

the importance of CODESA and welcome this Convention, we believe that the negotiation process must be completed within a period of eighteen to twenty-four months, and that the agreed new Constitution must be implemented twelve months thereafter. To this end registration of all voters must be completed by the end of 1993, and we believe that the implementation of decisions taken by CODESA must be referred to Parliament.

We state emphatically that all decisions of CODESA must be implemented by all participants. To this the Labour Party commits itself.

While CODESA is the most representative body South Africa has ever had and whereas the South African Government represents only 5% of the South African community, we cannot allow the decisions of CODESA to be vetoed by the Government.

The future requires us to be constructive, conciliatory and courageous, but there must be a firm commitment to one nation and one South Africa and on behalf of the Labour Party of South Africa, may the peace that passes all understanding be a real experience to you all this Christmas.

I thank you.

/GEORGE ...

MR G SEWPERSHADNATAL AND TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS

The Honourable Chief Justice, Religious Leaders, the Chairpersons, the distinguished representatives of the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth, the European Community, members of the Diplomatic Corps, and fellow South Africans.

As we commence the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, we are all no doubt acutely aware of our historic responsibilities. We are also aware that the process we launch today is pregnant with possibilities for a democratic future for all South Africans. The Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress are very conscious of the expectations of millions of our people and the world at large. Our people await a constructive and swift outcome; an outcome that is emphatically democratic and measurable in: "genuine 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 and social; and economic empowerment through various forms of affirmative action in order to correct decades of discrimination and inequality."

The South African tragedy has gone on long enough. Too many communities have been uprooted and destroyed by apartheid laws.

/Generations ...



Generations of our children have had their futures distorted by apartheid education. Many generations of Indian, Coloured and African businessmen have had their efforts stifled for decades. Today millions of capable adults spend much of their lives without work and without a chance to work. Thousands of pensioners subsist on meagre and discriminatory pensions.

History and our people charge us with a clear mission: Rid us of apartheid, its inhumanity and suffering, put in its place a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and united South Africa. We cannot fail them - least of all delay this process one day longer than necessary.

We in the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, come to CODESA with a proud record of resistance against racism and inhuman 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 create division and alienation. In alliance with the African National Congress we have taken positive steps to build unity and harmony among all South Africans. To this end we have been involved in the struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi from 1906 to 1914; opposed land deprivation and the racial voters roll in the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign; laid the basis of unity between 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 the People in 1955; continued this tradition of non-racial unity

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in launching the United Democratic Front in 1983 and opposed Government attempts to co-opt the Indian community into the Nationalist ranks to the racist LAC, SAIC and the Tricameral Constitution, and correctly predicted that the exclusion of African people in any constitution, would be a recipe for violence and disaster.

As a pioneer of the liberation organisation in South Africa, we enter CODESA with dedication and commitment for which our members for almost a century paid a high price in prisons, banishment and bannings. Today the Gandhian demand for a non-racial common voters roll, finds resonance throughout South Africa. History will and must record that it was the struggle of all the people of South Africa over the many decades that has facilitated our coming together at this Convention. Over the next two days it is we believe, our task to take the first steps to irreversibility in the negotiation process. It is our view that this point 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 of disclosures about secret Government funding of organisations and the undermining of the genuine democratic process in South Africa. Unfortunately the past eighteen months have reinforced the perception by the majority of people of South Africa, that those in Government while commanding both power and legal capacity, do not have the will to create the climate for free political activity in South



Africa. In particular the people of South Africa await an explanation for the Government's refusal to release all remaining political prisoners like Robert McBride and others; the large number of South Africans still remaining in exile; the continuation of the Government's covert operations, structures and funding, notwithstanding assurances to the contrary; the apparent refusal of the State to rid us of the scourge of violence; and the Government's opposition to an elected Constituent Assembly.

There is no doubt in the minds of South Africans that this Government cannot lead us to a democratic future and until a government of national unity is put in place, the ravages of apartheid will continue. This Government has been given an adequate opportunity to demonstrate its often stated commitment to change. Little has been done to fundamentally remedy the situation. Only a sovereign interim government followed by the election of a democratic Constituent Assembly that offers a possibility of a new era of peace and a meaningful improvement in the material conditions of the millions of impoverished people in our country. This is the only assurance that the constitution-making process itself will be democratic, and enjoy popular legitimacy.

The people of South Africa have been excluded from the constitutional process for many centuries. CODESA has a vital responsibility to now create the conditions for the participation of all South Africans in the constitution-making process. Accordingly a democratically elected Constituent Assembly must draft the new democratic Constitution for South Africa.

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Our mission for a democratic South Africa is underpinned by these fundamental concerns. The people must govern. We must not be judged by history of having deprived our people of this universally accepted right. Our people have striven for an undivided South Africa. Fragmentation of our land in any form or guise will be a travesty of justice. The future economy must overcome the chasm we see today between the rich and the many poor.

The unemployed, the homeless, landless, must have their needs addressed with success.

We therefore subscribe to the following constitutional principles on which the new Constitution will be founded: An undivided, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist State; a multi-party democracy; an electoral system based on proportional representation; universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties protected under a Bill of Rights; equality of all before the law; an independent non-racial judiciary.

The Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses recognise the cultural diversities of South Africans. We believe that this diversity enriches the culture of our entire nation. We have an unshakeable belief in the inalienable right of all the people of our country to freely express and practise their beliefs, religions, traditions, languages and cultures. These individual and collective rights should be guaranteed through an enforceable Bill of Rights. At the same time we are acutely aware that the apartheid Govern-

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ment historically manipulated this ethnic and cultural diversity for narrow political ends. As a result the various cultures of our people have either been stifled or perverted to suit the political interests of the ruling minority.

Over the years Indian South Africans in particular have suffered as victims of ethnic manipulation, resulting in tragic incidents such as the 1949 riots and the 1985 Inanda violence.

While the policy of Apartheid and ethnic co-option was designed to divide the Black communities on racial and ethnic lines, we in the Congress movement have succeeded in building a strong non-racial and multi-cultural unity. Historically we have rejected on principle the belief that ethnic racial minorities should be given special political and constitutional privileges. This would be inconsistent with our basic commitment to achieve equality for all citizens.

It is this that explains our principled opposition to the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, and the 1983 National Party Constitution would put into place the ethnically structured Tricameral Parliament. The logical option for the proponent of minority political rights would be the creation of fragmented, poverty-stricken ethnic states as opposed to a non-racial and united South Africa. In the final analysis minority fears will only disappear once a truly non-racial, multi-cultural and democratic state is born. This will mean an end to the culture of distrust and strife born of the statutory protection of White minority rights, at the expense of the basic

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rights of the majority.

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. Our people are tired of violence, division and mistrust. The political forces represented here have the responsibility to build trust and create a process which can categorically leave our gruesome past 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.

/DR DAWIE ...



DR D J DE VILLIERSNASIONALE PARTY

Mnr die Voorsitter, vandag het die oënskynlik onmoontlike, moontlik geword, het die eens ondenkbare inderdaad werklikheid geword. Twee jaar gelede het niemand kon droom dat die leiers van strydende en selfs vegtende partye in Suid-Afrika, mekaar die hand oor die diep verdelings in ons land, sou reik om hulle saam te verbind om 'n volwaardige demokrasie op vreedsame wyse tot stand te bring nie. Dit is 'n wonder, 'n wonder waarvoor ons God moet dank. Die wonder is dat vir die eerste keer in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika daar 'n geleentheid is wat die leiers van al Suid-Afrika se mense saam kan beraadslaag oor die toekoms. Vir die eerste keer kan hierdie leiers saam die verantwoordelikheid aanvaar om Suid-Afrika se volle en opwindende potensiaal te ontsluit. Dit skep vir ons groot geleenthede.

Ten eerste, die geleentheid vir vreedsame grondwetlike veranderinge. Die sleutels vir die toekoms van Suid-Afrika is menslik gesproke in ons hande. Dit is binne ons vermoë om anders as in baie ander lande, staatkundige veranderinge vreedsaam deur te voer sonder die tragedie en verwoesting van revolusie. Vreedsame oplossings vir ons probleme is binne ons bereik.

Daar is tweedens die geleentheid om nou 'n volwaardige demokrasie in Suid-Afrika tot stand te bring.

Democracy is, however, a fragile institution. In the name of democracy the true principles of democratic government have

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frequently been violated, and recent history is replete with examples. The National Party has, therefore, committed itself to voting rights for all but with effective checks and balances which will prevent the abuse of power, which inevitably results in domination and oppression.

A true and sustainable democracy is based on majority rule but in plural societies that rule is always conditional on the fair treatment of, and meaningful participation by, minorities. This principle should be embodied in our constitution.

Throughout the world, the fear of domination and authoritarian rule has bedevilled relationships in plural societies. In a multi-cultural society it is essential that the system of government should inspire the people with confidence and allay their fears and uncertainties about the future. It should be our objective to build co-operation and a spirit of reconciliation into our Constitution.

In a country with diversities such as ours, the concentration of power in an all-powerful central government, simply could not serve the best interests of our people.

The National Party strongly feels that government should be close to the people - that the interaction of the people at local and regional level with those who have been given authority to govern, should be as close and direct as possible.

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The National Party, therefore, feels strongly that there should be three tiers of government, local, regional and national, with the powers and functions of each being entrenched in the Constitution.

This fundamental viewpoint also underlies our understanding for and sympathy with the unique constitutional position of the King of the Zulu nation. We trust that an acceptable solution can be found soon, to enable him as well as other traditional leaders with special status to become involved in the negotiation process. The National Party suggests that CODESA and its Management Committee further consider and investigate such possibilities.

Mr Chairman, there was a time in the past when the National Party felt that the policy of separation would bring peace to the nation. That did not materialise. The policy did not produce the anticipated peace, but greater conflict and increasing injustice. It was not the intention to deprive other people of their rights and to contribute to their misery, but eventually it led to just that. Insofar as that occurred, we deeply regret it.

Consequently, after profound and honest self-searching we have made fundamental changes to our policies, basing them on premises which, to the best of our convictions, are morally justifiable. We have committed ourselves to strive for a free and non-racial democracy without any form of domination. To that we are committed and from that we shall not deviate. We do not intend to repeat the mistakes of the past, but we also 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.

Thirdly, we have the opportunity to create the basis for economic growth and prosperity. We are all aware that many have high expectations from the new South Africa. The unemployed expect that there will be employment for them. Those with employment expect better remuneration and faster promotions. Those hindered by backlogs and poverty, expect swift relief. Businessmen penalised by difficult economic circumstances, expect to be able to expand their enterprises and to be able to exploit the advantages of growth in South Africa as well as new international markets. All have great expectations. If these growing expectations are not satisfied to a certain degree, the risks of unrest and instability in our country will be very high, irrespective of who governs the country.

The hard reality is that of all the praiseworthy issues which we have written into the Declaration of Intent, of all those praiseworthy issues, none will be realised if the process is not underpinned by sound economic growth and prosperity. The new investments necessary for economic growth and job-creation, will not take place as long as matters such as the possibility of nationalisation, increased taxation, labour unrest, consumer boycotts and unrealistic wage demands, continue to undermine the confidence of business and overseas investors in South Africa. Without business confidence and investment there will be no growth or job-creation, and there will also not be the tax revenues

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

If we wish to grow, we will have to compete with Eastern Europe and other developing countries in order to get a reasonable share of the world's available investment capital. This will require that we lower the rate of taxation, ensure the stability of the workforce and guarantee the repatriation of capital, interest and dividends. Unrest and violence must also be brought under control and the safety of our people and the protection of their possessions, must be addressed with conviction by our collective leadership. In order to achieve this aim, a well-prepared defence force and a highly professional police force, are of the utmost importance. The National Party is committed to this.

Despite the adverse effect which certain aspects of former National Party political policies undoubtedly had on the economy, it is nevertheless very significant that the resources of this country have already been developed to such an extent, that South Africa is today recognised as a major economic force on our continent and even beyond. Several indisputable statistics substantiate this reality and it is a fact that there are countries in Africa with comparable resources.

The singular resilience and inherent strength of our economy was dramatically illustrated, inter alia, by its capacity to withstand the effect of wide-ranging sanctions applied over many years. During this time we not only survived sanctions, but

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regularly registered positive real growth, albeit at a lower rate than would otherwise have been possible. At the same time we also embarked on a major on-going restructuring of the economy. The result is that today our economy is poised for a resumption of sound growth, with fundamental parameters well placed to support the imminent upswing.

The abolition of trade sanctions has boosted our export potential especially our already significant trade with Africa. Our increasing access to international financial markets where we have very high standing, will further support higher and more sustainable economic growth than was possible in recent years. The removal of discriminatory and other inhibiting legislation will make a further contribution in this regard.

It is Mr Chairman, against this background that the National Party again commits itself to promoting an economic system in which, inter alia:

- \* All people will be free to sell their labour and market their products;
- \* property rights will be accessible to all and will be protected by a Bill of Fundamental Rights;
- \* the maintenance of fiscal and monetary discipline which will protect and maintain the internal and external value of the Rand;

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\* the resources of the State will be available on an equitable basis for the welfare of all, with a view to eliminating the socio-economic backlogs which prevail in our country, as rapidly as possible.

Mnr die Voorsitter, dit is nou ons geleentheid en uitdaging om 'n nasie te bou; om bokant die verdelings en bitterheid van die verlede uit te styg en mekaar te vind in 'n nuwe trou en lojaliteit teenoor ons vaderland. Dit is nie moontlik om oor nasiebou te praat sonder om 'n opmerking te maak oor daardie politieke groeperinge wat besluit het om van die Konvensie weg te bly nie. Solank hulle buite bly, is ons nasie nie voltallig nie, het Suid-Afrika se kinders nog nie almal met mekaar vrede gemaak en grondwetlik huistoe gekom nie.

Ek rig my in besonder tot die lede van die Konserwatiewe Party en ander regse organisasies. KODESA bied aan u 'n geleentheid om u oortuigings en standpunte hier te kom stel. In die Verklaring van Voorneme wat vandag deur al die verteenwoordigers onderteken 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 lê."

Hoe jammer - hoe jammer sal dit nie wees nie as daardie partye wat daarop aanspraak maak dat hulle ook mense verteenwoordig wie se voorgeslagte groot opofferings in hierdie land gemaak het, in gebreke bly om hulle saak te kom stel. Nie alleen die

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debatte nie maar ook die resultate van ons beraadslagings mag onvolledig wees sonder hulle bydraes. Die Nasionale Party onderneem derhalwe om hom daarvoor te beywer om die beginsel van selfbeskikking vir volke op die agenda van KODESA te plaas.

Ek sluit af: Die toekoms van Suid-Afrika is in 'n besondere sin in ons hande. Dit is 'n geweldige verantwoordelikheid, dit is binne ons vermoë om ware vryheid en 'n standhoudende demokrasie in ons land te bewerkstellig.

If there is one motto, one approach to life necessary now, then it is to put South Africa first. A powerful message could emerge from this Convention if all of us unite our forces to truly seek to build a new nation in a spirit of genuine reconciliation and tolerance. That is the exciting challenge which stands before us - the historic opportunity which we have but also the responsibility which rests upon us.

May God give us strength, mercy and direction.

I thank you.



MR A RAJBANSINATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

Mr Chairman, our dignitaries and fellow delegates. I know that the various participants will show understanding when I express a tremendous measure of jubilation, especially at the presence on this very, very significant day, of our dignitary from India. I say this because Mr Chairman, on a very historic occasion of this nature, we must not forget those who made tremendous sacrifices for a just order in this country. Amongst the many people I want to salute Mahatma Gandhi because we are reminded especially of the momentous 1914 Gandhi/Smuts Agreement; we are reminded of his messages; we are reminded of his actions and his sacrifices and today Mr Chairman, we are seeing the fruits of the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi's stay in South Africa.

The National Peoples' Party is proud to be associated with this, the greatest event of political importance in the history of our beloved country. The journey to CODESA has been a very painful one; a few years ago it would have been impossible to accept that such an event was ever possible. Tremendous sacrifices were made and much can be said about the unfortunate chapter in our country's history.

Today Mr Chairman, the race for a truly democratic South Africa has reached the home straight; when sworn enemies are walking the last mile in a spirit of national reconciliation to reach the winning post of a truly non-racial South Africa, a South Africa free of apartheid and the shackles of the past, in a South

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Africa where there can be mutual co-existence in our divergent societies similar to those of the Soviet Union.

This is not the time to reflect on the past, although there can be full justification for being bitter. But we have seen in the past twenty-four months Mr Chairman, great statesmen of the calibre of Mahatma Gandhi and the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who indicated for the sake of South Africa, that they are not bitter. And the future beckons to all of us.

Today we thank the Almighty that CODESA is a reality, for the representatives of the international community to witness that this last part of the race to a truly non-racial South Africa, is irreversible. We also thank the Almighty for blessing us with national leaders who have the moral courage and also the charisma, to become the force of reason, the force of reconciliation, and the force of compromise and without these three characteristics, CODESA will not be able to succeed with the important task that is going to be entrusted to it.

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 see the political head of the once much hated South African Defence Force, seated next to representatives of the South African Communist Party. People who once could not be reconciled with each other, talking, discussing and deciding, negotiating by compromise in a process of give and take, so that in this

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togetherness CODESA today Mr Chairman, is being launched. I substantiate this with the very significant utterances made by the head of our office administration, Mr Murphy Morobe, in the "Business Day" today:

"The nightmarish task of co-ordinating officials from nineteen different organisations and welding them in to a coherent force, is a reality. The success of this coherent force is now an important infrastructure on which the success of CODESA must at all costs stand."

We also witness today the beginning of the formation of the pattern of a South African carpet, which pattern will be the new or the post-apartheid South Africa we are all endeavouring to create.

Of course, today is also Mr Chairman, a day of regret. Our regret is that there are empty chairs. CODESA is being boycotted and denigrated as a sell-out. South Africa is a country boycotted and people. It is our important task to accept this as a reality and mediate so that the empty chairs can be filled with people from the PAC, AZAPO, the AWB, the Conservative Party and others. They should know that CODESA hasn't a closed agenda. Self-determination can form part of a discussion as will be the question of an interim government and the formation of the establishment of a Constituent Assembly. In the "Business Day" of yesterday, Mr Vladimir I Tikhomirov, a political scientist from the Soviet Union, writes in an article under the heading "Soviet Experiences Hold Crucial Lessons for Changing South Africa", that the Soviet Union

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and South Africa are probably the only countries in the modern world that have such complicated national ethnic structures. There are striking similarities in both these countries. The Soviet Union and South Africa are formed from a large number of smaller nations - ethnic groups - many of which have their own historical areas. There exists a situation which can create a very dangerous potential to destroy these countries. Therefore the National Peoples' Party of South Africa supports generally a federal type of government with strong regional devolution of power.

Therefore, in laying the first bricks for the new South Africa Mr Chairman, CODESA must not be unmindful of the factors that led to the disintegration of the mighty Soviet Union and also what has happened in countries like India and Yugoslavia. We are also much conscious of the fact that we all want to avoid South Africa being another "killing field" for conflicts like RENAMO, UNITA, the Kalistanis\* in Punjab, or the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka. There is also no time for point-scoring exercises. Many individuals Mr Chairman, and organisations, some in a very big way, some in a small way, have made CODESA possible. The representatives of the international community are also here to witness firsthand the bearing of the fruits of their actions and the stand they have taken to cause South Africa to move speedily on the path of democratic reform.

Much has been said about economy and change. Change has a price. National political reconciliation and nation building go side-

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by-side with each other. We call upon everyone internally and also in the international community, to assist in the building of our economy, to improve our growth and also to improve the foreign confidence. CODESA's achievements Mr Chairman, will be meaningless if in the words of Mahatma Gandhi the benefits that are going to be derived from our actions and activities, do not yield in the direction of the long-suffering masses.

Being involved in the heart of CODESA, we say that CODESA dare not fail, it will not fail because the participants of CODESA are willing to see that it succeeds.

Reference to legal and constitutional issues must not be misinterpreted as unwillingness to find or point out the way. I want to say very clearly and bluntly that nobody here should be concerned about the handing over or the taking over of power. CODESA has so far shown that the givers and the takers are becoming part of the new order as Mr Murphy Morobe has highlighted in the "Business Day" today.

The National Peoples' Party of South Africa dedicates itself to ensure that CODESA marches forward. We concur Mr Chairman, with the views expressed today about mutual trust and having faith and confidence in each other. We have now come not only to the moment of truth, but to the moment of a severe test where patience, tolerance and understanding will be necessary if we have to succeed on the sacred path we have chosen. This is evident and important so that nothing must be done to halt this

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momentum which is taking place in South Africa today. Our actions must be such that successive generations must look back at CODESA with pride. As the Honourable Chairman has stated this morning, today we must make a tryst with destiny and I am sure Dr Mandela will agree with me that this is a common phrase of the great Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

In the planning of a new South Africa a very high priority must be afforded to the improvement of the quality of life of all the peoples in this country, and especially yielding benefits in the direction of the impoverished masses. We also concur with the views expressed today, that in order to achieve success we must rise above petty party politics, and I want to emphasise that we must do this not only in rhetoric, but also in reality.

On the 3rd November this year at the Durban City Hall, Dr Nelson Mandela made an important policy decision which affects the relationship of sixteen of the nineteen participants at CODESA. I don't propose to go into the details of that but I noted that Dr Mandela was consistent on the 3rd November 1991, as he was consistent on the same topic in 1958, but the significance is that Dr Mandela modelled - and he stated so at the Durban City Hall - that he is shaping this policy on what Pandit Nehru did in 1948 when faced with a similar situation in relation to great people like Shastri and Pandit Kanstru\*.

We will put a case - and I say this without any fear or ambiguity - 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 it, that it can form in South Africa such a powerful force that it can hold the balance of power to decide who is going to govern this country in a new South Africa. And I want to say Mr Chairman, we have great faith in the future of this country.

Let me admonish that South Africa cannot be compared with countries 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 determination to be part of South Africa and Africa and whose determination to survive in South Africa or Africa, must never be underestimated.

And finally Mr Chairman, I want to quote one of the greatest disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru who once said, and this statement is evergreen, it is relevant today:

"We end today a period of ill fortune in the history of our country. Moments like this come very rarely in history when the soul of a nation - long sufferers - find utterance."

At CODESA Mr Chairman, the soul of the South African nation is 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 reverberated throughout South Africa, throughout the forty years, 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 historic day I stand before you and the nation in all humility, to acknowledge the realisation of the goal of my Party and of my personal vision of the birth of a new nation to be founded on the pillars of established democratic values that acknowledge the dignity of life and the rights of individuals to various freedoms, in their quest for a better life-style and social justice.

A number of political parties are assembled here today under the banner of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa; parties which have adopted different strategies previously, are now committed to the instrument of negotiation to achieve common goals. "This is no doubt our finest hour."

I wish to pledge my commitment and that of Solidarity to the resolution of a permanent settlement and the founding of a Constitution that ensures justice and peace, progress and prosperity and harmony and stability, for this generation and the generations to come. We owe it to all the people who over the years have struggled to establish an undivided South Africa and a government that enjoys legitimacy.

This day offers the greatest prospects for achieving a negotiated settlement through the vision and leadership of those assembled here because of the growing acceptance of the reality that there

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can be no lasting peace, and no sustained economic development, unless the Government is based on the suffrage and consent of the governed.

My Party submits for consideration and debate a set of principles based on accepted values of a multi-party democracy for the establishment of a new constitutional order in South Africa.

The Constitution shall be the sole criterion for government action; the protection of individual freedom and human dignity is the highest principle of law and fundamental rights are guaranteed in a justiciable Bill of Rights; the guarantee of protection is ensured through the establishment of a constitutional court; the functions of the State are exercised by separate legislative, executive and judicial authorities with appropriate checks and balances; there shall be universal adult franchise based on proportional representation structured to meet the needs of our unique situation, with periodic elections in a multi-party system; a directly elected President; a multi-party cabinet based on proportionality to symbolise a government of national unity; a bicameral parliament; a decentralised regional/provincial system of government with devolved powers entrenched in the Constitution; a third tier of government with powers and functions relevant to the needs of the local communities.

#### MINORITY INCLUSION

The basis for the development of a stable democratic society and a well-functioning political system is the recognition of

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the plurality of South African society. Solidarity advocates that minorities shall be protected by the principle of inclusivity at all levels of government.

The existence of minority groups is a reality that cannot be ignored in South Africa and, therefore, has to be acknowledged and recognised if we are to avoid tension and conflict. There is recent evidence that new minority groupings are asserting themselves more than ever before in many countries of the world. In South Africa, ethnicity has been used as a divisive force leading to suspicion mistrust and cynicism. Ethnicity creates an identity and a sense of belonging, and ought not to be regarded as misconceived or irrelevant. In the virtual absence of experience in the practice of democracy, there must be an awareness and a sensitivity towards minority groups at least in the transitional phase. Ignoring it is wrong, condemning it accomplishes nothing.

A topical subject in the present constitutional debate is the question of the extent of provision for the participation of minority groups in Government institutions and processes. The debate in my view tends to be distorted, partial and emotive with the intention of creating the perception that those who acknowledge minorities are dividing society. Yet international agreements concluded by the United Nations since 1960 point to a new approach that provides minority groups with constitutional protection. To avoid mistrust and suspicion, any political solution must address the question of minorities in an open impartial and reasoned manner.



In formulating its constitutional principles, Solidarity has endeavoured to address the question of minorities within the parameters of a democratic system. The overwhelming majority of parties profess to support a future Government in which no group dominates. The surest way to kill the idea of democracy in a plural society is to adopt the system of "first past the post" or "winner takes all". In a heterogeneous society the objective should be to achieve maximum agreement to enhance the legitimacy of decisions.

The principles of Solidarity have many innovations that overcome obstacles to democracy. It is desirable to have a separately or directly elected President through an electoral system that provides strong incentives for a candidate to reach out to groups other than his own or risk losing the elections. The candidate will reflect the heterogeneity of South Africa's people and the office of the President will serve to reinforce the principle of meaningful minority inclusion and thus symbolising 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 at this Convention that minorities need to be included in the decision making structures of government. It must be stressed 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 and the quality of life. And rightly so.

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 growth and economic equity. It is crucial to develop conditions conducive to attracting overseas capital and economic development. Let us hope that the lifting of sanctions by nearly all 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.

Large corporations must provide opportunities for emergent entrepreneurs to enter into the manufacturing sector in a complementary manner rather than monopolising the whole range of activities. Simplistic solutions such as forcing big firms to break up would only remove the symptoms rather than the cause. The need is for wealth creation and not wealth destruction.



The small business sector which is a major contributor to job 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 the necessity of a productive work ethic for South Africa to regain a comparative 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, sophisticated banking and financial systems and is supported by a well developed infrastructure. South Africa needs to seek and foster closer regional economic cooperation in Southern Africa as a gateway to Africa and the rest of the world in the new international order.

Political freedom in South Africa without economic prosperity will be an empty gesture. Prosperity and liberty go hand in hand; without economic liberty, prosperity can only be a vision or a dream. Economic deprivation will substitute for political problems in exacerbating tensions and conflict. Affirmative action could run into fierce opposition in conditions of

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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 all South Africans for now and for the future.

We are standing on the threshold of a new and a challenging future for the first time in the history of our beloved country. We are moving away from a system of denial to one of inclusion, 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 hate, the fear, the suspicion and the bitterness 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.

I wish to refer to my call in Parliament earlier this year for the inclusion of representatives of the extra Parliamentary groups in the decision making process at the highest level and in this context I fully support the need to constitute an interim Government comprising of the various groups participating in this Convention.

/I urge ...



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.

Getting rid of the apartheid structures is easy; replacing it with a stable democracy is much more difficult and challenging. Ensuring democracy may be far more difficult than negotiating a new political order. Rising expectations have to be scaled down to realistic terms. Democracy will be threatened if it fails to produce a dramatic change in the material conditions of the underprivileged sectors of our population. A post-apartheid Government needs a considerable 'probationary period' to settle in and achieve stability as the new political 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 of society.

I pledge my personal support and cooperation and that of my party, Solidarity, to honour our commitment for a successful conclusion of this Convention's task to establish the groundwork for a democratic South Africa. The formation of CODESA 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 legislation or by the amendment of existing ones by Parliament to facilitate the process of Constitution making for a new South Africa.

The greatest challenge ultimately is not whether we produce the perfect Constitution but the will and determination to honour, to protect and to nurture the tradition and principles of democracy in a new South Africa. The world is littered with 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 later. This is the challenge that faces us today. The future must be given a chance. May the good Lord grant all of us the humility, the wisdom, the courage and the ability to rise to the challenge facing our nation in a spirit of reconciliation.

Thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our next speaker is supposed to be Mr Chris Hani who has a reputation both for classical scholarship and military strategy. But before we hear him we will take a tea adjournment.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED FOR TEA.



CONVENTION RESUMEDMR C HANISOUTH 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. They long for their freedom that has long been denied.

The South African Communist Party, in alliance with the ANC and COSATU has grasped the first opportunity that has arisen - as a result of our struggles - to secure a negotiated settlement of the apartheid conflict. The CODESA process is a victory for our people. We believe that it is our responsibility as a vanguard organisation of the working class, together with our allies, to pursue this process with the utmost vigour.

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 this ...

in this process because there are a majority of South Africans who do not have a say in the rules governing their own lives. We 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 majority of our people.

Such a new Constitution must also provide the framework within which this 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.

Without wanting to be unduly provocative, it must be clear to all with open minds that no reasonable person can justify a Government elected by 5% of South Africa's adult population, holding a veto over the decisions of these proceedings.

All decisions carried through a process of sufficient consensus must be implemented.

/But ...



But what are the decisions that we would like to see emerge from CODESA One? In the first place, we in the South African Communist Party reiterate our belief that it is not possible to pursue the process of negotiations successfully unless a climate of free political activity exists. This demands the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, return of exiles, repeal of all repressive legislation, an end to the violence and freedom of all to pursue their political activities without harassment.

We are especially concerned at this time with the failure of the Government to implement its undertaking under the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes by continuing to hold as prisoners, including on death row, people who are being punished because of their actions against apartheid.

We insist that these people be released - not after further representation or consideration by some or other intricate bureaucratic process or the presentation of new facts. We demand that these people be released now. The Government can do this without any further formalities. We are saying that they must be free to spend their first Christmas for many, many years, with their families.

When we call for free political activity we do so in the context of a climate of violence that we know has persisted for many years, particularly in Natal, the Transvaal and the Western Cape.

/But ...