

The point is that when we look at what is happening, there is great progress that has been made. All the parties have been exposed to the views and positions of others in all the Working Groups, and there have been signs, if I listened carefully, for a readiness to make concessions towards consensus. However because of the legacy of mistrust which still prevails in the country, because of decades of division, because of the arrogance of apartheid in the past, we are unable to get on with the negotiation. Let us bury the past and start negotiating.

However considering the strains and stresses of our society, and comparing our present progress with the rate of progress characteristic of such processes elsewhere in the world, we need not hang our heads in shame. Hitches and stoppages are inevitable; they will test our mettle and we dare not be diverted from our present cause by such difficulties. In respect of Working Group 2, the Ximoko Progressive Party has argued the principle of inclusivity in the matter of constitution-making. Consistent with this argument, we have supported a higher special majority for constitutional amendments, we would accept 70% here.

However as a political party, with a strong regional focus, the Ximoko Progressive Party is sensitive and would strongly support the principle of also a substantial majority in regional government and regional matters.

I would like to end, again by appealing personally to Madiba; to the State President, to forge ahead in the process of bringing peace in
/the...

the country and to remind Madiba of the great statement that he made as a great man, at the end of the treason trial, where he stated that he was going to work for bringing this country to a peaceful end where Black and White will be able to share, and that he would die for that cause. We want to see it happen here today when the people are called upon to bring peace for the future of our country.

I thank you.

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you, Prof Ntsanwisi.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr I Omar of Solidarity Party is the next speaker.

/Mr Chairpersons...

MR I OMAR
SOLIDARITY PARTY

Mr Chairpersons, Honourable Dignatories, Fellow Country Persons.

It is a fact that we as Solidarity Party represent a small constituency in our country, and so the dispute of whether there should be 70% or 75% does not really affect us as a party, but what is important is the principle. And I want to come to the set-back that we have suffered today. It is a fact also that it is a set-back that we are unable to report as we had contemplated. But then I think we must also understand that in not having succeeded in reporting today does not amount in itself to a failure of the process of negotiations.

What really is the cause of the set-back is the fact that all sides related to this crucial issue that was in debate talked of a package, and because the package was not complete, unfortunately, Mr Chairman, you couldn't go ahead with your agenda as proposed. But that does not mean that we could not do so, once the package is resolved, at CODESA 3 - to which we look forward.

The failure to finalise a central detail also reflects on the fact that it is not only a few parties that are represented in those negotiating rooms. The fact that there was consultation to and fro shows that there are constituencies that go well beyond these rooms, and it must be understandable that under those circumstances it was virtually impossible to resolve all those differences in a week. But I think in all fairness to all the parties, there were genuinely sincere attempts by all concerned, and that fact must not be decried.

/Now...

Now it is also understandable, Mr Chairpersons, that there will be political posturing because we have nothing else to report on. What I am afraid of, in the posturing, is that we might send to the nation that is anxiously watching us today, the wrong kind of signals. And we must be aware of that fact. And I want to tell the nation that they must also understand that after a legacy of hundreds of years of injustice, suspicion, mistrust, misrule, that you are not going to resolve your differences in six months - and CODESA has been sitting for just about six months. It is a process that is going to take time. In fact, if I may use a famous quotation: There is simply no easy road to freedom for South Africans.

What South Africans have also witnessed, they must understand, is that it is our nation wrestling with itself to produce a new Constitution with which we will be able to live and with which we will be able to prosper. Now, one must also understand that we are making a Constitution. We are not in the process of passing legislation for which you talk about ordinary majorities. It is a universal norm that constitution making requires a maximum amount of consensus. The reason for that is that we are writing the fundamental rules of the game by which all the political actors will be bound. And therefore it is important that you get consensus of a majority of the players who are going to play to the fundamental rules of the game, and if we don't, then I am afraid, Mr Chairpersons, that the violence that we decry, might not be resolved.

And I want to express one truth, even Mr Mandela has spoken of assuaging the fears of communities. He's spoken of taking the whole country

/with...

with him. He's made enormous assurances to the Whites of this country. And I want to ask the question: at the end of the day, despite the fact that we want a non-racial country, will we really have a successful Constitution in this country if 90% or 95% of the Whites of South Africa reject whatever we agree upon? It is an important question that we will have to address.

The Way Forward, sir, is to sit down again and hammer out a solution no matter how long it takes. It is quite probable that we must have time constraints, but we will have to hammer out a solution. That is The Way Forward. The reason for that, sir, is that CODESA is not the only show in town; it is the only show in the country, and South Africans have no other choice but to negotiate a new Constitution.

Thank you, Mr Chairpersons.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you, Mr Omar.

Our last speaker for this evening will be Brigadier Ramushwana of the Venda Government. Thereafter I have only two more speakers tomorrow on this part, and they will be in that order: the State President, Mr F W De Klerk, and Dr Nelson Mandela.

/Chairpersons...

BRIGADIER M G RAMUSHWANA
VENDA GOVERNMENT

Chairpersons, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, CODESA 2 has been a barometer to measure the extent to which the aspirations of the people of South Africa would be satisfied with the outcome of the process of negotiations. These people of South Africa are expecting to see a new South Africa which will be ruled democratically by all the people of South Africa.

Venda appreciates the progress made in the Working Groups 1, 3, 4 and 5, but we are saddened by the impasse of resolving the constitutional principles by Working Group 2. Venda supports the process of making South Africa a democratic state. Basically, Venda supported a two-thirds majority in any constitutional principles affecting the amendments of the Constitution, and in the amendment of the Bill of Rights. But from a democratic compromise point of view, we accept 75% to the amendment to the Bill of Rights, and 70% across-the-board on any relevant issues. If the Government is committed to democracy, it will take these compromises into account seriously. Let us be committed to establishing a new South Africa by being honest to the truth of removing all racial relics, and special protection of minorities, which was done in the past.

We reject the establishment of an undefined House of Senate which proposes to be entrenched with veto powers. We call upon the South African Government to be sensitive to the yearning for democracy and freedom by the majority of the people of South Africa. Since 1948 their party in South Africa has been the major obstacle to the

/administration...

administration of justice. It is regrettable that at CODESA 2, the South African Government has failed to demonstrate a willingness to move from being guided by the past policies and principles. The people of South Africa, as well as the international community, are holding their breath in anticipation of the kind of outcome of CODESA 2, which purports to clearly indicate a path to a genuinely democratic South Africa.

I wish to conclude by saying that whosoever is contributing to the deadlock in Working Group 2, should be aware of the fact that they shall go down in the history of our country as having sabotaged the creation of an orthodox democracy in our country. Let us move towards the true democracy, which deprives power to those who are ruling, and transfer it to the majority of the citizens of the country. I am, however, aware of the fact that power is pollutable, but democracy does not allow the perpetuation of clinging to power.

Thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

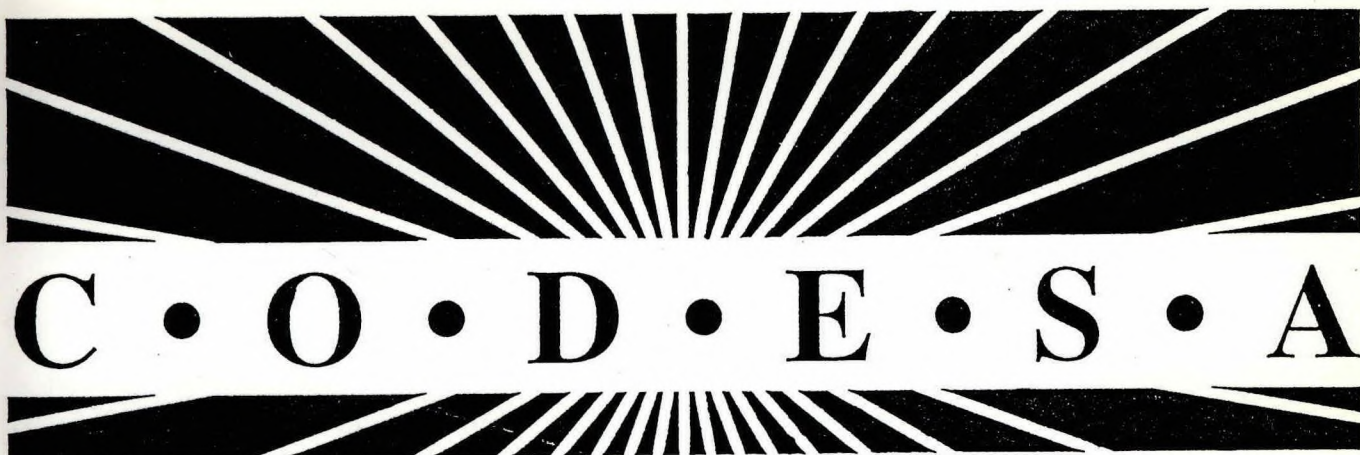
That concludes our speakers for tonight. We are scheduled to begin at 9.00 o'clock tomorrow morning.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED TO 16 MAY 1992



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CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

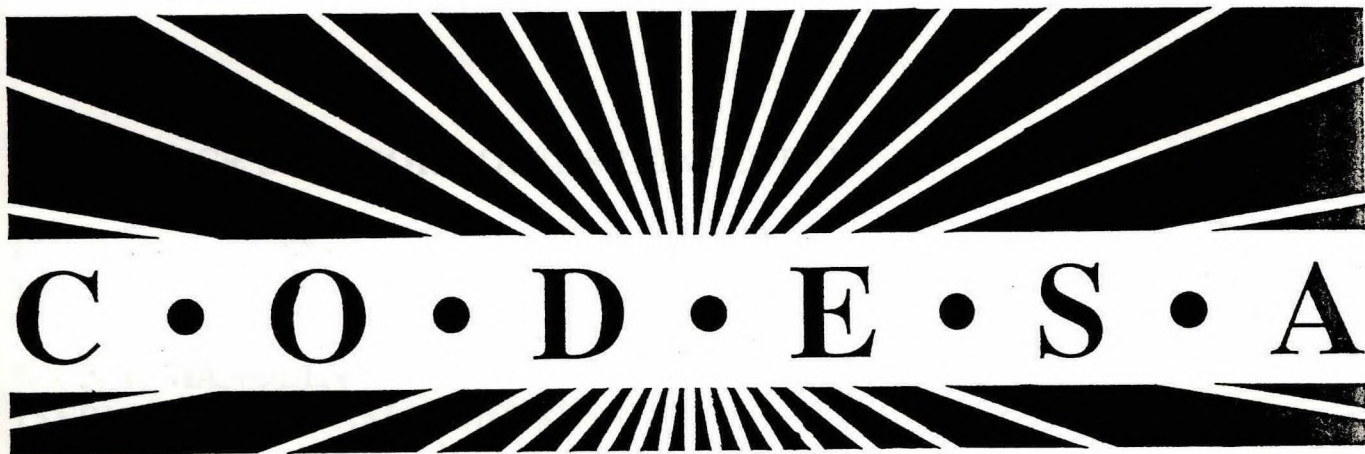


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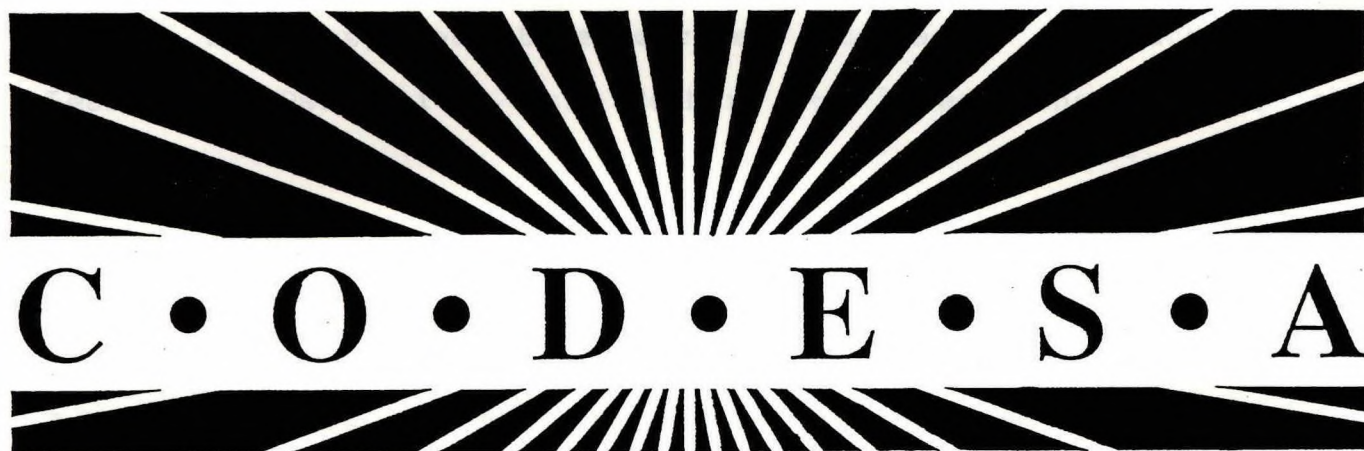
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CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA



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CONVENTION RESUMED

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Good morning Ladies and Gentlemen. Welcome back at the Second Plenary Session of CODESA. The remaining two speakers on The Way Forward, are the Leaders of the Delegation of the South African Government and of the African National Congress. Their contributions have been eagerly awaited here.

Dames en Here, die Staatspresident.

/PRESIDENT ...

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

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

Before turning to the issues at stake, I would just like to make a short announcement which I think is of great interest to many delegations here, in the presence of our foreign visitors. I am pleased to announce that in response to the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Commission of the European Community for Drought Aid, the Senior Vice-President of the Commission informed us yesterday that outside and in addition to assistance to the Southern African region, the Commission is prepared to consider providing emergency relief to some of the worst affected population groups and areas in South Africa. The Government, Ladies and Gentlemen, will follow this up as a matter of urgency to make the necessary arrangements, if details can be arranged, and we thank the mission of the European Community and ask them to transmit South Africa's appreciation for this gesture.

Mr Chairmen, I have been tempted to react in detail to some of the statements made yesterday but have decided to resist the temptation. However, I want to make one clear statement in reply to the accusations and innuendos that the Government promotes continued minority domination or privilege. I cannot allow that to stand. It is simply not true. When we say that the book on apartheid has been closed, we mean it. When we say Mr Chairmen, that we - all of us - must now build the South African nation,

/we ...

we are in earnest about it. When we say that in our attempt to build a new Constitution we must assure that there is no discrimination built into that new constitutional system, and that also in other spheres South Africa will be freed of discrimination, we mean it; we are totally committed to it.

En daarom Meneer, wanneer ons praat in hierdie onderhandelingsituasie oor die probleem van verskeidenheid, dan praat ons nie in 'n rassiesin daarvan nie; dan praat ons van die werklikheid van Suid-Afrika, dan praat ons soos wat soveel ander afvaardigings gepraat het, van die bekommernis in die harte van bepaalde taalgroepe, kultuurgroepe, belangegroepe, gebiedere, dat hulle wil verseker wees dat hulle ruimte om te lewe, veilig en beskerm sal wees; dat een vorm van onderdrukking nooit deur 'n ander vorm van onderdrukking vervang sal word. Dan praat ons soos ons praat as gevolg van die ingewikkeldheid van ons probleme. In talle ander lande wat nie eers so 'n komplekse samelewing soos ons s'n het nie, was dit nodig gevind om ook met wigte en teëwigte op allerlei maniere seker te maak dat ook die belange van kleiner belangegroepe in daardie lande effektief beskerm word teen die misbruik van mag.

Ons wil op geen wyse 'n voortsetting van diskriminasie hê nie en ons wil op geen wyse spesiale voorkeure en spesiale voorregte vir enige minderheidsgroep, nie die Blankes of enige ander minderheidsgroep, inbou in die nuwe grondwet of in die nuwe Suid-Afrika nie.

The Government, the National Party and the many other delegations

/Mr Chairmen ...

Mr Chairmen, who insist upon proper checks and balances do so, not to subject any majority to minority whims. They do so in the spirit in which the American Founding Fathers have instituted their checks and balances. That spirit was the spirit that no majority should ever be able to misuse its power to undermine the constitution or to dominate or to damage the interests of minorities, however that may be defined. We in Government are not defining the concept of minorities in any way in terms of race, or colour, or any other discriminatory norms.

Mr Chairmen, we are speaking about The Way Forward. From the reports of the various Working Groups and also from the progress which has been made in Working Group 2 - unwritten as yet - emanates fairly clear and laudable guidelines for the future; for The Way Forward; guidelines pointing all of us towards peaceful and attainable goals. Time does not allow me to go into detail. Important in the consensus which we have reached in many Working Groups, in the consensus which has been growing amongst all of us, are the following:

That we are jointly committed to continue with the levelling of the playing field. We must ensure a level playing field. We are jointly committed to the creation of an atmosphere and a situation on the ground which will make free and fair elections truly possible. We share with each other the conviction that the continuing violence must come to an end and we recommit ourselves, also within the framework of the Peace Accord, to attain that and to do that.

/We ...

We jointly believe that we need to move forward in phases, and we have agreed upon frameworks in that regard. The frameworks are becoming clear, are crystallizing and are materialising. And from what we have already attained, certain common practical goals are materialising. Thus it is materialising that there is a need for specific legislation on a basis of urgency, and certain legislative necessities have already been identified.

A common practical goal which has materialised is that we must have a transitionary executive council with sub-councils doing the important preparatory work in many fields without which in any event, we can't really move forward. A common practical goal which is materialising is that we need a CODESA-inspired and negotiated transitional or interim constitution, and from that will result a democratically elected, transitional multi-party Government which will govern in a spirit of national unity, and from that will emerge and will flow also a transitionary parliament, fully representative of all South Africans, in which they all participate. From that, in turn, must flow a final constitution agreed upon in the transitionary parliament in a manner yet to be finally negotiated between us here in CODESA; a final constitution which must serve this country and its people, hopefully, for centuries to come. A good constitution, a proud constitution, a constitution in step with the best which the rest of the world can offer.

We have made remarkable progress Mr Chairman, notwithstanding the one important setback which I do not want to underestimate. All of us I believe face a choice; do we go forward along these guide-

/lines ...

lines, striving for these goals in a spirit of reconciliation, or do we elevate the disappointment of delaying Working Group 2 to a cause for tension, in-fighting and even conflict? The Government has no hesitation in saying, let us move forward and build on the foundations of CODESA 1 and 2 with a sense of urgency. Let us identify that which is still outstanding and then use CODESA to reach agreement on such issues. There is no reasonable alternative for that.

Let us review our procedures and methods if necessary, in order to improve our productivity and our effectiveness. In the same breath one must emphasise - however much we may be in a hurry - what we do we must do well. A transitional or interim constitution cannot be a slapdash rickety affair. In itself it must already make all South Africans proud. We must strike a balance between speed and thoroughness, between the need for time frames and the avoidance of mistakes which will later cost us dearly.

Outside this venue there are millions of South Africans willing us, demanding from us to succeed. They want peace, they want development, jobs and food, they want the fighting to stop and the building of a better life for all South Africans to begin in earnest. They want poverty to be alleviated. They want us to succeed.

Our hearts go out to all our people. It is not for ourselves that we are working in CODESA. It is for our people, for our youth, for our country that we must work and that we must succeed. We

/dare ...

dare not fall back into strife and confrontation and, therefore, we say let us move forward in faith and in hope, let us continue to reach out to all our people and to each other to bring our people together in peace and in harmony, and through reconciliation to forge here in CODESA also in the weeks to follow and the months to follow, to forge here a spirit of co-operation, a spirit and a unity of purpose which will lead this country out of the mistakes of the past, into a prosperous and a stable future.

Ons benader ons taak nie in 'n hoogheilige sin nie, maar in diepe nederigheid in die gees dat ons geroepe is tot geregtigheid, en dat alleen op die fondament van geregtigheid, van billikheid teenoor elke Suid-Afrikaner, alleen op daardie fondament 'n veilige en 'n voorspoedige toekoms vir hierdie land en al sy mense gebou kan word. Ek verklaar met oortuiging hier vandag, ons is gereed om vorentoe te beweeg. Die tyd vir magsdeling het gekom. Die tyd het gekom dat daardie nuwe grondwet gestalte kry en dat alle Suid-Afrikaners deel word daarvan en dat die Suif-Afrikaanse nasie as 'n nasie sy trotse plek inneem in die internasionale arena van state. In daardie gees sal ons positief en konstruktief bly saamwerk, bly hard werk, bly gee alles waaroor ons beskik ten einde te verseker dat ons so gou as moontlik - want ons aanvaar spoed is belangrik - time is of the essence - by finale oplossings en antwoorde uitkom wat blywende vrede in ons land kan verseker.

Ek dank u.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our next speaker has many titles, I will refer to his latest, Chancellor Mandela.

/Chairpersons...

DR N R MANDELAAFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Chairpersons, Distinguished International Guests, Fellow Leaders, Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen. We gathered here yesterday and are meeting again today in a setting which suggests continuity, stable processes and a familiar and predictable environment. The physical circumstances in which we meet suggests that at the end of the day we will show progress built on what we achieved last December during the first historic session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Yet the overwhelming message that was communicated from this hall yesterday both to our own people and to the international community at large, was that no progress towards the new South Africa that we all want had, in fact, been made over the last five months. The things we did and said conveyed this perception despite the valiant efforts that some amongst us made to demonstrate and insist that progress had indeed been achieved. So often the speeches that were delivered, carried the same refrain that could not but inspire gloom and despondency, as well as a sense that we, as politicians, could do no more than speak as I do now.

And yet the actual situation we face demands that we make a radical departure from many things which define the parameters of what we must do as these politicians. We meet here today as we did yesterday, not to play politics but because our country is in a very deep crisis. Our people continue to die as a result of brutal violence carried out by forces that are opposed to democratic change. Fear stalks our land because none of us seem to know when the identifiable as well as faceless assassins are going to strike; whether on the trains, in the townships and

/villages ...

villages, on the roads, or elsewhere. Many feel emboldened to carry and brandish guns, spears, battle-axes, pangas, knobkerries and other weapons of death as though to kill, to threaten and actually to perpetrate violence against other human beings were the most natural thing in the world. It even seems that political organisations have no problem whatsoever when their members and supporters or those who act in their name, take the lives of innocent people in the pursuit of one goal or another.

In addition the criminals who rob, rape and murder for personal benefit seem to grow in number every day and seem to get more desperate and brutal with each passing moment. The crisis facing our country is also expressed by the haunting reality of millions of people without jobs, without homes and without food. The lives of many of our people will be made even more miserable by the terrible drought which afflicts many parts of the country. After many years of gross mismanagement, the economy is in decline and holds no immediate or foreseeable prospect to address any of the urgent and pressing needs of our people. On the horizon we can therefore see nothing but even more misery and further deterioration of the fabric of society affecting all aspects of life including health, education, family life and everything else that defines human existence.

The question that faces us all is, how long can we who claim to be the leaders of our people, sit here, talk eloquently, spin out a complicated formula and enjoy the applause, while the country sinks deeper and deeper into crisis. From where can we claim the moral

/right ...

right to assert that we need to move with less speed? Why do we put off until tomorrow solutions that we can reach today? The people cannot postpone their hunger. Similarly they do not want their freedom postponed. Anyone of us who acts to delay that freedom, only serves to perpetuate our bondage. This is a situation which none of us should be willing to accept. And let none of us make the mistake of thinking that the people will do nothing to change their condition. Not only do the masses have the right, they have the duty to engage in struggle to change their condition, change any government or leader they see as acting against their common good. We all know that it is the relentless struggle of these masses that has brought us to where we are today. Through their struggles they created the possibility for a negotiated resolution of the problems of our country.

And so, when we met here last December at the first session of CODESA and as we convened again yesterday, we held out the hope that indeed we were on course towards a peaceful resolution of the problems that have plagued our country for far too long. Clearly, we cannot gather here today and send out a message to our country and the world that we have taken no steps towards the goal of ending the misery of our people. That is clearly impermissible.

What is it that our people want? What is it that our country needs? We have to move as quickly as possible to arrive at a new constitution which must enshrine the principle of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. If there is anybody

in this room who is opposed to this objective, it would be good if they would let us know. To get to such a constitution we need an elected constitution-making body, a democratically constituted constituent assembly. Once again, if there is anybody in this room who is opposed to this objective, it would be good if they would let us know.

With regard to this matter there are a number of propositions that I would like to put to the Convention as a whole. To help our country and people move forward, I would like anybody with a dissenting view to speak out openly against any of these propositions. Firstly, let us all agree that we have to create a constitution-making body, elected on the basis of one person, one vote, with the votes being of equal value. Is there any party here today opposed to this? Let us all here agree that parties elected to this body will be represented within it, in proportion to the number of votes they obtain. Is there any participant who is opposed to this? Let us also agree that in addition to a national list, there will also be candidates who will be elected on a regional basis. Is there any participant who is opposed to this?

Let us further agree that the constitution-making body shall be a one chamber national assembly with sovereign powers to negotiate, draft and adopt a new constitution. Is there anybody who is opposed to this? Let us again agree that the work of drafting the new constitution will be carried out within the framework of constitutional principles that have been and will be agreed here at CODESA. We cannot allow the interim constitution or any interim structure

/to ...

to be imposed upon or to constrain the constitution-making body. Is there anybody who is opposed to this? Let us also agree that the elections we talk about shall be conducted and supervised by an independent electoral commission made up of respected members of our community, and assisted by representatives of the international community. Is there anybody who is opposed to this?

The present Government of our country has admitted to the fact that it is not sufficiently representative of the people of our country. For the majority of our people the matter, however, goes beyond this. These masses consider this regime to be illegitimate. They accuse it of having brought the country to the sorry state in which it is through the pursuit of the evil and immoral system of apartheid. They are, therefore, convinced that it has neither the legitimacy nor the moral authority to take the country through its democratic transformation. The shocking recent revelations about the theft of public funds, the assassination of leaders of the Democratic Movement, coming on top of previous disclosures, confirm the view that the sooner all our people are able to decide who should govern the country, the better.

In the meantime, let us again agree on a number of matters. Let us agree that by the time it adjourns, the tricameral parliament will have passed the necessary legislation to create as a statutory body with executive powers, a multi-party transitional executive council charged with the task of moving the country towards the adoption of a democratic constitution, levelling the playing field and creating the climate of free political activity that will enable

free and and fair elections to take place. Is there anybody who is opposed to this? Let us further agree that once the elections have taken place, the elected body will also be the interim parliament operating with a new executive together constituting an elected interim government, which will remain in power until a new constitution has been adopted. Is there anybody who is opposed to this?

Our people want to hear our answers to these propositions. Without the clear commitment of each and every participant in CODESA, we shall be unable to overcome the deadlocks, unable to give the leadership our people are looking for and unable to establish the basis for negotiations to succeed.

Having agreed to all these matters, where next should we go? We must move speedily to conclude all outstanding matters concerning the elected constituent assembly, begin discussion about the composition and other matters related to the elected interim government and, therefore, agree on the interim constitution according to which this transitional government will function. For these purposes the Management Committee should meet soon after the conclusion of this session of CODESA, to look at how it can restructure the Working Groups to ensure that we move forward urgently with regard to all these outstanding matters. The Management Committee will also have to look very closely at the question of time frames in particular to determine when the election should take place, and how long the process of drawing up the new constitution should take. Other outstanding matters must also be resolved.

/In this ...

In this instance I refer in particular to the release of remaining political prisoners. It is quite intolerable that these fellow countrymen remain in prison while we sit here and talk piously about creating a climate of free political participation.

Let me conclude by thanking you for your patience and by urging everybody in this room with all the force at my disposal, to commit themselves in word and deed to the speedy transformation of our country into a peaceful, stable, prosperous, non-racial and non-sexist democracy.

And finally, a word to the Government of the day; the time has come that you should truly cross the Rubicon. You must understand clearly that the days of White minority domination are over.

During the period of change and while you remain in power, you cannot and will not be both player and referee. Whether you are genuine about change will be judged not by what you say, but by what you do. Let us all move forward together to arrive as speedily as possible at our common objective of a democratic South Africa. I thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Ladies and Gentlemen, after those two contributions and the contributions of yesterday, the Management Committee needs to consider its recommendations and we have agreed to have a tea break of between thirty and forty-five minutes to enable them to consider a report which will then be presented after tea.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED FOR TEA

CONVENTION RESUMEDMR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Your patience has been tested again but luckily we are back in this hall to proceed with the agenda.

Ladies and gentlemen, it has been felt that you have probably heard enough for the time being, and that it is time that you should also see something; after all, seeing is believing.

I now call upon Mr Gordhan, the Chairman of the Management Committee, who will perform a certain task here - he will present certain slides.

/SLIDE PRESENTATION ...

SLIDE PRESENTATION BY MR P J GORDHAN
CHAIRMAN : MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The Chairpersons, Ladies and Gentlemen. Yesterday I, on behalf of the Management Committee, presented to you the Management Committee report on the progress made in respect of agreements in the various Working Groups. What we do today is to try to graphically capture that report with a view to capturing the vision that has been developing in CODESA on the transition process. It will give us, and indeed the people outside who are observing this, an opportunity to assess what has been accomplished in the five months that we have been working in CODESA on the one hand, and what remain as outstanding matters on the other hand.

At the Management Committee there has been a consistent concern on your behalf that marketing CODESA and the negotiating process, is a vital aspect of our work and marketing, of course, means that we have to take CODESA and the negotiation process to our people and they should understand what is it that we are doing in this mysterious place called the World Trade Centre, and are we indeed reaching agreements which can affect their lives and take them forward to a secure and peaceful future.

On the next slide we begin to capture the CODESA objectives. What is it that CODESA was actually set up for? CODESA was established, as we understand it, to move us from the current situation in South Africa to a democratic future and a democratic South Africa, that the crucial aspect that we need to resolve within the CODESA forums, is the aspect of drafting a democratic constitution on which a future South Africa would be based, and that remains today the key objective that guides us in the processes that follow even

/CODESA ...