelly

stated by the State President this morning.

The days of political posturing and mud-slinging exercises must now give way to a new spirit of reconciliation and reconstruction, of "togetherness" and not apartheid. If we are serious and dedicated to our commitment to peace and stability, as leaders we must refrain from talks and jointly have peace rallies in the affected communities. In this task the issue of an independent monitoring body such as OAU and/or other organisations such as UN, as well as | JOLME COME OH eine Soowmenicy Worces, HLSMaLiNS Oe Pacemewme importance. Thais) walle snmyvkew nO mOnlyVaGiVicI Cred lblnoitye GO) ene Secuzity Forces, but will reduce to a minimum the atrocities purportedly committed by "hit squads" that are allegedly linked into

the present Security Forces.

I want in conclusion Messrs Chairpersons, to remind with all humility those of our colleagues in the homelands and the TBVC States, who would like to stick to their positions like glue, that the position that we are

(Inaudible) We should be in a position to distinguish between a standing ovation and an approval.

Thank you.
POREINE YO Gas

MR_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you, Mr Ramodike.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have received a message to the effect that luncheon has been ready now since 12h30. It is evident that all speakers will not have completed their sveeches before we can adjourn for lunch anyhow. So at this stage we are adjourning for lunch and

please be back sharply at 14h00.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH

/CONVENTION RESUMED ...

CONVENTION RESUMED

MR_ JUSTICE MAHOMED

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are ready to resume. Before I carry on with the batting order of the speakers, there are two short amendments

one of which will come from Mr Titus merely because a part which had been typed had been omitted from your draft. And the other will

come from Mr Gordhan, who is Chairman of the Management Committee, and both of them are intended to facilitate further disputes and I have reason to believe that that will] accelerate our proceedings very considerably.

MR Z TITUS

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Thank you, Mr Justice Mahomed.

The first amendment relates to clause 2.7 of the document that was handed out to you. Right at the end, after the word "mandate" there are some missing words. This is purely a typographical mistake. What I'm going to read out to you was approved at the meeting of the Management Committee this morning. So I have now been given the liberty to make that addition. After the word "mandate" in clause 2.7, Â£ wequest you to add the following words:

",...without summoning a Plenary Session of CODESA, and that

it also be given the power to increase the representation

Ore ae

of individual parties/administrations/organisations on the Management Committee."

So that full sentence then reads:

Cn ae EatEO MEET me ON CW me CMa Onn oG authorised to exert such authority as is necessary to ensure that the objectives of the Declaration of Intent are attained, including the power to implement any agreement reached by Working Group 1 and also any other agreement falling within its mandate without summoning a Plenary Session of CODESA, andmthatae eaalson be given the power to increase the representation Semen In CEA lee

dual parties/administrations/organisations of the Management Committee."

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Mr Gordhan will move the other amendment which is simply to give to the word "urgency" in the proposed resolution a more relevant context.

MR P_ J GORDHAN
CHAIRMAN : MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Mr Chairperson, the clause that I'm referring to here is clause 2.5

which should now read as follows:

nme MGs hicllnlace allie C OD Bonus eM re Inca, ayy int ness Ublattclo: Ke siIgeOnaCls
Cae

tation as a matter of urgency to adopt all agreements and to receive a report on all matters which have been assigned
Â£0 it by CODESA 2) having regard to the scheduled adjourn-

ment of the current session of Parliament."

/Chairmen ...

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MR_ JUSTICE MAHOMED

There was a potential area of dispute which arose from the speeches of Mr Zitha and Mr Felgate which may now be resolved in consequence of these amendments. I will call Mr Felgate, on behalf of Inkatha,

to confirm this.

MR _W S FELGATE

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Mr Chairman, Delegates, the amended version of the resolution put to the floor is quite acceptable and it caters for all of the concerns fehcuteg le eharcle.

Thank you.

MR_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Ladies and Gentlemen, there being agreement on these matters, we shall now proceed. There are several more speakers. The following

two speakers are Mr I Richards of the Labour Party and Mr Joe Slovo

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AC lavisataniaeeyene

MR_I M RICHARDS

LABOUR PARTY

Chairmen, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

There are some things that are best left unsaid. Unfortunately this morning somebody said something that I most certainly have to reply to. It is my belief that nobody in an assembly should be singled out singularly. And these are, after Comrade Mandela had spoken, I respected all other delegates and I did not rise. But I want to assure him sir, that I agreed with what he had said, but certainly there's a greater agreement and feeling for the spirit in which he

jaacl Sale elas o

Now talking about spirit Mr Chairmen, as the Chairman of the Working Group 2 Committee, the Committee that had caused so much bloodshed - and I don't mean that in a physical sense - and heart-sweat, but certainly it affected the Spirit Of chuceCODESA 2 lh went to wassure

you that we did not reach consensus, not because we did not want to reach consensus but simply because in the short space of time, it may not have been possible. But sir, what must now flow from this aSeeulohy 15 A Sjosseite GF Conmmmmimmeme, A Splice OH EseQeleSic Colima raweive

to the people outside that we're committed to a government of consent, so that we can in the process remove the old etiquette of illegitimacy

Haina |p ella

You see sir, it is all very well to speak about the "closed book of apanrtherduw,. Oui hOintau lon CuenomWcEcceEg Onn cm tOueia\ Cc mcOm line lwalcluae me legacies and the effects of sapareneicd And sunt there is am anes m constitution and an interim government, that legacy will still be

vpiaaelienene

with us. Therefore I appeal for the urgency of this Situation.

You know apartheid was once described in Parliament as "an experiment that failed"; excepting that it was not displayed to those present who paid that dear price fomaparenerd. NOt Onlye min ltons Of sands but hundreds of lives were lost in the process of this experiment being shared by all the peoples of South Ex iarasll CCl OF Tar mnW CMG ein Â© item)

on paying that price.

In the process there is a great crisis facing our country, and as long as we live with the effects and legacies of apartheid, millions of people are going to remain jobless; millions of people are going to remain homeless, hungry, but most of all violence is going to

remain with us until all that has finally been buried.

Sir, I want to make an appeal to the Management Committee that so much work has been done in that Working Group, and that it is essential that Working Group 2 be Kept intact so cham It may Continue and finally complete the document for submission. But I also want to warn that there is a state of absolute urgency in the completion of that document. You see the whole world and more particularly every South African, ds) waltang. forsciicemliscolbnmOrssses nu rcsints to be blown into the new South Africa. And while there was tremendous expectation when that document was first produced by the Steering Committee - and I want to assure you that that document was examined several times and was continuously improved on - I do not believe that the spirit of that document can ever be improved upon or made better than it is at the moment. Nici acini MS era TO) tello elite] SUIT Cn emma telaicalte must be endorsed by CODESA, and only CODESA.

Thank you very much.

[Mee CineualiixseSOMs ooo

MR_J SLOVO
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Mr Chairpersons, Fellow Delegates, Distinguished Guests and Comrades. Firstly we want to congratulate the Daily Management Committee for the slide show, but we all know of course that this is not enough to market CODESA to the puzzled millions on the ground. Because at the end of the day the process belongs to them. And we feel that more of our proceedings should come under public scrutiny. The public would in such circumstances if it came under more public scrutiny, for example, be able to judge not only the facts but the expressions on the faces of delegates when the Government rejects a motion to

put in the words "democratically elected" before the word "senate".

We suggest Mr Chairperson, as food for thought for consideration to lo Gaye CO A SmaI WOO GFE JouIMMaAlIses CO AeceSinG SONS OF OuLIe Genedall debates beyond just the Plenary Sessions of CODESA. It could of course lead to some posturing, but it could also make some delegates

less ready to advance some patently devious proposals.

the ssecond Porn Ee deektike Om macyannmcacmtne sms sonvenn Sconce piton eloobne ies, aS wheishe iaxS Sebel Miricieeie Cominbiaigie Mermay WeineES eo GiezneS that without agreement on the constitution-making body there cannot

be an agreement on the arrangements for the first phase. And in such

circumstancesâ\200\231 Ehe crisis facings us) will not pass).

Lastlv Mr Chairperson, despite the amendment that has been placed before us, I want to speak in support of Chief Minister Zitha's

/amendment...

amendment on the time frame. For good reason there is a perception on the ground that CODESA is an endless open-ended process with each instalment ending in a false climax like the soap opera "Dallas".

As one speaker expressed yesterday, for ordinary people time is of the essence. Each day that passes is a day of deprivation, of hunger, of rising unemployment, Of va oOllence, andor experiencing ene indic

nity and humiliation and inequality of apartheid in their lives.

Mr Chairperson, the poor and disadvantaged of our population don't begin to understand appeals for patience by those who occupy comfor-eal CGrrewesa, Wes Cela Evsrreopect ree) ietche webWEH TNS WrcDieClael Che O\bhe country Cannot, and let's stop hearing remarks like: Why are we in such a hurry? And we've had enough of using words such as "a matter of urgency"; because Mr Chairperson, in our experience it becomes a euphemism for "mÃ©re is nog 'n dag".

Thank you.

/Geagte Regters ...

MR _H_ J COETSEE
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Geagte Regters Voorsitter, Gaste, Dames en Here, hoe langer ons neem om van mekaar te verskil waar ons eintlik behoort saam te sten, hoe langer gaan dit neem om by oplossings te kom van sake wat ons dringende aandag geniet. En derhalwe dink ek die drie minute reÃling is a goeie reÃling en ek sal poog om daarbinne to bly mnr die Voor-

sitter. Ek kom by die kern van die saak.

The Government welcomes the proposals of the Management Committee, and we confirm HENS (HAIESY JOS MEVGCIEESC! Ai cers Cpe elas GvlowmiSssie@m loyy Mee Wiss, PNovel ali particular, we support the modification proposed by the Chairman of the Management Committee. Mr Chairman, it would be the height of imprudence to minimise the collective power of CODESA to make adaptations

to resolve its own problems, deadlocks - yes, only from within.

CODESA has proved to be a crucible for thoughts and interests taking cognisance of the existence of the large and the small alike. From this crucible emanated respect for individuals, for parties, for

Ie LOTS per Â© ee cliente Tl ed Cea oon lCyl a Cl1 Smo SO UG) =maclo OU emcee OC taeaG of the minds on a variety of issues already, such as emergency, public safety, abolition of discriminatory legislation, independence of the media, an independent body to regulate telecommunication, transitional couniis. Yes sim, awareness Gr the fact Of CODESAâ\204s inherent power and abilities can help strike the proper balance between Conniacency on the one hand, and sabre-rattling on the other hand. The Government is, therefore, convinced that CODESA's mechanisms are capable of attending to incomplete business, and the Government would continue to support the CODESA process in every possible way.

Thank you.
/Honourable...

PRINCE S S J MAHLANGU

INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY

Honourable Chairpersons, Honoured Delegates, Distinguished International Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Tive had) an opoeorteuni tyeto, Guscuss) Ehe content Ofte. Enea Gocument containing recommendations of the Management Committee, as well as

the amendments to this Plenary Session, with my Party.

It emanated from our discussions that the intention of the recommendations collectively suggest that we confer some additional authority to the Management Committee. Shall I point out that we in fact have no serious problem with conferring powers or AU O Thy Ame Onmatehye! Management Committee with a view to assuring improved co-ordination, effectiveness and efficiency. Of course these are normally achieved with ease and speed by a smaller group of people. We must, er caution the Management Committee to guard against the degeneration of its good intention into an obstacle towards the achieving of the

very noble objectives we want to achieve.

Another point of serious essence Chairpersons, is the question Ons urgency with which we have to treat our task. se aa Ole CMC responsible attitude to regard the changed South Africa as an ordinary matter that deserves no urgent attention. The speed and vigilance,

Chairpersons, Ladies and Gentlemen, is of essence.

There has developed over the years in our country events and cultures and sub-cultures, the continued existence of which can only lead to further crisis and disaster in our country. Let us regard the task

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of CODESA, which in effect means a move towards liberation to most South Africans; this also means the move from the culture of mistrust, hopelessness, frustration and anger. Let us work towards creating hope and trust amongst our people. Let our leaders approach once again the problems of negotiating in a Spirit Of trust, reconciliation, national unity, and the need to establish a stable, prosperous

Gowmeay soe @iill,

Honourable Chairpersons, I want to conclude by commending the two of our colleagues who spoke this morning, for the messages of hope that emanated from their speeches. We want to call upon these leaders and Alli, Â©% WS %O way Are alll ielmesS eo â\200\230eieaMgleee Ouwwe Good Worcs seo acaicn s, Team Or tie Opinion, Chaimpessons lat sencsomermnemcesexpiEecoede im the speech of the Honourable F W De Klerk, notably that his Government has no intention to entrench minority privileges, should be taken down to those who still think in the opposite way. I am also of the opinion that if the reasonable and democratic proposals by

Dr Nelson Mandela could be adopted by this session, a giant and historical step towards a better society shall have been made. I

urge you all dear leaders, to consider adopting this.

We, the Intando Yesizwe Party, Honourable Chairpersons, support the proposals and the recommendations of the Management Committee be adopted by this gathering.

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MR_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Ladies and Gentlemen, we believe that those delegates who have thoughts to express here have now submitted their cards. Those with

afterthoughts - well, we have now closed the gate.

We still have about six speakers or so, and the next two persons will

be Brig M G Ramushwana of the Venda Government, and Mr R H Mopeli of

the Dikwankwetla Party.

/Esteemed...

BRIGADIER M_ G RAMUSHWANA
VENDA GOVERNMENT

Esteemed Chairpersons, Leaders of Organisations, Members of the International Community of Nations, Members of the Organisation of African Unity, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I stand to comment and commend the contents of the report: The Way Forward. I support the idea that the Management Committee be mandated to exercise authority to suspend and reconstitute rationale structures, including technical committees, as seen necessary, to address the implementation of the agreements and outstanding tasks.

It is proper and fitting that the Management Committee be empowered to implement decisions and agreements approved within its mandate, and to increase the representation it so desires to effectively address issues/tasks to it to accomplish. This support stems from our conviction in that we have unreserved confidence on the matters of the Management Committee, however, Plenary session should be reconvened as matter of urgency.

I propose that the Management Committee should seriously consider time-frames. A schedule of time frames should be compiled by Management Committee, and be submitted to principals or participants for their comments.

Thank you.

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DR T K MOPELI
DIKWANKWETLA PARTY

Honourable Chairpersons, Honourable Ladies and Gentlemen, Honoured Guests, Fellow Countrymen.

We, of the Dikwankwetla Party, wish to reiterate the comments we made yesterday, that the set-back suffered yesterday is not insurmountable. This, Mr Chairpersons, is evidenced by the recommendations we have just received from the Management Committee in which some urgent

outstanding matters will further be handled.

But, Mr Chairpersons, I must emphasise the Commission's decisions that are taken in CODESA, all participants in CODESA must be involved. We, Mr Chairpersons, unreservedly support the special recommendation to 2.5, without reservations, and the recent amendments which have been made.

Further, Mr Chairpersons, experience has now taught us that we must always make sure that all assignments in all the groups are completed, to avoid the impasse in which we found ourselves yesterday. Therefore, we, the Gwankwetoers, hereby advise the Commission to set the date for the following session of CODESA before the Working Groups

have completed their tasks.

And in conclusion, I feel most heartened to realise that the spirit of CODESA has not been dampened by the set-back that was encountered yesterday. For this I wish to thank most heartily the leaders of

the various delegations for their sense of balance and determination

On a.

to assure the Successuon CODESAM. Thelispimig Of CODESA must live on,
CODESA must not fail: CODESA dare not fail! CODESA is our last
hope: There is no other alternative.

Thank you.

MR_ JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our next two speakers are Mr R Cronje of the Bophuthatswana Government,
and Major-General H B Holomisa of the Transkei Government.

/Honourable...

MR_R CRONJE

BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT

Honourable Chairmen, Distinguished Guests, Respected Fellow Delegates.
 We are moving into a new dispensation. We, in Bophuthatswana, have often stated that we are not blind to the enfolding new dispensation that is evolving in Southern Africa. We've indicated quite clearly that we approach this with a completely unbiased open mind; that whilst we are proud of what we have achieved and of what we are, we are committed to the process of change and reform. We are committed to the process of change and reform. We are committed to the process of change and reform.

that have to be considered on the medium and long term basis.

But a fundamental issue that will affect possible consideration of the future of the region is the issue of the role of the state. The role of the state is a fundamental issue that will affect possible consideration of the future of the region. The role of the state is a fundamental issue that will affect possible consideration of the future of the region. The role of the state is a fundamental issue that will affect possible consideration of the future of the region.

are also faced with.

But there is also another consideration. We all support the principle of democracy, and democracy means the support and the acceptance of the will of the majority of the people. And that stands without argument. But there is one aspect that we should bear in mind: Majoritarianism,

and the role of the state. The role of the state is a fundamental issue that will affect possible consideration of the future of the region.

/We...

We have many incidents and many examples in modern world history

where governments with major substantial support have made mistakes and have involved themselves in disasters. So, majoritarianism, in itself

â\200\231

as a principle, does not equate as being right and being correct.

We support those who say that the process at CODESA must work at speed. We accept that because the issues are urgent. But at the same time, we will caution that what we are dealing with, indeed, is the future, and decisions which will affect the future of all these mil-
ISLOINS ChE jOAC SIE relmeve WS Gad Gull iealeiliacy AQloyeywue, ieepe a lkeyovey tesln
eS ie

come. So we are pleading for a balance between the urgency of speed which we support on the one hand, but also the caution to make the correct, informed and well-assessed decisions which will affect their lives; a balance between the two. And in that respect, sir, we urge that the documentation which will enable us to make considered, well-analysed and consulted approaches, that those documents be provided to members of Management Committee timeously. We have not

always had that opportunity.

We've had calls for reconciliation; we are now moving forward. This forum is a window to the rest of the international community, and we ask that the level and the tone of our speeches will reflect the dignity of moving towards a new future. People who walk forward, looking over their shoulders, stumble over their own feet. Let us

bury the past.

Finally Mr Chairman, we have all talked about the violence and the

/anacceptability...

unacceptability. We mrctiae macs a aa @ nna sso Gael cll s SemicbiESt= italy eclmltaniG
l
concerned. May I end by saying: The violence can be ended by
the people sitting around these tables.

Thank you.

/Messrs Chairpersons ...

MAJOR-GENERAL H B HOLOMISA
TRANSKE!I GOVERNMENT

Messrs Chairpersons, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.
I rise to endorse the recommendations of the Management Committee
and underscore their emphasis on improved efficiency and expeditious

implementation of agreements reached by Working Groups.

I cannot over-emphasise the urgency of completing the work of Working
Group 2 at the earliest possible opportunity. I also endorse the
proposal of Comrade Zitha and Comrade Ramodike, that the next Plenary
session of CODESA be convened before the end of June. It boggles the
imagination that there are delegates in this conference room who would
rather delay the democratic process. For various reasons, that
speedy resolution of the political logjam we find ourselves in, is

fraught with dangers.

Mr Chairman, I urge the delegates to take a serious note of the
stipulated Way Forward, and challenges put by the President of the
ANC, Dr Nelson Mandela. Participants who wish to opt out of the
transitional period, for various considerations, are urged that they do
not in any way hinder the free and democratic participation in the
political process of South Africa of the people residing in those
territories over whom Ret Sy ee cic es SU arn ClEneuea@ lite Transitional
Executive Councils will be obliged to ensure a judicious use of funds
transferred to these territories, to ensure that they are not used
â\200\230to GEIS TU ORS ne eye ee eI oN Clan Hlemtal mm Toney lam Cy ete Seconded South
African security personnel, with the exception of technical personnel

Biba

in those territories, must be withdrawn immediately the TEC is in
placer

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who stay out of the democratic process, if they should in any way
prejudice the ideals and process emanating from CODESA. Yes, we
agree, trust, honesty and reconciliation are the key words if we are
to move forward. However, there is a growing perception by many in
this country that the unbanning of liberation movements - yes, it is
clear it was not meant to facilitate the cause for just solution to
the intractable political problems bedevilling â\200\234nace relations in
this South Africa - but it was'a bold premeditated strategy to let
these into the heart of the country with a view to rounding their
members up, and finally inflicting severe political defeat on them,
by systematically embarking upon schemes to discredit their leader-
ship, with the resultant lowering of morale amongst their rank and file.

Thank you.

MR_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you, Major-General Holomisa.

"Where have all the ladies gone? Gone elsewhere, every one".
Not really. Ou next speaker is Dr kb Ginwala of the African
National Congress.

â\200\230And the last speaker is Professor H W E Ntsanwisi of the Ximoko

PaeOGase's Srayeme Ea lateyae

/Chairpersons...

DR_F GINWALA
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Chairpersons, Distinguished Delegates, Comrade President Mandela and Delegates.

The ANC is anxious that there be speedy implementation of the agreements that we reach here and at further CODESA meetings. However, implementation must follow and be on the basis of full agreement. To avoid ambiguity, we wish to move the following amendment to clause 2.3. After the word "facilitate", we wish to insert "speedy". And at the end of the sentence, we want to add "as soon as all agreements have been adopted". So the amended clause would read:
"The Management Committee shall examine all Working Group agreements with a view to establishing what work can be done in order to facilitate speedy implementation as soon

as all agreements have been adopted."

Secondly, we wish to put an amendment - and I want to speak to it first. In our view the Management Committee is to be commended for having agreed on the implementation of a Gender Advisory Committee. The need for such a committee has been underlined in the proceedings these last two days, where women have been absent on the Delatets@remy Onwaehne wel Â© Oro men chbES Convention, and previously as well as now, in the Management Committee, the Steering Committe and the Working Groups. To ensure no further repetition, the amendment we wish to jure als welaenes â\200\230Realising that the Gender Advisory Committee came late into the Oar cess of CODESA; appreciating the work that the Gender Advisory Committee has covered within a period of a month of its existence, we

/recommend...

recommend that the Gender Advisory Committee be re-convened as soon as possible to continue its work as a sub-committee of the Management Committee.

RnG) eetmanl hye, leew te Om Siay, ate Cw aWolnGloy meaW/luinc biveelamen talni rikenee nlenennw ellen eg

speaking on behalf of a lot of people who are not present today. Welcome

as this Gender Advisory Committee is, we note that it is only advisory

to the Management. I want to point out that the days when the

Maw OIE eO Letchem DOOM Lato Onn Ot chnicmc OUnataaaWieisemO NE Vanco Ome Onloe laa cd tat

of advisory and consultative bodies, are over. This applies as much to the African people, and their exclusion from decision-making, as

it applies to the exclusion of women.

An important aspect of democracy is about participation of people in

making the decisions about their lives. That is what we have been

talking about here these last two days; that is why we are here.

And at the moment it is about negotiations, about participating in

the constitutional process. So far CODESA is a bad start for women.

And I want to end by addressing myself particularly to the gentlemen

here. You cannot talk of democracy and demand it for yourselves, if

in your own organisations, your governments and Bene seetetonch

women are not seen to be engaged at every level. Women are a majority

of the population. And I want to end by reminding you, they will

be the majority of the voters.

Mesisnaseee

PROFESSOR _H W E NTSANWISI
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Messrs Chairpersons, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

The Ximoko Progressive Party has entered upon the great enterprise of CODESA in the deep conviction that the alternative to negotiation for South Africa is one of violence and bloodshed on an unprecedented scale. As I remarked in my address to the Plenary Session yesterday, future generations will hold us responsible for the momentous events Se CoN eens Cea CT Â©) Catt L ee edo TS ec Cn Â© mG cleta nT) tetera

them.

We have been at once demoralised by the signals of dissent emanating from the crucial Working Group 2, and encouraged by the messages of hope that indeed there is potential for resolving them. The restrained and statesmanlike contributions of the State President and the leader of the African National Congress today, bear testimony to the ability of real leaders to rise above petty posturing, and truly

to show The Way Forward.

iebelweve: that stOmenewexvenem CODES nmhacmo oughta. us) salllllutogethern, and that it stands upon the brink of agreement which will, by peaceful means, set South Africa upon a new path, it can in no way be regarded as having failed. Problems are inevitable, and we would: do well to remind ourselves that CODESA exists for the very reason that prob-

lems need to be addressed and to be solved.

It would be very simplistic to regard CODESA as a process; merely as a formality, with immediate consensus and total unanimity as the order

of the day.

/Enesespect.. -

In respect of the present impasse in Working Group 2, the Ximoko Progressive Party has argued the [Oegeen CHO Ham Â© amex CHU SEV ellis aur lene clits most fundamental of matters, namely constitution-making. We have supported significant special majorities for constitutional amendment, as we have done in respect of amendments affecting regional and local government. AS @ joOlulielezll fpeuctesy with a strong regional focus, we in the Ximoko Progressive Party, strongly support the principle of regionalism as a natural extension and enrichment of structures for democratic government. Allowing regional communities the right to conduct their own affairs, and protecting that right constitutionally,

is surely a positive step forward, broadening the very basis of the democracy which we seek.

We have also supported, in concert with emerging consensus, the principle of bicameralism for the new South Africa, with the Second Chamber constituted so as to represent regional interests in a manner consistent with democracy. This principle is preceded in many of the world's great democracies; most Notably the) Oneted stares of America.

The Ximoko Progressive Party, above all, stands fora constitutional dispensation in South Africa, which will provide freedom, justice and security for all in our land, and which will accord the faielels diversity of interests in our complex society, the formal recognition which it deserves.

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MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

The cards which we've had of speakers who wish to speak is now exhausted. And I would just call on Mr Gordhan, the Chairman of the Management Committee, to respond to some of the suggestions

with regard to amendments.

MR P_ J GORDHAN
CHAIRMAN : MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Thank you, Mr Chairperson.

I wish to address two issues, the first is in respect of the Gender Advisory Committee. I think it is important to place on record, as one of the speaker's has indicated, that this Committee had worked under tremendous stress, and in a very short period of time, in responding to the challenge, in a sense, Of the Management Committee that they provide guidelines and responses to the agreements in the various Working Groups. And I think Plenary needs to give a significant

acknowledgement of the effort that they have put in in that regard.

May I also inform you that the Management Committee at its meeting
Gag leleta to clayyayeise lian Clmt-O mete neecino) rates became i clits ay and the status of

the Gender Advisory Committee, and by total consensus had agreed
that the Gender Advisory Committee GrealJlil Sieevovel=; sifol jolleverS jolene CODarsy
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2, and that the relationship between the GAC and the Management Committee is open to discussion and negotiation. And we trust that we

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can constructively take this understanding forward post this particular meeting.

The second matter, Mr Chairperson, is in relation to the Working Groups. We have become aware of some concerns amongst participants that suspending Working Groups might mean disbanding them. Let me assure you that the Management Committee is extremely mindful of the very valuable contribution that Working Groups have made to the process of arriving at agreements on extremely difficult issues.

At the same time, through your own responses and feedback, it has become quite clear that we might need additional structures which can provide better co-ordination and efficiency. In that sense, Working Groups are going to be treated very, very sensitively, and will assure all of you that the Management Committee will be mindful of your concerns in this regard.

Thank you very much.

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MR_ JUSTICE MAHOMED

After that discussion, what is clear is that the original amendments proposed by Mr Zitha fall away; his concerns have been accommodated. The proposal by Dr Ginwala also falls away. And we will be undertaking an explanation given by Mr Gordhan. What you have before you, is the original resolution, as amended initially by Mr Gordhan and the Management Committee, and there has been, Since, one other amendment on behalf of the ANC, which has not fallen away; it simply Gives Somem UncencystOm2i)S a oye Cmmc cl CusloOn@ faa EnemWOLLCisl speedy, implementation of all agreements". You can take the original resolution as amended in these respects, including the resolution proposed by Dr Ginwala in regard to paragraph 2.3.

With those amendments, is there any opposition whatever?

Then I declare that these resolutions are carried unanimously and with acclaim.

The next item on the Agenda is supposed to be "Closing Remarks", but I have had a special request in the last few minutes from two speakers of great stature, and I have considerable reason to believe that it will add to the spirit in which we have approached our work, and offer faith, and hope, and optimism, after the disappointments we initially suffered. In consultation with my esteemed colleague and the Management Committee, we have decided, for these special reasons, to allow both these speakers to make brief statements. They are the State President, Mr De Klerk, and Dr Nelson Mandela.

The preference expressed by both is that Dr Mandela will speak first.

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DR N MANDELA
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Comrades and friends, I would like to thank all those who expressed appreciation of the remarks made this morning by Mr De Klerk and another fellow. We have expressed our views on matters which were discussed here - friendly, without pulling any punches. When addressing national questions it is necessary for public figures to speak out honestly, and as they feel it is necessary, to draw the attention of the community to issues that must be rectified. Having expressed ourselves friendly on these issues, nevertheless, problems remain to be resolved. We have come here in order to seek solutions for those problems. Yesterday and today I listened carefully to the comments which were made. In my view, one of the striking features was the fact that in spite of all the differences, men and women emerged from all political parties, who have the capacity to seize and to

concentrate on those issues that unite us.

Secondly, there is a realisation, again of a number of speakers from all political organisations, that tensions in the community can be very dangerous. And we regard it as our duty to contribute towards the eliminations of those tensions. We are entrusted in removing tensions. Firstly, because they are harmful to one's health. Equally important, because they make it difficult for talented and gifted men and women to make their contribution towards the resolution of

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Men of ability, men and women of peace, they function better in an atmosphere where there are no tensions. When there are tensions, it is the wrong persons who come to the top, and we want to prevent that

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when I say that because of the contribution of men and women of that calibre, we have been able to save CODESA and the Peace Process. We

are going back home full of strength and hope.

I just want to correct some mistake - which I do not know how it arose -
I believe that there is circulating here, reports that African National
Congress has changed its approach to the question of linkage of the
mechanisms which we have put forward in order to ensure a transition
from an apartheid to a non-racial society. I believe some people go
so far as to say that we entered into such an agreement with Mr De
Klerk.

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believes! in a linkage, that the mechanisms which are set out in Phase 1. can only be agreed to by us if all the mechanisms in these phases are agreed upon. There can be no agreement by us on any particular phase if we fail to agree on the rest of these mechanisms. That linkage forms the central part of our strategy. Nevertheless, I am sure that many of those who subscribe to that point of view, that there has been agreement, have done so honestly and genuinely. But

now that I have made this statement, they know where we stand.

I must add my voice in thanking the Management Committee for the excellent work they have done. I also wish to express, with all

humility, my appreciation of the role which has been played by each and every one of you here. Few individuals have spoken, but we know that for one individual to make a contribution, he needs ten men and women behind him to enable him to make that contribution. The test

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individual, no matter how gifted he is, can himself make the maximum contribution towards a resolution of these problems unless as he acts

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TL alsoOuwanientonmelian Ours nOM@ lites Gln slsnea@ tgcr mle MOC tas mn@ tet meer is h eal

tional community, because these are our best friends. We have made the advances which enable us now to sit together to address the problems of our country, partly because of the solid and sustained Support e ehney have given to Ene vant lt apasener duc trEuggile. Our victory, is their victory, and we hope that the next time they visit us, we will IX ANS icO WIC iat BS El iSO Copimeacsy icleie lS PEELS Eeing sha the problems of the world, and that is as part of the world bodies that

are there to address those issues.

I must also, in addition to my remarks in appreciation to the work of the Management Committee, of the Working Groups, thank our co-Chairpersons who have conducted these proceedings with remarkable skill and dignity. Had it not been for their wise leadership, it is possible that we would not have recorded the success which we have achieved, in spite of our disappointment that CODESA 2 has not been able to delivers thengOOG Ses layAlncGlac crc mseinnEsr mela WES nate OmIS cy, mela temo a yan leuleles ines

Ne AVeln Caen COUMIt=s sya mac Cl inne elClOMs OMe Enel CMso lets nto ma cuamanenwilÂ© comes from a meeting which has done a remarkable job. To members of my delegation and I, we will always think of this meeting with fond Neu penSisy, Il JES CfopS ciceiblorl iwinS Gimelies Cwyynierey Eiolsl Wiehe els leaders of almost all the DOL sete Hem ciao cm nee aicinGuntialece toma cdGmesis mutual problems with them. There is not a single leader here, from all

sides, whom I have not met and discussed common problems. And I am

/encouraged ...

encouraged to see that in spite of all the differences that have emerged here, where I can say confidently that we are members of one family, and one day we will all be able to deliver the goods.

Thank you very much.

MR_ JUSTICE MAHOMED

I have the privilege of calling upon President De Klerk.

/Mr Chairman...

PRESIDENT F_W DE KLERK
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

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Site cA tera tet yt lec 1 Sel oct) enn celelny meow many
opportunity to address CODESA at the close, but being a seasoned
politician, we seasoned politicians never refuse an opportunity when
offered, and therefore I have decided to accept the offer which was

made.

Mr Chairman, I would like to start out by moving an unopposed vote of
thanks to the Chair, to the Secretariat, and to all those who were
directly involved in the arrangements beforehand and in the day-to-day
arrangements here on the floor, and with regard to everything which
went with it, the wining and dining, the food, the logistical services,
everything was arranged very well. And a specific word of thanks to
Mr Neil Swart and his staff who run this marvellous venue. Thank you
very much on behalf of all the delegates at CODESA for the hard work

which ensured the success of this meeting.

I would also like to extend a word of thanks to all delegates for the
dignified way in which we dealt with a very difficult session of
CODESA. We started off on the wrong foot. There was an atmosphere

Oe Getsis im wae asye. We have managed jointly, through the wisdom
and the commitment of the leaders of all the delegations, to make sure
that we tranformed ee to success and progress. We thank you for
that. That is how South Africa will have a Way Forward. We share a
common destiny with each other, we come from a troubled history. In
sede SJSSSENSS Se IOSCGEINS Ajsyoareemic Elvis Wie 1G Chiseientewlke weeps Webay OE WS
EO) lopee(e Che CGpeleyAINees eiacl iO jowre alice Joelainel Wysp illene ele 1S A

tendency to constantly revive grievances from a past era in our

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history. I am an Afrikaner. If we Afrikaners were to keep grievances alive with regard to suppression, and injustices done to us in our history, we would have been the most gripey nation on this continent - we have reason to keep them alive. But that is what CODESA is about. The 841s Aooe louileing a stwicmere, Ue 18 Aooole CORxreccing wnat waich is sence; alin OWS Seneay7, Wie LS Aloyoibhe CrEedialngGuas new andeas just Society. It is about making of that common destiny, a glorious destiny; a destiny within which there is no victory for a part of our people - with its negative other side of being the victim - but a destiny in which all South Africans become winners; and which on the basis of justice we create a dispensation not only constitutional, but also in the economic sphere, in the social sphere, with regard to education, in all spheres of life, where each and every South African will, without any discrimination whatsoever, be able to be a proud, and a happy and a prosperous South African, enjoying stability, enjoying security, enjoying opportunity. Wace as icdae Coed woreucls, weoaleln I Maxey that all those, who take CODESA seriously, are reaching out. That is the goal which the millions and millions of South Africans, not here today, want us to achieve. We won't achieve it if any significant part of this meeting, in any way works for a victory for a situation in which there will be victors and victims; winners and losers. We will only reach that ideal if we continue to work on a basis of cooperation; of finding each other in a real process of negotiation, which means give and take, which entails sacrifice, which entails meeting each other half way - even if it means letting go - letting go of points of view which Tite yates ko) ts Llano Co) te @) ted) Leelee) Tem Hate a Ola ES ie Tilt, years old. Even if it means compromising on basics. That is the only

way in which we can really reach an accord; an agreement which binds in

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the overwhelming majority of South Africans towards a new dispensation which offers security to those who have much to lose. And I am not speaking in the material sense, in the sense of money or the rich. The poorest man having a decent life, going to Church every Sunday, akan Carcues@ Ota On. Crsm incre lec Clmme he has much to lose. He has a stake in stability. We must strike a balance between the needs of those who have much to lose, and those who have suffered as a result of backlogs, those who have not as yet enjoyed equal opportunities and full rights. If we want to advance the cause of the one, to the detriment of the other, we will never have peace. Only = wes strike that balance, and only if what we do in truth will be in the interest of EVIL (SKowlicla weecsieehas, walllil @whe Sollwnesiome laste, Wee wis Vorelk weep (elae te,,

We're on one ship, if it sinks, all of us will drown. Let us keep that ship afloat. Let us give, the ship direction towards a better and a proud future built on thestoundativonsofmiustuce.= Lem wusawonk in terms of the procedures which we have agreed upon today, to attain

that goal as soon as possible. Time is of the essence.

I thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Dr Mdlaalose would like just a minute to add to the same spirit.

/Respected...

DR_F_T MDLALOSE
 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Respected Chairpersons, Distingvished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,
 MOH chy quel yt elee nyc Mate bin yy mo) Wh mS lel Gl TaN tec a) ale (ere ctl eS eo

anGi a ames wae tehem co Chiabistsmalnewrlllelamkcn@ waatelichtemntelnchemrasmcametiacit
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Chairpersons, I do like to say CODESA is the only show in town.
 Democracy and justice arise out of solved problems and out of settled
 disputes. As the latest co-signatory, I do want to assure the co-
 Chairman, the participants here in CODESA, and the world at large, that
 the Inkatha Freedom Party is as committed as anybody to the process of
 CODESA. We have given commitment to this, we have given commitment

to negotiation, we have given commitment to the new Republic of

South Africa. We are praying for tolerance, we are praying for
 understanding, we are praying for broadening of participation. I

would like to thank you very much.

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MR_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are very close to the end of these proceedings. We have received a request, which is eminently worth acceding to, and that is by the International Observers at this gathering. We have been requested to read it out to you, and I

shall do so:

"At the conclusion of CODESA 2, we, the Observers from the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Commonwealth congratulate the representatives of the South African people for the progress they have made in the last five months towards the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The proceedings of CODESA 2 have demonstrated the commitment of the people of South Africa, as a whole, to build @n the progress made thus far towards the establishment of the new South Africa.

We reiterate our total support for the CODESA process, and urge all the representatives of the South African people, as a matter of urgency, to make a renewed and determined effort to finalise arrangements for the transitional period, including agreement on the establishment of an Interim Government. The International Community will continue to support the endeavours of the people

of South Africa to achieve these objectives."

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have now reached the so-called closing remarks by the Joint Chairpersons - who happen to be Chairmen. CODESA has

GVM) seope Wesel, iW imnaacl Say ino liners, Dankie. Thank you.

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MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

This brings us right to the end of our proceedings. There has been, if not in objective content, then in emotional temper, a perceptible change in how we felt yesterday and how we are feeling today in the last minutes of this Convention. Truth is an enormously powerful force. It has the quality of persistence and of endurance, and the Capacity to ultimately triumph over illusion, over fantasy, over

diversion, after all these actors have made their brief, if

sometimes seductive and daunting presence in our lives. This has been mercifully and brilliantly clear after two days of very intense discussion and negotiation. No amount of frustration or agony, or of disappointment, or even of disenchantment, which have all made their fleeting and nagging appearances in the last two days, have succeeded in concealing certain basic irreversible truths about the reality of Ole excis tence sin SOM Ate iste aun OC clysammee NING MeSH OS Cum teeta telliommmw nlc have caused us to move from despair and disappointment to the kind

of hope which enabled Dr Mandela to say that he leaves abroad a satisfied man in many respects. But like all truths, they are very simple truths, but not less crucial because they are simple. What are these truths, which must impact themselves over and over again? Very SHUT testy hte Insp Ua top osrae Cetera te tn EO cleragi= EC ch ome TO UIG eae Sea Ouma
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Geisis, ie Iwi Ipeousine Massive iniseoirileell incl jooslalieaeppiil and economic consequences which need very radical restructuring and reversal. We have to now irradicably abandon that past and look to the future.

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The second simple truth is that the cure for that pathology is just as dramatic; and is self-evident. It has to be premised on a new political order based on what the civilised world accepts as a defensible and caring universal democracy, disciplined by a constitution articulating and generating fundamental human rights, with a totally independent

and courageous judiciary.

ise iblers Clam sole me exaUh ars cheat CmEIOS El to address ourselves to this very, very urgent solution is self-evident, because pathology has

a self-perpetuating power, and it is haemorrhaging our economic and

political, and even our emotional resources, with an intensity which might become seriously eversible, in material respects, if the cure

of democracy is not urgently applied.

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which is more defensible and which is more enduring than the road of absolutely honest, courageous and earnest negotiations and peace. The atmosphere has to be conducive to peace and rationality. Indeed, there is no other road which will not be longer, which will not be more painful, and indeed which will not be totally disastrous. This became Strongly, evadencumst commthe â\200\234contatbuetom mon sthe State President

and Dr Mandela.

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Attere alle ctheguispeechess ianceumclllfmmencmerancysroOEwonmk), Â«we Know! iz.

Deep in our hearts we know it. There is no other road. We can have

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persistent, courageous and honest negotiations with urgency. Now, this

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awareness, and confession, itself generates enormous reservoirs of energy and goodwill among all sections of our nation in thirst

of peace and justice, and it causes an accelerating consensus between us in important areas of constitution-making, several of which were identified with great clarity and precision by Dr Mandela as he spelt out, sentence after sentence: Do you disagree with this? And we cannot pretend that we disagree that we need a constitution-making body. We cannot pretend that we need proportional representation in adult universal suffrage. We cannot pretend that we don't need constitutional principles which determine this. We cannot pretend that we don't need transitional authority. So in the end, the contributions made by the President and by Mr Mandela have brought us back to certain central realities. The central reality is that there are truths which won't allow us to perpetuate disappointment and depression for too long. There is no alternative to a democracy;

there is no alternative to doing it by peace and through negotiation.

Therefore, in our view of the mood of this Conference, which endedâ\200\231 so positively by contributions from Dr Mandela, President De Klerk and

Dr Mdlalose, this Conference is our moment of truth, but it is not our moment of despair. On the contrary, it is a moment of profound challenge and excitement and renewal. A courageous and wide response will enable us to overcome. Our people are entitled to demand this of us, and neither they, nor history, will forgive us if we avoid the obvious solution: democracy. Or seek to postpone it. Or if we avoid or

seek to postpone the way to democracy, which is peace, negotiation â\200\230and rational debate. I thank you all for your tremendous input

throughout this Conference and I have pleasure in closing this Session.

AEC eee

MR_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would just like to tell you that I received a note to the effect that the European Community are associating

with the joint statement which I have read out to you.

There are now votes of thanks to be delivered by two speakers. The first is Dr Zach De Beer, who will apparently refer to the Management Committee in his speech, and then one by Professor S Rapinga of the

Daily Management Committee.

/Honourable...

DR _Z J DE BEER
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Honourable Chairmen, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. As the Chairmmman has stold youl, it falls! to my Colleague, Professor Selby Rapinga, to make the main speech of thanks. I have a small but important pare of the thanking to do, and thace ws on your behalf, to express gratitude to Mr Pravin Gordhan for his important part as Chairman of both the Management Committee and the Daily Management

Committee.

His has been no light task. These two bodies have been meeting intensively, and often under great strain. One or other of them meets almost every day, certainly every couple of days. It's frequently necessary to convene meetings or change dates at short notice.

Venues are not always convenient, and he is involved in a tremendous EVMNGVUINE Cs icaySll, Whsereyovefoeyne ALI jelnsG@, Iscewalin Ines GClllerollay~eac1 E va uA, El Cfbalel<e amesllilicemoe eiaxcl lawinewie, Gm Eicicileullacy, Ebercl a charm, which have made it possible for the bodies concerned to do far

better than they otherwise could have.

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have to refer to the special matter which I now mention. Yesterday, during our deliberations here, there were posters outside referring

to Mr Gordhan by name and to his membership of the South African Communist Party, and etch to suggest or imply that in his conduct

as Chairman of the CODESA Management Committee, he is influenced by his political loyalties. I regard this as an ugly and shameful attempt

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Having got to know Mr Gordhan quite well - and JI work on these two

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bodies - I want to state for the record that I know what Mr Gordhan's politics are. They are, as it happens, by no means mine. They have simply never appeared during the course of his work as Chairman. He has been impeccable in that regard. He has been a truly impartial

and excellent Chairman of both these bodies and I pay tribute to him,

as I thank him for all the hard work he has done for CODESA.

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PROFESSOR S S RAPINGA
 INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The Chairpersons, Justice Mahomed and Justice Schabort, leaders of political organisations, parties, governments and administrations, representatives of the United Nations, the organisations of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the European Community, heads of missions, religious Leaders, delegates of participating organisations, ladies and gentlemen, I would like on behalf of the Management Committee to add our voice of gratitude to a number of people, who in one way or another, made a contribution to this very important Convention. The tireless efforts you have put into

seeing this occasion come into fruition are noted with appreciation.

I wish to thank in particular the following: Firstly, the Chairpersons, Justice Mahomed and Justice Schabort. You have managed the complex process of the Convention in a very skillful, wise, indefatigable, and in an impeccable manner. To yourselves, I wish to say

thank you very much.

The various participating Religious Leaders , we thank you for the spiritual guidance; in your deliverance of prayers in this time of (ASIN Oey ee Ud eratecieia tangy mele Cleese NoMa CMC aC CCS OO Clea lOlS mS lCl

prayers generate a ray of hope and spiritual comfort. Thank you.

The various areca teen Organisations, we thank you for identifying

with CODESA - hopefully a negotiation process to usher in a non-racial, non-sexist, and democratic South Africa - your presence here to observe the Convention is IneleGh tel avamrcio oO la elicit S Clim. Uta IaO Hemet Giauc lea et e mnunl ela eInG)

us to democracy.

/We ...

We wish to thank also the Heads of Missions. The importance of
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I would also like to thank the millions of South Africans who have
followed the proceedings with interest and patience in the past two
days. Without you, the people of our country, and without your

support a democratic South Africa will be only an illusion.

Lastly, Chairpersons, I would like to thank the Secretariats and

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aware that you have spent long hours in your offices preparing for
this Convention, sometimes having to leave in the early hours of the
morning. Your efforts help to facilitate progress in administration.

The country is indeed thankful to you. I thank you.

TLC

MR_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

The last item are the prayers from leaders of the Hindu, Anglican and Moslem faiths. I call upon Pundit Maharaj who is a leader in

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PRAYERS BY:

PUNDIT T S MAHARAJ
BISHOP W_NDUNGANE

SHEIKH N MOHAMED

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

These proceedings are now closed.

CONCLUSION OF THE CONVENTION

Heclaration of Intent

| CODESA |
Convention for 2a Democratic South Africa
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DECLARATION OF INTENT

We, the duly authorised representatives of political parties, political organisations, administrations and the South African Government, coming together at this first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, mindful of the awesome responsibility that rests on us at this moment in the history of our country,

declare our solemn commitment:

1. to bring about an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty, pursuing amidst our diversity, freedom, equality and security for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed; a

country free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination;

2. to work to heal the divisions of the past, to secure the advancement of all, and to establish a free and open society based on democratic values where the dignity, worth and rights of every South African are protected by law;

3. to strive to improve the quality of life of our people through policies that will promote economic growth and human development and ensure equal opportunities and social justice for all South Africans;

4. to create a climate conducive to peaceful constitutional change by eliminating violence, intimidation and destabilisation and by promoting free political participation, discussion and debate;

5. to set in motion the process of drawing up and establishing a constitution that will ensure, inter alia:

a. that South Africa will be a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory;

b. that the Constitution will be the supreme law and that it will be guarded over by an independent, non-racial and impartial judiciary;

c. that there will be a multi-party democracy with the right to form and join political parties and with regular

elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters roll; in general the basic electoral system shall be that of proportional representation;

d. that there shall be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with appropriate checks and balances;

e. that the diversity of languages, cultures and religions of the people of South Africa shall be acknowledged;

6. that all shall enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties including freedom of

religion, speech and assembly protected by an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights and a legal system that guarantees equality of all before the law.

We agree:

1. that the present and future participants shall be entitled to put forward freely to the Convention any proposal

consistent with democracy.

ye that CODESA will establish a mechanism whose task it will be, in co-operation with administrations and the South

African Government, to draft the texts of all legislation required to give effect to the agreements reached in CODESA.

We, the representatives of political parties, political organisations and administrations, further solemnly commit ourselves to be bound by the agreements of CODESA and in good faith to take all such steps as are within our power and authority

to realise their implementation.

SIGNATURE(S)

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REPRESENTING

African National Congress

Bophuthatswana Government

Ciskei Government

Democratic Party

Dikwankwetla Party

Inkatha Freedom Party

Inyandza National Movement

Intando Yesizwe Party

Labour Party of South Africa

Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress

Nanonal Party

National People's Party

Solidarity

South African Communist Party

Transkei Government

United People's Front

Venda Government

Ximoko Progressive Party

We, the South African Government, declare ourselves to be bound by agreements we reach together with other participants in CODESA in accordance with the standing rules and hereby commit ourselves to the impl

ementation thereof within our
capacity, powers and authority.

SIGNATURE

South African Government

Nkosi sikelelâ\200\231 iAfrika. Ons vir jou Suid Afrika.
Morena boloka sechaba sa heso. May the Lord bless our country.
Mudzimu Fhatutshedza Afrika. Hosi katekisa Afrika.

ADDENDUM

TO THE DECLARATION OF INTENT

"For the avoidance of doubt as to the interpretation of the Declaration of Intent, it is declared by its signatories that irrespective of their individual interpretive views thereof, no provision of the Declaration, interpreted alone or in conjunction with any other provision thereof shall be construed as -

As favouring or inhibiting or precluding the adoption of any particular constitutional model, whether unitary, Federal, confederal, or otherwise, consistent with democracy;

2. preventing any participant from advocating the same or the separation, in terms of any constitutional model, of powers between a central government and the regions; during the proceedings of CODESA or any of us

committees or Working Groups;

3 and that this Addendum shall be added to and form part of the Declaration.â\200\235

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