

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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FIRST PLENARY SESSION

VOLUME I : 20 DECEMBER 1991



CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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FIRST PLENARY SESSION

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P O BOX 755

RIVONIA

2128

TEL: [011] 803 - 7640  
FAX: [011] 803 - 3807  
REF : ALMA ZULCH/AMANDA MACCALLUM/VAL FOURIE

20 DECEMBER 1991

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CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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FIRST PLENARY SESSION

CHIBRE US CE CORSE Im

Good morning Ladies and Gentlemen. Welcome to the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. In particular, I would like to welcome the following delegations representing participants in the Convention. The delegation

of the African National Congress led by Mr Mandela; the delegation of the Government of Bophuthatswana led by President Mangope; the delegation of the Government of the Ciskei led

by Brigadier Gqozo; the Democratic Party delegation led by

/Dr de Beer

Dr de Beer; the delegation of the Dikwankwetla Party of Kwakwa led by Dr Molepi; the delegation of the Inkatha Freedom Party led by Dr Mdlallose; the Intando Yesizwe Party led by Mr Mahlangu; the Inyandza National Movement of Kangwane led by Chief Minister Zitha; the Labour Party of South Africa delegation led by the Reverend Hendrickse; the Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress delegation led by Mr Sewpershad; the National Party delegation led by Dr de Villiers; the National People's Party delegation led by Mr Rajbansi; the Solidarity Party led by Dr Reddy; the South African Communist Party delegation led by Mr Hani;

the delegation representing the South African Government led by President de Klerk; the delegation of the Government of Transkei led by Major General Holomisa; the United People's Front of Lebowa led by Chief Minister Ramodike; the delegation of the Government of Venda eG oiya. Esianinciorclsnes Ramushwana; and the Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu led

by Professor Ntsanwisi.

In addition to the participants, we have with us weocasy a ILeucee number of Ambassadors and other Diplomatic Officers representing embassies and diplomatic MALSSLOMS Win Sewn Meicleea, AS well as distinguished representatives from the following International Organisations: The United NealteltOn si mame Organisation of African Unity; the Commonwealth; the

European Community; the Non-Aligned Movement and the

/International ...



International Committee of the Red Cross.

And finally, I should like to mention the Fourth Estate in all its branches, the Press, the Radio and Television. To all of you I extend a warm and sincere welcome; and to our visitors from overseas and elsewhere in Africa, a fruitful and happy

heey aig Selicla, icici el Â«

Ns) Ib Shececl Joes, I chm Wey COMSEWOUIS OF oe Careivyalicy Elavel alone SS  
TMpPomcance One ehicnOCCastoOn. = Uiticuntc sEne wtinstemecet ing lof

the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, representing the culmination of a process which commenced on 2 February 1990.

A process which as it has developed, has aimed to bring to-  
SfSilisne jel ieeysisies; Oi ell GaiepariscslCeyore jooQlwicwesll Epcoiitoaliaves| ais  
greater South Africa so that they should sit down with one  
another, state and debate their separate points of view,  
negotiate their differences and plan for South Africa a new  
constitutional dispensation which it is hoped would prove

SISCSVSEIILS is) hai JoncOerel iis\gJOresieayy Ose Soiwhelel Aveiqilecuas .

I think that most of us cherish a vision of how the new South Africa should look, and I believe that I would be expressing

a common sentiment if I were to say that what people want is

cia cia Ub yanGeMmOC Gaed CuO OU ee Ariane ce mea Uisie acliaGl ODODE S OCH Clay,  
dominated solely by the rule of law; a society dedicated to the  
prosperity and well-being of all its members; a society at

peace within itself, and one in which tolerance and mutual

/understanding ...

understanding prevail; a society characterised by non-dulschaimunacion and equality, Of Op pOmMeUnaIn ys say SOCHeLys whitch recognises and guarantees the fundamental rights and freedoms

Â© steer tellaN nro Gt atin gett lito lS atc Ste a an octet Olen ec Clee LULL clipe Gle laG)tbiites var  
equality before the law; the right to spiritual and physical

Ebr Ee cyptas tate yarteet= Lalo aeresltch Lahm Om oan iel Â© \y/gmmel i Clams MS ee ta nte\y/an@) EOI

home; freedom of speech; freedom of association; freedom from arbitrary search or arrest; freedom of movement; freedom of conscience and religion to name but some. We all hope and pray that the deliberations of this Convention eventually will enable

this vision to become reality.

What we are witnessing today at this opening session of CODESA is  
Teles ie egy ete Fel co roel cette yy ec tal ce eter Co total ent lS appropriate

that I should for a brief moment turn back the pages of history to Monday 12 October 1908, for it was on that day that the National Union Convention comprising representatives from the four colonies, the Cape, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Natal, together with an observer delegation from what was then Southern Rhodesia, met for the first time in Durban to discuss the formation of a political union and to draw up a

Gigabit (COmsiteate eon.

Coincidentally, it was nine years to the day after the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War. The Chairman of the Convention was the distinguished Sir Henry de Villiers, then the Chief Justice of

the Cape Colony and later to become the first Chief Justice of

eel ieey

Ae Unslom oO Souda AteicGa, iin GCoendng cae Comyeneiom, Sil Henry emphasised the difficulties which would be encountered, but stated that he was confident that they would not prove to be insurmountable. He continued and I quote:

"Everything depends upon the spirit with which we approach the performance of our task. Failure is certain if we start with a feeling of distrust and suspicion of each other and with the sole desire to secure as many advantages as we can for our respective political parties or our respective! Gollonies. Success is) Certain) LE we gue EO each other our fullest confidence and act upon the MALIN WHLE oie Wailea more inecleccawll Cie elas sneeGwosies of those who have sent us here, we are for the time being representatives of the whole of South Africa.

IN Chaereia Cojoorecwlaieyy ion alee loySigepee ibys| eueyel ae als) celia) opportunity which may not soon occur again."

I venture to suggest that these words so appropriate 83 years ago are equally pertinent today.

jnece 1S mow a clowalng talc aim Owe Alewasiies siincl WE TSE cae the at the flood. The opportunity will not readily recur. Whether this will lead on to fortune will depend upon the deliberations which commence today.

Die welslae van hierdie beraad sal na my mening afhang van die vermoë en die bereidwilligheid van alle partye daartoe

om takt aan die dag te 16, om die ander man se sienswyse te

Ve Ong ioe ween

begryp en te verdra, om waar nodig pragmaties op te tree en bowenal waar standpunte onversoenbaar skyn te wees, om n vergelyk te tref. Afgevaardigdes sal natuurlik die sienswyse

en beleid van die wat hulle teenwoordig voordra. Dit is nie

meer as reg dat hulle so te werk gaan nie. Dit is ook hulle plig om so te doen. Terselfde tyd moet hulle nooit die feit uit die oog verloor, dat bo en behalwe die instansies wat

hulle na hierdie Konvensie gestuur het, hulle ook die hele

Suid Afrika verteenwoordig.

Die analogië van 1908 is natuurlik slegs tot n mate juis. Die 32 afgevaardigdes wat destyds onder die voorsitterskap van Sir Henry de Villiers byeen gekom het was almal Blank gewees and hulle het oor die algemeen aan die behoeftes en benadering van Blanke Suid Afrikaners uiting gegee. Van agterna beskou, was dit in ernstige gebrek. Dit moet egter iig Gille lig van geskiedkundige perspektief en met h begrip van destydse houdinge en persepies gesien word. Trouens die stigters van die Unie van Suid Afrika, met die verwoestend Boereoorlog nog vars in die geheue, verwoestend inn stoflike sin, maar ook verwoestend - en dit is belangriker wat mense verhouding betref - was primêr besorgd oor die verwesening van in versoening tussen Boer en Brit. Daardie leemte, die afwesigheid van teenwoordiging van all rasse groepe, is

gelukkig nie vandag te bespeur nie.

On the other hand, the need to achieve reconciliation so much

PEO a ee

to the forefront in 1908 is also of paramount importance today.  
The turbulent history of our COUT a anc eeu csi emmo OM Cchasy  
has inevitably scarred society and has created within it  
divisions, antagonisms and SUS TOR ECenO ls le mS Unter ae aeIInci Cl @mmclnvattclercI  
ENG fet INTO ete eta et ATT @) eT cl TT IMOOQTEVEILVS MAC AS Barre ag  
possible, these divisions be healed; these antagonisms  
resolved, and these suspicions removed. That should be one of  
the most important, if not the most lmjoortceme GOal oO: als  
Comyermiedei sere I lysliews wie as Omilsy di laa jartelaSs ajsjoicoacin  
these talks in a spirit of reconciliation that true success

can be achieved.

Finally, as Sir Henry de Villiers emphasised, there must be  
trust between delegates. But trust does not appear overnight.  
IeUSs MAS oO le earenec!. It is built on confidence, and confidence  
rests on experience. And here I refer to the experience which  
enables persons to get to know one another, the experience of  
candour and straight-forwardness in discussion, of consistency  
in debate and of adherence to understandings reached and

compacts made.

IL Bkerooneciungliin Walsia, jou eli SsueCScesSs ila youre Ce@liloeracions., I

al Suse ehat with ete s aight approach OuUN Wall ssleCeede VOL music  
Succeed. ne whole ore South Ara Camcde endo mon myOUln a Weseluiteniati  
MESSAGE L Coen waits Comyemelon, IMs Wea MOU Wilke PDreOKESSOr

Heyns om namens ons te bid.

PRAYERS BY: RABBI CYRIL K HARRIS  
NOY GT AN IsVaNONKS)

SHEIKH NAZIM MOHAMED  
REV STANLEY MOGOBA  
PANDIT NARDEV VEDALANKER

CHIEF JUSTICE CORBETT INTRODUCES THE

CO-CHAIRPERSONS, JUSTICE SCHABORT AND JUSTICE MAHOMED

I now hand over to the two Chairpersons of the Convention,  
my judicial colleagues, Mr Justice Schabort and Mr Justice  
Mahomed.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

On behalf of my esteemed colleague, Mr Justice Schabort,

INS tery ae SLea Tes Fel ete @) te ele rN ecto Ol Â©) Â©) OT a0 Tah eral ein cin leer t  
a@)

have honoured our country and expressed their concern for

ete COM de ucla Classe Siena Uieia no Cl CXC. fOulenin CO Uae Ola cle nein eos  
to join in the commencement of an exciting journey into the

future.

Que Cpeciesience 16 AlS@ Cwe cO kis Lords eae Carer JusedleS

who has graced this occasion with the dignity of his office,

the sensitivity of his character and the wisdom of his

intellect. And there is a special debt to the religious

leaders of different faiths and denominations who have sought

With such richness sand dignultyvcOmmnicc cS pdad tual Gmens non

into an occasion of momentous political and secular significance.

eon Satnav aMOMe mE OusiÂ© CC clsr@ lime ame OUNaNES Â© Cnc \yamclaia Noite cme Oli

Eee tage oratesct outs TT mbna iat Utena OUI ona Glas lence @ntana mG Cltlelig tl Nyamm  
e Ouest OS mae ale

real truth of our existence in Africa. The cosmic forces

have intriguingly conspired to bless our beloved country

Ia ooo

with potentially dazzling material riches, with wondrous  
Opportunities for human creativity and brotherly love, and  
Wala aaa eaTa by aoc CLIN Es ROO SSH On Mines Clo mPN ela CMC \,OaMlanin@ ml Oreactetne  
SOsessiseu el Oncunen Â© Ome en@ Ss emiG coneinc CmncOnsl Ojon cic mitOmclicine

SIRT Bien @)Ta\enlenyare

But what was a potentially glorious historical romance has

been distorted into a major modern tragedy by the malignancy,  
the obscenity and the cruelty of apartheid and institutionalised  
racism which has separated us, demeaned us and isolated us

from the mainstream of the civilized world. But the moment of  
STN tent Ms ets ota ater cll 7am ten cuelin ce lm ia(Â©) oul ee eG) Tel AN mC ch Â© Â©  
ACh Ta

avoid or dare delay our tryst with our own destiny. We should  
seek to meet that destiny with courage, with eagerness and with  
joy by proclaiming before the sun sets on this auspicious day,  
our irreversible commitment to a non-racial democratic and  
ChueiinGg Semel: BMatiwiloa wasn Gaia Ia@lcl Les IneacI ladlein eimeing ene swigeS  
suayel Calyalilalveyel iveiesloimns OI iclxeÂ® WoOrelLcl, A Gl â\200\234eis CONE me co  
structure our society with all deliberate speed on the  
constitutional foundations of the simple but profound truth  
SlawsullL leyexsjaiin 16) Sele WIS walaelliyy wieeS iiceM UNS Haeclealas Cie sieeehey  
of anxiety; of greed; of insecurity; of poverty and of anger  
which have all perpetuated our needless tragedy and our

terrible nightmare for so long.

eee Siena ee elke yo sies nO] Â© Â© ChyypInl ley ojo meeting =e Of Cpe sic -te)ia that  
I have the privilege of welcoming you to this convention on  
behalf of my esteemed colleague and myself. My esteemed

colleague will deal with the next item on the agenda.  
cours

MR\_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Your Lordship, Mr Justice Corbett, my honourable and agstocmed colleague, gentlemen, religious leaders, ladies and gentlemen, the item on the agenda which we have now reached is number 4 being the Opening Remarks by Leaders of Delegations. This is a matter which will take up most of the time of the convention

today.

eS ees esl CN cin Gmc oo ia Â© lence CMO Mlb asm G GC) Clclo nn) Mums Â© mic clhyamela cite

multitudes of South Africans have been awaiting with great interest and perhaps even more expectation the opportunity to hear the Opening speeches by the: leaders of the various delegations present here. It was agreed that each speaker would be afforded a maximum of 15 minutes within which to deliver the address. There are no time-keepers and no devices

(0) GISELE Wale Sjureeeicss ikQ Sree Woltelaalin wlmS twihiiS dag@mees, Wwe

do however rely on their co-operation implicitly. The order

shall be alphabetical.

Accordingly, the first speaker will be Mr Nelson Mandela, the

leader of the delegation of the African National Congress.

Mr Mandela, will you come forward please.

/MR MANDELA ...



DR\_N MANDELA

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Chie ae us tiee mr canchavio-mntas Clichsa Deis Oncor elo ig sous Olmacdiecl  
 Parties and Movements, Distinguished Observers from Interna-  
 tional Organisations, Members of the Diplomatic Corps,  
 WeIaeelgle, iereeyelsiteremieil eave! see skeptic Weerelejer=) [he ejbueâ\200\231 jslev  
 ejalle ,  
 Gonnades ands tctlendc pends lasteoui nou ledst,. tic) people) of my  
 Gola tO Clan ay lene mela Gl eel einten nae eeieno ca den) ee Clete ries eles ial sil @  
 tayo  
 our country if we who are gathered here respond to the challenge  
 before us. Today will mark the commencement of the transition  
 from apawcheld to denocracy ma Olin DeOD LC saToliic Vel veucormer OL  
 our country have expressed their yearning for democracy and  
 peace. CODESA represents the Este OnslC sale O IO Oia UMbAt yam Â©

translate that yearning imtoo, nealaiicy.

For eighty years the ANC has led the struggle for democracy in  
 SOUEne AtiaiGa. Along. sche ecoute sata vernsed Badung gatac  
 period many sacrifices were made by thousands upon thousands

of our people in the arduous battle between freedom and  
 oppression. Positions hardened and polarisation developed  
 between the people and the State even when in the absence of  
 any other recourse, the ANC took up arms, our objective was

to secure a political settlement in South Africa. In the past  
 few years an environment more conducive to establishing mutual  
 trust has been established. South Africans of many persuasions

recognised that this environment and its institutional product,

/CODESCAY aa.

CODESA, is the fruit of their sacrifices and struggle. They have a justifiable expectation that CODESA will lead the country on the road to democracy. Inasmuch as apartheid has been declared a crime against humanity and the problems of our country have engaged so much of the attention of the international community over decades, the presence of esteemed observers from key international organisations as guests is the most

CODESA is most appropriate.

We welcome the guests from the United Nations Organisation, the Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Economic Community and the Non-Aligned Movement. We trust that they will avail to the process now unfolding their wisdom, insights and experience gained in many similar initiatives across the world. All South Africans share the hope and vision of a land free of apartheid where internal strife will have no place. The ANC initiated the search for peace in our country. Since 1986 the ANC has intensively campaigned for a negotiated transfer of power. This campaign reached new heights in 1989 when the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations General Assembly all adopted declarations supporting Pius Moshi's peace declarations stated, and I quote:

"That where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exists, there can be no peace and no justice."

In keeping with this spirit, CODESA must therefore lay the

foundation

basis for the elimination of racial and apartheid domination.  
 es Only ey Ce CcHemaCie LOM lnese nnn smmacc cacy chia bas Melati ica  
 will be granted entry to the Community Of Nations as a full  
 member.

The strength of the CODESA initiative lies in the range of  
 political parties and persuasions represented here. The

PEESEENCE OE SO Many Patties) augurs welll for theâ\200\231 tuture. The  
 diverse interests represented, speak of the capacity to develop  
 consensus across the spectrum and of the desire to maximise  
 common purpose amongst South Africans. Many parties here have  
 already invested so much by way of preparing their constituencies  
 for transformation. Above all else, the investment already

made, must spur us on to total commitment for the successful  
 outcome of this convention.

Ons betreur die feit dat daar nog partye is wat hulself uit  
 hierdie belangrike proses uitsluit. Na KODESA is die situasie  
 im ons | land onomkeerbaar. Die dreigemente met  
 Burgeroorlog is onverantwoordelik en totaal onaanvaarbaar.

Die tyd vir sulke praatjies is lankel verby. As hulle  
 hierdie dreigemente uitvoer sal die wÃ©reld sien dat hulle die

lyding van alle Suid-Afrikaners will verleng, en die

soeke na vrede in ons land wil verpes.

Maar een ding staan vas: Die proses tot egte demokrasie

is onstuitbaar. Die geskiedenis bied vir ons almal h

unieke geleentheid. Om hierdie geleentheid vir die lensiesop van

Beceee

leÃ©, negatiewe bravado te verkwansel is om die toekoms te ontken. Ons doen steeds hn beroep op sulke partye om nou, selfs in hierdie laat stadium, by KODESA aan te sluit. Die boodskap van die ANC deur KODESA is eenvoudig duidelik en vir alle Suid-Afrikaners die tyd vir een Suid-Afrika, een volk, een stem, een toekoms, is daar.

The National Convention in 1908 was a gathering of Whites representing the four British colonies. Peewes) aca ls0. a betrayal of Black people and a denial of democracy. The Act of Union entrenched the colonial practices and institutions CONSELEUELONa ly = In its wake, our country has lived through eight decades of wasted opportunity. CODESA providesâ\200\231 the first opportunity since, to attempt to establish democracy

STAT Co) Uletoume@) ULI elena It is imperative that we also reach consensus on the definition of democracy.

From the ANC's perspective, democracy entails, and I quote:

"That all governments must derive their authority from the consent of the governed.  
No persons or groups of persons shall be subjected to oppression, domination or discrimination by

Valera p0 eae ell Cpietemetac1 Cr

POE ces

All persons should enjoy the right to life.

All persons should enjoy security in their persons and should be entitled to the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions, BLT SNUG Iara Cypete a eetaesl Gy Il eMC Cl Cleats Ov Â© willenoia dispose of property without distinction based on race, colour, language, gender or creed.

All persons should have the right to hold, and express whatever opinions they wish to subscribe to, provided that in the exercise Of Eat ta) Clete vane Om Â© eae eran Om Omen ne

ig hiss, Ofe0 teas a

This quality of democracy will indeed only be possible when those who have borne the brunt of apartheid oppression, exercise their right to vote in a free and a fair election

on the basis of universal suffrage.

/Mel =

NE Cais SEO MO) BaSCm weasy eis Sllecieem kos a2 Comstcatemane Asgeniloilsy  
 should not be possible during 1992.

NGESIKHATHI ISIMO SENGGINDEZELO SIDINGA KUZATSHALAZWE uANC  
 AKAZANGE AHLEHLELE EMUVA KODWA WAKHOMBA UMHLAHLANDELA. MANJE  
 NGOBA ISIMO SESIYAVUMA FUTHI I ANC EHAMBA PHAMBILI EKULETHENT

UXOLO KULELI LOKHOKHO.

UMA KUKHONA ABANTU ABANDINGA INKULULEKO ESOUTH AFRICA ABANTU  
 ABAMNYAMA BAYINDINGA MANJE NGOBA ISIMO SABO SOMNOTHO NENHLALANHLE

SIYA NGOKUBA SIBI INSUKU ZONKE.

ILUNGELO LOKUVOTA IYONA NTO EWUMONGO WOMZABALAZO WE NKULULEKO.  
 U1992 UNYAKA WAMANQAMU OKUFALENE ULETHE ULETHE UKHETHO LOKUQALA

LWENTANDO YENINGI ESOUTH AFRICA.

CODESA, on its own, will not deliver democracy. In recording this fact, there is no attempt to demean CODESA. Even absolute consensus during the life of CODESA will still leave an apartheid constitution in place. We need to be reminded that this very constitution was declared null and void by the United Nations Security Council in 1983. The invalidation of the prevailing constitution is the most persuasive argument in support of the view that the incumbent Government is unsuited to the task of overseeing the transition to democracy. Its oft-stated commitment to democracy must now compel it to make way for an Interim Government of national unity to supervise the transition. This is the only cogent outflow from our deliberations at CODESA. The consensus which we arrived at

will certainly have far-reaching implications ROGER Sm Oi eta te oeecl

/nNewes Â«

Ay

4

new nationhood. None of us could be satisfied with circumstances where the consensus struck at this meeting is not translated into

fey 1 et ee Rh RO aCe

An interim government, important as it may be, is but a product of agreement between ourselves as political parties and organisations. he wal not bemthe OuLCOoMe OL Tull Darticipationy by the Ceople of our country. Negotiations, to be successful, must be owned and SUPPOmECd Dy Ener Mag OminityvOmCOULDE Aira cans slnmthem absence: of full participation we must commit ourselves to open negotiations to ensure that notions of secret deals do not arise. This process will also hinge on the confidence by each participating pasty that the communication of developments be absolutely non-partisan. Consideration therefore needs to be given to the immediate esta- blishment of the necessary mechanisms to ensure that the State- controlled media accurately and fairly represents the views of all participants.

The means of establishing an interim government will not be parti- cipatory. Therefore the consensus at CODESA should curtail both its mandate and its lifespan. The ANC remains fully committed to the installation of a government which can justly claim authority because it is based on the will of the people. This reality will have to be underpinned by a constitution which both engenders respect and enjoys legitimacy. There is a compelling urgency SOOtEe ease taskeg. Tt ts anconcein7aMlomcicte SUCK aac enocratriemCcon stitution could be reached in any way but through the portals of

an elected constitution-making body namely, a Constituent Assembly.

Pit wok

It is tragic that our country, so well-endowed with natural resources, has been reduced to an economic wasteland by the system of apartheid, based on greed and mismanagement. It is also distressing EORnOES sha senem deolonabhel yj Trolencemiase Goacheads suehm ail arammc proportions, and others threaten still more. These features are a direct consequence of the determination of a minority to maintain the power and privilege accrued by apartheid. There are large Pases Of OUENCcOUnerVMwhercmELCemDolmmMubealeactivity ic stil. norte possible, where law and order is still ruled by the jackboot and

a large number Of Poliuicail prisoners remain incarcerated. in the spirit of our Convention, we call upon the Government to proclaim an immediate CODESA Amnesty before Christmas for all remaining political prisoners throughout the country. Nothing could be more irresponsible than for those of us gathered here today to deny our people (ene Ligne t0 peace aidesnoedom On ascotatlion ana deny, our

country its due economic growth.

As everybody here is aware, the ANC and the Government have been involved in bilateral discussions since May last year. There are still some matters dealt with in these bilateral talks which have not been finalised. We will continue these discussions, among other things, seeking to resolve the question of the control of all armed formations in the country including Umkhonto we Sizwe. We can only reverse the current situation if we set our sights on SscaD bron En) eEue Gemnocktacyvs.. = lle micron ch aaamiceiaes ta icmetclia mE as more important than the sectional interests represented by any party here. Everybody wants a place in the sun of a post-apartâ\200\224

heid South Africa. No delegation here could possibly have been

/ Mencia cluerere



mandated by its constituency, however small, to attend the coprsa  
in ondems CONanntihitate neseilne sRecognicing Enis, however, we

want to make a strong appeal to everybody present to place the  
compelling national concerns above narrow sectional interest.  
History will judge us extremely harshly if we fail to turn the  
opportunity which it now presents us with into common good. The  
risks of further pain and affliction arising from violence, home-  
lessness, unemployment or gutter education are immense. No  
country or people can afford the extension of this anguish even  
for a day. The approach which we adopt at CODESA must be  
fundamentally inclusive; the price of CODESA's failure will be  
far too great. We must not trample on the confidence which our  
people have placed in the successful conclusion to these negotia-  
ELOMNS Â« It would be foolhardy not to secure peace and prosperity  
ioe SEwitels \*NeesCelq Our people and the world expect a non-racial

non-sexist democracy to emerge from the negotiations on which we  
are apout to embark.

Failure of CODESA is inconceivable, so to is consensus without  
legal force. There is absolutely no room for error or obstinacy.  
The challenge which CODESA places before each one of us is to  
unshackle ourselves from the past and to build anew. CODESA can  
be the beginning of reconstruction. Let our common commitment

(oS) (ela iewlebiae Cle Silke CObineAay slsyoslicg WE) eo lowiilel c So@wela Acieeee)

of which we can all be truly proud.

/L M MANGOPE ...

PRESIDENT \_L\_M MANGOPE

BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT

Mr Chief Justice, Messrs Chairpersons, honoured delegates, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. This is indeed a great and memorable occasion for all of us who for years have struggled for basic freedom and human rights, democracy and the BEST Onation OL dignity, CO be present ae this: Launching of a new

Gica tcowaeueclS a llceQ Sowiiela sieieslCGe.

This moment Mr Chairman is as great, but also as serious and awesome,

as the challenges and responsibilities facing all of us. We are here to seek not our own nor individual organisational benefit,

DWE CO Sincemelly ana trully Seek the future well-being of, and peace Oi cel Ola CODMeng Olin PULCOGC eNO LOmG Ce mDOsietine noi Ol â\200\224 tical gain outside these walls, but, as true leaders to lead, to heal rifts, to close gaps, to break down barriers, to find common cause which will serve the best interests of Southern Africa. We want to set the example right here at this meeting. We are not creatures of apartheid nor are we part of apartheid structures.

We abhor and have fought with all our being against this iniquitous system. Why do I say this? Because Mr Chairman, the history of Batswana - my people - nation goes back to the eleventh century when we inherited the greatest portion of the country north of the Orange River and south west of the Zambesi. We lived here as sovereign and free people until we suffered the dual fate of the northward expansions of colonial Britain and the westward encroach-

ment by the Voortrekkers.

IBooc

AS @ TESUite OH eos LMeeASiOM aincl OSSCLOENAILOM OF Owe escacililies\_omell  
 land and our resistance to these actions Lieutenant-Governor Keate of  
 Natal was eventually approached for arbitration and ultimate judg-  
 ment. The resulting Keate Award published on 17 October 1871  
 secured the rights and independence of Batswana chiefs in areas  
 South of the Mollopo which today is Bophuthatswana, and north of

the Molopo which today is Botswana.

Despite these findings and this judgment by their own official, we  
 continue to become the victim of British colonial expansionism.  
 In 1885 our land was occupied and divided into the Bechuanaland  
 Protectorate and the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland. Because  
 they valued their freedom highly and feared for the future of  
 their land the Batswana Chiefs and all the inhabitants obtained  
 the solemn and categorical commitment from the British that they  
 would never form part of either the South African Republic or the

Cape Colony.

Sadly however, Mr Chairman, after the discovery of diamonds in  
 Kimberley, the British, in violation of agreements and rÃ©neging on  
 all their commitments,. unjustly and unilaterally incorporated our  
 country into the Cape Colony. Our struggle for freedom and justice  
 Enen began im all earnest. This act was Im direce contrast and  
 contravention of the way in which the other three British Pro-  
 tectorates namely Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana were treated  
 and stands still today as probably the biggest injustice of all

time against my country and was never accepted by my people.

nec ce

These events occurred fifteen years before the unification of South Africa in 1910 and fifty-three years before the National Party came into power with their policy of separate development. In 1977 we used the opportunity presented by the South African Government to regain our sovereignty and freedom so unjustly and cruelly taken from us by the British Colonial Government. We rid ourselves of apartheid, scrapped all apartheid laws and created a non-racial society. We re-moulded our people, who were scattered in groups in tribes over a wide area, and forged them again into a nation. We regained our dignity, our self-esteem, our sense of self-reliance and self-belief, acknowledging the wise and guiding

hand of God Almighty.

The fact that this process resembled an element of the apartheid policy of the South African Government, was a cruel outcome of fate and very ironical. Ironical in the sense that we introduced and built on sound democratic principles and values that are acknow-

ledged and demanded worldwide, and are even today seeping through

Eastern Europe and Asia, with worldwide acclaim.

Were it not for the immoral act of colonialism by the British

in 1895 and the apartheid policy followed by a minority régime over which we had no say, Bophuthatswana would have been accepted and recognised together with the other British Protectorates of that time, namely Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Our cultural and historical heritage, the reality of diversity in Southern Africa and the need to satisfy the aspirations of all concerned, cannot be ignored or wished away. It will have to be accommodated

and provided for, whatever political dispensation is decided upon.

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1910 and ignore all previous historical and other developments

and events? None of us need to look further than the world around  
us to see which policies and ideologies have been successful and  
which have failed. South Africa need not repeat any of the  
mistakes of others if the events and lessons of today's history  
are observed, if we note the principles and values of the  
successful nations, as well as those of countries who are in

EAS MXOCESS oO COLilaosa.

Turning to achievements and performances, it is evident that the  
people in my country enjoy wealth and a quality of life that is

far advanced of standards achieved in many other countries. If

this is compared with the political chaos, economic decline, unrest  
and violence elsewhere in the world we are doing much better than  
most at present. This was achieved within a period of fourteen  
years compared with developments over many, many decades elsewhere.  
In fact in development and growth we stand tall when compared to  
other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Over the past two years  
we've registered the highest real economic growth rates in Sub-  
Saharan Africa. Our enrolment of primary and secondary scholars  
wate under the first ten in Sub-Saharan Africa) and our â\200\2341990

matriculation results were second to none.

te is Ehussnol fain nor prudent in terms Om Oum history , sour tes ted  
principles and values and our economic performances to be regarded  
as just another so-called self-governing territory or just another  
so-Called TBVC state or product of apartheid. The circumstances

Vanes Â¢

in each country drastically differ from one another. And these countries, especially my country, can therefore not be grouped and generalised for convenience purposes. This nation refuses, Mr

Chairman, to be ignored or belittled in any way whatsoever.

For us to change our constitutional dispensation the change will have to be for something better or alternatively a future which

at least is as good.

In turning to CODESA Mr Chairman, let there be no doubt that we are encouraged by the main developments to date. It is a culmination to us of our persistent representations, argumentation and negotiations over many years with the South African Government. It is our Sancene washeco pawtlcrpate sande Comria Dito COns tLUCrav.clny, atom the proceedings. It must be remembered however that we are a sovereign and independent country, whether it is formally recognised or not, with our own parliament and legislative process and our own electoral system that meet democratic principles. The Government of Bophuthatswana is only capable of functioning within the parameters laid down by our constitution and our other laws. We are therefore not legally competent to enter into any commitment or agreement which may result in the abolition of Bophuthatswana as a sovereign independent state or the possible merging of its identity with another or others. Authority to that end may only be conferred by, or in accordance with, the provisions of the law of the National

Assembly of Bophuthatswana, adopted for that purpose.

We are prepared to participate on the basis of sufficient consensus

/regarding...

regarding general procedures and decisions, but an important aspect is not acceptable. Decisions taken that affect our very existence we cannot allow. It is not constitutional moment as at proper that other participants in CODESA should make a decision

Â© IGE Sue

We, the people of Bophuthatswana, are the ones who must have the final say. On the other hand, the one Mr Chairman, that cannot unreservedly commit myself to the Declaration of Intent as

it is presently formulated and therefore cannot sign it.

My vision for the future is namely that all nations of Southern Africa commit themselves to grow into one powerful, prosperous inter-dependent and peaceful economic community. The destinies

of all population groups in Southern Africa are intertwined economically and in respect of many other fields, I therefore sincerely hope that flowing from CODESA a wider vision regarding economic cooperation and development for the whole Southern Africa, including SADC countries, be considered and actively pursued. My country will very whole-heartedly support any initiatives in this respect

by CODESA.

Ek wil afsluit met die Voorsitter deur u die versekering te gee dat Bophuthatswana bereid is om sy bydrae te maak. Ons aanvaar terselfde tyd die verpligting om dit wat vir ons lief en dierbaar is te beskerm en uit te bou in 'n nuwe grondwet vir Suid Afrika. Ons wil saam met u ons vertroue stel in ons Almagtige Vader wie die finale beskikker is van die lotgevalle van volke en nasies.

Mag Sy seën op hierdie verrigtinge rus. Ek dank u.

HO) Gf Cera) oon

BRIGADIER O J GQOZO

CISKEI GOVERNMENT

Thank you very much Mr Master of Ceremonies. The Honourable Chief Justice, Messrs Chairpersons, Foreign Dignatories, distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen and the Members of the Press. As Southern African moves inexorably towards a true democracy we hope we stand naked in the eyes of the world, vulnerable at the

razor's edge of history in the making awaiting our new clothes of

credibility and legitimacy.

Credibility ladies and gentlemen, is the gap between promise of delivery and Celives, On Promise, siUmlescâ\204çe the expecitaetons and aspirations of every party and interest group representing the total population of Southern Africa are considered narrowing the gap, we can etch our bloody demise in stone now. ifcehiomG ape ticm OO large then either the desired future must be re-defined with the focus on those aspects which can be achieved, or creative solutions

must be re-developed. All of us here i'm sune awe Âfor Croeauive

SOI MELOMS o

A gap analysis includes the current state, the ideal state, the resulting gap and the resources required to close the gap.

I now address the current state.

The Republic of Ciskei is a sovereign independent State organised within Southern Africa, but always directly or indirectly affected by any political and economic trends within the broader Southern

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Africa. Despite this influence we have developed our own identity and character. We have highly complex and developed infrastructures, entrenched laws, a unique liberal system of tax for corporations

and individual persons, and a multitude of agreements and treaties.

As a sovereign entity, the situation was never accorded to us by the international community we must be seen in the broader context of

Southern Africa; hence we are here today.

Since the historical 2 February 1990, competitive ideologies of liberation movements have made their divergent impact on our society. In the process, regrettably, expectations have been raised. Law and order has been compromised and criminal elements are exploiting this climate. These are the universally recognised ingredients for a revolution. Southern Africa is in a crisis of legitimacy, the illegitimacy stigma but so does every leader and govern-

ment lack legitimacy.

In our quest to find a common denominator, we have forgotten the perceived costs or threats. Our mission, the economic crisis in Southern Africa. They,

with a zero-sum conclusion, a perception of nowhere to go and an inordinate commitment to their fatherlands, enter the battlefield with new and dangerous agendas. We could be spawning a minefield. We must bear in mind that not all parties who wish to negotiate

the future and best interests of their electorates, for example

the Zulu Royalty, the PAC, CP, the AWB and others, are here today. Although I fully believe that principles should not be compromised,

[ows

I fully believe that if we all stayed at home today the new South Africa that we all hanker for would never be reached, it would

elude us forever.

In the light of the above, the golden carrot of majority rule may

in turn be rendered illegitimate enough to promote serious conflict, anarchy, instability and even civil war. We are present here today fim Nal Sodectst NO teUSieyCO nODc ace Lol and goodwill, seeking a united non-racial multi-party democracy acceptable to all. If we are to boast a level playing field we must make serious efforts to convince these other players to attend future Rereu ec @ ieee ec mrt cli ie Elia ees or later we may have to address a situation which may develop into an inevitable climate of bitter conflict sual Inogiesibiiedles., Celle!

we say then that this was not iene aro ae cle,

The gap lies with the imponderables for which CODESA hopefully

will provide creative solutions. Southern Africa is not a promising candidate for democracy. Extensive studies have shown that societies divided along racial and ethnic lines incl AILSO) joOLeucsiSexl along ideological lines, find democracy lei tenieri hc Ue Aton Ome lutea clbist emmLO W i

do we breach these cleavages, foster inter-group political tolerance

and accommodation in a climate crystallised by many years of

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own problems. It could exacerbate and not resolve decisions

and intentions. How do we handle the present entrenched CuMatuae of violence when forty-two percent of our population comprise

Black youth, fifteen years and under, who have been experienced

traditional or formal education because they could simply not afford it,

fovea

and have been indoctrinated with ideas of disobedience. There can be no true liberation ladies and gentlemen, Mr Chairman, without education. There can be no liberation when discipline, respect

for moral and traditional values is lacking.

The ideal solution should connect the two. The fact is that our society is becoming divided and polarised, and if this continues we will have to pay the penalties of anarchy, chaos and violence. Clearly we do not wish this to happen and we would address this scenario by suggesting a federal system with central and regional checks and balances and a central parliament consisting

of upper and lower houses which would provide these necessary checks and balances. We endorse the use of referendums and elections on both a national and regional level to determine respective leadership. We support inherent fairness of proportional representation.

No group must dominate another.

We recommend an alternative voting system which is based on a majority threshold for elections. This solves the problems and allows for second and third preferences to be re-allocated until a majority is attained by a candidate. This will help to create a government committed to accommodative and moderate policies. A Bill of Rights and Responsibilities is essential. Emergency powers could be built into this to protect the rights and freedom of individuals who are presently being com-

promised by inefficient law enforcement, violence and intimidation.

The Ciskei has initiated incentives for the private sector to

accelerate...

accelerate economic growth and made unique commitments to local and foreign investors. We regard ourselves duty bound and legally committed to safeguard and eventually negotiate guarantees acceptable to our investors insofar as contracts, agreements, and even promises.

CODESA must be regarded, we believe, as a voluntarily agreed upon structure which, irrespective of physical boundaries, seeks to unite all leaders of political parties and governments within the broader South Africa who are committed to bring about a new South Africa through negotiations. ita lcucmObblem chi cle mLOug id cilia LemicgOc

ebate and agreements. The players must

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ELACLOMS , CiSCUSSLOMS p  
themselves negotiate until agreement is reached. Only then may decisions be binding. CODESA must be the medium for which a framework is developed for the TBVC states to bilaterally or jointly discuss , the mechanism of ece-lneosb Omron wast seach Ener. A seamless frame must be given for adequate consultation by all governments

on the question of GeomconpoLrat! On wasoube lye ESkCimGallenewcimsDe re-incorporated into a constitutional vacuum. The Ciskei citizens will expect us to negotiate re-incorporation into some better dis-

pensation than is their fate today.

Constitutional development cannot and should not be considered in isolation of economic development. Events in the world around us are there for everyone to see. We must heed these warnings and these red signs. All leaders must be accountable and responsible  
sE(one invone seria (Salintey Gbigofeleheleslopetss ie) EybKelm aliovepetslilineneeliye  
Insel Wetyeiey iclaehe  
they cannot be met by an incumbent government. Historically the

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party that raises the highest expectations they gqueatest  
wrath of the electorate when such expectations cannot be met the

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All South Africans must be committed to the creation of wealth,  
implying hard work and commitment based on equal opportunities  
given to all the peoples of South Africa under a new South Africa,  
rather than the distribution of wealth. Mechanisms for addressing  
the gross inequalities of the past must be established. A society  
which does not care for its disadvantaged citizens does not accept  
its moral obligations. And a new South Africa would have to pay  
Damelcublar aiitentsOne COMienic unemployed, the homeless, the elderly,  
the mentally and physically handicapped and other under-privileged

peoples.

Regional Government and Federalism.

Regional government is a factor of future stability. Throughout  
the world regional government is increasing and is being recognised  
as an effective mechanism for keeping in touch with, and being  
accountable to, an electorate. eb RS MasINSiatcl o chicane la Â© laa Seeietdl estacrnl  
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ability to fractionalise conflicts and its ability to cater for

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Accepting realities, the Ciskei sees itself as part of a region  
detineds bya cubteural mole lcaltâ\200\224 SOcToOrecomomic aniGumteelclnmbinc aula piab  
acs  
meters. Federalism also protects our civil service. A de-centra-  
lised civil service is well equipped to manage local affairs in  
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In terms of foreign policy we must not forget that while we wish

to attract foreign investment to accelerate economic growth, solutions for our problems cannot be sorted out with the prime objective of merely appeasing the international community. "Render unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar." We should address our own problems

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Le Tena

Finally during the transitional period COMmercahievicsLomal, Siecucrwuces should be kept in place until a new dispensation has been established. Any interim form of power sharing should not be arbitrary or unconstitutional and should be acceptable to all. We seek a negotiated settlement based on goodwill, consultation, co-operation and consensus in CODESA which is our only hope for the future.

May I quote from a respected American judge:

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CONS Ei cuteom mo lcWirmen Om Â© UiatemmmC cllmmcicin zo medeterns

Thank you very much.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

ji wish to take the Opponreuntty. OFsDEsDe Beer Ss arrival to thank him and his Steering Committee for the incredible amount of energy and discipline they have put into the work of CODESA before today and to enable us to reach the end of the

beginning to a new South Africa.

Hone V4 af We IVE 5 Go

DR Z J DE BEER

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Mr Chairman sir, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

When our Democratic Party was founded less than three years ago, we never dreamed that we would so soon be attending the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. We pay tribute to all who have

made this possible.

Goi USM INCTsem SIGS e MiemS Mics m@ Uiname no 1c MNO may CeO 7 micllCl@ martin slcttaGl  
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tata\y,

of men and women of goodwill to achieve peace and prosperity.

Our task is to werte che constitution which will enable those who  
Cleins GHEIEEIS WIS) tao) 192 jorsowcl Gilieiveins O A HSS SOWA MoeiCe COfineiaehiing

respect in the community of nations.

We are deeply conscious that we have to approach this task not writing as it were on a clean slate, but dealing with a human society which is the product of centuries of wrong. Much is rightly said of the terrible harm that was done in the name of apartheid, but we dare not pretend that injustice began only in 1948. The distortions caused by race and sex discrimination have been present  
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of our, people today.

ieee SCS oSchay AOC NOT solids mHnCike nnn: Â© Jan Sen OmCl@cCumE nN Cm OO meld  
yesterday's society and say: "from tomorrow we shall do justice,

porn Gleeae

and from tomorrow there will be equal opportunities." That is

not sufficient. We must go further than this, and do all that can  
 bend on the mountain of the past. Yet we must tell truth  
 to ourselves and the world, and say that our ability to achieve a  
 social order is not infinite. (one of the things, I  
 think, that is material is that the other side of the world.  
 Having looked fearlessly at the facts, we must follow the shortest  
 road towards perfection, in the knowledge that we may never reach  
 it. Due to the learning of this, that is. We (in the country of the  
 world)

each year and with each day that passes.

As we face our monumental task, we ask: "from where will the  
 force, the strength and the drive to achieve it?" Ultimately  
 it is the power to save lives and print books and build cities and  
 grow, to feed and sail the seas and work below the ground and

the moon has come from the wish of ordinary people for a better  
 life. A better life for themselves, their families and their  
 fellows. Ultimately, the efforts made have been made by indivi-  
 duals who follow the path of the good and the just.

That which sets people free to use their powers in the improvement  
 of their lives maximises achievement) and the use of force to coerce  
 and compel human beings who were born free is not only wicked in  
 itself but also destructive of potential human progress.) We all  
 should believe in the immense creative force of a free human person,  
 and we should all fear the damaging potential of one frustrated in  
 his exercises of personal freedom., =As I say, that is! think of those  
 in this place today whose freedom was taken from them and who none-  
 the less found the strength and nobility to surmount that assault

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upon their characters, and 2 salute them: and) I believe they will agree when I say that personal freedom must always be a primary

aim of government.

If the liberty of the people is a great good, then it is necessary OMCONcEINE chiaamc anime clone micÂ© limit and constrain the power of governments to interfere with that liberty. We need always to remember that rights reside in the people. The people lend certain of these rights to government for it to exercise in the interests of good administration: but government can never validly possess them, only steal them if it is unjust and authoritarian. One of the great tasks CODESA must fulfil is to produce a constitution

which prevents the abuse of power by government.

In this connection I wish to refer to the cataclysmic events that have taken place in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union during these last years. I spoke this week to a woman Qe HooAalsâ\200\224 tication - not a South African â\200\224- who had recently visited Saint Petersburg, and moved among private people. She spoke of two things: the very high quality Of gene people, well-educated and intellectually capable; and the bitter resentment they feel against all politicians. All the delegates to this Convention are politi cals leadeusy and I imagine that the vast Mawmoriuity) WoOpe. EO Continue aseleaders: inarhewentumeiea do not wish to believe that there is one of us here who so despises the people that hesormshe does not care if they are full of such resentment. Millions of South Africans have experienced the bitterness of oppression.

Let us never let that recur â\200\224- nor let us ever again do to our /people...

people what those Russian OCMen NR Cheet lS mCHnGunc Omselcunlacr

The rage among the Russian people would certainly seem to be based on the denial to them of normal political rights, lomte TCO te LEAST the same extent it is founded in economic deprivation - a system that has failed. Now for many people - perhaps particularly Hf @it Liberal Democrats like ourselves - there is something attractive about the proposition that well-educated and able people can find the way to live their lives satisfactorily regardless of who Gini wrote Sake, wine recent evidence denies this. It shows that the political system followed is actually a major determination of fle Gpetaiiay Ox dslssep abe wdererEesuels) o Unless we wish to be hated by generations to come, we must stay He cIntauetI V(t aeteete IM cl eC eI) taeda terete cl s Muley, Galrlaere wm abies} Syoybltela serves Cerio version or in the form of the system imposed in the former Soviet Union.

There can be no doubting the fact that the gap in economic standards between the elite few and the poverty-stricken masses in our country is intolerably wide, or that its rapid narrowing must be

a tip-top government priority. But we may not run away from the equally indubitable fact that the wealth needed to close that gap Hicuici= pLesenit Monae xine eo Minty ama jemlclommEÂ© be created. Economie Gre= covery and rapid growth therefore become a EO ONTO Oa dee yas Or

And here also the world gives us lessons and demonstrations. Governments cannot and do not create wealth: they Qiniisy Olyeeibia We with the consent of the people, and then spend it (which, heaven knows, is a most important duty). Wealth is created by free human

beings applying their talents and strengths in the ceaseless and

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natural struggle for self-improvement, trading in free markets  
This does not deny an economic role for government, but that

role must always be a supportive one.

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e maton

responsi bality. on the people, its texpendi tune is thal of government .  
And the chief and highest spending priority must be the social

progress of the people - Education, Health and Housing.

The new government of South Africa will have, above all, two tasks:  
tO wasicore lleyy eincl Oreclar, eae tO SEtclolusio Swisicaiinecl, wejoiwcl ereowwe>  
mic growth. To achieve these two, we shall have to harness all

the creative talent of a wide section of our people.

Sse, tela CINUES Wwe ASCeS Clee Wels wyoyeiline sistem Sale isieioueyy DS  
Villiers to show that we must be here for South Africa and not for  
tanya @ Gitano ule emitse tas cl Hem @Uraum Oly ilese lerl Gl Cl Gum itn mre Â©) OS) 7g  
gee

there are any, who have come to CODESA to pursue party political  
aims without cegqard to Ene gucear nablonal imtberes tt awa be cursed  
by generations to come. Those who have come prepared to support  
all narrow interests to the general good will have a place among

the heroes.

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DR \_T K MOPELI  
DIKWANKWETLA PARTY

Messrs Chairpersons, Your Lordship Chief Justice Corbett, our  
Religious Leaders, observers from the International Organisations,

fellow Sowmeln Aicieidecams o

This ig imdeed a nistorile occasiom,s aA MiStorie OCCASiOm am Wnaeln  
All paareles nes Out heat Celiac jm tom Une fiimctate mens Comer ores  
her in search of a democratic constitution which will, hopefully,

be tair amd juste tO alll mei ECLELZEMS.

Mr Chairperson, the creation of a new South Africa is the respon-  
Sabnettyomeal lt Coline Aina cans eh wish thle menoOme jj licie ind: mlOlw .  
Comaycoeley self OL thas Op DOmeInED hye OMG Ole iain cee Olinehed Gd etas  
on having come together in a spirit of goodwill and harmony to  
Fame iela@ wh sblllily, ACCOoeA DIS CoOmSeriemisroOimn Oe Olle COWlinemsy, We  
Must, im the words of shakespeare, 1 quote:

"Take the tide where it serves or lose our ventures."

The constructive spirit that is presently prevailing among our  
leaders to negotiate a viable constitutional future for our  
country is not only highly commended but should also be

strongly encouraged.

The Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa has, since its establishâ\200\224  
ment in 1974, believed in and upheld the philosophy that a  
NAeioOmeil Comewalieniedonl Ueese â\200\234Gti COibiaieieiy, SOME asses eveuid not  
just be a document in solemn form, but should be a living frame-  
work for the government of a people exhibiting sufficient

Werm@ecmOmcoOMcaTOne As a TCONmOllany TO ehic Dele tf. ithe Party's

Paste eC \oment seme

standpoint is that constitution, however carefully constituted, cannot function with efficacy among the people

fundamentally at odds with one another.

To stand the test of time, we believe, a constitution should be a nationally endorsed scheme of rules which dictate, give direction, and character to the State, Attar being adopted by a convention of this stature the constitution should, we believe unshakably constitute the supreme law of the land. Its own circumstances. Mr Chairperson, that is exactly why we

are here.

The Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa has maintained over the years the principle and objective of one economy, one passport, one citizenship and one non-racial democratic South Africa, this is the one solution to the present political impasse in South Africa. We, the Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa, pledge ourselves to unrelentlessly labour for and devote all our energy towards the realisation of a new South Africa, and we accordingly call upon all our compatriots to join hands with us in a common purpose of achieving this enormous but noble task. Here at lies the basic philosophy of our motto:

"KOPANO KE MATLA"

"EX UNITATE VIRES"

"EENDRAG MAAK MAG"

AADC tao er SuluneerN(G Ayes

/Mr Chairperson

Mr Chairperson, the Party took up this burden after realising how our society was being plagued and torn asunder by tribal divisions, colour and class differentiations. It dawned upon us that the

best law of any land is the law that resides in the hearts of

men. That tolerance and forgiveness cannot be legislated: these  
Are Qlemer CO DeÂ® iin tele M@AircS O1 Mem Or â\200\230EMNeEY GO MOE @xLSes Ate

apielat We believe that when each group within a society perceives its survival in terms of the domination or extermination of

AMO EMEC, TWINUS) DEMO MILEEIESS IIS Gaede Gye Boededl Gat eiiimieeeeeieeiic win

and yet a society endowed with an abundance of tolerance is

a society which must succeed in maximising human liberty.

Mr Chairperson, as we enter a new era, let us be reminded of the  
WOeGsS Oi Messin Ieee Maley Jie, LT @uloOee?

Oe ts) mo Hes cokaetOmsatemchava Ollia sialibistesite aeons enzo le don mabye idiaiem  
ketone,  
from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must, however, con-  
Glee Chile Siercwisele O1 ela Imaliejn joileistin Ge Glalwinalicyy eunGl Galeri) lliine  
-

We must not allow creative protest to develop into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights

OR leer ance phys Vea la Pomeen wa thers oul tomoers

ihvs sis exactly, Mr Chairperson, what wel ane acpincing to achteve  
today; meeting physical force with soul force, conducting our  
Sterice he On che liueh plain ofadigni ty and da scunpla me. mot dul Lowey

CGiacelaiislavyies PHS OMeIS ea HOM dew CHlo\p sinitOnsp hy Srncablasnvenonue nicer.

inecolekuston Ma Ghatrperson., Â© do not have the silmeohtest domwbcs

tide ee eierdetinerations are conducted im a constructive cpinit,

Ate hac maenene

there may yet emerge from this Convention a free and democratic order, We m@eed EO CrO@AEe Â© SOCIECY Walttln S@Wall OppOieiewinaltesy Ose all. South Africans from all walks of life have never before

in the history of their country been afforded such an historic opportunity to come together for an all-comprehensive purpose of Negotiated, AeCOnS meet LOnal LUtine LOn thelr <COUNLRY. Ine new Oiedi@ie aC @llicSaelyy Warten WE, Wee is| koni/ Ino) Wmlicinalsefe, Jofeyele,, \We) j ulibifelie do everything possible to see to it that this country becomes

a country in which everyone will have a free and equal chance to realise his or her individual talents and possibilities. We have

Mo option but to take the tude when ft serves or "ose or

ventures".

Baamk yom yeiey mein.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our last and final speaker before the lunch adjournment is

Dr Frank Mdlalose of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

DR\_F\_T MDLALOSE  
 INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Honourable Chairpersons, Mr Justice Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabert,  
 our Spiritual Leaders, distinguished members of the Organisation  
 Opa Avis rales arias Ul iene ye aents nie wmel navitere clamalacr teallombs rm ttie Eur  
 opean Economic

Community, the Commonwealth and Non-Aligned Movement, distin-  
 guished Ambassadors present; distinguished representatives from

other countries, Cabinet Ministers present; distinguished guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen.

[ieee ey ee ease se sone sleep mip iat mi hialealNenGa Sout GMa ela ert ara message  
 from the Inkatha Freedom Party. I am proud to be a South African  
 today. iI am proud to serve my Party and my Country today. I am  
 proud before mankind because South Africa is demonstrating the  
 capacity which so many of us for so long now knew was there, to  
 grasp thorny nettles and face the difficulties inherent in dis-  
 membering apartheid, throwing its pieces away and establishing

a just South Africa, sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and  
 loyalty, pursuing amidst our diversity freedom, dignity, equality  
 ain@l GEC@wbeiiy woe Gili, wWieeaspeceiye Of PAC, Collome, Sex or creed;  
 a country free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination

Or dOMmILMAELOM .

There has been conviction in the minds of millions of South  
 Africans that we are capable as a society of coming together  
 ae ofars| gill ieeveateuil hol joYellalieaieacill jysneieal bes) Pre) jbiie Sveyitiely /  
 Mriaee

RE Diy Okinsiys jeoyyeeinese jo \oomlie Wore A mew Soieln Aiciwaen ,

I am proud to be a working member of my Party's delegation to

CODESA and I commit my Party to achieve these goals.

fi @@eclare ooo



It declare Emat Baere are im SOMeln AiiirilcAa reserves Ol Stiremgiin amal honour sufficient to make CODESA a resounding success. Inkatha Freedom Party has come to CODESA deeply committed to turn South Atvica imekÂ© a Sinow pleEece OF racial Co-Operation leading tO Â«a

Haited people waltn A mAatiomal willl CO make democracy worl.

Hinere Wali pe llomgy aimcl Ineseadl Inowics O& Gisewssiom amc magoilatcaom in the months to come, as we grapple with the problems of preserving our unity of purpose, when we are faced with very divergent views and aspirations about the principles and the details of the

parliamentary democracy that we each think we need in this country.

Thus South Africa will be able to avoid the evils of centralisation which Led to great suffering and the erosion of personal liberty that characterised the now defunct Communist societies of

the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

We shall be making recommendations for entrenched constitutional clauses establishing a federal government with an independent judiciary in which Executive acts and legislative enactments are

JUSEMCLAWILE ,

We have demonstrated the capacity to put aside past differences as we came together to sign the National Peace Accord on the 14th

of September this year.

We wish we could say that we again demonstrated this ability to

(COWEÂ® coc

COW wEieiceilin Winaleln YWalllll Maye Ween wepeided as eOralily Inogigiilea tee  
 all who dared to do so and to make astonishing progress in  
 developing a unity of purpose to establish a fair and just race-  
 free democracy, In Ehvs OUntryY when we Came togethnon ana Preparaâ\200\224

tory Committee which played midwife to CODESA.

Despite our disappointments with the pre-CODESA processes we  
 Hass TIT ello T eT Gt) Tyg sta Cree CE ted nr eth Cee eK COTTON ees Teton eT Tes EL CLO  
 TINTE tenn meno Wm WORT te LY,

of the name is the politics of peace and negotiation.

It is because we are so positive and my President, Dr Mangosuthu  
 Buthelezi, leads us all with such hope and confidence, that the  
 rejection of His Majesty the King of the Zulus by CODESA was

indeed so very painful.

His Majesty is no by-stander to the great events that must now be

Sjatay Diet Maio ries tabla ae ClOlUbTet=sTanvars

le GS gl Wein Or E@GCEsy, Orn OWlie Oi tne jecadale amd cee wealwlacions  
 and the sreat surrerang that a lust mous) Aula aKeancc es beisome sham

suffered, as they helped shape modern South Africa.

The Zulu Kings: when we think of him, the reigning monarch, we  
 think of him who is known as uBhejane ephuma eSigqiwini.

Umzukulu kaGuqa bathokoze nhlambamasoka uwaba lenkomo  
 zakwaMoshoeshoe uthukuthele ngaphakathi kwanoMagqi lwawa-

khethamathonsi kungawesilimela.

The ZUM Kimes CO whom ne 18 SUCCCSSoOr Lougine Lerocious wars  
 against colonial domination. The last recorded organised resist-â\200\224  
 ance against foreign domination was the Bambatha rebellion under  
 Kime Dimngnlñ, Ine gireae giramcdiatner, im 1900, le therefore has

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Now COMBSA 1S MES@tIMs EO MEGOEIACE A mew Somitln Atratem, Amd yor

che Zulm matlom 19 exeiluded,

My understanding is that the Zulu people of South Africa want to  
 make their own contribution to the emergence of a new and just  
 land. They have a commitment to offer which runs as deep as

Sow Aitiesicam Iniepory seseJlie ,

They have a thirst for democracy and justice which will shape the  
 WOrRUS OE PolitseiAns Amal fnOSe Wao wall be drawing wp OMe ECOMSELâ\200\224  
 tution and design the new South Africa to the benefit of all man-

Iesima@l iim flALS COWMERY >

Their exclusion is tragic and we should all support the President  
 of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who in his |  
 Ovhem Bolle, as) tradataonal Prame: Mamaisitews tol Haris) Mak eisitays thie. Kaine  
 Or tne Zulwms iInacd mo altermativye pute to SstamGd by nis Kime amd  
 Ganipamgieet Oa Ene aAGcenEaAnGe sot tne hightt ul sGole ot. senes Zum

people in reshaping South Africa.

Mea meena

There are  
Party who  
avoid the

conceived

There can

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difficult discussions ahead. We in the Inkatha Freedom

have observed the African experiences  
disasters that attended faulty nation

constitution making elsewhere on this

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building and mis-

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problems just as there can be no racist solutions.

We see CODESA as a forum for discussion and negotiations. We are

committed to apply our minds to everything any party has to say

AMG GxRANANe CAC PrOpOSal im A SCawEM Or AMY MEirsic ie May COM

itera erates

It is only the common discovery of the best that each of us can

produce which will help us succeed in shaping the new South

Ateueca Â£0n the Denetat of everybody aim tt and fn ener abTona oO

come.

I felname 37Owl,

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you Dr Mdlalose

CONVENTION ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH

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PRINCE J S MAHLANGU

ITANDO YESIZWE PARTY

The Honourable Chairperson, the Chief Justice, Foreign Community Representaâ\200\224

EAWOS, MOMmO@u@ablea ladi@s and Bemelomen, We ave amdeod meee woe  
getter NSS LO IN > MeCN eM Hla TTI a Cote Cae er) UT Gl Cece cs Ce Cca SIM e nya In enn  
ine

in the political development of our country: that is an endeavour

by concerned political parties to bring about the true democrati-

gation ot South Atrica im this Comyemtiom, All parcries are indeed  
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ove

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emn CC meleeme (aun le tIhe

difficulties become lesser and lesser. During the Peace Conven-  
tion in September, I Categorically stated that by coming together  
as parties and organisations and also Signing the Peace Accord,  
we were opening a door to peace and democracy and paving a way

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Of an â\200\234earnest enoagement Ol olla s mele vac fe O se rntch tenant p eee let lee  
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wo aichteve a new onder that sali peace sloveng and dengeracy =  
conscious people of this country, have been tirelessly working

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ieee Ohtamem mien sone met est Wel Clam a olG)Uisi eat eee cee alee mee sede a imcrae

im thex political history where disunity and iantolerance cannot  
be Allowed tÂ©Â® OxiSit. Yes, we have entered an era that demands

of all participants here a meaningful and positive contribution

/towards

towards the making of a new order in this country.

My Party remains steadfast in its commitment to the unity Onis  
 Ser ea PAG esi Yen siete TOSI Se el ITIL nCe mma Cl seater costs em Gleeky esl Ghelore  
 We are more  
 Orie ei de nritte ates nian ev.) DO Nel yal ete ales tau OnUt Ian rela UIh tenn tay ele  
 s UI entanyamnielena ee cLOlO

breathe the sweet fragrance of freedom, peace and social justice.

eeawelmiy On sald cues tem OG nariare pleKestorny that we have neached a stage an  
 the democratisation process of our country where political confu-  
 sion and misdirection cannot be allowed. We need to come out  
 clear on the tactics and mechanisms of transferring power from  
 minority rule to the democratic and legitimate government of  
 the many. Our call in this regard has always been the eradication  
 Orealpas Gites annicl uisihteuas nou sio tan eee (dle mn@leiaai ele maOnlai tag mate ta  
 le seawall DTS

accommodative to all South Africans.

LO: me waten %IhMere Bhat Le womld be A Batkal mistake GO aSsitme ieineic  
 these preliminary negotiations of CODESA One will address all

Polemieiea ll piso plkems. cn) te lees eieuumalaay

IL wamk BO conclude py making a Gall wo alll jsreseme mere ice  
 commence here and now with honest, true and selfless actions  
 chat willl (eemelleice Ome Gecem On CrOeieiiy C Wey Cece ame@ fe

eSevete tn Cee ig Clcelesieeavas

Let the struggle for creating peace and a just society COMELMUE o

lee ihe e8forts of Allâ\200\235 Somen Mirdering Wine Gee dedilcerce and

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seriously committed in creating a TNO SMceprat cl Gules cllars INOiNâ\200\224G02xwaL Se  
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democratic and united South Africa, be crowned with success.

The Rom@OwirapDle Chiadicperson anc xelloyw pairclelpames tm telnae  
histic Conventionwewe Ine unemintandowlecuazwemhemiaiy Andme eign aimiy  
in other peace-loving and democratic formations, believe that  
for tails Comyemtion to yield any Sigmitidcame resmitts, time willl  
Oie wea PEOVIE Sin@wilel GOs wiesie,, Enavel whe jyerewarsll wali @e wc leaders  
should come last.

The Intando Yesizwe Party comes into the. Convention with a clear  
view and conviction that a new government based on democratic  
principles in the place of the present one, should beâ\200\230our fundamenâ\200\224  
wal Sobgeculveewieh need Fiotwmbe Teco wired ber The government  
envisaged by the Intando Yesizwe Party and most probably by many  
South African citizens, needs to start on a foundation of legitimacy

DU MOC Om SELES TMceMELOMS Ot Cortailm LORMALITOMNS .

the sGhair~pergson, at gis aalonc-standinge gconmuuctron somerhe min mamde  
Mesiizwei;;Pamty .thataiie peoplessuoutmpAtrnica weligbes better  
supetedseby,.a Â«System Â«megovernmentyptahat wasel adepueacem ts Hundas  
Memtaley ib Jeet ive: sequalatyeeot gral ile npersconsPebemome geties daws A  
government that will endeavour at all material times to guard  
against any form of perpetration of the past system of apartheid  
Bhigomanh diseutseda means earespecially in terms of economic dispenâ\200\224  
sation. PSTN ee aero mses = (Teen ON stl ame T) Ig clay Tem miter tameae pI ler meena C  
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aka Sel yer Roni eee Dye aes ele eeca Temes sie) ln ehvse se stelle teenie nine ies Cre  
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x0) Catalan ics

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I'll take this Opportunity Mr Chairperson, To urge concerned authorities to consider very seriously the question of political

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ELOM %O Come Out OF WES CxeErElSe ome day, mawvilme proposed aim  
ORT NTI IN ONS te) alah Utes rete eee tan eli le CCI es Se oe ere N TE  
economic imbalances and ensure a sustainable and growing economy

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whilst regional governments are constituting an acceptable element  
in the. governinc OL the COUnthY Lie Duero lie meclonal anthori ties  
are definitely apartheid-â\200\224-based. ee WO ice Die me lithe Miya ies GLOMiaene in ne

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lielel In\fonoXatejiw yy

and genuineness.

Pinaliy Mx Chairperson, tne (intando, Yecizye Lantya wanus tO make  
felin) faubifelal idly eel ere) FIL Glisilejacied@uls iC) ComyGy wii ieiwin Eleioie j es &

Â© thedlwe tollOWerSinijp, pies ee Wien Its te mare tenia .e mah O eC CO net aes) Ent M aO ts

Vtg OM NCO. is adn stem Oeste My MeiiNc (cms @) Gaal lime shee Ute Let us  
all agree and accept with honesty that we ane here going ito sspeak  
OMmeapenalt Of the people, | amd) that culo da Dems lls Dao sO tue (@ Ue  
utterances and doings.

i ehankavou. Mr Chain nex sion.

WN (G PAMIOSUN 5



OL

CHIEF MINISTER M C ZITHA

INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The GhieÂ® Jweeice, Co-Gnariirpersoms, distinguished members Oi  
the International Community, Ministers of Religion present here,  
le adle igs Ores MOM etate Gralla ie crcnipins citaela@ Mite cinI nC mel Mn Hanisaement  
ar chest O le meCheR Mer stchiaciors

ladies and gentlemen.

On Dela Ox wna Ilinyandwme Netdomal Woyvememe Ging wie seerecdaigeal  
delegates of the Movement, I am profoundly privileged to address  
SAO OPI tes NETS eeelnleetntet Â© Hiarte ote semmnetTnClaema@))01@) Gia Intell aaa oOo  
xl S en O/Tits Never im the  
fi Spt a Va Â© PoC Lo VSS) TA ete Tagore TT TC tence Col Lee ce tes Cat Lan OR TINY  
leaders representing such a number of political organisations,  
DA nwas ANG Â\$ POASUASUOMS, ASCSM Wwebigll Wines SOLE jyiiepOSS Cre  
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constitution-making emake will comsequemetly result im the mew

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reasons. LGA YOMEMAG OSCOUES Ana WINÂ® MEL j@ieisy WOU joAiciaeS: Aine  
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to give CODESA our best.

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im & book Oniigited â\200\234Mina Neomy tunc1 isihe Wesieaay! , Elna BeaCIn@ic ort  
fae merge al ee telign elec ter meeMenci nese nen Onmes teers:  
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lear but  
dedication is expensive."  
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by the â\200\234people = to freedom and to "ereatness, Boe, fl Gleelalereneai Cpa  
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amd gotiriet diseiplimes. SR h cs tarTapl@}S aay eiets| eet ote eTS LOS papal eslateny,  
Or hard work So that whe polidvical and ecomonie well-peime aina

freedom of all our people will be attained.

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out Te VeelCunt ea  
OCG os meee estes weet eee ere eee NID TIE Torre ta hisâ\200\231 life demonstrates the  
dignity of man.

Ole COWS Gale, iwelikenc COMISA walls Me Gelatin wali 6 Low Ge pro-  
eedural Matters in the next two days, Constitugaion-making entails  
Hae. MOSÂ», Lam. LommAll jpeoced wires Constitution-making means the  
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OÂ£ politieal leadersini iy,

fete rele eese ies, selene COS te untatl In me Mich reer ome es clint mete Me ee tO Tat  
ar Contes On  
Of a Set of valtes that can permeate Society and which will guide  
and inspire socio-economic change and reform.

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ice erent:  
ded in transforming KaNgwane and the Eastern Transvaal Lowveld

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fpolawleal oo

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political vision. A vision of an undivided and a united South  
Africa; a vision of equal rights and equal opportunities where  
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Bill Â© Rie@Mes.

That we also support a multi-party democracy with free and fair  
elections held regularly.

This vision that I have presented to you is very well summed  
Tipe ere eae Ona Cic iam eee ems neh Cimn PETS) On Giiretitare nei leery nO mesh cintae  
lO are nel te  
cals YLSLOMm imeludesse  
ese ete y ee ne Tene le orca ele TTC le een CLICHL ts  
upon which all might climb."  
The former British Prime Minister, Mr Harold MacMillan, spoke  
Alome em vam on Gmeimee milowating win ielS COmeimome Ge Biteaeel.  
We must, however, be guarded that the winds of change GlonoOlt

turn into hurricanes of chaos and confusion.

Nseteaden of the inyandzals Nara omer Monje me nie tern gaelic accredited  
delegates of the Movement, I have pleasure in Sterna yar Niel Gmnsoe enya lug  
Chairman, that we have a very clear mandate from our constituency

to participate in the deliberations of CODESA.

The Inyandza National Movement is ready and fully prepared to

seize this golden opportunity CODESA affords us, to mOwligl jelne

/Ataureare

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Cwighica Of Owe MaAtLOM. Ome weilwes tinal joenrmedjoles sreQ itaiemily  
entrenched in good old-fashioned democratic processes. Our  
expeulence: lends) Ws set edalbrlantye amet seu anes san athlemmchymG iia Omi  
SAaCION Of Lme political process thar will pe tollowilmg im Cle

near future.

I, on behalf of the Inyandza National Movement, hereby commit  
TIS eee ern Ca Ce Ea 2 NNT CUT eT (Cl Ce eet men CeO pate) Omeemtctn OMT IMter mean tea  
l Ista OUTF  
ES ag mL dC Teme cl omaT OO Fc el te as TON Â©) Tan eel TT Cen Tl TO Tae anes

NOME-raciail amd democratic Sow Artireiea,

We further commit ourselves. to the decisions of CODESA as binding  
and to take the necessary steps in the implementation of the

decisions.

I MUSE, MOWEVER, Appeal tO all pexeles ama polwrical organiseicaoms  
EO Gee COMESÂ\200\231 deersions as bimding eo ail, amelu@dime Â\200\234Line  
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ror the SKC OX PeACe and prosperity, that we, as leaders amd  
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leadership present here, may our country become a monument not  
Of Oppression, not of hate, not of bitterness, but of love, underâ\200\224  
Standime ame wiley.

ea talntaln) kamnygosuies

/ REVERND < .

REVEREND A HENDRICKSE

LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr Chairman and fellow South Africans. Some time ago a friend  
EESNUneern rn Ua Tal cee Crh ern 1 lu eatery rT ate nV > Tenet NCGS ron ge me a tel eee  
tee Te NG!

tO A Sermon by tine worl welliikmown Walmeeme Peale, aimed Ine weit  
up to him and said: What do I tell South Africans when I get  
back lhoma? Whe message of Wimeamt Peale wees Teli youre pe@ple

MO CO Seo Gireamaling

Today Wie Chadicmam, MEFKS EMS WEgawmvmaiys Oi jelne manifestation  
of the dreams of the majority of South Africans in which we will  
Sees irucle ls pee erie aro reece le mm cLORINGiUl tay Tae ll) Tamme exams ele ONT eae  
Ue

PM ep laAGe talc ero OMT ee Ateielacaniisr. I yamt GO US@ tchis MoOMeEMmi2 CO pay  
tribute to great men and women who paid the supreme price in  
the struggle for liberation and to those who also paid a heavy  
price for their ideas and their ideals, and who spent many months  
amidassmaniy, = y;@anas) arian lsinciatac enaaie-loints Dane we Mr Chavrman. forge:  
ete Tera mel mils el page al ta AGE tepiela ale Ta gueleiaoe yaya) eturiag Ig Ie Hare O  
gun morc lcs

Wager WAKA Ronee Stine, oe a markye like Swev@ Bako, Or

forget the great Chief Albert Luthuli. And so many others.

But f also want to use the occasion to pay tribute wo Helen tSu7man  
Wind i@ie iWelhy WORMS wOmreSemieac wine WOLEG Gu ielne oppressed in  
the South African Parliament. I also remember those who suffered  
and died becatse Of apartheid, OUT IL pelteve whacw Owe preS@mee

HeGe Ts dMeected by tue presemece On ti inaihus puiadit.

We cannot spend too much time on the past lest we lose feulOke en TR UIRTaRe NS

/but

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bitte leeeleHl smn tem Me CelsisialianvamntOnn Ig e)\Clal lalla i@) arabe MOmemite mein  
e) mheaSi Olah yvimntelne

GOLeraAndm Cont PAID UtOnMOne Une WAIbDOUGm re hi VerOfmioOU lnm Adtied cal,

Meber atchiiatys myVeCamcmneam rodave tihemmdiomands On sthie South Ainican  
Coloured Convention - the Malmesbury Convention of April 1961,  
as it ads kmowms, During hatiaper Lod aie eoOuUbn sar ucan Lmddemn  
Congress) Mee Bae Purbanwesne Anrican National Congress met

in â\200\224hlerenunamiuabune, the SOUrh | Atmican Commumesc 01.9 Democrats  
met in) Johanneshunc@ fandee the) SoutheeAtuican jColliotreds Peoples  
Organisation met together with others in the Malmesbury Conven-  
Ea one And-ton the Executive of that Convention, served persons  
= fandaqwe eee heanppypeto,lsee;unim sheperetodayes Dm akiichard avane der  
Ross, â\200\230Mu sSonny Leonjj one pote thesmoundersi,ofethe: labour .Party,  
Mr Joe, Daniels,\*iwho slatem also; was) part jof Â»the founding of the  
Labour: Party. Regmettableys Mr ebateney,. Desig of the ePaGe 15% nor  
here, s bittecves wast panteios SthemaComventionong Hxecutie sate ehat  
particular saameggpAndg for mejralsoyvhenepersonadmy suhis is ayorear

day, as one who was present at that particular Convention.

PHeCEReXtsStine peeyvemumental Structure In No; way nepuecentc | ume  
PEOpLe Of sSOULh Aiea. As a result of the National Convention  
held aimegl909, a consti tnitd on cas awrit ten iwi thoutetc hemsparti ci pataon  
in the decision-making by the majority of South Africans. As  
aa Matterpot efact , tthe tappealsaot puhe Atmucan anda Coloured pkeadeins  
ate thetsâ\200\231timesn went \amheeded) byÂ» the Britashe Government. Win aie  
Convention, the 1909 one, removed from the people of colour the  
mishtwasom pe elected to Parliament and that Convention decided

aia eee In DS(ON Ne Menorca mem ofp elas sclele elias ma crO) Hh Clmes DG easel Den asi  
a sont

/Parliament

Parliament. When one looks at the structure of Parliament there-  
after, we wonder how many of them were really of European descent.

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Ot Sowieln Atriea,  
(b) ch te esc ny nen Oo 1S tenis tanta IRONS em DIOld ny auras ralla eet oncucin ou nte  
rses

Realising, they said,, that' the mere granting of political freedom  
witli moe lite ous people owe Of dike poverty and EMS State of  
semi-â\200\224starvation to which they have been subjected for hundreds  
of years. HTistn ea tet coe tT tally tearensteon teen ON ate UN Cet ToneINOU Is tegmtO)  
tameate Int comm cles Clclenyaeta =  
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resources of the country should be used to promote the welfare

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eae tmÂ@Â® COt SySteGm, Comtract labour, child labour, Compouinal  
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"History will say (they said) that Malmesbury conjured the  
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Sum Om the norizom Of aA mew Sow Aricica,

The formation of the Labour Party was seen as essential to conti-

nue the work of those who had been imprisoned - incarcerated  
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cele jel Ilaljyresie@ey Siwsewyeya tte) Ineyal ie) exo mie aig ane , And the Labour

Party Mire Ghairman, has always Seen atself as pant) of the liberaâ\200\224  
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the selosime sor the Coloureds Persons Representative: Gounel. | an

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also true of our Eshowe decision of 1983 where we rejected the  
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be a reconciliation between equals. LTT) tel hohe Onell aCO NIG  
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We believe that reconciliation must as far as possible be between  
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tunities.

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to consolidate the position of all oppressed South Africans."  
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 substitutes. A lot has been said about the repeal of the Group

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and healthy economy.

We believe Moe Cilna@aie mam, ttelnate ene international community does

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the world has become smaller and that there is an interdependence  
Of One Country upon another. And so Lf believe that we wri need  
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programme.

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be a sovereign, democratic non-vacial, state, based On the praineiâ\200\224

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of the age of eighteen years and over. That South Arracea she

a Non-racial geographical federation of states with a devolution

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were Gihelih pe @e. Cllee GliiyheM@m Â@ir Vee jMOieies lel aweibioveieal (outs) (ose the executive, legislature and judiciary.

The legislature shall comprise a Bi-cameral Parliament; that LS Ain Wyo Pig MOWSS Sy, ici Oven Oe A owiayeeice ll Sewanee ai yoalfe}ey GEIL component states will have equal representation; a lower house QLAead On AEE Ore jorcwyCrpiaonadl ieSipinearcKeiniefee wlohe, Felgplal â\200\224 el evatic

legislation be approved by both houses.

The executive => wel believelta president who shallbube elected either directly by populeum svote, MOneamdkire ctl yliby GamGellectional; codec comprising of members of both houses; Bice t Nemapm c oundienes Slash appoint his cabinet which will be, must be, representative of

allâ\200\231 your federalâ\200\235 states

Tie siidievtary~eshallesunction emmdependently trom ste Weel alate ibles and the executive, and judges shall be appoimpeed by an indepen

dent commission established for such a purpose.

Tne. "Gonstututaion â\200\234shaliÂ@ andi@must she sovereign @iandhel ta emuUsia mor be possible to do what was immorally done by the National rabtantenvay the â\200\234ruling party ot theitdayjewhensathey cemovediethe so-called Coloured people from the Coloured voters roll by immorally loading tiee Appeaee Comrk witeh piidgelsi@ofeteheumemcehecmlon, Craeby loading nes Senatcmnmsorderulson obtain va @bwoOâ\200\224 Uhenidise mea jority =o Oye ncome

the question of an entrenched clause.

On the question of an interim/transitional arrangement, we believe

tala

that it must be temporary, its object must be to help the transition Comnguntsas ssmoouh lie andeetadaly Lon ale hes parudes sconcerneds

That, th@ece music be Checks amd balamees agaidnst taa AaczELoOms Oi

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Tat tmere must be Cqwitable represemeaciom @r All partles

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WINE) joe SOEroahe 1 Oye, Eline jneriovarfecymmeynre â\200\234Tele eles. pacts (WSymoen ereac te eVibiaye'ic aloha must be its function, the management of the SABC and other public Dig ONG cies eel icv oem ITS UT To) Ce roca oe Ut etn Ve aVels Clo iyi ye VammmC MIRC I ICH I: oimamOne DUBLic VSpendinge appolnunents ps paruaculanlyeethe squest vom son the Commission of Administration, because this has been a stumbling block San @ourewaccepbancaâ\200\231saseea Simmel F Of Wlatrrnatd ves saets Ons

We INANE MoO WOEMm Ble TO OVeErComMea welMais.

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the importance of CODESA and welcome this Convention, we believe  
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 Constitution must be implemented twelve months thereafter. io  
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taken by CODESA must be referred to Parliament.

We Grace emphatiecaly tinac all @eeisions ot COMASA music ioe  
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 ayae mag Aad wWineroas whe Some Mreicamn Coveramene wepresemes  
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decisions of CODESA to be vetoed by the Government.

ihe f&Utune wsequices | ust tor De a constr Uc tic mmc Oneal snd Olsye aeuid  
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ata nay Kenyans

/GEORGE

MR G SEWPERSHAD

# NATAL AND TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

The wonomeapnie Chiet Iusixee, Religious leaders, wre One persons, the distinguished representatives of the United Nations, tne OFGAMISAELOM Ore African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth, the European Community, members of the Diplo-

matic Corps, and fellow South Africans.

Ne we Commence wine tees mecedlug Of wre Comynet@n eese fl Democratic South Africa, we are all mo doubt acutely aware Or our historic responsibilities. We are also aware that the process we launch today is pregnant with possibilities for a democratic feUicteybia el ate Olen elles oO) Ut nie wane ian csteliilcr. The Natal and. Iuansvaal indian

Congress are very conscious of the expectations. Of Milbinone | Of Gun peopie wand the worlussae ala tec. Ou DOCS hie El COLMsice er eive amd swilitie OwUeECOMeS Are Ova Oe mE Ichi Ss ener pinicintesiace creel, democratic and measurable in: â\200\234genuine and lasting peace in our country; political empowerment through an equal vote on a

common voters roll for every person over the age of 18; a significant improvement in the living and working conditions

of the majority that lives in abject poverty; the total removal

of all aspects of apartheid - political, economic ama S@eaia@lLg

and economic empowerment through various forms of affirmative Acton am orden to CcOnGEeCt decades | On sedmiscied Mama tOnsand

inequality."

The South African tragedy has gone on long enough. Too many

communities have been uprooted and destroyed by apartheid laws.

/GOn@LACTOMS ooo

CAperaiione Ox Olbe Sima lGheGin IeyO Inievel elvaaic ae wie Glalcpe@ cine  
 by apartheid education. Many generations Or Indian, Coloured  
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pensioners subsist on meagre and dailsicniimanatomy. pensions).

History and our people charge us with a clear mission: Rael we  
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 a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and united So@iwiwln Arieweel.  
 Wee cannotessail tohem shel ecastdtotiina lilmdelay oithismiprocisis: one day.

homer than meceseany.

We in the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, come to CODESA  
 Withnea pEOUdemecoramot PeSsistance sagsinstmracrem and amhuman  
 laws, and we have struggled for the establishment of a non-racial  
 democracy in our country. Since Mahatma Gandhi founded the Natal  
 Indian Congress in 1894, we have opposed Government attempts  
 tO) Cueate division and albilenation. Hite ciel laure wail eke ne eae lestarte reli  
 National Congress we have taken positive steps to build unity  
 and harmonye'among Call Â@South Attra cans =) elo @this@endâ\204¢ wer lave been  
 involved in the struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi fromâ\200\231 1906 to 1914;  
 opposed land deprivation and the racial voters roll in the 1946  
 Passive Resistance Campaign; RAG tanCMDickSHIaSm mn On iam ent ata yam DenenClenm  
 Indian and African people in the Dadoo-Xumar-Naicker Pact of

1947; participated in developing a new vision for South Africa  
 enshrined in the Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of

thes Peopleeane 1955-econtinued ithisetraditions@ot non-racial unity

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COVEN. BeLcSMes 26 CO-Opic jelne Mncilleyn Coymmbintiey amie@ iwi NaetOmaligie ireinks ie elle raeieie ILNG, SING inal ele IWieade@euesieell Cometiuiicion, amd ecorrectily prediecred that the axclusitom ot African people in any constitution, would be arecipe for violence

and disaster.

Noma ploncem Og ihem aa peta thon On canicaion Ainm@ ool mh At rica, we enter CODESA with dedication and commitment for which our members Fone Imo ste Agacen tiny epeid wan lnoh wpm ce! Vinee pmai somes, ean shment

and bannings. Today the Gandhian demand for a non-racial common Â© tenes Ol Te indice mesonan ce: geht OUCMOUteMoOUiEh @At ica. History wali, @m@d mise record thai we Was wale Siengelo Ox Alli ene people Oi SOWeln Aiweica Over we Mamy decades thaw Mag tacwilwdicaread Â©wic coming together at this Convention. Over the next two days it wSywee bedievegy our hasketoptake) tnemitystesteps| toes hneversciiba la ty 1M CMS MEPFOuLeCLOM j)rOCCSS. ite TSshour avtewaethat guhis Bpodnt has

yet to be reached.

There is widespread mistrust today because of a perception that the State reneged on the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes.

there is equal concern over the succession on diselosures about Secrep, Government, fundanige Of Qongand sata onseganty euhe waindemme nama Of the genudme democuaticepmocess invsouuh Aims ca ey Untortunatoday ENelypaste GCrashteengumonthse haves reintorced. thes percept lone sbiye tine MAJOCley Ot PE@ple Or Sowieln Atirica, tehate those itm Covernneme whales commanding sbothÂ»powers: and legal capacity,Â» do gnot hayeethe

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Africa. In particular the people of South Africa await an explanation for the Government's refusal to release all remaining (YOM ete tee ciple leer Cyn aroma lesa tc me COND IG yt ames Mc). (eee Gtemmcl In ClemO Tune Harel (tahicee lharece TUS Tone OP eS YO NIN me Amenanlerelln) cslmcitoyel elem lemme @ TILED er este encore E NS sate ma KOMa elena Utetis tion of the Government's covert operations, structures and funding, Notwihstandime aAcssunances= TOM Uncr CONTuany s =tile =appawent he ltsa 1 of the State to rid us of the scourge of violence;. and the Govern-

ment'\200\231s Opposition to an elected Constituent Assembly.

WSieSy SHS) TO Glos le Thiol Tejas. dab ioveli=) pre. (SOWIE ANEveaL(efeuNls| IEE Wels GO were Nene Cannot Teades Tor am CemOcmea Ca nil tiered sit ee CONE mmemnt OX MALTOMAL TRA y XS wi AM PAACO, EMS HAWVaABOS OF Eyeiwiein@dal \yaiJLil continue. This Government has been given an adequate opportunity LO GaAMOÂ@MAecErea Wes OrwEm Sieseiced COoOlMiaememe cO CGheamge. Ibsaeieile has been done to fundamentally remedy the situation. Only a sovereign interim government followed by the election of a

democratic Constreuent = Assenb lye that Otters Sia =spoces 1 Dil tye = Om a new era of peace anda meaningful improvement in the material COMALELOMS O% jelne Miliaons O AmMpOVOrASINGG EO@QMPLo Lin Owe CGOMimeiey uies es nS tale) om layseerets Ss Wigan clea iaMicheumne No ma lO tern ali nes a Oreste ) Kastan omy ia crete

itself will bie democratic, and enjoy popular legitimacy.

The people â\200\234or South Africa "have "beenmexc iuded =f mOm= tere Oma edie ie tional process for many centurrzesn â\200\234CODEOAâ\204ç llaciva evita necponsii= Dilitiy â\200\234so Tow Meucate= tne Gomd lt Wonca = Ola m= elem apreliata cae peraiNOn leme OR Cele onie een tt eo eceric = termes tf her me GO iientmtat lamin Cnt) cles mit emmet a lco tenet INCOOieâ\200\224 dingly a democratically elected Constituent Assembly must draft

the new democratic Gomis tadat tealkom It Ole South IME 1 LCE

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fundamental concerns. The people must govern. We must not be

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guise will be a travesty of justice. The future economy must

overcome the chasm we see today between the rich and the many

poor.

ihe sumemployed, Sivhe: Monewess eelandilessis must have \*their needs  
addressed with success.

We therefore subscribe to the following constitutional principles  
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democratic, non-racial and non-sexist State; @ MMe pelie re wy  
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before the law; an independent non-racial judiciary.

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belief in the inalienable right of all the people of our country to  
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languages and cultures. MNase waingayicdwmmail ama COLlOCei We icswiucs  
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At the same time we are acutely aware that the apartheid Govern-

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Over the years Indian South Africans in particular have suffered  
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 such as the 1949 riots and the 1985 Inanda violence.

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proponent of minority political rights would be the creation

of fragmented, proverty-stricken ethnic states as opposed to  
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 minority fears will only disappear once a truly non-racial, mie aie

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Tels Uae) an tte tea OMe yie

Our country is on the threshold of a new era. CODESA represents the hope and aspirations of our people to finally restore their dignity and humanity. COFUTiran DNeTOs Nee ara enn CO ee ul eTICOGN, man Gl ely lee) and â\200\234misierusit. RU Fave aro dene toe esa Ne on) mee TLV responsibility to build trust and create a process wWaaein Cen

Gare eons cial llay ase ahem sO Utes 26 WCISOm1 ess Diaie behind.

We in the Natal Indian Congress and Transvaal Indian Congress commit ourselves to this process in the hope that we can collectively lay the foundations for a non-racial, non-sexist,

undivided democratic South Africa.

Thank you.

/UIRECDIAWIEEL Â¥. oy.

DR\_D J DE VILLIERS

# NASIONALE PARTY

Mnr die Voorsitter, vandag het die oÃnskynlik onmoontlike, moont-  
lk gewoOrd, mee die Cons Omdeakinare winger \woelkelileinaael genoieal ,  
wee jaar gelede laet mienene kon Groom der dic leiers yan Siieyo  
dende en selfs vegtende partye in Suid-Afrika, mekaar die hand  
Oor die diep werdelings im oms lamd, sow reik om mulle saam Å«te  
verbind om n volwaardige demokrasie op vreedsame wyse tot stand  
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van Suid-Afrika daar n geleentheid is wat die leiers van al Suid-  
Afrika se mense saam kan beraadslaag oor die toekoms. Wali late  
eerste keer kan hierdie leiers saam die verantwoordelikheid aan-  
vaar om Suid-Afrika se volle en opwindende potensiaal te ontsluit.

Dit skep vir ons groot geleenthede.

Ten eerste, die geleentheid vir vreedsame grondwetlike verande-  
Tape eye Die sleutels vir die toekoms van Suid-Afrika is menslik  
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principle should be embodied in our constitution.

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not serve the best interests of our people.

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The National Party suggests that CODESA and its Management Com-

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We have committed ourselves to strive for a free and non-racial  
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committed and from that we shall not deviate. We do not intend

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to allow the proven mistakes of those systems or policy-guidelines  
which have failed elsewhere, to be duplicated here.

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the confidence of business and overseas investors in South Africa.  
Without business confidence and investment there will be no growth

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necessary to address the enormous socio-economic backlogs and social needs of our country effectively.

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tries in Africa with comparable resources.

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make a further contribution in this regard.

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 Afrika se kinders nog nie almal met mekaar vrede gemaak en grond-  
 wetlik huistoe gekom nie.

Ek rig my in besonder tot die lede van die Konserwatiewe Party  
 en ander regse organisasies. KODESAG bited! dan s<ul@n wieteenrneid  
 om u oortuigings en Standpunte hier te kom stel, In die Verkla-  
 ring van Voorneme wat vandag deur al die verteenwoordigers onder-

teken gaan word, word spesifiek daarna verwys en verbind KODESA

hom:

"Om huidige en toekomstige deelnemers vrye geleentheid te  
 bied om enige voorstel wat op demokratiese beginsels gebaseer  
 is, aan die Konvensie voor te le.â\200\235

Hoe jammer - hoe jammer sal dit nie wees nie as daardie partye

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die Dalsten niles Madhem00kmUAe mises Unsecacmmvicin Onlom bemaads Waren micis) anlage onvolledig wees sonder hulle bydraes. Die Nasionale Party onderneem derhalwe om hom daarvoor te beywer om die beginsel van self-

beskikking vir volke op die agenda van KODESA te plaas.

EN Kae S Publ stem clptars Die toekoms van Suid-Afrika is in n besondere sin im OmS Ihamnd@, Dat als) in giewelidiige wemantwoordelikhend, dilt is binne ons vermoee om ware vryheid en n standhoudende demokrasie

in ons land te bewerkstellig.

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MR\_ A RAJBANSI  
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

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Peete TS ete Ola rely FURS eet )ze Le Tamme le Thee ten eC) NTI ean eT ee eas TT ESV eo  
; Dene

I want to salute Mahatma Gandhi because we are reminded especially  
of the momentous 1914 Gandhi/Smuts Agreement; we are reminded  
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Were images Amal imuel\ Cell We Gaia aAlo@me Wn UmcoOircMMee Cineloreer

Sin Que COMiniocy) Inicheomy -

iii oral ley gem Vitro rieceleiere mic gs ate Ine rare Cle Nena) tete nya ratets tart Cu  
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has Geached the home Straight; when sworn enemies are walking  
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uma sO Mme@erecay  
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ois 1S MOE Bn Esme CO wExrlece Om CNS joesie, Blbiclvomiyl n ielnewee Cain  
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ENE DASE ewEMeE ye Owes nonthsÂ» Mn Chairman, â\200\234gneat = stavesmenâ\204¢ of thie  
calibre of Mahatma Gandhi and the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,  
â\200\234MH amdneaned Or whe GEURG Ox SOuivld Akiciea, wile whey Ewe moe

Deiat eiars Amal Zhe tuieuce peckoms tO All Â© ws.

Today we thank the Almighty that CODESA is a reality, for the  
representatives of the international community rO wihtmMess thatc  
EhiseilastÂ® pare ofeetne@naces tora triudiys none malcd all SOwitln Aercilee .  
1S eee Iaith vera SHaD Ener. Wie also thank che Almiginey wor wlessing ws  
with national leaders who have the moral courage and also â\200\230the  
charisma, to become the force of â\200\234reason, the force Oba aeSONiceel ssa  
tion, and the force of compromise and without these three charac-â\200\224  
Teristics, CODESAâ\204¢ wile not be: able: to succeed=wieh ENeeanpomrame

Pasiaathat Â«1S or ne Lon bie eneauS rede t Osa tr

For the past twenty days this building has seen the apartheid

South Africa in the making; the beginning of the end of an era,  
the dawning of a new, bright period in our country. For example,  
We ssecesnuhe =polrticaleheadmot the onees mche hated SOwieMm AreiesCain

Defence Force, seated next to representatives of the South African

Conminawst Â\$ Party People who once could not be reconciled with  
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eonpronise sins aeeprocess "ofeegive and@ takeje= som tial dem) Semele

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"Business Day" today:

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ot CODESA must at all ecosis steamed,â\200\235

Welcome winless stOUd ya tien sDe Cnn iG. On atten snOm ie tulom Ota tune  
 ietee ane Oe ele SON In) a meAy teenie eral Ie tay amen en ee ser ntne: ates Wale een  
 pier ee trie

new or the post-apartheid South Africa we are all endeavouring

to create.

Oreecourse, today lS atco Mi Onan Mente en mde y Olesen cus sO Ute new met  
 PS meee oma Cma al TaC MeN) Di enyammCy chiara ee CODESA is beime boycotted and  
 denzerated asa sell-outy â\200\234South AfricaÂ¥is=a cauntry boycouted= and  
 people. ite lS OU Geel molec me merce t Oe mK Cle Doman Mec merce emer sere alia tany,  
 amd meditate SO Cmae Ele Omoty Chadlrs Cam be Hilled with people  
 from the PAC, AZAPO, the AWB, the Conservative Party and others.  
 They should know that CODESA hasn't a closed agenda. Self-deter-  
 MIMACLOM Cam LOM pare Of a disecussiom as will be te quesicilom  
 Chan interim =cOvVernmelt ald tie 2oOLmerron Ole wile = cm telDlimeinine mt  
 ole a â\200\234Constituent PAssembly,Â® in â\200\230the â\200\234bustness Day of yester  
 day,  
 Mr Vladimir I Tikhomirov, a political scientist from the Soviet Union,

writes in an article under the heading "Soviet Experiences Hold

Crucialâ\200\231 Lesions \*for Chianeine Southâ\200\231 Africal\*Â® that â\200\234the Sov  
 iet Union

/and



and Sowa Acrilea are probably the only Countries Am wae moadeirin  
world tehae have swen Complicarced maciomal Otinnie swrrnewwres.  
There are stridking Simildrties im potin these Cowmreles, The

Soviet Union and South Africa are formed from a large number

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a ted@iral type Of government with Steone regional devolwedom

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Â©f Sri wbanka. There, is also no time fon pountâ\200\224sconine exercices .  
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lois way, Cie) a al inet Way, Ineo ineca (CODMS/A ject ini. The  
representatives of the international community are also here  
Om yet Cis Gd Seay sae) Coss Dre li ci nae Cueaa ra elite nie Â© otha OM To mael aciK@N  
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gud get he sstandssthey. Nave. takene uo Calice s DOU UN aaA tied sun Mowe

Speedily om che pacin Â©t deMoerarie KcOrorm,

Much has been said about economy and change. Change has a price.

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mets nN CLC

/by

\* Typed phonetically

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Being involved in the heart of CODESA, we say that CODESA dare  
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becoming part of the new order as MrMurphy Morobe has highlighted

in the "Business Day" today.

Mae WNearet@nal Weenies" Weiricy Gr SOwrn Meelea dedicecas Weseiie  
 fO @emsure thar CODESA marches toward, We Comewr Mir Chairmam ,  
 with the views expressed today about mutual trust and having

faith and confidence an each other. We have now come not only  
 EG GnÂ© momen Oi exe, Wwe wo win MmOmermte Â© A SAVE WOR wines  
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/momentum

momentum which is taking place in South Africa today. Our actions  
MUS pD@ SuUcmM Laie SwWecCcessiVve generations must look back at

CODE SAR wash piaandier. As the Honourable Chairman has stated this  
TEAC aaa a8 eNO ORT TC tn cl Tan Le TC Ge eter eT VG NTT STATS  
I ia een l coe ys et ran ey ete DH en ed eel OM MND Tae TC MNO

the great Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

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eg ed Dexa hea (stl by etn) il To Tac mn Oe ney  
success we must rise above â\200\230petty party politics, and I want to  
emphasise thatâ\200\231 we must do this Â©) Eee O Te yaaa eta Ie sO viaele Ces (IT Emme  
aC)

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for minorities, and I want to warn or give friendly advice that collectively

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\*Type phonetically.

minorities can form a powerful force as India has shown it,  
the Soviet Union has shown it, and other countries have shown

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Let me admonish that South Africa cannot be compared with coun-  
tries like India, Kenya or Zimbabwe. We are not negotiating at  
CODESA with an absentee landlord. We are negotiating with people  
who have a chequered history in this country, whose deter-  
mination to be part of South Africa and Africa and whose determi-  
Tease OME TO MES IU STon Vee vse MaetOTI SIO) Ube pAtterarieCeyel or Africa, must never  
be

underestimated.

Andi finalily.Mrs Chavrmens = lewent.tos quotes one.or the greatest  
disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru who once said, and  
this statement is evergreen, it is relevant today:

Mig Gil BOAy A POeIOG OF AIL skO@iclewsre sin iene

aLieOper Oi Ole COUimecy, Momemneas aes ieldalis

come very rarely in history when the soul

of a nation â\200\224 long sufferers ~ find utterance."  
Ate CODESA Wee Chasirmam, cle som or Ele Somen Akriecam mnaAelom lS  
finding a solemn pledge: We in CODESA shall not fail. We in CODESA  
will not fail and in the words of many organisations that were  
Meyer Dewated salmouchoOlitesolten Ai raicalm st li Onlomolie tiem to mitiymyied lcl,

we shall say: We shall overcome.

Mr Chairman, I wish all fellow delegates and everyone a merry  
Christmas on behalf of the NPP.

Thank you.

DR\_J N REDDY

SOLIDARITY PARTY

Mr Chairman, delegates and distinguished dignitaries. On this  
 FASseRes ek Â© Hg Comm Ee URANO} Fan NTN le tC el ee TOT Lc ee me AT TT LO Os entp  
 EQ acknowledge the realisation Of te goal Oc my Party ama ot  
 Thy XE Vigp nT et SI) 11 ogee Tet Fe Lee Oe ORD eOnim dela  
 on the pillars of established democratic values that acknowledge  
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A muombpeic OF poOlitieal parties are agsempilled here â\200\230coday winder  
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 h ae secs Taser,  
 parties which have adopted different strategies previously, are  
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 goals, â\200\234WALS 1S mÂ© Gombe Ome ElmeSe mouse,â\200\235

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 generations to come. We owe dt eo all the people who over Ene  
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a government that enjoys legitimacy.

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 mclmemle Ones age cd  
 settlement through the vision and leadership of those assembled

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can be no lasting peace, and no sustained economic development,  
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the governed.

My Party submits for consideration and debate a set Ohm ae Snore racic  
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establishment of a new constitutional order in Sowiemn Atrilea.

GTO estan GUGM TAS a Tne toh UTR ce Tk Cyc TNT OE) n> TCO Go Ta Iota eNE  
 action; the protection of individual freedom and human dignity  
 is the highest principle of law and fundamental rights are guaran-  
 Eeadaanma justiciable Bill of Rights; the guarantee Ok PrROLCCCILOM  
 is) enmsuGeds thmol eles t he west albisike ine nit Of A COMSLICUECLOMAal COWL?  
 the functions of the State are exercised by separate legislative,  
 executive and judicial authorities with appropriate checks and  
 balances; SoRIeHaeu aS hialle ame Dien aca neievsel tarsal ameter ae etal elnpac(ou sa  
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 proportional representation structured to meet the needs of our  
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lm@t based om  
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 a bicameral parliament; a decentralised regional/provincial  
 system of government with devolved powers entrenched in the

CONnStELEWCLOM Â\$ za timaiied tier Of BOWOcinMeme wWiieIn powers and fune-

tions relevant to the needs of the local communities.

#### MINORITY INCLUSION

Dierabasie. for the development sof a stable democratic society

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enÂ® plurality of Soma Arcicam SOEr@Eyo Solidarity advocates  
eat om MOTT @ Sgn Tete STO (Ne CaCO a eC Ce nee Bem ra oml UTR B RV Ito,  
at all levels Of government.

Tae exilsetemeS Of MmMimoridty groups 18 a reality that cannot be  
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and wecogmised it we are tO Avoid temSsiom and Comtliet, MWneire  
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themselves more than ever before in many countries 9f the world.  
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an identity and a sense of belonging, and ought not to be regarded  
aS milscomeeived Â© iirrelevamt. In the virtual absence of  
experience in the practice of democracy, there must be an aware-  
mess amd a sS@meitivity towards minority groups act least im tle  
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PEES NCIS memo ta nblemnon.

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ad@bace im my wiew tends to be distorted, parcial amd emotive  
Witin Emme imcemetiOn Of Ereating the perception that those wino  
acknowledge minorities are dividing society. Yet international  
agreements concluded by the United Nations since 1960 point

Â£0 a mew approach that provides minority groups with constiâ\200\224

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political solution must address the question of minorities in

an open impartial and reasoned manner.

Pence

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has endeavoured to address the question of minorities within

the parameters of a democratic system. The overwhelming

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in which no group dominates. The surest way to kill the

idea of democracy in a plural society is to adopt the system

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heterogeneous society the objective should be to achieve maximum

agreement to enhance the legitimacy of decisions.

The principles of Solidarity have many innovations that over-  
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separately or directly elected President through an electoral  
System eehia bapmovidessacsismone Incentives son sa) Cand date mao seach  
Ome sO groups, robherm than ghiss sown com ask glosiunoestine ec heetions.  
The candidate will reflect the heterogeneity of South Africa's  
people dand the. office of thesPresidencywilk serve to Geinfntonce  
the principle of meaningful minority inclusion and thus symbol-  
ising the unity of the nation. This would represent a positive

expression of an inclusive democracy.

There is need for a broad consensus among all political parties

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that individuals should neither be obliged to belong to minorities

nor should they be prohibited from doing so. The process of

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Government must be designed to inculcate a common patriotism  
among all members of the population.

Economic growth and social justice: The mere dismantling of  
the apartheid system is no assurance that democracy will endure  
in South Africa. A post-apartheid Government will be under  
increasing pressure to meet the rising expectations of the  
underprivileged for improvements in their standards of living

ual teleye, (olyolfdhaliyy foe takre(e\, | AMo\el aed feet yy esto)

Demands will be placed on housing, education, health care and  
employment and can only be met by a market based system with  
minimum Government intervention which can produce both economic  
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conducive to attracting overseas capital and economic developâ\200\224  
ment. wabet dus ehopesthat rune sik ntumo lommcanct onc mD ymmecn ley ait  
the leading countries provides the incentive for economic  
restructuring. Sustainable development requires manufactured  
exports and targeted incentives are the real key to export-led

growth.

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entrepreneurs to enter into the manufacturing sector in a  
complementary manner rather than monopolising the whole range  
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to break up would only remove the symptoms rather than the  
cause, The need is for wealth creation and not wealth

destruction.

lui

Wha Gaal DwSiimase SECEOW Wall wey A MEJOR COinicwalowyeye io) 3]C)10  
creation must be encouraged through incentives and recognised  
in a restructured economy. Having regard to the fact that  
small business) provides a larger percentage of the work  
opportunities in both the United States of America and Japan,  
the small business sector should serve as a catalyst for the

economic mobility of the developing sectors of our population.

A cooperative relationship must be encouraged between labour

and capital and there is need to inculcate\200\231 the necessity of

Al DIEOmUlcLE av eu women lc tl tCu tO SO Gly AlmiCcmiTON Teo Gk solic Onpageltaae  
advantage in those industries which make use of intensive  
labour. The country is well endowed with mineral resources,

has a high level of management, civil and administrative skills,  
So pleco cae: ban icine camden cic ina acy lac Micmal Miguel oll pip OmsEem

by a well developed infrastructure. South Africa needs to

seek and foster closer regional economic cooperation in Southern  
AGierasinelae cise rau soraitse wicli yas t]ONAElesigelt ici realm elle seta) yee Â© h  
am tel umn i (O)asla least erl ates aT

TCR WAmeloris tC pieaTit aa ep O}In elem Osta Ce bras

Politucalc t{meedomeane POlehe Ata cam WitenO lite CC. Omomnl cespino sip ede: ty)  
will be an empty gesture. Prosperity and liberty go hand in  
Hand ss wilthourmecononic Liberty, 9 pEOSPer litve Calm Onuye Dion au wise Om  
Onan dmeanpe Fconomicadepmuavarion walle etlbisicalt WitemtO reyponmitancae:  
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al We

Cream CONtn NGaaG ite EOMm Er Nery Clem OID DOI sal caomier ai mnc Ol dan teneO vais am  
on:

f/economic ...

economic hardship. The answer is to stimulate wealth creation and employment opportunities. Our priority must be to create an economic and political partnership between Whites and Blacks for stability and) prosperity for alilvDOuEh Arricans) fÂforenow

Wola) ioji@ jejaKs) imblenblig(=) 5

We are standing on the threshold of a new and a challenging

fee RUT Te Mer eO ig etoile MemeeLinTn Si CC GLUT MRL OMI tGORE Vy aeKÂ© Cena) DIG MNO  
nV erCe KON mt y 9

We are moving away urom a System Of denial tosone of Inelusion, from oppression to openness, from authoritarianism to democracy.

We are treading the path of the unknown. None of us can claim to have a meaningful experience of democracy or an appreciation for the demands that a democratic value system places on our behaviour and conduct. We must leave behind the baggage of the past, the hatej the! fean is Phe sts pmCHiOnman deities Dinter ness. and together work for the success of a new system that will emerge after the fullest consultation, compromise and consensus. Consensus represents a non-zero outcome in which all parties benefit.

Te ei ive tO eg seer Ol my 9 Greys le letra tre reterest i conrn temn ce ib qualms Tene  
ment ler Vac eligi

the inclusion of representatives of the extra Parliamentary groups in the decision making â\200\230process! at the highest: level

Snide eine tne Se conten te ile Gielen pon te bine) ile cidat Onc Omen: Licitiomral  
interim Government comprising of the various groups partici-

DAELing wm Elnaig Comyemretoim

Ale ie) eee,

I urge all other political groups not to become prisoners of history, to unshackle themselves from the rhetoric of the past and to join hands in a spirit of reconciliation to build a new nation. The imperatives of history demand support for the goals of this Convention committed to primary ethical concepts of freedom, equality and justice.

Getic adi om mE nemapam en ener siete Gitalinestsits MOS (meme Dasarceante ate cuts tla) DEReMClemon.alchy Mla mmtGNanlG ts Cem Gmatnidnc Uh Crean dane Manner ma r.

Ensuring democracy may be far more difficult than negotiating

A NG O@alied@~1 @ieGleie 5 Iabisalmfe, Orgone reaver step) Ieee) ly eyeselal cyl down to realistic terms. Democracy will be threatened if it failic eto apaoducera adr amlat ceciancia ai iver Cumnaitie mic NcOnidett noms of the. underprivileged sectors of our population. A post-apartheid Government needs a considerable 'probationary period' tOmsSectube imeand achieve ss hap imaay eas. tlle) mew apolitical

order will be marked by many pressures and demands from all groups. Any newly elected Government taking office needs time to develop a democratic culture to permeate every spectrum

OL SOCLEEW-

I pledge my personal support and cooperation and that of my Dieta tyage e00leidlatreint yo) Oona! (Otiase oO MM intme (ht sO nemcum st Cicears eats :

Goncinisuom of this Convention s task to estanlisl the groundâ\200\224 WO Loe 6 CEMOCieeiele SviheIn Nicely, BING) rGoigmyaticaor, uu (COWS is in itself a unique experience. An agreement has to be negotiated and entered into between CODESA and the Government

to translate where necessary and appropriate the decisions

of CODESA into law either by the introduction of new  
 Megalation) Or biyseeie) fale nid meta Onumenuisc te aanligesomlers) Diy  
 Parliament to facilitate the process of Constitution making

For A MEW Sowiemn Arvrica,

The greatest challenge ultimately is not whether we produce  
 the perfect Constitution but the will and determination to

RAK STa oy tan steko gC) Cet) Con Corel TOCA ete TOU Un Lara La) nc lied eT ein Cle Len  
 e aa Mle!

ox democracy im a mew Souiemn Arica, Wae world ig liteered waliteln  
 far too many monuments to failed democracy and we should  
 therefore refrain from repeating such experiments. To fail

to act wisely now is only to ensure having to act desperately  
 eatea eG Oes CS elem cilelialvc moma atcitamnael Ce cma ma bOdicnys leele ne mmtattitr  
 Tae

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 ell eae Laen i umeta Le

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 lnte Paya t@ mt nn lOMa tO

EM Challenge cacing OUP REELOM dm A Spilwidic OF reCOmedIiArion,

Thank you.

MR\_ JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our next speaker is supposed to be Mr Chris Hani who has a  
 Te MiMi alte Ome plOtes bet Oa re luc Seticay lume Monucita cy lib: ter Cl ssiael cle e  
 telnian Vem enaell elcyeyie

But before we hear him we will take a tea adjournment.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED FOR TEA.

CONVENTION RESUMED

MR\_C HANI

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Honourable Chief Justice, esteemed Chairpersons, esteemed

Foreign Dignatories, comrades, ladies and gentlemen.

The South African Communist Party enters the Convention for a Democratic South Africa with a total commitment to ensuring that the process succeeds. The oppressed and working people long for peace. They long for an end to violence. The freedom that has long been denied.

The South African Communist Party, in alliance with the ANC and COSA has grasped the chance to secure a negotiated settlement of the result of our struggles to secure a negotiated settlement of the Apartheid Committee, was the process of the people, we believe that it is our responsibility as a vanguard of the working class, to

But we need to make clear that we are not mesmerised by the word

"process". We want it to succeed and get on track and remain on track. But that is not our only preoccupation. We are in this process because we want it to lead to a democratic result. We are

in the hands of

on

in this process because there are a majority of South Africans  
who are in this process because there are millions of South Africans

who need a new Government that will listen to their needs,

We want this process to succeed because without a new Constitution  
there can be no peace. Peace must be based on a secure foundation;  
on a lasting Constitution enjoying overwhelming support of the

MAT OrLey Ot Owe PEOQpDlE,

Such a new Constitution must also provide the framework within  
which the society can be transformed from a paradise for a small  
minority and misery for most others, to one where all enjoy peace

and social justice.

These are our broad goals, but how do we proceed from here? We

believe, with the ANC, that it is essential that this meeting

emerges with decisions that are enforceable, that we are all

bound by these decisions.

What one wanting to be truly provocative, it must be clear to all  
with open minds that no reasonable person can justify a Government  
elected by South Africa's apartheid population, molding 2 weeks

over the decisions of these proceedings.

AUER he\ChinShROMN SI ClclbTgerapite] Cane ea Os CTC ED Ha OLCle (SIS mE OMamEGI arias  
CHING Dy EEE COMMSIOMSIUIS

must be implemented.

PB bo 6

BOE WINBIE Bee Ne GeCUSiOMS Ele we vowel like COQ SOO Queiese ieom  
 CODESA One? In the first place, we in the South African Communist  
 Pariye GeLrehace Our Deltech thate dt is not possible to ipuneue: the  
 process of negotiations successfully unless a climate of free  
 political activity exists. This demands the immediate and uncon-  
 @diti@mal release Of alll poOlseteall pwilsomaes, weawellien OF atlas,  
 Gepeal of all represive Llesislationm, an end to the violence and  
 rreedom Or Ali CO PwrSuUES wWne@dgaie joolaeical acelyileles Witinowre

harassment.

We Are especially Concerned Ai tts wime Walicin wine itAdilwiee OF feline  
 Government to implement its undertaking under the Groote Schuur  
 amd Pretoria NEimnires by COMmitimuime tO mold as pirlsomers, imeludime  
 on death row, people who are being punished because of their

actions against apartheid.

We insist that these people be released - not after further rep-  
 resentation or consideration by some or other intricate bureau-  
 cratic process or the presentation of new facts. We demand that  
 these people be released now. The Government can do this without  
 Aly EUPENeir irOmrMalieles, We Are Sayings EMAe Boey must be wireee EO  
 SeDVE MINE os Tarmete cle te te mCi taal cs te Mice te Oa mmariicl Varo melt el TV ey C  
 llr sien meme startle mental Ve terTs

Hiren Biel STIS pe

Winem we Ca@allil c@r free pOllieical aceilvyity we do SO im ENG COMESXIE  
 Or Aa ElimAEe oO Violence that we know INMas persisiced itor maimiy

years, particularly ain Natal, te Weamnevaal, ama eine Westteirin Cape.

PBWE coc



BOE ae 18 LOuMG MirOugMows tle COUNERY. NOt OMlly lS tints Causing  
MAvYOC CO Community lite, Duc TE ObylOUSly makes a mockery of any

attempt to organise politically.

This freedom of political activity is obviously also impeded by  
continued evidence of Government funding of organisations that it  
favours. We need to know the truth and there is no doubt that the  
ErmeEen iS only energims gradually wnder pressimre and tinat tne scale  
of Government financing of pee ae Oma] NIN) Ia teu Clon ES awienlmlae

disposed is much greater than previously admitted. This must end.

We believe that the present Government has shown its unwillingness  
or incapacity to tackle these issues. That is why we demand the  
immediate installation of an Interim Government of National Unity  
to oversee the process of transition towards a democratic consti-  
EWic2toOn, Waa llomeeie teMe tinsichlllacilom os Sweln ain IimieGiraim CoOvernmemte  
is delayed the longer we allow the violence to continue, the more  
we endanger not only lives at the present moment, but we also

build into our culture a sense of the normality of such violence.

We want to reiterate that one of the prime tasks of such an Interim  
COvyermmeaMNeE WS CO Oversee SElections tor a Comstxirueme Assembly =

the body that we see as best suited for drawing up a new Constitu-  
â\200\224Elom, We see Enis as eno mose democratic and imelusive way ou  
making the new Constitution, enabling our people to make their  
IMPACE OM Cl@ilie Owim ieMiPwre, Thae L8 low the mew GEeMmOCrAaELEC, MOM=

racial, non-sexist Constitution must be made.

/There

There is no reason why this process should be drawn out. We believe that the parties should commit themselves to ensuring that the establishment of an Interim Government and elections for a

Constituent Assembly should be completed within 18 months.

The South African Communist Party is determined that this process  
 Stato Tela neice te Â© eres ta TET ated TR CONTT Bra Ty man TICE es tetst eee Pell ente  
 ny aCe TIO earatel (ny mew late meriateyo Um lente  
 GIGCELOMS, Wneie 1S Wy Ene SOWielh Acielean Communit Party Commies  
 ntas|Cue ian Ona DEnGlen = Dye seen els ttt Onecannyams che eCHlacle Gnkom se indepe  
 ntly  
 veritied as free amd tar, We call upon â\200\230the South African  
 Government to make a similar commmitment. We cannot have any  
 DArEY EÂ© MEGORLacIOMS Seredlmge Weseli Wp Walteln A TOmM OF YEEOÂ© eiginie

over democragie decisioms,

Le 18 imMpoOrzamE EÂ© MOEE EMAE Watle Enis Comvention primarily  
 addresses itself to constitutional questions, it takes place amidst  
 a social and economic crisis of unprecedented proportions. The  
 level of unemployment and the scale of poverty is a source of great  
 alarm to us. The economic policies pursued by successive apartheid

regimes have resulted in a distorted and stagnant economy.

We need a democratically elected Government in place as soon as  
 possible, a Government with a mandate to deal with the social and

CIS OMOMbEC HES Se SH aE nalessanaem saul draimlesnitaee aan OmcihyausIg cial Muateracti  
 nGra Osa ncetesieornies

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asl 7,

all, their aspirations that will have to be addressed. We are

DATELCLMDAGIMS aim Els process, tm Elna imei place, tO aireleulare  
their needs. We are also concerned that women be able to occupy  
their raghtful place as equals) at every level of society in any

new democratic order.

We iam the Sowtin Attrican Communise Party do not Inide our belie  
Enact political treedom witnowe social reconestrucetiom willl we  
meaningless. There needs to be a new growth path which creates  
wealth more efficiently than the present economic policies, but  
als@Â® Ensures ehat Suc wealitin is wsed to becter ene lives moe omily

Osis ae anne DTaP lammrcan lanl a

For the peace process to succeed, demands from all who are commit-â\200\224  
EOC OQ GEWOCwWAey5 BNE BerSaeOse POSSipilae wwidey, I wane EO Seiy co  
organisations which have not traditionally formed part of the  
ANC-SACP-COSATU Alliance or even the Mass Democratic Movement,  
EMAE EMLS 16 mOt Ee Lime CO Gliphasise our diikteremees. Ie is  
OQwie JOD EO Wwe om evs Intelnoase lave Oc UmMiey We Cam Gevelop

cOÂ® take Ourselves torwarcd, MOE EO Marrow Sectarian goals, bwe

Ene proad democraArle Sysicem that ig im all OF our imtcereses.

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dwawamne (Om failing. to) goin. we Make a uspelcal appeal Wer us teunem  
CODES Aeaneom aa tae Mypiatea lot 1c Comet ab mit 1 Ons tine Mere cilel laine onem@iUts

beloved country into one to which we will all feel an abiding

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loyalty, let this be the work of alll OÂ£ US, MO Matter what oui differences may be. Let us put aside these differences and concentrate on what unites us and ensure that that unity results

Im â\202~2 PrOduce Bmnat 16 weruly endwring.

At the same time this is a period where all of us must exercise the maximum degree of responsibility. Gtk TO eee eter mete RTT In, OE WS EO CLAUSE Ene SP@ewre Oi SGiuwil wewo NWayone watna knowledge of what has happened in Angola and Mozambique must know that words

HTT cee Tay -Tep area sTone mmm HT TYCO I CeO] tem Dome en Load va FTI ean een ern temm tTT CS  
rather redouUDle Oli SLIEOrES CO bury amy possibility oct such a tare enveloping us.

Let me conclude by expressing the wish of the South African Commiimrst Laisty wehateeheic = Gomi emtesnon sno uMadee stl Cee eGasianh slectyetn > a etalre  
DASIS LOr PCACS 1m Or COUMErY, A process that will wumiloelk the fee MN EO stametcletl me SV@SUTE vine tesTap te cotesbT Tis emt STIs 1) UTS OTT om emer amma oe IROMT Men Tete eo Temes wyeitel OE

secure the health, happiness and wellbeing of all our people.

I tinamk you.

MR\_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you Mr Hani. The next speaker will be Major-General

Holomisa of the Transkei Government's Delegation.



Certain political considerations of

One method by which this ideal could be achieved would be the granting of general amnesty to all political prisoners and the granting of indemnity to all political exiles as well as the free movement of the people of the Union of South Africa.

It must be stated that all these proposals may be considered in no small way to the process which will lead to freedom and democracy in South Africa, and should be perceived as

a body which has a special duty to the people of the Union of South Africa.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

At

At the Sand River and Vereeniging Conventions at the beginning of

this century, the Boer and British combatants agreed on a ceasefire. The principles of the Union of South Africa, At the Conventions of 1909 they resolved on a Union of South Africa under the terms of the Union of South Africa Act of 1909. The Union of South Africa in 1910 was a direct consequence of the resolutions of the above-

mentioned conventions.

The universal discrediting and condemnation of apartheid underlines the illegitimacy of the present apartheid Government. The latter's disavowal of the apartheid creed and apparent readiness to accept the principles of the Union of South Africa Act of 1909 and the Union of South Africa Act of 1948 and is by implication an abdication from the socio-economic-political

order they have enforced, defended and sustained for the duration

Lovet eee

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 Ie Obl amc eee Ta eel  
 gathering for the determination of the modalities for the setting  
 up of a mechanism that will transform South Africa from apartheid

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DME EO Elna WaSEMimeizexr Mlieiy., aime tee ie Wilaneie Bakes ele moa.

le 16 PNeErerOrea a rEeasomable and logical Sxpectatiom nae Ene ce -  
 or change â\200\224if indeed they are for change as we underâ\200\224  
 Stand it â\200\224 adopted by the Convention ton a Venocuatuc "â\200\234Ssouben Atraca,  
 should be implemented by this Convention through a mutuallyâ\200\224agreed-  
 upon mechanism. This, in categorical terms, means that the  
 exultation of the semantics of the so-called sovereignty of the

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 tenth Samm (es Â© eT tots lee eum conn  
 exclusive responsibility of legislating the decisions of CODESA,

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 Tal CC) Tae PTS RKO TRY)  
 denies this option. The Transkei Delegation, Chairpersons, has  
 resolved EMae Ene aApproOpelace Sears ba accorded co CODKSA co emdow  
 TEsMMecctSoms With meaningful eral satis .. ligamclacds seine meine  
 AGCVOCEE0 the emacimenk Of a levy Dy tne ISA Paseiliameamie CO ToOromedL iy

establish CODESA so Emnat its decisions are yalid im te eyes or

everybody including the RSA legislature.

Ale eee

MÂ© Comerary would pe eae Swboirdimacion ot CODNSA reagoluetiong to  
 eA S@e@ieevedain Wevellaleymeyoie,, Glial wlnveewepecs, Why Glerjal fein, yyabreqential  
 fes il yy (o)sr'  
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 OMT Ol tama tach  
 tO HelieVvEeE Zor OME MoMEMme nae tehales 16 wae DwrpoOseE Or iwelnage

Convention.

Strong feelings are being entertained across the oytire COW im ibiey  
 that CODESA also be a vehicle for the restoration of peace and  
 Stabiliiey, WaÂ©Â® mowla sentiments ame lotey oObjeocelwes Emocaced

iim tne National Peace AGCeO@ra, InawMEareÂ© A KAEMeERIESS amal motine@rw lege  
 Sipser en etetpram Â© Talon y 1D ee yates ya GMT fe fer lCGu tems mele nT Noe cut) CeO  
 U ae) les ete) OTL vated  
 CODESA decides to assume full responsibility for their implementa-  
 ELOMm, Ome OF EME MOSe WIADILE OPELOMS tO render jeln@ woirk Oi ele  
 National Peace Committee of the Peace Accord meaningful and make  
 Lie pD@gie treme, 1S CO tmyolye alll leaderg ot polieical organisatione  
 Jaca kes arntceHeialdlcmor aan Clone tani emo me erm SrOl tater ines ieeteetaCrc ac mRC  
 ONI te ater  
 decision-making on matters related to security at the highest

level.

(Wor OxamoLE ooo



or Oxemole, ee Scarce Secuiedlwmy Coulaeil, O% ney Cell ae â\200\230nese  
 days the Cabinet Committee for Security Affairs, for purposes of  
 ensuring that the recommendations made loxv CODIESA waldliL foe  
 Guven effect to, and that the security establishment does not take

EAVES Cl FL BIC Te ol Â© Heer) To RON edn es ea foto aH Cl catego)  
 the Convention. The involvement of all at. State Security Council  
 level will eliminate fears and suspicions and dissipate charges

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 lsorants) CWIE Ivy INK ielniasaiiess OIF wWiOllermvers Euoyel Calwalll Wee ieleelte Ee  
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lated from several quarters. This issue becomes important if one  
 bears) in mind that che) SOuch Amialcan Secumity, Honces have Tat one  
 stage or another been deployed in the states of some of the parti-  
 CSTR ea NT To GoTo aT Â© ego Sl EST) Tete =I) Â© ODE ore  
 EON C ONG HIE euraamry Ne tele squmS UG) lclC ete @ a Sm rage pa Â© tammechIg = eaplela  
 ita Tel Cl Clas @ ma Oa OM Oe  
 democracy and the ideals for which CODESA stands in those states;

Transkei included.

ip the sane vein ene Golo som CODE SAY a GlniaibnGgi es) se Cl Olgc aya Oc tain Oe  
 of existence, should be expanded to bring about peace throughout  
 Soutien Mielca, Wais, im Srrece, Gmcailg emace Souda AsriedCeim

Sone Wallen oa Ses On emcee ecniinG lviaiGmm orc clause Â© lame Chasm @lmern yin) nlle  
 ) @Ublasl eran)

countries like Mozambique.

A warning ic also sounded! co. ALrican CcoUnEGres Mavangâ\204¢ trade limits  
 with South Africa which give material, logistical and military  
 support to the Renamo bandits that, if they do not stop the flow  
 OiacenCnOMehoO Sem melons Â© ts Uinicinse eee @ Zico cy me OD Po Awaivaalel:  
 Glemeiarclaaclat ema lenin = Clee cite ae Uinta t= isin cm Over cibtel tettarcl Gl cla  
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xx pigteleaene

Wilea CAOSe AibteioGsin Coumers3les o

Great care has also to be exercised when grappling with the wave

Of MULED-pawgty. Gemochacy, engulfing the Ar rican continent at present.  
The exponents and sponsors of the concept of multi-party democracy  
in Africa have a moral duty to ensure that it does not engender  
Einctecloyy hal ElNelOE) Win lI] Wels Ose iiss wWioevtershictedlein; ieee aie Choyss  
not incite tribal and regional hatred/jealousies thereby plunging  
the various countries into bloody civil wars as parties vie with one  
another for political ascendancy. Mineâ\200\231 SKoOwheCS Cpe imbMicausjyeneiay Cla

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Cl er.

me LS ALSO waWMseErcesae iO wmersS, eimere tein seal IheS Ox Cops watilil  
spell economic doom for South Africa and therefore a prescription  
fore Social anc joolitieal cisastcer, Souda Atirica cam mo longer  
afford an internal and international siege. For our own sakes we  
need economic growth and equitable distribution of opportunities  
NIG Wie ici eteltole ae SN IRS nS me NOE O Ta yg Awn ae O@ US TCS Mclain testa linia Wm  
Tiltclinein Â© Ulla lmtessi Co) in

AIG eeietaccli estas Cun Cle mwaleele le eiaGle

Transkeians have always regarded themselves as part of South Africa.  
The very type of relationship that exists between Transkei and  
other independent homelands on the one hand and South African  
Governmenignon the Ores, Cont irms Elen insepardoit ity, Ore enese  
MOMmertanGl mem EaOInme Mom Ee Siu On alo Ole meACEiahGm sacl si Senl geil ora crs Oia  
mamas  
bisdcecmcbcraselmtn oamtEME msadCisist lhe dmMC more le ue comms COM> ELE Â© nce:  
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that she does not re-join an apartheid South Africa.

Tee nUc em OCmS ieee CenWalelimio Chel tl ealClaneltchiainEy anche mein lec tion Ol Transkei's re-incorporation into South Africa will not be a matter of bilateral discussions between the Transkei and RSA Governments but will be discussed with a new Interim Government for obvious reasons. Hopefully all participants appreciate the significance of the Interim Government which in essence means the dissolution of the Tricameral Parliament, all Homeland Parliaments and the disappearance of Military Governments from the national Oliteical eam, Ie is messemelolhy Gxyxcrecl woes Copiasys \yalilil expedite the completion of her task in order to pave way for the establishment of an Interim Government - at least hopefully by

June 1992.

The idea is being sponsored in some quarters that Homelands should be turned into component parts of a federation. This is however

4 WMENEESIS 10se nS Coyelsieiweboe dove jueesaey loxeyely., ELS, @) ele RCo) Tne a One la facto Gl toy ae cleo sito mT yal Unt gee ero OLLI Â© eH Ma lntch emai @)Ilc snl uTanInn yC)

constitutional dispensation which must be adopted in South Africa, one cannot relegate the economic realities Of the country to the background. Many of our Homelands are impoverished and are indeed not viable economic entities. A federation is doomed to fail if regard is had to economic realities of South Africa. Wealth in

el BIRS Â© @/Uta hea ran ma @)IN Â© Siakte Tacit Â© Clea tel |e EAN Vetta ele ing lot b an Olcletaa =

Oe ela Cowlinery Cehnioene Colyieclbin el ieevcleiaciiehmionl bie shir, ais) ielavoyukej lotic ehekehe

Baer ecleiactelOnmlSmtEnemColsaeCt ODElOn, | Semlous ss Cons iudersalteilmn wale: first have to be given to the economic development and financial

yee acre

ilig oO imoalanGes OF cae COUimEsy, Bue Mow tame is OF Hae essence.  
 We need to adopt solutions which are workable. It would be suici-  
 Calon craaniemrath= OOM amie Om elie nec mayan Chimie me acne MCmmo te nticucicyamiiani  
 e

cO) LOOK Â«O Medley Bicoela@ieâ\200\231 iO idimaineiaail sSwysoxoiete

We welcome the presence of representatives of international forums

charged with the task of monitoring the process.

Since the administration of rural areas is founded on chieftain-  
 ship, there is an urgent need for CODESA to address the future

TOL Ot Creackieiomal leacers.

Transkei has the honour to move that a task group be formed by  
 CODESA to travel around the country meeting with traditional  
 leaders, look into their interests and endeavour to forge unity  
 ehiopo\ey qelavay) isKo) nelavsen ielal=ni, aideyalieul dishes) tele(enieg celsyohiael  
 ienkeyals) shye) imsa\blaen moll  
 unison rather than as disparate groups. The task group will have

Â© EOI to CODIASA OM Wes eilingilings

These positive steps will minimise the chances of the manipulation  
 of traditional leaders by certain individuals and other groups

EO wWAG woiecaSiraace Oi wWAS@iw Oliciloeal Eimlol coms -

the tounding of CODESA ls fuelling the already high expectations  
 among the disadvantaged people that their deliverance from denial,  
 depitinveci lone andthe Seemimagivys permanente state Cl penuUmy. Now dboue

to COMES TO Gin aloiwujor Sincl.

yale a

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In conclusion it must have been noted that the scourge of violence  
Gigs Ost Ce IMS Oseleait= tay aan cl omen yiely (Cm) Sn mclie = an eOUMe ccm One elaine  
ani aclull sta are

We boldly refuted these statements and the third party  
involvement through the use of, inter alia, all slush funds has been  
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ymjafsy\ ake yoyy  
meaningful progress is to be made towards the restoration of

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nccmclooilkts

the bias of the SABC-TV and Radio. It would be a prudent move  
OKs COOMIVA OQ aAMSUSie Ohl El wWealie Cliswielylied@y Ore ielMe CyVAIIC IYeeuccl Cpe  
Directors so that it becomes representative of the entire popula-  
iesIk@)0 We

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ilinec!

closely during the period of CODESA's life-span. The danger

always looms that an interested party can hijack collective achieve-  
ments for self-projection abroad in a bid to improve its image

and present itself in a better light as the sole agent of changes  
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yates eal Nam Â©) Uae

ries as this can militate against her (CODESA) interests should the  
negotiation process crumble in the face of intransigence by the

ruling White oligarchy.

Our hearty thanks go to the Steering Committee which has worked  
OC m CHR) C aun O rai also situlc slays tele iaelailalniniya mV en@ alll Gl Â©) tems Oe  
ch unta@)

commend the initiatives of Dr Mandela and President De Klerk who

/commenced...

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Couimeincecl tees) sil tel) ecieic joeioe Ox NYE) io whollorell, tne Clowuaierwey "s political log-jam. CODESAâ\204¢ can â\200\230correctly be judged as the direct outcome and continuation of the meeting of the two leaders. With the broad participation of South Africans the ship can safely be

steered and land in safe waters.

Tyler aay, Uy ee Seis ane

eis

CHIEF MINISTER RAMODIKE

UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT

BLS Iboreclalatjo Clailcie Iwsiiles Coos, Chieiciesiecvoms; vise Syclayeloyenere and Justice Mahomed, delegates of political parties and organisa-

tions present here, representatives of the international community  
Me WEeLOUS laVvele, m7 CobliMmemyneia, ie als) imhy jOlieelsivneS icefe) eielcle@sis) y  
oul

Oia ais WSIAY IMLGicoiwiLCE SCE Cia.

Mr Chairperson, this is the day that we as South Africans should  
mauels GIS fl wwlciaIinNe? jie, Sigh yeloWeâ\200\231 lele\e~pny Oe whe Clojbloescy. Ie  
ie TeloKS

first time in this country, political representatives of our people  
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dominated by the seemingly irreconcilable differences of opinions  
as regards the solution to the heterogeneous nature of our society.  
We know for a fact that heterogeneity is nothing new in our family  
Of natslons.) Solu ons) wemne Sought and) ound berone 7 bus we jCannoie  
remain oblivious to the major events in the world around us, in  
Africa, Europe, and elsewhere, most of which have some degree of  
influence on developments here. The onus is of course on us as  
South Africans to read these lessons and read them well without  
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S jelale

Ssugrace silecsons wich ane learn more quickly wand seaciivis ss awe sauce  
gathered in here armed with experience of our own in the country  
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iein

Bice Oya RiMchany Slo Mlc uae = einel cise cl Olin OUMtsmc Oneuhteik@ nn.

[ERC RES.

Ke nyaka go tšea sebaka se go leboga le go lebogisa mekgahlo ka moka yeo e phuthegilego mo lehono ka ponelo pele yeo ba bilego le yona mabapi le bokamoso bja naga ye. Tsela ya CODESA e be e tletse mathata le ditsikitlano tša meeno go fihla lehono; empa mafelelong go bonalae ka re tla kgona go tšwelela pele ka lerato

le khutsiso, e seng ka kgohlagano le leretha.

We have not come here to compromise or capitulate as our Critics Somelele mes PUL Leys Non ase we Nenetory nemainy fixed to DPosHitions unmoved and undeterred by sometimes reasonable Ome altel mc camert ia counterparts who are in any case our own countrymen and fellow citizens. We have come here to measure the actual lengths of both our differences and agreements. We have come to lay foundations for future discussions on the differences we have, and to be Guided by the national interest in the country in whatever

solutions we may reach.

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 elsewhere inside and outside the country, and the international community as well as the two leading figures who took the initiative to make history today, namely, Dr Mandela and President F W De Klerk for the contribution that they have both made; the combined effect of which has ultimately made it possible for us to be at this Convention. We are finally gathered here today bound together not only by the need to negotiate, but by our common basic belief in Ones UnMredmand sSsoOviernolgn Country governed by a Consticueion that

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is to be underpinned by democracy and the will of the majority of  
 pl el eH ERIE CNG He Mr Chairperson, you are aware of those of our  
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interest of the country for those of us in here, individual and  
 collectively, to intensify communication with them rather than  
 break it. We should do so with a common and logical desire to  
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 dices losin aincl wWoloicimealng., ie 1S Owe wisia wnat mo one ig lert

Foe TaeiaainGl eels alee te laa ec S| ee ey mC COE a HO mmIe ere

I have already set an example in having taken the initiative to  
 meet Dr Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party. I have  
 JS ISZVCHELOI Jobie 1 tcl eine Coasin ie allow ime cOQ Gomyyey Ins

message to the Convention.

Mee Chieuaoeieson, SOA Arciwilca has at last lorokein tae 162 on tne  
 long and hard road to democracy and we wish that the courage and  
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 EOGS ED Sa ISMOUNCs keep USE s/ On mec! su sanGmCalaiqyAalice eho U Gin sOmseine

next stages of discussions.

We have to concede that it will absolutely serve no purpose to  
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FEIN OMe Ol Shear eS Ai OHammnelln mmr ella Os

I believe that CODESA is here to unite and not to endorse or

perpetuate separation of the people of this country.

ler eee

ST TaN ete fe ea Tala fe t= Â© UI Coun) Tae op ce OPO EO ee UenarnC Cy including the so-called self-governing territories and the so-called TBVC States which are nationally tolerated, and internationally rejected. This body must therefore find ways and means of bringing all of us together as a nation that has no choice but to live together, to survive together, and to share the riches and the burdens together in a new spirit of reconciliation and reconstruction. Wie weedy Oz cla momemiece as ieee cle Situation is indeed fee or edie. Change is bound to come and those who resist will be blown off by the devastating winds that

are blowing in our country.

ie Wall ing 2 SSisIIOUS GmI SsilOim Mie ClaculiqueieSOM, Mee ielnsls Com~yeinesLom will stand adjourned without taking decisions as recommended and proposed coq tials Comyeintiom loy a2 Clicaitic CaS GiOULD OG CODESA. ie Shem clone to quote but two: We agreed that the present and future participants Shall be entitled to pul fteomnward freely to che Convention any proposal consistent with democracy; 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 Godeasa ainc loâ\200\235 eas ComySiniciom eos, Wael WO SlneJIL Invenywe be (Cine person, in my humble opinion, have delivered the goods for our

people throughout the country. God be praised.

ele

BRIGADIER RAMUSHWANA

VENDA GOVERNMENT

Co-Chairpersons, Leaders of Political Parties, Movements and Governments, Distinguished Observers from International Organisations, Members of \* the Diplomatic Corps, Religious

Leaders, ladies and gentlemen.

I doubt whether there has ever rested a heavier burden and a greater responsibility on the shoulders of leaders than we have at (eee ene tes Shem eran CaO Â© ODE) o Ate ease On On elon sire milestone

in the history of reconstructing the new democratic South Africa of equal rights, equal opportunities,. where the dignity of men will

be respected and there will be freedom for all.

We who are gathered here should be united in vision and purpose to achteve the otal cliimaimairn Ono. clelN esos Oi Gasiciatmemane ion SSC ON WEG, COllouKe, KelIGion, SEX, language Ox ~oolicileal Simo For many years some South Africans were forced to accept the poli-eLGell SHySicein vwolaela aes clicl more ike eine Winaca Was mot Ge caeiie making. We have gathered here yearning and striving to recover those basic rights and-freedoms that were denied us for so long

by apartheid.

Hopefully in this Convention common sense will prevail so that a new and more just dispensation may be ushered in. It should be Seltsevidentrand acceptable to all that no Ultimate mesolution of our situation can be possible by any other means than through consensus politics which is a process of negotiation. Being

/ COMSESILOWS 6 oo

conscious of the fact that the end result of this Convention is

to establish a new united non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa wherein freedom of association, speech, religion, Bill of Rights, the rule of law, participation in the government administration etcetera, we the delegates of Venda commit ourselves to be

bound by the CODESA resolutions in good faith.

We further commit ourselves to be party to creating a climate

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ts eer CM TeNTEG) lie

The Homelands, and independence of certain Homelands, were born out

of the universally rejected policy of separate development. They have remained unpopular and unacceptable instruments of perpetuating the goals of apartheid. The so-called land consolidation and economic development have remained hollow fiction, not only in the case of Venda but in respect of other Homelands. Hence the people of Venda, without any desire to conduct any form of referendum, are in favour of integrating with a new democratic South Africa. To fulfil the desire of the people I established the Re-incorporation Forum, to give the people free participation in election of candidate in order to facilitate the process of integration in the most responsible and democratic way. I am pleased that the future of the

TBVC countries stands on the agenda of the Conference.

The question of land is a burning issue because of the imbalances inherent and the manner in which it was alienated by unfair and cruel removals. It stands to good reason that any future Government should carefully consider re-distribution of land. However emphasis should also be placed on the production of land with the

/necessary...

necessary financial support and orientation towards economic land

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tain land to rightful owners cannot be ignored. Of equal impor-  
tance is the acknowledgement of the diversity of religious and  
language existence and the plurality of culture which are not the  
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guage rights be recognised, freedom of association, freedom of  
speech, freedom of expression, and freedom of opinion should prevail.

In spite of the evils of the apartheid system it has afforded  
officers an opportunity of acquiring an immense and unfathomable  
experience and knowledge of running State affairs and administra-  
tion of the public policy. Obviously public servants have to be  
protected as the new South Africa will be devoid of discrimination  
on colour and sex, but due consideration of merit, experience,

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leges and well deserved pension benefits have to be protected.

Some form of declaration clearing uncertainties in the minds of  
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There is no doubt that intensive training programmes of public  
Beavis Wall InenyS ie) lo ililieselevelitliceycl JoyacKwisa OW jlo simloyalicincey Oz  
the past.

The fact that culture and language will receive recognition, it

P\DOSGGMOES 6 oo

becomes obvious that traditional leadership will also be retained  
 FNCUS Wisely OULEWEINEGYy EO TiMCHLE SiS wINEENOSiM, Wisk amysrealiewliesio@in ALS}  
 also not a product of apartheid except that some chieftanships we

have deliberately and purposefully created.

The dismantling of the Homelands and the Independent Homelands  
 gives rise to the possibility of regionalism with a devolution  
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 entities will continue to remain even in a post-apartheid South

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The apartheid system has placed economic constraints on the de-  
 velopment of the so-called Homelands, Independent Homelands and  
 Black areas. In these areas development was neglected under the  
 pretext of self-determination. As they had no resources of their  
 own they remained beggars and at the mercy of the South African  
 regime which has done very little in these areas. One has just

to travel to all Black areas and observe the developmental dif-  
 ferences in comparative terms. The development agencies did not  
 show keen interest towards tangible development. Perhaps regional-  
 ism might be ideal towards accelerating development in some of

these remote areas.

The parastatal institutions such as DBSA and other racially defined  
 development agencies will either be rationalised or be transformed  
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iP Mktein oS emer

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e Clmmloaunintace

enterprise system, because of imbalances and unfair distribution  
of wealth a mixed economic system may be an answer. On the whole,  
stability will be instrumental towards the maintenance of sustenance  
of sound economy. All people should be afforded an opportunity

for Danilcipate: in theme conomys OL EhescOuUntery = = lhiose, who have been  
disadvantaged for such a long time should be assisted financially  
to establish themselves as well as enhancing the quality of life

and to ensure equal opportunity for all the people.

In order to ensure the birth of the desired new democratic South  
Africa it will. be imperative for CODESA to address the issue of

the transitional arrangements realistically. Strategies will

have to be attended to seriously. This issue will succeed if there  
is understanding, compromise and trust among all role players.

We should all commit ourselves to establishing a transitional

arrangement mechanism.

In conclusion I believe that the proceedings of this Convention  
will be constructive and that there will be a spirit of goodwill  
Aine! meucwhal mewsit, 1 aml looking toinjeiec tO a wweoulcrul conclugiom  
of the Convention in the establishment of the new democratic

South Africa based on a constitution entrenching fundamental human  
rights under the supremacy of the law.

(BRIEF COMMENT IN MOTHER TONGUE)

Thank you.

ete

PROFESSOR \_H W E NTSANWISI

XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Messrs Chairman, fellow delegates, State President, distin-  
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teTI NS  
EIB Ta at aa [eT Te yam Â@) Ln) ITT Cos @) UT Eo Cte amen =o GelON| @) hc ee @) ln Srna  
CIR  
approaches CODESA with a sense of both profound enthusiasm and  
Tanith ORC EUS pechS Timms Smmeienra 10a te nme etcl CnC e il clam ean eS  
Convention all the parties which have hitherto expressed  
commitment toward a negotiated settlement in South Africa have  
gathered together around the table to commence with real con-  
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eH M te ete cutee Inches tae ela mm Eaton cintcHIn@ II) em, clr sm) a mme ile Tal CC) s  
la)

FO sei teel Coole Ulstienk@ Caner Manel bln Me OU) WMerign aera SMe lal ony Wlhtere

We have no doubt many complex obstacles to overcome. Most  
prominent is the unwillingness of some organisations to par-  
ticipate in the search for a new South Africa, and the desire

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fe state iS Tay al SS hte ETT = dato ea CT IRC NI Lapa Â@ some) Name: CLO testa yay  
a representative group of men and women have gathered

together objectively to contemplate the future of our country  
SoS Onstage OO CaS Clmctn ClueaeC Ol Cele ch= Â@ Ol mmm Claus Ounce cele omeO mois

gO unmarked in the history of Our Continent, and may it Stand as  
testimony to the reservoir of goodwill among South Africans

Gels pHneCumenc mGeanve SOM SmciiG cieia ise Oe te Meus Ocioier

Today marks the burial of the immorality, tyranny, arrogance,  
selfishness and evils of Verwoerdian Apartheid, and the dawn of

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/eeine ie Â«



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 A GEMOSiraitle Comsiclemeloa Wwaskeln Walllll Smee AQ ESOLIECVESLOIMS OIE  
 all South Africans, irrespective of colour, creed, sex and

race.

History has favoured those of us gathered here today with the  
 inestimable fortune of re-shaping our destiny. In doing so it  
 has also placed upon us a responsibility of enormous magnitude.  
 IV Aisttel] eT ecw sTet slo Â© UI Teo COD IUIT) neato yA) =) Co) Ce) t= Â©) CO) UV eC C=  
 Tah Al > la Â©) TTC) OEy  
 happiness, peace and moe reetae het us never forget that  
 although we are here as representatives of political groupings,  
 our actions must be those of Statesmen and must transcend mere

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Our focus should always be upon the well-being of all South  
 Africans. The negotiations to follow will be demanding and  
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 fell eekO clam Gel Sio hic cies Â© Mm ESmecimn Cinna mais Oem al NOME a seonyComliemaop  
 eeasonable aspirations Of all segments Of our diverse, complex  
 society. An immediate imperative is, to my mind, political  
 empowerment of those who have hitherto not enjoyed these rights.  
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 lemma ea cia  
 we need to empower people in a manner which will provide a basis  
 fOr Continuity Of orderly and responsible government, and sus=

tained economic and social development.

The overriding concern cannot, however, merely be power for the  
 majority. Indeed this is possibly the least important function

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Of au CONSE elite OInte WE ico MOE ali elas Waliesre, jleCGe@ Insica iGO  
 contemplate the issue of power in itself. What we are here to  
 consider is, to my mind, the framework of core values and  
 mechanisms which will ensure the entrenchment and protection of  
 fundamental rights and freedom for all South Africans, and.

we should establish the ground rules for exercising those rights  
 and freedoms.

But what are those freedoms, Messrs Chairmen? They are  
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 not allow ourselves to become so preoccupied with purely  
 political dimensions that we lose sight of societal and economic  
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prise economy, are fundamental rights and must accompany political

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 total freedom which we seek. SIGTNN Â© Chau Â© lite Nee Cin ionInC CITES Â© CRIRC hey a  
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 these aspects need attention, particularly the economic dimensions

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Above all, we must not repeat the errors Of ideology which have  
 reduced vibrant economies to the north in Africa and elsewhere  
 in sene, world@in a few Shore years tol a State Of penuzy and the  
 people of this continent to a state of deprivation with few  
 precedents in the modern world. Let us make CODESA a market-

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 ilejeie) oyblve

/energies...

energies to constructive debate and interchange of ideas, to educating our people and democratising our perspective of life, for we must remember that although democracy is our dearest desire, change has sprung upon us and left our nation ill-prepared for the responsibilities of a democratic life. Certainly democracy is much more than a system of government. i Ese NOT SOMMMuUchmtne sth ncicm)OUNCONcSmENC Weyany OU cdOmieh enc sr. We dm Cavan wertusecl Å«OQ GO imceoemceanc., We ceieusecl co abdicate our birthright as South Africans. We shall not do so now. What we should do is recognise and underpin the dire need for national reconciliation and true nation-building. Indeed what we do now cannot be seen as an end. It is the beginning of a process which must lead us down a path of reform in the

constitutional, social and economic field in measured steps.

That process, to my mind, will be complex and the needs Ose Owue society as it passes through the process, will mould encaae mould. The process may take years and not merely months.

Indeed out of the strains and strife of the old South Africa,

it would be naive to believe that we can move to a

Utopia which such facility as sound people would make us believe.

We need to be flexible in these things, as behoves statesmen and leaders. The interests of the most sophisticated community in eatcaeaeimouin hnandc, andl we ShoulccuUcel yan Å© te tices to repeat the mistakes which have reduced this continent cera OW, short years to a state of abject misery; mistakes which are now increasingly being realised by responsible leaders throughout

IMETCI\_CA

VEO Cmcule Semen

Above waliy) wes should be walive touche requirements Of practical  
government and not allow ourselves to be seduced into ideological  
SIR lea CHUL Ch ote) oe maelN no ra Lees) Teele W/o @) UM CClams) umnteh Clete mC Na Te  
ra

stone of our government.

Im ECOACIUSLCGMR, ALLOW MES CO Coserwewe ieee winete Ws weewilicecl Or Uys  
al Te Talat mY CO) Ul testo tena orl mC) Hen Cel a Me 1) OS pO) AO AsO) Tee Ite Ta Leer  
SUCCESS, 18 cae TOIILOW lng Â¢

i\ lexege CecgTee Â© coOleramces

A generous measure of good sense;

MOne enantio Ge mMOclounmOmmecuecdelOnmiEOmEno COU Semi

social and economic justice;

A touch of pride;

A CpIge chan Clon Oia walns Glory

Responsibility and foresight;

Brotherly love; and above all

A sense of the great mission on which we are embarked.

(ADDRESSES CONVENTION BRIEFLY IN MOTHER TONGUE)

CQuke CfeSsre CGoOMVeSicn jl Se los kOe jooSiEe~ioy, Owe GeeSic CONCSiia muse  
ho) ia taÂ©) Tag el oN) atest ntesme tel Â©) ORG) Vm yr eT ek(@)st aI ed IMR si Ated sm  
ell co Tea Nod Lb Tâ\200\224 Um C@)s aTCO) IETS  
children that we now deal. May we receive the strength from  
above to discharge our responsibilities in a manner which will  
cause ensuing generations to say kindly of us: They were true

South Africans all, whose efforts were well meant.

Fellow delegates, distinguished guests, countrymen, I have  
spoken.

hed

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you Professor Ntsanwisi.

Dames en here, ons het nou gekom by die laaste inleidende spreker van die dag, die segsman vir die Regering van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, die Staatspresident

Mnr F W de Klerk.

2A TSN ieee me Kelke ira anaes

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Geagte Voorsitters, geagte afgevaardigdes, ge-eerde gaste van die buiteland, u Eksellensies, Ambassadeurs van die internasionale gemeenskap, die oâ\202 van die ganse Suid Afrika is gerig op ons) hier vexngader. Die tockoms wan man, wsouy en kind), ven syk en arm, van geleerd en ongeleerd gaan wesenlik geraak word deur

ons sukses of ons mislukking.

Afrika hou asem op in die wete dat Suid Afrika in belangrike

Soe Uae) ani oem Grae) cane clo talent enous (0. Clave leu cle mma) Ole deel van ons kontinent. Belangrike leiers van Afrika met wie ek die afgelope jaar gesprek gevoer het, het dit aan my gestel dat hulle Suid Atrikar ac Gie, LOhvOmnorle ea vcli cKOnonlese Vi00trâ\200\224 uitgang op die kontinent beskou. Die internasionale gemeenskap sien met verwagting uit na die stabilisering van ons gekwelde land, sodat ons die opbouende internasionale rol, die rol waarvoor ons uitgeknipt is in hierdie wÃ@reld streek, kan begin speel. Die wÃ@reld aanvaar dat die proses van verandering onomkeerbaar Sem aie CPO OOS ein Crayola (o) cilaiet a Oke mney) lage ses ee) Vel Toye ate vir ons oor die hele wÃ@reld oopgegaan. Hardkoppiges, kwaadwilliges en rewolusionÃ@res wil hÃ@ ons moet misluk, maar die oor-grote en stille meerderheid van almal in hierdie land bid vir

ons sukses.

Op die skouers van ons hier vergader rus die geweldige ver-

antwoordelikheid om die hoop van ons burgery, die verwagtinge van ons vriende te verwesenlik, en die planne van hulle wat chaos

wil saai te fnuik. Ons einddoel is n nuwe billike, regverdige,

/onderhandelde...

120)

onderhandelde, en ten volle demokratiese grondwet, hn grondwet  
wat goeie en stabiele regering kan verseker, 'n grondwet wat  
magsmisbruike en oorheersing kan voorkom, en wat billike deel-

name aan almal op elke lewensterrein sal waarborg.

Die aanvang van hierdie Konvensie is die enkele belangrikste  
gebeurtenis sedert daar 'n breÃ© konsensus oor die noodsaak van  
veelparty onderhandeling begin groei het. Ons sal in werk-

GRO SO ee Oye O llcmecelntete lninG) Sumy Ola oite Claus lence ms ONa@ eC acl o ry mmci  
nc

metodes, en die substansie van die onomkeerbare konstitusionele  
proses waarin ons betrokke is. Sukses of mislukking sal in 'n  
hoÃ© mate bepaal word deur Konvensiegangers se wil om mekaar

ce walacl, SQ Walll Gm melkaass ce waincl lames Cie weg Wea Gee Ga meem.

Die Regering neem in hierdie gesindheid deel aan hierdie kon-  
vensie. Ons is hier om oplossings te vind, verstandhoudings  
te bou, en saam met almal â\200\230n grondslag vir 'n demokratiese,

stabiele en voorspoedige toekoms te lÃ©.

Ons sal ons spesifieke standpunte met oortuiging stel.

Wc lyikerenyel Sell oes Iuiisiee, Sel @os Weuleicese wie: tlie eisiclrs  
standpunte en brue probeer bou tussen die uiteenlopende  
behoefte van ons verskeie kultuur gemeenskappe en belange  
groepe. As alle afvaardigings in hierdie gees saamwerk, dan  
twyfel ek vir geen oomblik dat ons saam, saam, 'n deurbraak sal

maak tot langtermyn vrede, voorspoed en vooruitgang binne â\200\230'n

One of the greatest problems we shall have to overcome, is

Vaile cie ane

TTA tet ct em Glen ster Ep em GLUES) Wllcs OnIE CHIE Ts umn NOM) Mm Crcl ICO Joya (s ci nema emrKale Stet

over a WicGle iExroOMe.

PENG > ce agtets Le sel ctr CS ten C@) ag ET CCST Tak) ert) Ye el) cA Ge clog TRO) Tey

quarters for a transitional government, an interim government  
Oie A GOvyerxomiene O WMereWEmEell winsheyy, SilIVoCayes Eseries telovlie telne  
Government may wish to abuse its power during the negotiations

and be both player and referee.

IE Walshe, tele) untete) WISE Cpe wells Geely Cjojoone we bhaaiiey ile) elieieSmnjsie e  
xe)  
PATE ells Sasjoslesloin loyy Sjoedlilshoe Owe Eseeysrelhy Wineiwe rela (Crenieseiaâ\200  
\224

ment stands on this issue.

It is not the Government's approach to cling to power or abuse  
es) oeres Clbasing ielve MeCGC@rEetciOMs, A PSiKceEeiyyetion Ines loyscin  
created that the Government is opposed to any form of transitional  
Govenninent. That 1S) noe Enue and mumcnouls| pmev tous Sitacencnes  
CGOmieilian was, Weis Eowaicnmenis!S joosweidon 18 ice cOLLo@walngs

We are prepared to begin negotiating immediately on

amend ingest en Con siected Ons Ome Om Ne OU Di stCmeOm mc cemsu)

interim power-sharing model possible on a democratic

basis.

WE EieS Comatose oye Wie ie Win eine loeisie ioneieicoctes OC:

Ollie ee easrapleeiclr 11 rie etc eo Os Oma: ONG eee SI Cetin na Cla i  
to institute expeditiously, as a first phase, a government  
that is broadly representative of the total population.

Such a generally representative government will not only

I SC@CQooc



see to the administration of the country, but will also be able to take the lead in further constitutional reform.

WE Bice Soplieibliyy COmpalncec elas ine CEnjoossiciloimn Gre Pere lbs cwnene ,, too, should be changed during this initial phase already

to include the total population in an equitable manner.

See telneleS mera sy CC yam Cmca Cmmcie NI @)S emma ict Ch amats Om (acl loN nlm [2 Cri se nC Oia@) =

OOSALS Wiel, wearcwweatiyy, wall Ime lcO@ los MeCCredeieeel sinicemaâ\200\224

Sively together with all the proposals from all others.

What we are not prepared to consider is the circumvention or suspension of the present Constitution of the Republic. Any substantive constitutional amendments, even if they are aimed ee ieiaevalSsitesleygell mleyesybugs; Oily, Wali Ine jee) is eyclojsicecl Joy Parliament after a mandate has been obtained by means of a

referendum.

Such a referendum will have to produce, among other things, a positive mandate from the electorates of each of the existing EROUS 1S Â© yelitan ete tT 0 tele een la Â©) OS clas MIO PTAC) Osten Â©) lamest cI sitional measures are fair to all, the response from every SeCulons Of Chew popu atd One waelllsbes anmoOverawinell neimnG siekSr pm dines does not mean that the rest of the population can be excluded fest TI Tle ote Cl TT) ee NOT OL Vy UT celal tact Tope Mh Une nfo) coat sk T00) cutee n g a

a referendum.

/We are...

We are also fundamentally opposed to a form of transitional

COWS GUMSIONE, YARACIa,, iki elo. WouaclSs Ore ilove) ANNE jelail{s| jileyespaliove;;  
â\200\234Myfsl IL ib

TO ieee SME clela tome ORI chaste @)iat Auer GOV Cuan Meme Met pm clisice tam Ol) ClmeH  
OCENOncl

DeERCOMpOSe Cea nmecisil sm @emienCm Â© Omicini Uien:Â©limOns mule inCmaClc\yae Uncon-

SEM AVHE LOM IL COWS AMINE Ceiaainore jo} BSSQoOcSel sim El Clowhovierey yaalelo

is sovereign, independent, and whose sovereignty and independence

are recognised by the total international community.

Therefore, the Constitution first must change after a referendum  
mandating Parliament to change the Constitution. Thereafter  
elections must be held, .and in terms of that new, changed,  
interim Constitution - call it whatever you like - Government

must be constituted.

To Sum Up, Âf wish Golstatel today anvellearer Eerms than ever  
before that the Government is amenable to a negotiated form of  
transitional government being implemented expeditiously in a  
democratic and constitutional manner. A newly constituted  
Behellaleicine imeyy lye jeiicte Oi ie, Werte GOwUiGl Oig@CINOS aud Cineaicely

new dimension in the debate about a Constituent Assembly.

HelalS EjoyoieoaCl Soveciille Soloeresyoreiei eehtenmece@s Oxere tells aba\siesâ\200  
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CUEIOM OF Alli Meminar OF CGUMOEPSONE STRUCTURES aAincl FORUMS co

expand the say of people during a protracted transitional phase.

Constitutionally-founded transitional structures may and will

enable all South Africans to become part, within a short time,

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aMgomcia iElaoilie ClonOcmarereally GleCeeel ME IESS@iNeAeElwyas, Cie  
 decision-making, as well as of further negotiations about a  
 more final constitution. Nobody will be able to dispute the  
 legitimacy of such a transitional government and newly-

COM cere Uae Cl melted eiecl iene yy ame See emo CHEN jmncl@ Gl CmchiemN ols oe mnnmnac  
 is Sere

Â©Â£ CODESA and Other sittrucitureâ\200\231s) in our Country.

I wish to urge every delegation to think deeply about this  
 approach. The Government has no sinister, ulterior motives

Oat teouls Swlojecies Is as Ovle Inonase cOomwlccilon elie SUA 2 Sess  
 is the shortest democratic and constitutional route to the aims  
 we share with one another and to the elimination of the many

differences that still exist among us.

Mr Chairman, from the Government's point of view, there is one  
 Mayor Obstacle Gn the way, On capld progsess wate CODEHSA. =

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ii Comme imc lame wala Oeaer pOlieleal peccres awe mowemennes

INE BOCAS 10 Wise CO rEemaIdm GhLiEceremic.

The heart of the problem is the following:

The ANG has noe yet terminated what it has Jesele detuned  
 as the "armed struggle".

In this connection, the ANC has not honoured important under-

takings in terms of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan

/Conference...

Conference and has resorted to delaying tactics.

Before the Peace Conference on the 14th of September 1991, I considered making the solution of this important problem, which includes disclosure of illegal arms caches within the Republic Of SOUEn AtEica cdl one-CONDine LON HOmmc Lm inc tle Dedce Accord. In view of renewed undertakings at that stage by the ANC, I

TAC Hea CuININS Clase taÂ© MC OES Ole

WiuROMEwINEEaly?, elas CoOrmcrassikoi Clie] im@rc joneeshee wrestles, NS we are gathered here, Ehere still has not been sufficient PEOGGLeESS im Spice Of Ongoing â\200\224eiLOnec On tie Pare On tle

Government.

Wee SiesjoolilicrwuLom sim iaS Peace ACcoOrc clhaic MO Ollie joey shall have a private army places a question mark over the ANC MSH cist EC ano cia Oeaen ume an Â© Olnse Miers Mies Winht Â© ym CioIs Â© lira ce l elny amma

eAlciLae jilace eimoimc OOliveiGal josicciles .

Aine Ora a naesicaitett OmeawinenG lige niceinmnsms@ OMlinee CaO michel tai Â© Cl mr ci tentatl CiCplac

(]ebosNoie Jes) jeraiblsissis, clomolereaihy Yio ie GILS@ Cleiinbice! aliesisilss 12) peacefully negotiated solutions. Everything that is happening in the world today proves that violence and peaceful compromise are not compatible. The choice is between peace through negotiation or a power struggle through violence. The ANC and Oe ae aCletineies cueein@ry omc illls inten nen an Ont ie Â© Osorio lash mme nc

PAC, now have to make this choice.

DSW Vie ia \yaeuene

The very stage of negotiation towards a new constitution which we have reached here at CODESA, now makes it imperative that EhewANG andmoOeEhernsmwhor wish! On palsiticipater walk hnaver con cerrâ\200\224 minate armed struggle before such participants can really enter Eleraute Â© Mae lo) INTO N Gl ier ley eenla Cin teen cil ep mmn ta online! lo Remmi Cm C hia Clse ene mN er Co atin

agreements.

The Government will continue, through bilateral negotiation Fane ine AWG siacI Oars, EO Woy CO Qyveceonwe ets OCoseacla wwastcla

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ese mS mec O MG lore Ia Uo temmcl i Clams yo ReCrin@ Ilmrel ) Â© Ul cmmcia may ctilarin eyts Van @ iam @) ten orTs  
hiss tS OM CM Â© emiain OMe chIgtter Cua chia ean e Abin ome COMe MyestO Maange  
Suisjorrercerel ley Celie POSUSELSS WR WEWES CMOS MOE Oo 19S Meee Ore  
igkenvaliote; Inaiclelein excieicles, Ae ells SeScqe Goes 15 Gwen imlbnebeul  
distrust and suspicion among the parties and organisations

present here today.

Therefore, the challenge which we are facing is to address the basic CAUSES OF Cais chisticuse ging SUSHLEION, CODESA Camnoe succeed unless it generates confidence among the population. And it Welilenlne walle tomcneate sc Ommlcdeneer OU ecHiG em Olt lny gain iameintemrinSemclOnC Y  
Winch ina aeas Old plemt iment OmGnecoMConlnlen nc clin casw@rswalolece  
agreements here to remove existing distrust, suspicions and

fe csia Ste eee el OM OME OCS Sole C Â© Mio rtaeninla Ge) the deep-seated policy differences among many of us into agreements and

compromises.

/ DEC ate

DES HO Mic mn RCM Tae Chota amchom@ lis meni elsic Clann owÂ© Ome Oc awe loi nenc) Smal  
e ene Ora

mekaar nie. As afvaardigings werk vir h wen of hh verloor  
situasie, dan is CODESA tot mislukking gedoem. As almal eerlik  
streef na n wen/wen situasie, sal CODESA slaag. Daarom is die

grondslag vir ooreenkomste binne CODESA konsensus.

Om in wen/wen resultaat te verkry sal van ons verg om die werklik-  
eric ciniecCmO C mee aay Homan ta act inten: frmmnmn Oo Mela enero Ole Seni Clalecl tal  
syo tactic e

wat deel is van daardie werklikheid sal sinvol met mekaar versoen

moet work. Ek wil 'n paar van daardie botsende aansprake noem:

Beskerming van gevestigde ekonomiese belange van beleggers,  
grondeienaars, sakemanne, die professionele, en gesalarieerde  
werknemers aan die een kant teenoor die aandrang op beter

lewensomstandighede van die kant van minderbevoorregtes.

Botsende aansprake soos, aan die een kant, deelname deur en  
beskerming van minderhede teenoor oorheersing, teenoor die  
aanspraak van n mederheid, hoe ookal saamgestel, op demokaties~

verkree mag.

Botsende aansprake soos die erkenning en akkommodasie van ons  
kulturele en bevolgingsverskeidenheid teenoor die noodsaak van

een nasieskap met 'n gemeenskaplike lojaliteit.

Botsende aansprake soos die behoefte aan taal en kultuur-

gebonde onderwys teenoor die noodsaak van een onderwysstelsel.

fiNACL SOc

MnCl SO EL COULLG COMmEimuUe, Mie Chasdiman, Wae heawe of the

Sle een Seen ici nce el ea OHmnULC met Anya Can mal ce clien meme ONO IGO Macatee  
Oras ete la a eral L= ea ctl eae PE cto rae mC GM nn uch CME

SOS ancl wiocleicsreeinc! elme icicwieln ieere mes more Swale Clie CASE = aiaÃ@l  
einer EO Ce lel eran mm Oral COU EmCiS OP GeO MMe hemnae COC Ese smtelnemnr ole

tesratih t= Orch lum cl@CULGma Wy Intell mein lemme Toc pao lias

il CeCe KO ASSiLSe COOSA to ClO Juste wae, HK Would Like co make

an announcement.

The South African Law Commission has completed its Report on  
Constitutional Models. This report will be released tomorrow  
MOMninG. | whe Tepomge COMeamc anmexee mleni Cs DOs tOn Ol ed wade  
WEeLeoy Gt COMseiemeciomal Gpelions LeleVamMe CO UAE OOCCESS OK  
constitution making on which we have embarked. As a product of  
an autonomous body composed of independent jurmgsts, the report  
LS Commenclecl ico ILI josueeiGilpsmes CO CODESA aS a Welialole

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WaCHIN GEIR

working groups.

The Government, Mr Chairman, is determined to make its contri-  
bution towards enabling CODESA to succeed. I am encouraged by  
that which has been achieved already. I believe that we are on  
telat lara Sino flac Nm @ Heme leaN INS We Ollie lay Actirtanie leis man temletaIt Nyam  
e cei elam Â© lem eIa  
OMG Ate OM Ota echiniEsMe ss mcr Cl ma) USE Â© Clam Inet mal Sues Â© rion ans Â©jlaC Cl  
o manyoeielace  
Ealing. openly and sescrghtronwanaln, also) whee. We sce timers) ao Uie  
nonetheless join forces in turning CODESA into the instrument

1) ACMIEWE PALS, mew, eile eyocl Guise Sewiely Morice, Nac lee US Pikeyy CO

Goce:

God Almighty that, under His auspices - because we are all in  
His hands - that we will succeed.

EO wily ten) slotte Mnua diem Voorsittiten, in hartcllike wood! wan

dank aan almal wat so hard meegewerk het aan hierdie eerste  
byeenkoms rig, aan Regeringslede, aan werknemers van die Staat,  
aan leiers van alle partye en organisasies hier verteenwoordig,  
en almal wat hulle ondersteun het. Daar is in die afgelope weke  
geswoeg en gesweet. Daar is geweldige massas onderhandelings-  
tyd gespandeer om seker te maak dat ons kan wegspring by hierdie  
eerste vergadering op n basies positiewe noot, in die wete dat  
ons reeds rondom enkele belangrike fasette konsensus gebou en  
gevind het.

My wens is, my hoop is, en ons bydrae daartoe sal wees, dat  
hierdie Konvensie die beginpunt sal wees: van die verwesen-

liking van die droom van 'n regverdige Suid Afrika waarin al die

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7 ; As Kn sl ees = 7 anal  
land se inwoners billik en regverdig in volle aandeel sal

alles wat hierdie land bied. Kae leroy an

/Dankie...



oie

MR\_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Dankie Mnr de Klerk.

Ladies and gentlemen, this has indeed been a long day and it  
US NOiOVenqayieiee We have now ereached tem 5 on she agenda,  
being the adoption and signing of the Declaration of Intent.  
My esteemed colleague and I shall now present the draft  
Declaration of Intent to the Convention. Pees iadeeteea outs  
the first part thereof, and he shall read tthe remainder

thereof.

He shall thereafter invite proposals for the adoption thereof.

(Dee leracieeo miners

## CO-CHAIRPERSONS JUSTICE SCHABORT AND JUSTICE MAHOMED

## DECLARATION OF INTENT

MR\_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

Tye ale eel ip eetct Ute Â© ate Clan) ners Gmc ny cls mn @ Lema [OOM Ie teuncl culemm t  
o cl aioe

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CUItel ie entant tcl etal

Government, coming together at this first meeting of the Con-  
vention for a Democratic South Africa, mindful of the awesome  
TASIS TD Â© sete) ley al esteny ee cli te mete) Ces ect Ce MLe eeLOT|neeLeTte I MIs te  
any,

OQ" Ollie CouMeERyY ,

declare our solemn commitment:

to Oe oie eco Ue Cline Clo CS OUNal ee untae Ochs Wee MOI) omenicitee  
Slagwciling; 4G Common Caeawomsiajo, pelicrealOwslsim eral llowelliay ,  
pursuing amidst our diversity, freedom, equality and  
Seouiewey wOr Alli dirwesgoective OG race, COloOUr, SEX Or  
CHSC Fc COIN tay mariana Mma OI cI(O cliTaute lel Clam Â© rama tn Kya Ojte nua pIoIn

Oia GEIS (CS hrapibT inocu lesIkÂ© ll @ Nam INEM CERIN )INY

oe 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,

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law;

Se EOM Since (Om Inigo mt le icilclllline ym neelnine CMO ame @onnc  
through policies that will promote economic growth and

human development and ensure equal opportunities and

Social justice for all Soudan Ateileeims 7

etn

to create a climate conducive to peaceful constitutional  
change by eliminating violence, intimidation and  
Ces sel nec es @ Muncie loy amo AON One Cmmistge Cuno Geil cunt cnte eatoneâ\200\224

pation, discussion and debate;

to set in motion the process of drawing up and establishing

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a. that South Africa will be a united, democratic,  
non-racial and MOon==Sexiste State in which Sovereign  
AU NOR; Somes ciscHce CMO vemmunancm While Or alts

eC iraiapintsOnavar

Do that the Constitution will be the supreme law and that  
Fie ee yell slo Mey clara cl Clann rem aucun COS InGle Mier Â©) erlacl Oneal

ELI Gy sini o cletagenlecl a ama UNG eC Hincistan yay

CE that there will be a multi-party democracy with the  
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ateta  
regular elections on the basis of universal adult  
ete feral mn O LN OI Â© Tl mmRU ote tal aN ee tre is) al cra ee  
basic Meilec pote lets oreo nis olen lo: matlilcl ea Hae oa@0 Ova ee@ locas

representation;

cls (anaes eta omc ich lla omcunce pchiacicel Ohm smOOW cameo ie iycle a!  
the legislature, executive and judiciary with

appropriate checks and balances;

evan

e. that the diversity of languages, cultures and

AAMC LCAMS OE ielMO PACES Ore Ceblelo MuErealete| Shastil Joys

acknowledged;

fee wMate Elli Sinai eajoy wWnstverselly AaCCe acc loshmein  
 Biughite ll baceddonomamc mc Van ao Cit Les mam UG mcpmeiseecom  
 Ore seeulilepleya, (Sjoreverele, Ehovel Gsisteyuloyllyy jorelonelerelieeyel Joy feligl  
 enipenchedwancmy uc elcid lew Bll sOieRIohis wand sa silkegal

SENS icine EpblaesuMceeis Cxepblal ancy ee GMM Jeyern@pete) ieleeye) IEW,

MR\_ JUSTICE MAHOMED

I am privileged to read the remainder of the Declaration.

We agree:

ehlait= een pe Seite eck Clma hs Uiige mo cl teterK Oreo cine cumsvkcls a Salo Camera  
 teeing cl  
 EO) Vole EeianceeG aacelh ao Te Ome Ol. ncleencin ys Olae Oe sida

consistent with democracy.

that CODESA will establish a mechanism whose task it will  
 be, in co-operation with administrations and the South  
 ities Coyifereameese, ic Choa ile toes Of ll Wee ue iene wei  
 required to give effect to the agreements reached in

CODESA.

We, the representatives of political parties, political

/organisations...

organisations and administrations, further solemnly commit  
ourselves to be bound by the agreements of CODESA and in good  
fe bte Ot meC aS Nee) Smeclme Ca MEI elope TINO) UnammTO Â© WW Tamer]

authority to realise their implementation.

JUSTICE MAHOMED: Provision is then made for signatures by the

nineteen organisations and movements present today  
Maelo aces ONO CRC mnle la ame iI Ctaieciil emma Or  
vision for endorsement by the South African

Government, reading as follows:

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  
OQureselweas cO esis wij lemencsrciom eaSiceOr Wales GU CAVOaST ey ,

powers and authority.

IGE MOHAMED: Having Gead this historic document, I now wish to  
ask whether there is anybody who is prepared to

propose the adoption theneor.

1D) rage DCR SS Citay any, Â© UCI IA Â© MT IAC Dura Clan OMMONA 000 CmmteINe

adoption thereof? Would you care to come to

podium?

SCG. ee

ZW DE BEER:

144

Sibiay ee SMn pine nls ogee ommetch tamale cen Â©) 12) oem Omri cl@ oie

the document that you have just put before this

BISIS inom hy aoe les CLO) GNU Non) erence CUS Mea locl ge Cami onle  
@ fe Gem tals mC ZOU pcm Olmene Memo bee tg lcm COnnimette omc mG  
relate, IC flim alioimopagercl, aie olejerslalin(eyel jclol=} Wholebnlatinloybls)  
Sippy Otic mO am eieNiem cite Â©MlO) me rncmnnicle moo Uc itmlisO nee  
Steering Committee where there was considerable  
discussion. There were certain amendments adopted.  
Tie heer na analy cocmEnem cle mecceOn amaOn~S OmmMticni desis  
wana had to express certain reservations, although  
our understanding was that that delegation was in  
ao) WEY C\IIOSSC iO idae Cenc Cjowligshe Crs elas  
document, and those difficulties have been

ere raa eC OM iam tal neue Onan ni talClamencinn CGO le Cicitae jmatiNl Che tats  
stand them.

Hoe â\200\230aS caste, Site, Cals Cocwumente OClreaiimes, cGemercearl.  
consensus from all delegations. It was presented  
Gyo. Jofelavaliite Ore Weysile Cacobis 2 loyy Whe PELE EES Vile) Wels

the Chairman of that group, and by Mr Eglin who had  
been particularly active in the preparation.

Sic, Mis Counce BS Woulwe weec ae, OUhe, states

a set of general beliefs and then a set of  
political aims. These sir, we believe Tae via ne Ch commr lara!  
truth the common aims which have brought us here.

JWASSE o oc

JUSTICE MAHOMED:

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These reflect the conditions which can create in  
SOWA MieiCe, yn iwmMeecqiailey gael â\202¬ Clemlocwacy \ynicln  
Can bring us the kind of Government that we are

KOOKS Cero rare

flenyy Â© We Glamis @ nial omer OM ol cinta enn Ge ecliamm te) cll omnm inten mC OTT a  
ements

to this document, we commit ourselves to a number of  
MOOS Es INE SHES MEMES in, EL Clemloeigeizae Siaeiee, Eis elevate

als CeiaEicelily, ywyoyclaicsicoeel., Wis} Clorerwhinernie ALS} joyore  
DEESCHIpCiVve ance 1S SspeCa tically drartcea in such

Clee Mleh i Nera > OMmcI mel em eO MC OUT amc Ty 710 G\Cl\amn ts Oech iy amin Gl ula  
taking that he cannot carry out because he is  
IACEOAOLE OF Coimg SO. LL ckaw youle actemeion guile,  
to such words as â\200\234all such steps as are within our  
power" and "within our capacity, powers and

clbkelserealiey,/ aliel teak) (exe) Clommimbienemnes) <

Silie, Lt CO MO loSlieyva eee Garis assemMaly Wweimes we  
Â© tec eau cla ea AAC ene AEE C@ CHUNG eam CM era  
thoroughly worked through by all delegations. It  
Goes wae thadmes I Mave saicl ie does, amc ie is my  
privilege to move its adoption.

From tie POfint Of View Of theâ\200\231 qudiciary what 1s  
Sree Se eel iy amc tertteetar en) testa rel ial Cl IR oO Nay etc) Ca omer la( Â© ammeClt  
s mee Samm ce  
commitment to accept the sovereignty, the majesty  
of the law and the Constitution under which we

will be ruled.

/Dr De Beer...

Eee ee CD) erANTE Â©) Slee

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Die DS BOS IAS PIeCo00SeEcl ses aclootion, Were jig  
OowilGuUsiy @ Gree Clee OF Swisjo@~weE wOIe tine adoption,  
eniael Rte le ee ast ms Oo esta eaten alae EL eT aieterI AC}

Ta clet ep etait ction ln) la Â©) ee Nau) ome SC oa omnia nto Clase crine  
submissions. What I would be more interested in  
is to hear from anybody who has any disagreements,  
reservations, or qualifications about the adoption  
Â© clae Declaration Os meee.

Mr Chairman sir, distinguished delegates, ladies  
eine, Geil esmerl,, Wore) Ismkserrelover iMicexsrcloyinl Iehetey teeve IL ly  
would like to sign this document. There's a lot  
yem@alede als} Gierers, fl Ikene aie) okie â\200\230elvete We) Eyefeee wali, WS  
really would like to sign this document. That's  
our Sincere wish. Nevertheless we think there are  
SS eels te tas mate em Wie mc tal arts sea Incl TOON aun ele sl  
inkatha Freedom Party therefore wanks tO Sign and  
INS â\202~ eG COMSGimeeing peiccy \*O a Declaration OF  
Intent with which it wholeheartedly subscribes.  
However oOum delegations considered view Ws that  
the document â\200\224~ the Declaration - points

US eclia Oayemel Tce cetaerIR@ PlecibiamEGllniacy@ted@lancmere1  
direction exclusive of a possibility of federal  
government forming. We are therefore  
holding over our decision regarding the signing of  
the Declaration of Intent, and intend pursuing the  
principles which concern us for further deliberation  
in the appropriate Committee of CODESA in an effort

to secure the amendments to it which would enable

us to sign it, because we think in the main it isa



JUSTICE MAHOMED:

N MANDELA:

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GOOCdmaOCUNe hyo UEC Clgcchnh mae nen ci omnlecCmrOm ne  
Tay] tele eas el Pe dT) ey) oe Lento

Well you've heard the contribution of Dr Mdlalosi  
who is in substantial agreement with the content

Or ene cocumene, Due SUGGEScS G2 KUieda@ie OGaSormicuiniLcey

â\200\230ore EWE GO CGervaiin Coralls, as 1 wncleiesicame! Inalim,

Are there any further responses from anybody ?

Die Memol@ie. q

Mr Chairman, I am very happy about the constructive  
approach which has been put forward by Dr Mdlalosi.  
I think we should regard CODESA as a process and  
MOE Somerclasne ieee Snowe! oe accomjolasuecl iWin ei

Â© Oe Â© pega era ee eT TS TO Tapes te Le aL BIEL  
Iss ee rae Ie help ea ate Â© eS amotio come a No @) tO aches che) Ol mel  
with the relevant committees of CODESA. ikea  
PEODES sa nGuswals mE @ tam Ulctnc Ome OC CClCy male Omicle ee Oommen ciiey

aocaolte; tm OUTS eal eal | - ~ = anh a  
because we want all people who attach their

IT

Signature to the Declaration to do so because they  
baw lie Completion ase tate CloctiMeMe imMuicieOEs tele

ideas as well.

ik yrowulel inewawaic SUEGEEE toawe We, all OF US, Imawe  
eS epg tere Hee tcl ety gute eas Ase LO)  
shape and give shape to this document. And eI Opaclsta  
AS ihe ce@leweinie Commitcicees oO CODESGA, iEMey Mawe  
handled it very well, and I think that the moment

has come, which we should siezÃ©, of signing the

/document...

JUSTICE MAHOMED:

N MANDELA:

148

COC Unie ier wl\ chemmen Cs CMno cise mich Gm @lac cMEESehetonis

which are ready to sign must sign the document.

I am ready to sign the document on behalf of the  
NN Creche Gee Gere Innvelate Gece aan Â© eam) CO RuenL REG cum O ral eC Smmtelatclte  
i cnCmenl Omnia oa clea) Lats Â© meg) Oe eel anne Cyne iGf mate helt

document.

Blea s15 Cy ah ean) Â©) BIN Nh tenmenG@) elhComm Le th ome OU OT In amid Cl cI EC) [em  
fe

HOSSHVECLIOMS Gooours clas coctmeme, aincl iim Eacie

was instructed last night by the National Working  
Conmiaciec CuO lemme ome Al Cam OMG OleclClems iam) meek cvahe tomatoe!  
l@aclee Cie tcla@ Wertci@med Peicicy, eincl oq ESGoIeeSs) imMyy  
reservations about some aspects of this document.  
Nol I ALSOÂ© sinc@incl CO CGonstllic ne leaders or ali  
Celie tae Oi eiates oct eso a tater ec SCN CMG On CmC Olc Hes nemicllay ay  
Sibi aa ten a: Â© [UlbTa Cn@) amen TQ Â© clnianle In Claueein @ Vamntol IS maT Cu emn I  
Chie

However, he raised certain ...

Dr Mandela, we have a pure technological problem.  
If you stand and speak the transcribers can't get  
ie COW, Waltelagic You Silke OF YoU COME tO eae POG Iw.  
if Cloinie Isaveyy, Whe (Clovetaieiisin , Winercleue \yoybl Velane ile ic)  
Stare Â£EÂ£from the beginning? 2 have forgotten what I

said.

icra Osetra rey a esta (oO) Pe To Cena TT act cl coals Cl me teste cinema tau lel aclat  
n@ roe

has made a very constructive proposal, for which I

PMABE o 0 0

must pay him the warmest compliment. He has suggested that his delegation is not ready to sign  
tee ee lechiacheen@ ey wate NC alee WO Unn Cle Wisc st Omnece MONEE ie

meicigeire Wilteln tclAS weleVveliors COMMiccees oO CODIEGA,

SiS WE lsIN mats OMe ae Zc Ae Wes Gla, meats Caen EEO) SISeleO some  
ehacUemaeiickem OU Cmmeiio mich sciemm ici smo Memo ta@ | rainy,  
addressed by the Task Group and reported to the  
Steering Committee, we could argue that that has  
GispOeds Of Ene Matern, SUE EnwSe oma very:  
HOMO Â© Waited item ele) teste cd tol ey marche Cle einemnW OCMC) Gletcl amin ins ect k  
comsi@ Is  
Us sOe eae cicraC nhac See OMe eri Cm OlohlCiamne cone sOIOC eS crs  
Ie ALS MONE SOMS elim tehete, WE Cal LACKS sinc Chisoose  
Â© ie TIAN ete Ve n@ el tay ptt to Cle ete rte eldest Nan Â© Hath ctor  
SaQiciOm waste \*ECSClS Cate we 18 MOE Leady to Siigm eMe  
Declaration must be given enough time to examine

tel Re DiS Clabigckesk@ mech Glut One ce ua COM Cen lite C Ham WrleteinmmmtetaS

relevant committees. And pie tela

EMEE COMSELUGCELVWS ajsjicOaCla ,

Bie I Eli jocejoeieecl GO Sigm dae clocwMeME mow = I nimi  
(ela came Omclsen soir cm OOO OMeomeclney mee li mai@ tame OI OualaÂ© Vi,  
would be regrettable. Many people have worked very  
Inieuecl, SOM ewerey Ole nobles B Clay, eO jococllice ielnils  
document, and we have had the honourâ\200\231 of this  
Conference, this meeting, being opened by the

Chief Justice, and we have had the honour of

having two Judges to preside over this meeting.

an ae

us think that all of us today should leave here  
 with a sense of achievement, and that is the reason  
 Loy lOan Tp retest en] yen => a) cle tT ele Lec) Taina Clam tellaInS

document.

iP want toradd hae yesterday we wese Supposed to  
 have a meeting with the National Working Committee  
 eGo IORMOO co IAaSO Ciscussiing calS DeEcllaicatedom ,

We discussed it the whole day and adjourned only  
 ae IOn00, IL WaS dinSiciemcccd tO Gee sia coOuUcin Waltea  
 Mr De Klerk and to put certain reservations which  
 we had, and which we stiil have, about this document.  
 I contacted Mr De Klerk on a number of occasions  
 and the last one was about 20h20 in the evening.  
 He placed certain information before me, and  
 advanced certain arguments, and one of the arguments  
 that he advanced was that it would be undesirable  
 Og WKS} IO) eS HO/OSM EL melee Wasela |aeyel loyersia)

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eCelde Hot aoise ee WHat nes nel nym Utes ye cle) Op istara( oer  
 COmeiiowucine io) IMS SUCCESS OC sods meen, I  
 went back to my colleagues and persuaded them co  
 aCcCepin tne COcuMe meno Ne sic = And #leteMere tonic  
 vowel iLike = I Jin iavere Crosbie; 160Â© jOSQicSibleKels Orclaeic  
 political parties to adopt the same approach which

Cun CmreN COO Schr slat omen WiO li clamlete<Cuncieeln@ eusUeemE@

sign the document now, and I hope no political

PEON. 5 A

JUSTICE MAHOMED:

N NOGCANTSI:

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Dicliait= aes eeC|O} SIC man OmncaG) Ul Ca telco ante nN CemcrC) a) le nCiant@ tame  
document should be postponed.

Now there is another matter of very grave national  
importance which = would like to raise, but TZ would  
like to raise it after we have signed the

Deca cteth@ hire Gm Sr se lsenny ml @o Cb aera Cla cierait clin yam Ol  
Vile EL fy Mae OM @)TO)IO Â@ iTeuter CLAN Aten yan Â@ egme are ISP lb Ta) Cpe eens

Wer nave now da Gent WOMmiscs CMs cCmmtOnrlllems > ie pO Sic) lamns Is  
ACOs Onan Cen Vance siCiemEnC OMS Hmit chem lithe  
other at all. Dr MdlaLosi would prefer an oppor-  
CUnitiay EO) COncidcqrerne Cetarliswin One Of ihe  
Committees of CODESA; Dr Mandela in his statesman-  
(Teas OMS Sym Nace OMG CS Cl tellichemmne cic men penteinCmmtanaCy Inu  
ope Daa UfolleMeysah choot) leiqr=) dinel,qclielets1) Jdnaia\oveKeyi) chareyen loybhe

he has urged thos

(D

WhOmtaWice WONG S eiaciaLOnls cOmsiOren  
him in â\200\234signing the Declaration. Es there â\200\234any

ODDO SHAE ORO Mee SEE OIA Â@) OO Sic aante in chtane NOS CMAN Omcline mea Clalchiy,  
anes wise nope sSuG nS a Otic Co mSON Mow

mee you Wie Claesiemam, My Dame lS NOgeamesi,  
representing the Ciskei Government. Mr Chairman,

1 WOEULE LIke cO Gece SOME Slairiey Mmece.

Now, assuming Dr NdlaLosi moves an amendment to  
EnaweDee laratdom andwhe lobbies: Ehuis somenemeaices  
this up with other delegations and coming up with  
a separate and a distinct Declaration which is

Cie eeeeeiic wii rela iS Om, Wrolaelo IWeelleneeredOr loves

nea ae

â\200\230JUSTICE MAHOMED:

G WiOLJONRIN

152

ieee ee Omen) Clip haem ein mg 14@ 1s kT aa TT al ciny Fie pelea  
Mr Chairman, because we're having one, two or three  
De Gnlrctbra ches Ik@ Ts Fe mae ny) U8 Cla ele om Oe CS OM MECH laciitariatenyae

Otherwise we as the Ciskeian Government have got no

â\200\234problem with the basic principles in the Declaration,

aie! WE reel Eee ells WeECilencacaom Ings loeein Intucwenecilly  
produced and although we had a delegate in the

Sree rasan cas COM Ea ee or mW Ome Claus eeiattet mn) aunt OMe i=eeil mela elay,  
to consider the contents, though we move that the  
parties that are happy with the contents of the

DC agate Olea CuI Cn CLOW mallet Â@ VanGicll elec Gila auSunCimseiniers  
Thank you Mr Chaicman'.

As I SES it, HaOSS WaÂ@ are happy CO Siigm will Silein.  
If Dr MdlaLosi subsequently produces a document  
which is an improvement, people will be free to add to  
tela chieas SHEGiN ke Urge Oram OmeaCrcl Cima ch IO OIG@)O Igloo Cr Nya ue CLO  
think that Dr MdlaLosi's proposal is in any way

MC On Shes Cin awieigte ieee Mca Cu RC men einteciions Â@ Wiel cue Oe  
who have read this document, who have considered it,  
Aine! Win euicÂ@ Inavojoy writen we, Silmould Sigin ie@milginâ\200\231e loeroice  
NCES UNE SIO S Es

BiG ar etval aug) Cle eta @laliclesletaotil tale es Â@) Cla ciate) em em ON maln in oli  
ae

â\200\224E would like to emphasise that we consider it of

EMe Gigned ces =a iip Otsecline msec te (eMlOusssuCianan ci u@rammteiieln  
cocaine SVooulcl Ind AS Timcluisiwea Enc as Co@ijsice-  
hensive ween seqana to) paseloipants cs us) humanly,  
possible. We are prepared to sign this document.

We've been involved in its development, and in its

xi @rlg ein cpegene

si Wey oeva 0 fm OU te ToT ln elt Jet CesT SL Ta teeta Ost  
 eran Cielo ctine mime Sian nemo mans ee tenn Cmmtelne  
 seh age Tet Si @ em ita @ Cl\Vcl in Cella aCe techs lam  
 think it is a major achievement to have been

TNC CO stectec =< Clue erumn CMW cl /aurlateme a me) Cima cielieslecita icles

At the same time, sir, I would like to subscribe  
 and support your view that signing the document

now is not irreconcilable with Dr Mdlalosi's

aC) UC Sema eal Mat clei Cics cI me cl iain Ome Ore cl  
 AAO DD Ors et inlay eA NTS ae ODN HCl Â© Islan Sun O SHaEEEEO Ia

and after negotiations or discussions, then decide  
 IGUE SUCHIN Gir MOR, L WOULC ia@ieerxrOireS Suyjopore  
 OU Sloat mela Â©) Clb TommmPIB TNs ntag [Osta Ohler Ih tesls Â©The (ell IR CUI Sem Oss  
 Dr Mdlalosi is a request that should be granted,

Wiley tenOSSicm whom aisel oscars Cle sO) SH Gpaeaweiel Mle SpIECh TaN.

I WoOUlc FUSE lake to Giplaasise, im tae igintt OL  
 what Dr Mdlalosi has said, that the Government, in  
 Considering tae timal document, also Helt that  
 because the emphasis has been on points of agree-  
 MSN, Ch Comino ereotincl, Joy CeititiolelOm casas Cloewimenic  
 does not include those aspects of different parties'  
 1D ORC PIN SOI wa yilbIn@ inte tamu Cleese Tamera Tal Oi) Ontauen |) center  
 The points of difference have not been included

ont a â\204¢ . Wa 7 TaaAa  
 here; the common ground has been included.

But at the same time, as we read the document, and

gel eitsraeee

JUSTICE

MAHOMED:

154

GUST eLetters sera Cee nN IAG@ Lola Sn SLE) To Tet meereaTTACIO tte ate:  
understanding on which we sign it, we also added

on the second page that "we agree that the present  
GUNG, MEWS [Hee iGnEtjosaiores Sorell Io EioneilieleCl to) jowie  
forward freely to the Convention any proposal con-  
SB emmy elena ll TT) tat) Auer eee Tamm Ola! eam nein amen  
not a comprehensive and an exclusive list of

[DOLE Ce eae mech me ciia eral ome laaW lh eae tne elle yiciay,  
SOM ay eee ayn Â© Wl eaWiomnClIbeie teenie NO Nenasy melo Uemwilhnely  
are consistent with the spirit of the document as

a whole, and we shall sign on the clear understanding  
Ce 1 leo a eS cm ea Vn) alee LO ota  
TO clate S game fo Sycamore Ve Te oe TUTTI via ates t= Cl ORTON Oh mI  
Spin WO) Â©) ety emul Cn eee ee aanIa C2) MOU hee verenin ia Â© (0m ca mmo CS ia

fs) test Cen (Ny gee etl atm Â© Sem tN lb Clee mnCh EN Clam Ie mmC OS Mine blair  
NTN GIR IbTea Oy clTanewik Ue Ragen SEIO a mm @WibI9 interpretation Ot Ene

CiOS LINEINE IS mere SUC idee wie ScoluUces Aimy joaiciey eS  
promoting a regional or a federal approach in

eS ee Â©) LEA eatC ce lacie Sim TS ONleK@\yaO Ol omiatennoyane

I Golalisi< ielehre WES 4 Wey COMSiErEC ELS â\200\224 sin imdy  
respectful view - a clearly accurate response

to the position in which we find ourselves. There  
seems to be substantial agreement between Mr Mandela,  
Dig WALL GOS, Giall igen ilo Walley If jouGIk wa, wim wine  
COS Oe wae aucience, eMac clase WRO are reac,

WAP eB Tamcde Caco cO. Shon Must Mow Dew ele Olde cme@

dO SO.

JDO o oc



A RAJBANSI:

JUSTICE MAHOMED:

I OMAR:

IDXey Soybl lovelies eiigl alinoreioreshave, (ckoyohereriojthe loyal, Mba iewajecuaaysil  
Y

WEE, El SUCGCGSESeEUOR OH HS iwSCMESic mechs Joy Dre Micllasloet  
Miran @latclplora icine mee amt OTC) Ura Wale len ella OMAN Wamatellnr cute a LES)

REGU Sites Sn Vesa C Ons eal Glen ior mane uSEa@c SOc) oleer mint  
GLO@Sin te Sieesyorcl aia) ielNS Wesy Wiel WEEE OIE joiee~ieess  
beang made todayein relation (eo, those who want to  
Sign the document. I think CODESA must decide to  
Grain ener tinkcitince tise CO liâ\204¢ Detain suism Isc CiUeister tel Veloce  
they desire so to raise this matter et a relevant  
Committee, either the Steering Committee or any  
other structures established by it. I believe that  
OVS) sLSSUUS ais) icloyss Siakeglayioys; Cpe iellalS) joeyeueslewllisua Cocwirsiwie,  
and the other as that CODESA teselrâ\204¢ shouldâ\204¢= grant

the DIFP its request to have the right to take this

to a Committee, and the Committee must be mandated

to deal with Inkatha's request.

Yes, I think that's inherent in the very document itself,  
and more particularly paragraph 1 after the words "we  
agree". Are there any other CONNEFibDutions, appreâ\200\224  
ciating that to encore is not necessarily to augment.  
Mr Chairman, on the agenda under Item 5 we have the  
"Adoption and Signing", and I submit respectfully,  
that before we can really adopt the Declaration,

Wee WOU ca havemrOn deco pila eiClsES ta chiniclamranlkcsr

But I don't think there is anything militating  
Chel leiden) IA GnIn Cm Oeamnte NS mec ein er marae Claletaenace  
fey Ie >) meme Co eT) al) (9G) ie ey TEIN TIEN) eS

ACCAMEVOLE io jooOcN Giclees, Oie lxOieln jropoosiicions.

INI Cowie. so

Wie @oraliicl alli, Sulein, shoredeyslsne; doen, TOCeKy, tele  
document that is tabled here, but we need not  
IC@ Os = aer eet en |My cle le temn CL stee en ny CMCC) OEE eNO mS eemGle enc)  
TUNES 5 6c

JUSTICE MAHOMED: You have a murmur.

I OMAR: I have heard a murmur, but I have heard Dr Mandela  
asis tor sigmimg anc Lt suiijpoIrme iaae, Wwe Ine@auccl  
everyone else asking fom a svgning; I"m not against  
that. What I'm Saying is this process - I think we  
GLSO In@aiecl irom Mie Mamcela - MAS cO lobe aS dinclusiwe  
AS jOOSSilole, aimc we l8 a jeOCeSS, GiacI Wwe Caimmore  
MAVe 2 GUIGKâ\200\224-EIx HLOCSSS. Wae adeopeion music GO  
tes ante ULC) Lelie (Â© sre] Â©) CS) 11 ler Toary el Cle a> Ie bse Sool In emt PT HL va  
te By

luo OHI ian @ pie Osta Gl Nae Mao) Uh ome nth oP Â© To OU ORES OTN Tem Olas

What I would suggest sir, is that the adoption be  
discussed tomorrow after we've adopted the rules,  
amc een accommocace Imixatoaâ\200\231s chiirtieulcy dm tails  
regard.

JUSTICE MAHOMED: Is there any support for this suggestion?

F T MDLALOSI: Mr Chairman, and members of the delegates to this  
CODaSy\, waieSic UL WOULG IKE CO Gxuoeeess my aAjojorcecia@icl]9M  
OE eae aes Ooms Geral Wiel CO n OMe mC aCe ags@rememle  
Axmiaee ae akan OO Ciac ccm Wanenumiac a 0c Ci-maEOmelibins  
that was moved by Inkatha. Having said so, I think  
it is in order that people should know what my  
reservations were about. I think right away now,

I was opening an issue hoping that in fact one

Paeikciloememe

ey,

Te Cj on cl 1s) a0 Â©) elcome cl eect.) @) Ih TE  
WAS Gace joieeoeic@cl |O GO tO ae woeleawveme

Committee.

HRS Lae) WC lel cma HE OMmtercl seme nS mm) (O)[O@ tale linamintos amnots

Labling Enis as oun proposed amendments in fact,

CO CALS Declaration Ox linceime,

Witten eae Gieliaca.

With regard to paragraph 1, we suggest that the words:

"an undivided South Africa with one nation"  
be omitted and substituted by the following:

"a new South African nation."

The reason for amendment: We of the IFP are moving this amendment because it might give the false impression that we are necessarily committed to a unitary State and will deny us the opportunity to advance the advantages of Federalism (at a later stage). Nevertheless the substituted wording would emphasise the desire

to achieve a unitary State.

(2) Paragraph 5(a) - that the words: "in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory" be omitted.

The reason for amendment: We move for the elimination of the words "in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory".

(e) (ii) = that the words "and a vertical separation of powers between the central government and the regions and" be inserted

Usepanatione.

(ii) - that the words "and a vertical separation of powers between the central government and the regions and" be inserted

EG name el Mmvyre (@ vale tamal Ul Cll altclrray/ amare

The reason for the amendment: The name of the committee

(Se ae

is again to make room not only for separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary, but for devolution of power from the central government to the regions.

The essential theme that is running through in our approach is winalic ale als ibinjpo@irwenne iGO Ikilory telnale ECO! Erorsie elo! winlte, iecyoplome have their own particular problems which need to be attended to by their own local regional areas or regional structures.

(3) Under the heading "We agree" - to delete the paragraph numbered 2 and substitute the following:

â\200\234aie CODESA ame All Â© the Pareles, Siigmetcories Inereito , will make every effort to facilitate the process leading to a democratic constitution to be submitted to a referendum of all the people of South Africa.'

The reason for the amendment: The IFP moves for this amendment because we cannot permit the recommendations here to be recognised aS IMevalncg wae SwirSeGe Oe comme loilinchiiing Lecgaslatcsom. Resulting from this change, the determinations made here must be subject to referenda before they are legally effective.

(4) That the final paragraph of the Declaration be omitted.

Reason for the amendment: The IFP moves for this deletion because

ten V7 Â©)15 GlS Mam TT IG) eh (oo) ET ll = alton s GlE IS mm Â© Inn Â© startanlern jum TO clbtan esIncT In raytercintany,

SOW Commas

power to the results of the negotiations reached at this

Conference,

This is our view Mr Chairman, and Penn ee earlier, we would  
IST ChUeIne Suna iyaunt Ome aca .e me Ua ela temic] Â© teelicntes On Small Oe eee nS ie  
e tte ae

MAMACEMNeNG Commie, row telaeic inom wall ike wilta tle reste OF  
the procedure and how this accords with your Rules of Procedure,

I do not know Mr Chairman, but we are honestly talking how we

GSS aloobhe she Walelmowhe EvoNy IeSeie, WaCESS ieee wSES1 â\200\230elec â\200\230vay  
Ceun

SERCO men w.Se lee em cll etal ch ielstememele hte memtealn UIE Gh tenn She ae tal ICT  
ein OS CMe aeemenaS

concerned about some of these things that I have raised, ought

to search their consciences and find out whether they are really

ee OOS a cH@ ME Ouse Gilual neOrac see ale mC he chiquat Nes Cumalte ersomcunGl

Ie Silise re ncteme Ines auchige ma Â©. ene Gin eea UO me emul amine inn alte Vem eny,

Mena SS Cg Cre NO Â© Ute asia acta UM elhig On eae lial Nin ny Â© [Uae Â© lay Oa alo cb  
acincer

Miraue @laiaeisiematraus

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Gia aetbian ay , (Â© lm rage clO cle (@) ce Pees ca Â©) hl estente Â© Iola cll cs eel ea  
 Clay costo can Cl eel ceay  
 CEMAIIAS Lateace, Winer Die McllAlose was cloalag Wes Galwalng wo we  
 EME IKSIAELES Ol INLS WOEWELVLOm eimcl WOAGEI "OW! Mow loSalioe; iereychy  
 OMS TAN rap] inten Â© een ate ets ese Gl Â© Cle we @egcl OU OR emS LC CSS esa In  
 Or) proposal, imeconsistent wath that whieh has been supported by  
 Dr Mandela and Professor Viljoen which is that those who are

Help DiyanWistelam ey enc clneE nO Wee Cuno cc Canc Omcaeciate

With the consent of my esteemed co-chairman, I formally rule  
 fein ante Dict eS Mantel) m to) @ lon ntca lh @)ole mmo mee ICN MRC RC mec ONae Gellcue  
 SI@ mans @) ta  
 hie Some ieee cae tela marie) Mine tamer lartenyy ine Colne) tae LCC RO Seus incl oeeoc  
 praeisiccd  
 his concerns and the solutions which he has suggested and I

telaeteIn KaunWicmmctiac uct el mma Geo te Cline Oe neers

Micke Dekaciets On me alone Mel nom Cac ic emmin Â©) Oil Is Cobia ais eee is acs sO eNO  
 cyesnClase  
 Ome eck NS a eeleiaSiem One ele Ro eissOnicms=Ol S.C aelaes CEC aaah On a. Mkts  
 Nelson Mandela on behalf of the African National Congress. If

Vou il Clo mS TlxS Inoimotic Gi COMMA EO WAS OOCGAWM AAC SiuCinine; ave.

The next organisation on the eters provided is the Bophuthatswana

Government. I do not know whether they are ready at this stage  
 OME SHIRCHIOS They are not.  
 The next organisation provided is the Ciskei Government. Are you

ready to sign?

O J GQ9zZ0

CISKEL GOVERNMENT

Mr Chairman, we, the Ciskei, move that we postpone our signing

until such time that we have considered one particular section

which we are not happy with. I

S soo

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

LS tae DeMNOGrAcILS PArEey PreepDaicecl tO Silgme Die de Bee@ie.

The next organisation is the Dikwankwetla Party. Are you ready to sign? The Inkatha Freedom Party's position has been canvassed, And the next is the Inyandza National Movement. Are you ready

CO SLGiA, Sailiw? And the next organisation is the Intando

Yesizwe Party. The next organisation is the Labour Party of South Africa, the Reverend Hendrickse. The next organisation is the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress. The next organisation 18 ae Wereiomal Parwcy Or Souwna Areica, Die Dawac clo Walllieies,

We mee organisacion is the Nacilomal People's Paiwry, IMbe

Rayong, Waa MEXe OKGamiseareion is Solicaiciatey, Die J iN ReclChy.

And Ener next onganisatvon as the Soumeh Arailrcan Communiisi= Paiatys. Mie Clawis Hlamal wall jroodoly say caac tals cocumenc is the result of a thesis, an antithesis and synthesis. Major-General Holomisa, Transkei Government. United People's Front, Chief Minister Ramodike. Brigadier Ramushwana, Venda Government. Professor Ntsanwisi, Ximoko Progressive Party. The last signature on this COCUMEMNE WiNICGÂ® 1S meEEeclec is eMac OH CAS JOilmMe AeOMALcEEECGE OF Cais

day, President De Klerk.

Pe cniMicawe: SMOUMuG Giecinin On cinleâ\204¢ Otileia my Oren mclaeln ite Cees oeaWems  
a

to say something, which he earned.

/Mr Mandela ...



DR N MANDELA

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

ETH falcata ay, @ em eral Â© niet tee 1lh ees eee clieleclOu Sen Â©) CIN Clim onl Cun t  
e One ocielsie) eh

matter of national importance, and I am happy you have given

ME EA CeoorrEtinitiy tO 60 SO, I ain Gravelly Gomeeiinecl elooihe tele  
behaviour of Mr de Klerk today. He has launched an attack on  
Re Meeseva Natelomel Cemessess,, choycl alin, Clore SO Ine) Ineys lose Ileciys  
se Fate ral tester Tal geen Nyc altel el te rch Cla (Â© ec aeel e CEI EREN Cle Clea eC  
ate cle  
minority regime as his, has certain moral standards to uphold.  
He has no excuse, because he is a representative of a discredited  
reeloshner, ilo\ e jele) yelaveylll ioneeitl (Sietetiotckevatclis|; Jake) lovaris) lavel  
iovelilelerel | eho\cl  
DbekLone Eesdya SOy ee Letmmemocyan enc em Om ONG iamem> iOmm COMMS c Iavclelayic  
Party has made such a serious inroad into his power base. You

understand why.

Tf a man can come to a conference of this nature and play

Tenement Cm Ota Olle tes ol RV TEIN Nu cIeta Ba Ot cule co Clete een Seo clio C Tar man  
ostonys few  
people would like to deal with such a man. We have handled the  
question of Umkhonto we Sizwe in a constructive manner. We pointed  
out that this is one of the issues we are discussing with the  
Government. We had bilateral discussions but in his paper,  
although Â© was with him, i was discussing with faim Uae ame OVE  
20h20 last night, he never even hinted that he was going to make  
this attack. The members of the Government persuaded us to allow  
them to speak last. They were very keen to say the last word

Ines, le i68 mow Gleaie wy iene Clicl GO, Ac Ine InAs Bouse! ims

position because he hoped that I would not ge vgo le mawars)

/completely ...

Completely mistaken. sl al Geplyingsnowe es Weware@stall prepared  
 QQ) META CLSCUSSGIOMS Wwiltela Ieslim Wie Ine wevones, Joie loys) imulsne weitere  
 that he can impose conditions on the African National Congress

and, I daresay, on any one of the political organisations here.

Hee Tantei itches yamine) ae IN CLES Ul ies) Tate envy siete el UTC gene lc eae Ieee t  
 ee ye IS

Weakness 1G) Om OOl@ clea inclttcelss iis OllmenCm Â@ lneO Hay Lew Â@ fetehie  
 National Party and the White minority in this country, not from  
 eheM Â@ HenttismNORMeny he Wa@ esl em fo UNNC alerts Clan @) oi 1) teal scie neal ele el  
 ata cin

gone further to say to him, no useful purpose will be served by  
 the ANC trying to undermine the National Party, because we wanted  
 fetta es Net tee @ ete Ya aT lao eta et Ns In A eI eee Celtel ge Ea  
 Ti have sara to him on countless occasions that NoOmuUsSecEU pumpose  
 Wali loa Served Iny Elbe Neislomal Rerroy mxayalag wO WinGlercinnine â\200\230elie  
 African National Congress..5 He continues to do exactly haw and

we are going to stop him.

He has told you - and â\200\224 say he is less than frank, because he has  
 MOE ieOil6l WOU elise ie US cine MrieiCein WeeiOMell COMeress, mor the  
 NGLetOme Benctey, more Ins ECowerrmmenic wleie SteeieeScl ns Wisiewelieye -  
 alae CMe Cun Ges OU spe omny elaine NiceC@ OME m GO Cues ec mmciin Clu Â@ laine lage Â@  
 ))2)

Government officials since July 1986, when I was still in prison,  
 asking that the ANC and the Government should sit down to explore  
 a peaceful solution. As a result of the) pressure of the people  
 lMSiGe cals Coumery, amc Of Ae imeermacional commumil icy and as

a result of persuasion from us, they eventually agreed to Shins

CCl sy a t=0) oT So V1 i= Â@ al rl) hth LTO CesT gs eT) =)

/contribute

contribute to the creation of an atmosphere whereby this  
 LININETNCIEINVE CEN SUGCCSC, AS jose Ol hate SEEORE, We sSUs~pEemeÃ©lod  
 the armed struggle. What has happened on the side of the  
 Government? We suspended the armed struggle in spite of the  
 fact that our people were being killed and the Government, with  
 ule mnC elo cl enna am Ome mC NCO Me elms ROR ReGen were doing

nothing to stop the slaughter of innocent people.

I have said to him: You have got a strong, well-equipped,

Spier NOs Tee tea ON ero ome Â© aS HI Cla Diao Cao Mem Kae TY OTTO)  
 Using that capacity to stop this violence. I have pointed out  
 to him that the perception that exists amongst our people is  
 Eaaic im ce HoOxrecrronc oO& wtais wvielence, are

CRAIC ait an @ Hemme Clerapinien ame ae loys ian (OME! Â©) Clio emma SETS) iT onal  
 knowledge that organisations like the CCB, their main task is  
 RO else tetera Ince testa Cl Â©) TT gale CH hel iar MI ra el EIR Cor) I stag Va SO imMe  
 amy  
 activists have been killed, without trace. The killers have  
 TN SSC Tag To) SV Tal Cl Saal iBT lL aN Siam Toner et = Cl aC en ose  
 massacres not a single member of the National Party was even  
 Ciacl Ze Gaal SO Â©) eigen eee leone A omar Ome ciiaÂ© mie ny OCs

position who fight apartheid.

INS weg eal ete m= el cn meio clea EL Tclt, atl Cl In ate ere Mn CS OE ao) yam) Ue  
 OU e= TiN al a Oe OM OCICS MOG OO Sse uae al ny mer CIEING Chine Clu nich em O On yz  
 AE Ae =e bie ela ema ame otc Gl tel BINS oC lS HIK@ in mm elentesl lS eT eS) Â© Ul stea  
 mentel sR Tan Dennett

tion of Intent. There were certain loopholes which, when it was

/reported

EEOOMESC Â«O US, WE Loumcl im tae cocumemc, anc IL was  
 LMNStemucted te; ensuse Ena enose Woopholes vane closed. il discussed  
 the matter with him. He then persuaded me, saying that this  
 document has gone through to the relevant committees. We must  
 MOE GmMeMmG aie ac tals momeme, IL acgieecc walla lasm, Amel I weme  
 lIAEGE icOÂ© iY COMMICEES tcO Say, We lS MoOWw cOO late Foire WS cO CoO  
 anything. They accepted that because of our commitment to the  
 peace process, our desire that this process should succeed.

Now he is attacking us because we have not dissolved

Uninomr@, He lS moe GvEin cSllliiag YOU, wEOOMEING tO SvOU relmale  
 when we agreed, we had a discussion in Cape Town at the beginning  
 of this year onUmkhonto we Sizwe. We then had an agreement in  
 terms of which we had to hand over our weapons for joint control  
 by the Government and ourselves, but we linked that to the

development of the political process.

We said when the process has reached a certain stage, which can  
 ensure that we would have an effective control or say in Government,  
 EMC WOMe Dem CaSiVa Oe Cause: sella WOUC DCm Ouicn GOWersiimnemitters

Their army will be our, army. We would be ready at that time to

CO SO, Woere WES ene Sjoillieie OE Oue CGISCUSSLOMS amc L Mave mec  
 hing. bayc mer him stom examples Denne ences uc Ml nCn Onmneile

Peace Accord, when he was threatening to do then what he has

CJOne moyy â\200\224 eiacl L Say icO Inilims WOW are ASKimEG US LO GO SOWwawag.  
 You are asking us to commit suicide, because when your Government

is not prepared to intervene and stop the violence; when the

POSE Cie Ole.

perception amongst our people is what it is elements  
 in the Security Forces large are killing; Owe join Les when our  
 people are demanding to be armed, what political organisation  
 would hand over its weapons to the same man who is regarded by

TENN OS Ook iret mel celeste Mater Cy ements) Ge Nem Connors

AG stn kee lem acter ta @)i oat Â© TT sl en) Cea No) Ut may My USI aClimn nei  
 ELS Tay ctr le Tenmnt= )RCel nen te en Nem yo C@) UU COne The te le een cl tente Coon

see whether we can reach a solution. â\200\234And I met him Thursday ,  
 last week. He raised the same point. 2 again emphasised to  
 him that he is asking us to do something that is absolutely  
 Taal Mele @ Use clin ate lo cme MW Â© 1NIAGl Inn CoG) Â© Fen OM CUR NClimn In On) lamin  
 CmmÂ© Uli  
 arms Â£0 a Government which we are Sure either has lost control  
 Owe Ae Secuieiey MoIrceS Oi EMe Secuiciey F0reesS ace Coiling  
 DSC eS een yaa teylal elite aia ryt alate = a =lial = Tan) Â©) Cl1 an eS) cl aug ta='cl  
 Cl nots

Government who would allow such a culture of violence to take

root, without interfering. We have discussed certain mechanisms  
 and agreed that these mechanisms should be applied, in documents

ScEEINGg) Ole Ene pieImcip los Om enemboace AC come.

Nevertheless, in spite of those mechanisms, violence still  
 SCA eT Searle Tel EIEIO a enca auricle Mall mncl ny nc nn) Sa) en ecm eh enae tes  
 to show how many new policemen have been employed, what courts  
 have been created. He does not relate what is happening,  
 because in spite of what he has done, the incidence of violence

EL Jet (AINA) pam mT era tcl ol Gn Tn eso) Â© CO) UNI Leta Cl eats ip aN ema olan

Paul caren

TO) nee telltale io mmHel@ WMleelae aye Â© MetecLLc Meco iciiniiecl Cin) amie selec Le  
 ieslslo Cum Tt@)ta  
 pecey, POLiweleal Gawas. MWe SGOMVERTicins Wiherc WE IMEwWS IOOCin Sely iliac  
 all along, that the National Party and the Government have a  
 double agenda. They are talking peace to us. They are at the  
 same time conducting a war. They are busy doing certain things  
 which are unacceptable, using taxpayersâ\200\231 money. DA gc laura Ita leleta Gy  
 certain organisations through the Police and he comes forward  
 euaiel SEW) Ime Cliche isimeyy evoithe alte, Wie telove) Inveyeyel Cpe elas (Cloyyenrev  
 etone  
 does not know when as much as R7 million is spent, he doesn't

know about it, then he is not fit to be a head of a government.

He is calling on us to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe, yet hit squads  
 are operating freely in this country. When we heard that at the  
 EU rs eV OE Bao Oise Mec Cela el Sey aoc Neue awl OMwiclsr chUmmecheclovn  
 by thie Same hile â\200\230squads as sehesmousnens (wene idiispedsingy, ealcghteen  
 people were killed in broad daylight and the Police were in the  
 vicinity. It was clear that these were killers who were carrying  
 out their job in the knowledge that the law enforcement agencies  
 would not intertere with sthem. They walked vaway Luecly; wi ehout

Gene Oe Einy CGeceCeLOda, VOW Cain MAKE yOu Own WiitereimeceS ate wlaerc.

If Mr de Klerk promises to do his duty as the head of Government,  
 to put an end to the violence, to restrain his security services,

ea eda Â© Â©) IT Tey a Â© Poem TCS UCI S cl Cl Â© el OPS Ter

PL aT CS a tnd Tak Yet) Â© Tos LO) to @) tea ert ees ra) Ch PLOTTING) CS Tl TOS Â©) Oey  
 meee Bea

he can come to us and say: I want you to hand over your weapons  
 to US KOK JoOilmec Comercol, But as long as he's playing this double

cane ene

game, he must be clear that we are not going to co-operate with  
 [VSIeTTTO@ Tote LL mm late t= Tare cl Te aL Â© Rat ih =m nO mele SN RCH Lama Â©) eC IeI  
 A Gy  
 to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe. We are not a political party.

We are a political organisation, perhaps with more support world-  
 wide than he has. We have used Umkhonto we Sizwe to help in

the exertion of pressure on the Government to change its policies.

Ne baWve mO illwgioMms., Ine AS mote ielne Coereserciloms Ot Wiilkinomico

alone which have brought about these developments, but Umkhonto has  
 had a very significant contribution towards the struggle and we  
 Ciao IMeiasl Cweie ioeic Uinsicicumanie TO Cae Wenel@met Pevery, i muisie

appeal to him to work harmoniously and seriously with the

African National Congress. iy ei ste pein Â© [Lb Lager t nee Cele cinta Ny Ve Mma  
 of people have paid him compliments. Very well, we agree with  
 cee, He Mas tcicied cO waco Wwoae mils lxornercs have Come co US.

MANsOUC Mes te laen sD Oleic ya Os amc abate nCle mem eine yam nich Om a ints Cla mail  
 sles ian aun nya) nen  
 words. Nevertheless, we are prepared to forget and he has made

a contribution towards normalising the situation because without

him we would not have made this progress. I ask him to place  
 ees eae SO nee eel oll meet maul ON [elsig Cl1 eeu el a Â©) Â©) eset  
 openly. Let there be no secret agendas. Let him not persuade

us that he should be the last speaker because he wants to abuse  
 Teh ee Oeste Clements Om clita @ aur Ue let uate eto Â©] Comte nicl = omy eles eel ne e  
 el)

reply.

sie A ONS els Â© Cl OMe Wore Kaen te lees Deter elton [Ove Te a Oe cle len ele mea BIpt  
 erclLeccheee

And I am prepared to make allowances because he is

al DiIs@ GIUClen Oeal ana tein Saul. Although he wants these democratic

/ .Chenges meas

changes, he has sometimes very little idea what democracy means  
 and his statement here, many people will regard it as very  
 lntecigs any Nera mal MareS Mel gett e nn Catt mina CME IMEC hy 7S mmeiEIEG cote  
 lo@Â® Come, Ke is torgercedag ieee Ine cammoc SoCal Like a wea  
 resentative of a Government which has got legitimacy and which

fae OISeSe eae a= ic lial apn eh emmelle OMT Â© OCe ec ee@) one

These are statements which can only be used by somebody who  
 Teast TS Â© Taste Se al TN ll | Henry Â©) Sa Co gO) Â©) (ODT cM eae ie@) eee me alo) Tn  
 ch ct  
 doasalte iGoreasane US, We Gaal tailk cO WS din tine language ,  
 but nevertheless I am prepared to work with him to see to it  
 that these democratic changes are introduced in the country and  
 we can only succeed if we are candid and open with one another.  
 WAALS CVS Or ioe, QE eiyime CO wake acdvemeage Or ene CO=  
 operation which we are giving him willingly, is something  
 SE ISO MES nya CleaNG lS TOUS lel asl LN Â©) ete (ls S te te Select te eevee Selene  
 GlOmSOr

Thank you very much, Mr Chairman.

/Chairman



MR\_ JUSTICE SCHABORT

HINA ay, OU a) tae etl tcl enc cumrelin Gmc) i tet eerie ly, meen teas NG un@eramstecli  
ciis

USE eee) One ee la cleitan Ia @ ame ee SmI een Cyan Â© Materia amc. la Cl mate ics Â© Â  
©) DE) Sa)

does not get bogged down in the quagmire of misunderstanding ;  
that we don't land in any cul-de-sac, and the wheels are kept

a) less rete Lee lear sents OTN Â©) amo) Ta C)plal ol ym TO tel Â© Mtl IO) Clim cle nlm  
Leaio)@) i Â©) elena

ideals which we have heard so much about today.

Tt is the opinion of my esteemed colleague and myself that  
should Mr de Klerk at this stage wish to respond to what has  
been said, then it would be better to end this meeting on that  
NOE Enane tOnacy Ouiannt ces ehelcmceac Ce UlnCmSUIMElcl Smo le SULTaionay  
sQie GUESS, tin Mera We! we Seill GO" iWeese Glleretiag Luaginies ainel  
EIS cacليا acl S my CMEC NIg IN OIC) Taine ele mans nein prin <r easier IUIA Â©) (99) Â  
© ara Wl In ny Am Cea)

we must avail ourselves of to try and resolve and deal with

sy  
n

TcALS ISSUE.

Pe een Sete 1 NY LU YD ler) cl Gee

ie

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Masini WOU, Whe Claaaimeia, Mie Clwaisemim, Â© CO MOE shaie@ing) to attack Mr Mandela. I have never done so. I have never attacked his person, notwithstanding the fact that in other countries and

BEI eC) Â© Ute Inge Aulstlante Â© Aye oP el Cl Tay pemm Vio aa eran eto CS eet Ie eo ee K@

ACGSWASE WE, WL pieaiee co play ae loaail aime nore tee mea, Salie, STs Te cst tote Tam aco Tl aca] plea Cig Ae) TaN CTS RITA Cy PANTIE} O Foam ley Ike Specifically since February 1991. When we entered into an

ANG TSE 1S Ie Wome la eae = oS uD Ma ete ceiinl eee (>) Â©) lal eal ta Clic @ mat ema R el)

should have come to an immediate end, and that with regard to which we agreed to in a phased manner, through negotiation, solve

the problem of inter alia ilVeqaie arms cachec.

STUN 1 eI et la yan Â© EN TO ce eigen a enol Gh mT celle I= TO) ios OSTA Ta suaniy cueel yiahely chams Cacies, wllegal ams caclines, achmicelne zo we-MME (sie) Oielisie juices CO moO IneKya & GllAlism, Si, We COMGeantly

raised this issue which is an issue of deep concern because we leyeubalenis) (Ome) Ccummere ly> cOicelihy Commuceac, cOrally Comins EO SAS Sry Ole tS CHEM es 1S aesleeta ny ,@) Cau cles Oem OS cul cong ia Oat Sa eel inie e t ay aumeni utenian lute)

weeks ago from certain platforms, with arms caches, make an appeal for Ene Stmuggle co Continue and adhere somene coneco tem om scanned actiOMm, Le 18 42 Meccer Ot pPiedinciple, And we have FaALSEGC ais. And shortly before 14 September we had a very long meeting for many hours one evening and we were convinced at that stage

MO" CO waiSe wae 1SSue ace tine Peace Comreremnce. Ancl we weire .

given assurances that now the negotiation which has been

/dragging

dragging and which didn't make any advances and progress since February, would receive serious attention.

The discussion that Mr Mandela refers to a week or so ago in

TINY Ose tet eT Cot I oem So) ae el CIS tee  
discussion I said: Once again since 14 September I find  
myself in exactly the same position that I found myself a week  
before 14 September. And we agreed that he would assure that

a strong delegation would meet with our members of that particular  
committee. Those meetings took place and documents were exchanged  
Tena t= ieel 21 En LOY elie Olea tet oR tae eT tl cay come Tat clita femme Cl Â© mt CTS  
A)

GO) cenit ON Cle cele eee Imus Claim mite cl Maro ttasiata ooRIO (oN ee cnt) Clee in >  
med mana el Pine  
ianiolnwecl, INacl aS imcar-Cliarngas OF iemNe icewgele ClisCuEs OMS

which went on in the past few days resulted in an absolute  
stalemate, and once again the Government found itself on the

point that once again we're entering a fundamental new stage  
without this problem having been solved, and this problem is

MOE Juste G PieColem looenerinG ele CoOveicameione p we Ss â\2027@ joroolem  
bothering everybody. It's a problem bothering everybody that

there are so many, we don't know how many, AK47's in illegal

caches. The very same weapons which are being used to kill  
peqale, Ek am aS Ceeolhy comesimecd disque whe yiclenes as anybody  
else.

Amel aeretore Silie, KE said more or less a WESlkk agGO tO Mite Mandela:  
Hf cl Â© Mal @ tenella mmc eter (ania oT Nena) c)eac)â\200\2241 0, amen el eam Omelet

this. And last night, when it became apparent that we cowllÃ©in

/make

make sufficient progress timeously, the message to one of his senior advisers was: We will have to raise this, but

We Willi Ghee Â© iGhS Pieilin@ijole aincl Sicesy airy wee Clotajils .  
PNT Gl ae Tn texan Clem te Ml @ Mite al ctl te amma clam ee Tr toe nl tenth abr Cr OME!  
Mate cntere

INC), Saie, aie 1G @ maiciceie Wailea Music le Solyecl, incl waGieetoiree  
if you analyse everything which I have said today, I have put  
the principle on the table; I have said that we must make

progress with this and that unless we make progress, we will

be inhibited to enter into further agreements. That is the  
essence of what I have said. And that is where the crunch  
will come. CTS TE Srl aTay aan eee mmpieters

I specifically said that unless this dualism is solved, the  
essential problem will remain that we will have a party or  
organisation, or whatever they prefer to call themselves, that  
we will have a party with a pen in one hand and claiming the  
right to still have arms in the other hand. And that in  
essence cannot be conducive to a really peaceful process and

to real negotiations.

Therefore, I want to say we will continue to discuss this. We  
will have an open door, and I made it clear in my speech when

I referred to these matters, that we recognise the urgency of this  
matter, we can no longer just deal with it onâ\200\231a bilateral basis.  
Special provision was made in the Peace Accord to accommodate  
this problem that not sufficient progress has been made. The  
time has come to say: This is a serious problem, and this  
sacilous pcoolem mow ineedcs alcc@nieiemn amc we meas co

be resolved because siete will IX 4 Sitewilolllsine; lolloeik

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GOMSSCGMENGeS oF Waac CODESA as asooucs unless it is  
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OREO ee VANS Wr OTA te ie tec) loon ee (ae) Kone cl TO ee tamil mya eee  
ClO aie WelieIl [SCS IGSCEMUISS I wasdik telaeic as low Clemo@cicaciy smnoullel

halâ\200\224 Xo aaa (onal an

INNG| (elaSrEentOeS Sake, IL iagas wWoaaiE Inewalne CleeweecI eine Gae, iclagie we

will find a way in the best interests of South Africa to now

solve this problem. We have not been prescriptive. We have  
made proposals which are, in essence, reasonable. I don't want  
to discuss them here. I say let us get on with it and solve

this problem. It is a problem which can no longer be shelved  
Oa ateig SOMUIa Onn EGOS Sma ctaGe-rentlitcinGemloe Cals CMA nsCmicrec iam Ons  
CODESA is a momentuous moment in the Constitutional process.

The Stace Of CODESA has changed South Atwilca inasmuch als

a weownasy 1990 nas Gngingec wt, BECaUsSe OF UWals de is mecessary  
Ghee WE SOW alll OUESEAMCGIMG ISSUES SeanCcsiing im tas wey Oi

this Convention to make progress, to make East progress, t0

SOAS waves jossololenis Oi Sowieda Agieles,, Where Six, LS iy Case.

May I say on the issue of violence, I am as deeply concerned

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cue eam)  
Sayan ich OCCa SS sy@lmcise meine Government you can solve the type  
Oren Ollat enn en aan cheval os le meas etal) eso alc atalntch emmy ious aren (ommrenie  
mn=) Â©)ea=l A)

Africa. Sir, we have taken initiative upon initiative to ensure

/that

that violence be curbed. We are all signatories as we sit here of the Peace Accord. We have agreed in the Peace Accord that we need mechanisms; that there is no quick-fix to stop violence, Why otherwise would we have created the mechanisms? We have agreed we need conflict-solving committees on the ground on a tae GEROM cy Nao a CHecmctaG Mm Ime cmmt eter iactl Malo hort amen mora busy implementing them through the Secretariat and through the National Peace Committee. All of us are working together to bring violence to amen ee AUle le OR US mSticellys mee lato tin iGleate mots ourselves, instead of Dente accusing fingers elsewhere: What can I do to bring violence to an end?, That is my attitude, and the Government is

constantly reviewing the position and if necessary - and I've

said it publicly - we will take even more steps.

BES SHetay sales NO IO Sue chalC Many AONE umn menue elnen a Â©Â©D)3/ 7 wae @lmeaciicl e mesic SlaXoy ico) EULIL els JOSC|OLE iin Sowa MewilcGa dase vow leaders have started talking to each other, and if your leaders talk to EveKeln @iciieie, telsengS aS im MEOC! HOe vou cO Kill cacm omaeie, And so let us stop the violence. Let us be realistic about the deep-seated causes of that violence. And they're not simplistic. They're extremely complex. And let us on all fronts do every- iElMime Wihslela aS jOXOSSswols cO lowime wie tO am GiacI, Amel ONS OF tlhe things which we need to do is to get economic growth, because unemployment and poverty is making a contribution to the

WOM mMICC a ee IS OC Ors ell Cle ta@)as eum Me ClaanE eum S mets uenta coun cistelg = 1 amamtettal =!

hands cf the Police instead of derogating them. And let us

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report if we have any evidence or any information about Police  
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violence. Report them to the Goldstone Commission which was  
Tela diMalicdeaciwwes Ol wails Coverrinnemer fortunately also adopted by

the Peace Accord.

MaÃ©l Wete WS iim QVeiaY oIecS iin IVS SOCIO-GCOMOWLE SLeice, alia

the Seâ\202~cunity sphere, invevery sphere, cach) One Of Ws do what  
WerCant lca cm moms ZO Mom line Ulan cle motadnn cma ein nemmlong@ olec Ii mme emma!  
solution. I found no pleasure in sounding a negative note about  
hes alc) pieOb Mommy lak Glam lan actihe ce ClacleumetlsIn same Oma lan Cle meen cma ci  
nireste

the very last we tried to avoid having to do so.

Therefore sir, let us in the spirit in which CODESA has been  
founded - we are here to talk frankly and openly, but honestly,  
and we are here to find solutions to problems - let us also  
have the courage to accept that we have a problem with regard

to the

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iGiincajole Wwoadkem EL pwc Om cme icalole. My  
Government will play a constructive part in handling that problem  
through meaningful negotiation, but cCime LS mow OL tae eSSeEace.

i thank you.

/MR JUSTICE SCHABORT ...

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

ninamk yOu, Wee cle Kie@ilk. hachies eiancl gentlemen, I would like to make an announcement. We will not solve South Africa's problems SSO Chav ree tea nein) Se Ine sIn(@) iin t= @ MUI rei Lammele@ a Cpy and it must have become quite evident to all observers attending here today, that the problems of South Africa are real ones; profound ones, complex ones; some would say intractable ones. Tats 18 moe Only our burden; this is also our challenge, our good fortune and

Oui Callinguacwiateas enewmuituacmlemCOne ciamed.

At this stage, I believe we have come to the end of these WEOCeeoumas mexCe plemmellclisimm elle Ise mic mECe Tateciean) announcements to be made.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

It's quite clear, and we have always known, that the journey from apartheid to freedom is going to be a wOGky aincl IniJliky Ome, suc

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an-hour or more not take away our perspective from what EINE  
declaration has said and to which people have committed them-  
selves. It is indeed a non-negotiable commitment to negotiation  
towards an apartheid-free society. It is a mighty commitment  
and however hilly the road, however dark ToS Magen) Ink eerrmmmteliOCMmele ny aa!  
must and will break for us. To end on a MAS SEES CaO UIC mINO ACY mC

Oro Sens alc ce Oia .olul will partake immediately after ielaaLS

adjournment in the function which we have hosted and we want ZO

/make



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TV Seo ation eae tage Int ig ete iach torte 8 eI TO Cl Tahoe Â©) CoN TAN =) Â©) Cem IRI  
N TBI  
OKOCSSS. I will call woo Mie Mocs Moroloe tO Make a cew

logistical announcements on which he is an expert.

MR M MOROBE

There are several messages Gn SUPPore which have been received

by CODESA Office from various, local and international organisa  
HOMISH clnGurctin Onl CmmOneh Te uas yp mace ell Mmmmteln Cmmrinr ta ctarnt Meni) Idlcin  
ama @) tae) cuits clnteeiae Ia  
represented here today have also made a statement of support

for CODESA, but we do regret that the agenda and time Bone resince  
do not allow us to read these messages of encouragement and  
support. HowÃ©ver, we shall as far as possible find a place to  
announce the names of all these organisations which have sent

leSsages.

In the meantime we do take this opportunity to inform you that

rh

messages have been received from amongst others the following:  
A joint statement by International Observers Opiate nee eter Shte  
meeting of CODESA, who. are here with us, from the Republic of Namibia,

the Chinese Association of South Africa, the Embassy of Hungary,

the National Anti-Apartheid Movement, and a number of others.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED TO 21 DECEMBER 1991

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