

CODESA 2.

On the next slide we examine the various aspects that emerge from the Declaration of Intent by CODESA 1, and the work that has been established as the terms of reference of the various Working Groups. In the first instance, that of constitution-making; in the second instance agreement on a Transitional Executive; thirdly, levelling of the playing fields, some agreement on the future of the TBVC States and then, finally, having reached these agreements, agreement on how do we implement them and within what kind of time frame. And it is these agreements that will finally take us to the democratic future.

On the next slide we begin to examine the process that has been involved in taking us to this future, that at CODESA 2 we will reach agreements on those various aspects, on the aspects of constitutional matters, the Transitional Executive, the levelling of the playing fields, and the TBVC States, and that these agreements would result in implementation according to time frames that we agree upon.

On the next slide we capture the total process from the past, so to speak, to the future. In other words, how do we move from present-day South Africa to a democratic South Africa? The blue on your left-hand side, reflects what we have become used to calling Phase 1 of the transition process, and in that process we are to resolve the issues indicated there, in particular the levelling of the playing fields and creating the climate for free political

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participation, and that task will be performed by the transitional executive structure that we put in place. One of the principal tasks of the Transitional Executive Council is to establish the conditions for, and via the Independent Elections Commission, the machinery for democratic elections in this country. The green head of the arrow tells us that these elections will result in the establishment of a constitution-making body, which has two other aspects associated with it: The first, constitutional principles which will guide the constitution to be drafted, and the second, the election and establishment of an interim parliament and executive. And it is this which will take us to the democratic future. The period between the elections and the ultimate establishment of a democratic South Africa will be based on an interim constitution.

In the next slide we begin to examine Phase 1 of this process and Phase 1, as I indicated, involves those three elements, levelling, the climate for free political participation, and the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council which Working Group 3 has already agreed upon. It is the task of the TEC to create that appropriate climate and it is the task of the Independent Election Commission, to set up the machinery for democratic elections in this country. Of course, during this period, as indicated above the arrow head, the current Government and the Tricam Parliament continue, as do the TBVC States.

What then, are the structures of the Transitional Executive Council? And in the next slide we see that this structure will

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consist of what has been called "the overarching body", the Transitional Executive Council itself, it will consist of Sub-councils and there are four Sub-councils that we have agreed upon, and there will be two independent bodies. The first, the Independent Elections Commission whose task, as I have said already, is to create the conditions for, and the machinery for, elections in this country; and secondly, an Independent Media Commission whose terms of reference still need to be defined.

What then happens in Phase 2, as reflected in the next slide? In Phase 2 we see that the elections, on your left-hand side, usher in the constitution-making body, and its task is to draft the new constitution, on the one hand, on the basis of constitutional principles that we have already agreed upon in what was Working Group 2 and, secondly, via the elected body, to create an Interim Executive. There is, however, as a result of the events of yesterday, still uncertainty about what the National Assembly will be, what its association within a Senate would be and whether there will be a Senate, and how the interim legislature will actually work. Nonetheless, these are some elements that have developed as a result of discussions in the past and, as you are aware, this still remains a matter for agreements to be arrived at.

As we move on to the next slide, which is actually a repeat of the first one, we will see that the period between the elections and the constitution-making phase, is a period which will be based on an interim constitution to be agreed upon in the prior phase.

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In the next slide, at the top of the slide you see a reflection of possible constitutional changes that would underpin this whole process. The existing 1983 Constitution still remains the constitution of this country. It is proposed that during Phase 1 of the transition process, there would be either changes in legislation, or changes in the constitution - and that is still to be decided - which will facilitate the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council. Thirdly, that in the period of the elections and the subsequent period, there would be an interim constitution on which these structures and processes would actually be based and, finally, once the constitution-making body has accomplished its task, a democratic constitution will be established.

The Government and the Tricam Parliament continue up to the point that we have elections in this country, but you will notice that the future of the TBVC States will only be resolved after the elections. The yellow frame around the elections and the constitution-making body phase, indicates that these are matters to be resolved by processes that we establish at CODESA 2 itself.

Let me then summarise in the next slide, what we have established as the parameters of Phase 1. Firstly, the Transitional Executive Councils, or the Council and its Sub-councils. Next the Independent Media Commission. The question marks indicate that the precise terms of reference of the Independent Media Commission are still to be determined. Thirdly, the Independent Election Commission which, as we said, will establish the machinery for elections but also in terms of Working Group 3's proposals, could act as an

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arbitrator in the event that there are disputes within the Transitional Executive Council as well. Then we have the task of levelling the playing fields, the future of the TBVC States, and their participation in this particular phase and in the Transitional Executive structure, drafting of the interim constitution and elections based on this constitution.

Following on this, this is what Phase 2 could look like, in the next slide, that we need to agree on constitutional principles which would underpin the drafting of the constitution and provide a framework for that. Secondly, the elections will establish a constitution-making body. The task of this body would be to draft a new democratic constitution. The elections will also establish an interim Parliament. The precise relationship between the interim Parliament and the constitution-making body, still remains a matter for discussion. Emerging from the interim Parliament will be an interim Executive. Some call it a Government of National Unity, or an interim Government of National Unity. And once the democratic constitution has been drafted, it is for this body to then adopt the constitution as the foundation of a new democratic South Africa.

If we then take an overview in the next slide, of both the processes, we will see that CODESA 1 as of December 1991, took place in the context of what we might call present day South Africa. That following on CODESA 2 there was the hope that we would move on to the tasks of Phase 1, that is levelling of the playing fields and creating the conditions for free political participation, and

the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council.

The question that just still faces CODESA 2, and future plenary sessions of CODESA, is what is the time frame for these future processes, as indicated in the block above the slide, and it is at this stage very difficult to anticipate what that time frame would be, but hopefully as we discuss The Way Forward, we will be able to address this issue.

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

Thank you very much.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

The next item is a purely formal one. It is to note the report of the Working Groups, and the report of the Management Committee on their activities. It is not to adopt, it is not to discuss, it is just to note and that is just a formality. After which, having noted this, Mr Z Titus from the Daily Management Committee, will give us the results of their deliberations during the tea interval by telling us what the recommendations of the Management Committee are in relation to the reports of the Working Committee, which you all have before you. I will call upon Mr Titus.

/MR Z TITUS ...

MR Z TITUS
MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Thank you, Chairpersons. Distinguished Guests, Honoured Delegates, Leaders of our country, Fellow Countrymen, Ladies and Gentlemen. Flowing from the discussions we had yesterday and today, regarding the manner in which the various Working Group Reports would be handled, the Management Committee had to consider the way in which the CODESA negotiating process would be taken further, taking into account in particular the difficulty which CODESA Plenary has had with the further consideration of the work of Working Group 2. We have analysed carefully the different remarks made by the various leaders who addressed Plenary yesterday and today.

Without going into detail, it has been observed that despite varying views on this matter, not a single leader has rejected negotiation as the best acceptable option for South Africa. A number of speakers have emphasised the urgency of the matter under discussion, and expressed the view that unless an acceptable solution is found as soon as possible, difficulties may arise. We are conscious of the fact that the impasse which retarded progress yesterday, may endanger the whole negotiation process and consequently as the Management Committee we are committed to finding an acceptable way in which the views and aspirations of all can be accommodated. The Management Committee has taken all the above considerations into account and after having had recourse to the Working Groups views on The Way Forward, we have now formulated a Way Forward which we think will meet the requirements of all concerned, and the people of South Africa in particular.

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

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awaiting the final outcome of CODESA negotiations. But before I can deal with specifics, I would like to make a few brief comments on the reports of the other Working Groups, for the recommendation to be made hereafter does not only relate to Working Group 2, but to all CODESA negotiation structures.

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

As has already been said, the Management Committee has given careful consideration to the views expressed by the leaders. In the light of the above, the Management Committee recommends that for purposes of promoting co-ordination and improving the efficiency and effectiveness, CODESA 2 approves of a complete review by the Management Committee of the structures currently in place. The structures currently in place were created at a time when we were ignorant of the programme which would be encountered during the course of

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the negotiation process. The Management Committee is of the view that with the experience that we now have, we are in a position to improve on the existing situation. As has already been indicated by the Chairperson of the Management Committee in the report presented yesterday, the present structures do not take into account the overlapping functions as between the various Working Groups. With the benefit of hindsight, it is our view that we are now in a position to make structural adjustments which will ensure at the end of the day that we will glean the desired results, and that agreements will be implemented in a well-structured form and with the minimum of delay. As lawyers say: Justice delayed is justice denied.

I now turn to the recommendations. Copies are in front of the representatives here and I will go through them quickly. We'll have an opportunity at a later stage to go through them seriatim and to have discussion on them.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

We, therefore, recommend that:

2. In order to promote better co-ordination and improve efficiency and effectiveness, CODESA 2 mandates the Management Committee as follows:

- 2.1 The Management Committee shall suspend the work of the Working Groups with the mandate to convene any Working Group if necessary.

/2.2 The ...

- 2.2. The Management Committee shall be given responsibility for resolving all outstanding matters flowing from the work of Working Groups.
- 2.3 The Management Committee shall examine all Working Group agreements with a view to establishing what work can be done in order to facilitate implementation.
- 2.4 The Management Committee shall establish such structures (e.g. technical committees, sub-committees, Working Groups) as are necessary to assist the Management Committee in accomplishing the tasks allotted to it.
- 2.5 The Management Committee shall call a CODESA plenary with suitable representation as a matter of urgency to adopt all agreements and to receive a report on all matters which have been assigned to it by CODESA 2.
- 2.6 The Management Committee shall be given the authority to constitute a mechanism which will draft all the legislation required as a result of agreements reached at CODESA.
- 2.7 Subject to 2.5 above, the Management Committee be authorised to exercise such authority as is necessary, to ensure that the objectives of the Declaration of Intent are attained; including the power to implement

/any ...

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

3. CLOSING REMARKS

- 3.1 The Management Committee is extremely conscious of the fact that the participants in CODESA entered the negotiation process in the belief that it can take our country to a stable order. We have a responsibility to approach our task in such a manner that the confidence of the participants, and our people, in the negotiation process is reinforced. The Management Committee's commitment in this regard has been made public on a number of occasions.
- 3.2 I accordingly move the adoption of these recommendations. The recommendations, it will be observed, are inclined more towards flexibility. They also take into account the dynamics of the negotiation process. I also attach hereto a summary of the substantive agreements reached so far at CODESA, and also to my report will be attached a list of all the matters which are still outstanding and which, therefore, deserve further consideration by the Management Committee.

I thank you, Mr Chairman.

/MR JUSTICE MAHOMED ...

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you, Mr Titus.

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

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

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

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

/Gentlemen ...

DR Z J DE BEER
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Gentlemen of the Chair, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. A few months ago we - all of us - came to know and to use and to believe in, a new phrase. That was: The spirit of CODESA. What was this spirit? It was simply the acceptance and the application in our work, of the idea that it is more important to obtain agreement about the new South Africa than it is to score political points on behalf of our parties.

Now, of course, this is not to ask anyone to sell his or her moral principles, but it does suggest an approach, an attitude, a style, which strives for agreement. Yesterday the spirit of CODESA seemed to have evaporated. It was regrettable but perhaps understandable, that Group 2 could not reach agreement. It was very sad indeed that there was a great deal of public recrimination between two very important organisations in the sight of all the world. South Africa was ill-served by those events.

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

"There is no reasonable alternative to CODESA."

I believe he spoke for us all when he said that. Mr Mandela's speech contained a list of extremely important matters on which he believes we are all agreed. Subject perhaps to interpretation here and there, I think we all support those views.

We see, therefore, that CODESA is the vehicle we must use and that we have an urgent agenda of vitally necessary things we must do. The Management Committee has just put forward workable proposals

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to make this possible and we urge Plenary Session to endow that Committee with the authority and the responsibility it needs, to bring us back on track as soon as possible. I hope the spirit of CODESA is coming back into our hearts.

/Chairpersons ...

MR J N REDDY
SOLIDARITY PARTY

Chairpersons, following upon yesterday's presentation here, a gloom had descended over our land and thank God that this morning the State President and Dr Mandela, demonstrated beyond any doubt that deep in their hearts there was a concern for the future of our people. Mr Mandela talked about the unemployed, the starving, the sick; yes, about that we haven't got to be told anything, it's there, a reality right around where we look.

And therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, calling people names or trying to open up old wounds, will serve no purpose. We must bury the past and leaders have demonstrated over and over again that we need to kindle the flame of reconciliation. Because you cannot with anger and hurt go forward to find solutions when you have to work with those with whom you have disagreed in the past. So we need that spirit of reconciliation. That should become the 11th Commandment of South Africa: Reconciliation. And we must go forward.

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

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on some because an agreement had not been reached at Committee 2, you had before you the developments of a number of other Committees who are the very same people working together through a process of compromise, give and take, and have found answers. So, therefore, in pointing a finger because there was a measure of failure in Committee 2, was not entirely right. We will have failures but failures must be a challenge to cause us to approach the matter with much more determination to succeed, and we will have many failures but every failure has to be made a stepping stone to success.

And I want to again say to Dr Mandela: We need that reinforcement from you. At the moment when there seems to be no hope, you have come forward with words of encouragement. This country needs that from you regularly and it also needs it from the State President. Both you gentlemen have a task. This country cannot succeed without a partnership between Black and White both politically and economically, and anybody who has any ideas that one group can go alone, is in a dreamland. South Africa's future depends on a political and economic partnership between Black and White and to that this nation must commit itself. It means sacrifices, it means a process of give and take. That alone will bring success, prosperity, peace in our land. To that I pray Almighty God will commend this land and all its leadership. Thank you.

MR M C ZITHA

INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

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

If this particular clause, Clause 2.5 could read:

"2.5 The Management Committee shall call a CODESA plenary with suitable representation before the end of June 1992 to adopt the agreements and to receive a report on all matters which have been assigned to it by CODESA 2, and to confirm the composition of the Transitional Executive Committee."

We need to see those delegates or those persons who will be serving as members in the TEC. That is my proposal to this Convention, that by the end of June we have CODESA 3. Thank you very much.

/The Chairpersons ...

MR A RAJBANSI
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

The Chairpersons, members of the various participating organisations. All of us want our task to be concluded urgently and the necessary actions must follow. These recommendations of the Management Committee are designed to improve upon the structures and the procedures to reach our goals within the shortest possible time.

In addition to deliberations in the structures of CODESA, we exhort participants to have more bilateral or trilateral talks. My party wants to emphasise that while there has been a tremendous measure of emphasis on nation building, we must apply equal or sometimes more emphasis, on foundation building.

These proposals ladies and gentlemen, have a message of urgency, a message that the deliberations of Working Group 2 must be concluded on an urgent basis, so that South Africa can have the first and second phase of the transitional arrangements implemented urgently.

Accusations against each other about police matters or police actions, or the actions of the security forces, or the actions of the private armies, will cease if there is a joint control of key matters in South Africa, especially the security matters.

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The Management Committee's proposals will move, Ladies and Gentlemen, to the early establishment of the Transitional Executive Council. This is also needed in particular to enable the international community to lift sanctions against our country. The past is over and I want to suggest to the various participants at CODESA: That in accordance with the spirit that prevailed yesterday afternoon and today - early this morning - that we must place a tremendous emphasis on what Dr J N Reddy has said, that the past is now over and the future beckons, and as far as national reconciliation and one community in South Africa not being able to do without the other communities, I want to compare it with a common thing which we have used all our lives: The blackboard in our classrooms. The blackboards that are used in the various forums in this country are useless without a white chalk. And on the other hand we must realise that all the white chalk manufactured in this country is useless without a blackboard.

We recommend that these proposals be adopted as has been proposed by Mr Titus. Thank you.

/Mr Chairpersons ...

MR C SALOOJEE

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS/TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

Mr Chairpersons and Honoured Participants, we wish everyone to know that the central issue for us to address in the next few weeks is the unwillingness of this Government and the Nationalist Party to give up minority domination. No matter what they say and how often they say it, the position on minority domination should be understood; not from what they say but from what position they take on what constitutes a majority; what percentage determines a meaningful majority.

We maintain that one of the great advances in the development of human society over the ages has been universal agreement on mechanisms by which we resolve differences of opinion. One of the abiding achievements of civilisation has been the recognition when differences exist between groups of people, that the majority view must prevail. What this recognition implies is that although everyone is entitled to hold a view and to express it, in the end the position of most of the people or groups must be accepted.

Another interpretation flowing from this essential contribution from humankind's endeavours to find ways of living with each other in peace and without conflict, is that each vote, each person's view, is of equal importance and that no man or woman is superior or inferior. When you overturn this basic principle of civilised rules, norms, procedures, then you are endangering a fundamental rule which allows societies to resolve differences. This is what the Nationalist Party and the Government's proposals are asking us to do.

/We...

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

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

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

Thank you.

/Honourable Chairpersons ...

BRIGADIER O J GQOZOCISKEI GOVERNMENT

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

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

The Ciskei Government wishes to put its position clearly in regard to the first draft of the report of Working Group 4 to CODESA 2. Ciskei has consistently on all previous occasions stated its position clearly on re-incorporation into South Africa. In regard to Ciskei's participation in an interim government, our position is clear in that Ciskei will not participate in an interim government at this stage, but would like to reserve its position, and in a positive light on The Way Ahead, reserve its position until such time that it has seen how these interim government structures are going to work.

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

The fundamental considerations on the part of the Ciskei Government is that Ciskei must be better off in the new South Africa than has been the case under its present circumstances. Therefore the Ciskei Government would like the endorsement on the report of Working Group 4, para 3.1.5, to read:

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

A comment on the report of Working Group 4 on the subject of land reform and land moratorium. In Working Group 4's report, it is recorded that sufficient consensus was reached that no further transfers of land should take place from RSA to the TBVC states. It must however be remembered that there are a number of communities of people in the Republic of Ciskei who have been waiting for almost twelve or fifteen years for the fulfilment of promises on land issues made to them by the South African Government. In some of these cases the community has been waiting more than fifteen years for these promises to be fulfilled. And it is difficult to contemplate that these people will be denied the compensatory land promised to them. The Ciskei delegation would wish to propose that these land issues be

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

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

Thank you very much.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you, Brigadier Ggozo.

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

/Mr Chairpersons ...

MR W S FELGATE

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Mr Chairpersons, Mr President, Distinguished Guests from overseas, Delegates. I am going to comment on behalf of Inkatha Freedom Party. I would like initially to start with a word of caution. Para 12 of Working Group 3 reads as follows:

"The following recommendations are made in regard to the first stage of the transition. These recommendations and their implementation are dependent upon agreement being reached by CODESA in respect of the second stage of the transition (and mark these words) including an interim constitution and general constitutional principles."

First there must be an interim constitution, and first there must be an agreement on general constitutional principles. And then, and then only, are we in any position to establish any transitional mechanisms whatsoever. That is the agreement that we've come to in Working Group 3.

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

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

/Dr Mandela...

Dr Mandela had finished speaking, you'll have noted that something like less than half of the hall stood up to approve of what he said, and you will notice that something like more than half of the hall - well, let us not say half, let us say that a substantial proportion of the delegates - remained seated, registering disagreement with the statements that were made; not in principle but in the context in which they were made.

We, in IFP, believe that despite the difficulties and the shortcomings that there are in CODESA, the real achievers of CODESA in establishing the basis of consensus politics, and the way in which CODESA has actually reached agreements across very difficult lines of division, must be praised. We are today faced with the consequences of yesterday's disruptions. And the Managing Committee is asking us to make decisions about what we do to remedy those disruptions; to remedy the fact that Working Group 2 could not reach any conclusions.

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

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In order to relieve the pressure on the decision-making process in each of our delegations, we would propose that the work of the Working Groups be suspended and that Management Committee must debate on the 25th, some revised working structure for CODESA.

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

Thank you.

/Chairpersons ...

MR M N N RAMODIKE

UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT

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

May we further state that the Management Committee should ensure that the appointment of the sub-councils and technical committees, should be such that participating organisations and governments are not prejudiced in any manner.

Furthermore, we in the United People's Front, wish to state categorically that as patriotic South Africans who place the national interest over and above sectional interests, fully endorse the sentiments expressed by the leader of the African National Congress, Dr Nelson Mandela, with specific reference among others, to the immediate introduction of legislation by the Tricameral Parliament to enable the election of an interim transitional executive body to draft a new constitution. Such a constitution will, we agree, be approved of by a single supreme Parliament for the whole country.

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

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will be conducted by an independent electoral commission which should enlist the assistance of an international monitoring body to ensure that the elections are free and fair. However, to facilitate that process Messrs Chairpersons, as leaders of the respective political organisations or governments, we must take it upon ourselves to bring violence and intimidation to an end; as so adequately stated by the State President this morning.

The days of political posturing and mud-slinging exercises must now give way to a new spirit of reconciliation and reconstruction, of "togetherheid" and not apartheid. If we are serious and dedicated to our commitment to peace and stability, as leaders we must refrain from talks and jointly have peace rallies in the affected communities. In this task the issue of an independent monitoring body such as OAU and/or other organisations such as UN, as well as a joint control of the Security Forces, remains of paramount importance. This will in my view not only give credibility to the Security Forces, but will reduce to a minimum the atrocities purportedly committed by "hit squads" that are allegedly linked into the present Security Forces.

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

(Inaudible)

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

Thank you.

/Thank you ...

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you, Mr Ramodike.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have received a message to the effect that luncheon has been ready now since 12h30. It is evident that all speakers will not have completed their speeches before we can adjourn for lunch anyhow. So at this stage we are adjourning for lunch and please be back sharply at 14h00.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH

/CONVENTION RESUMED ...

CONVENTION RESUMEDMR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are ready to resume. Before I carry on with the batting order of the speakers, there are two short amendments one of which will come from Mr Titus merely because a part which had been typed had been omitted from your draft. And the other will come from Mr Gordhan, who is Chairman of the Management Committee, and both of them are intended to facilitate further disputes and I have reason to believe that that will accelerate our proceedings very considerably.

MR Z TITUSMANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Thank you, Mr Justice Mahomed.

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

"...without summoning a Plenary Session of CODESA, and that it also be given the power to increase the representation

/of...

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

So that full sentence then reads:

"Subject to 2.5 above, the MC be authorised to exert such authority as is necessary to ensure that the objectives of the Declaration of Intent are attained, including the power to implement any agreement reached by Working Group 1 and also any other agreement falling within its mandate without summoning a Plenary Session of CODESA, and that it also be given the power to increase the representation of individual parties/administrations/organisations of the Management Committee."

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

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

MR P J GORDHAN

CHAIRMAN : MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Mr Chairperson, the clause that I'm referring to here is clause 2.5 which should now read as follows:

"The MC shall call a CODESA Plenary with suitable representation as a matter of urgency to adopt all agreements and to receive a report on all matters which have been assigned to it by CODESA 2, having regard to the scheduled adjournment of the current session of Parliament."

/Chairmen ...