

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our next speaker is Brigadier Gqozo of the Ciskei Government.

BRIGADIER O J GQOZOCISKEI GOVERNMENT

Honourable Chairperson, His Excellencies present here, members of the International Communities, ladies and gentlemen. My reason for having asked for the opportunity to state our case was based on the assumption that we were going to discuss today reports on working groups. And we had our reservations, which we have to state clearly, which were omitted conveniently from the combined reports. But I think, because of the fact that now The Way Forward has been discussed here, I think that it is necessary that I leave this item for tomorrow when we will be discussing the necessary agenda point. But I would like to ask the Honourable Chairpersons to give me my quota of minutes today to also give my contribution to The Way Forward.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I think it is highly frustrating and completely not contributing to any spirit of conciliation, and the creation or building of mutual trust amongst all the nations or the peoples of this country, to resort to mud-slingings and speeches of provocation, and extreme malice to bring some of the participants, in this most important forum of negotiating, into disrepute. It just acts further to drive the wedge between us and make enmity between all of us. I think that it is quite a shame that while we are now in 1992 discussing and fully involved in meaningful negotiations, people, instead of discussing Way Forward should go and resort to discussing Way Behind. I think it is a terrible, very despicable way of point-scoring to wait for such an occasion- when we have visitors from all

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over the world - to start coming to set each other up and show each other off.

The fact of the matter is: the National Party that has now actually set the pace for what is happening today in this country, is the same National Party that is being harangued today. President de Klerk, when he took over, saw the reason to release Mr Nelson Mandela and un-ban all political parties. And the same Mr Mandela has transformed the National Party into a vehicle of transformation of this country's constitutional inequalities. And I think that he deserves more credit than what he has been given now.

To say the least, what has happened here, he has managed to do amidst a great measure of opposition from his own people and all other people alike, but then for us now to, instead of addressing those issues that will change what the National Party of old has done to this country for the last 40 years, we are busy trying now to delve back into those days and live in the past. I think the only and responsible way to do things now is to start from where we are and go forward. We must get that trust between ourselves instead of emphasising our differences and past events and incidents. I think that it is highly irresponsible of anyone - whilst we are here to seek all possible means of finding reconciliation and peaceful solutions to bring about a true democracy in this country - to start wasting all our time here. As for the impasse which happened today, it is not the end of the world. CODESA is still going to carry on, in whatever guise, after this CODESA 2. So what has been reached today? Today was supposed to be the day when we were going to listen to reports

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which the working groups have achieved - agreements reached; not agreements still being discussed. So anything that is still being discussed now should be shelved and be transferred to the next forum of discussion. And I think that it is completely childish and completely irresponsible to keep on holding to that point as though CODESA was depending only on that point which was in Group 2. There are a lot of things that have been achieved at CODESA up until today and I think we will do ourselves a great favour, rather than leaving our homes and coming here to waste time, than to listen to what has been achieved, think about and discuss them, and make sure that we will now set our minds at rest and plan how we are going to tackle the most difficult issues as were discussed in Group 2.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the pleasure now to invite one of the senior delegates here, and I think a person well beloved in this Convention, Doctor Frank Mdlalose.

/My Lords...

DR F T MDLALOSE
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

My Lords, Chairpersons Mr Justice Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabert, the State President, United Nations representatives here present, members of European Community, members of the Organisation for African Unity, members of the Community of Nations, members of the Non-Aligned Movements that are all here present, and members of the Diplomatic Corps, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I want to address myself to the breakdown in CODESA Working Group negotiations. The Inkatha Freedom Party is committed to the negotiation process. We are aware of the fact that if there were not grave difficulties in the way of reaching a widely supported constitutional settlement in South Africa, there would be no need for negotiations. The IFP is negotiating with all the other political parties in the country who wish to negotiate, because it is urgent to establish common cause wherever possible. Common cause is not reached in one fell swoop, but is built up over time as negotiations produce successes, and as trust and consensus start developing.

It is widely recognised amongst all those involved in CODESA that phenomenal progress has been made in all the working groups, including Working Group 2. All groups have outstanding matters, and all groups have achieved success which will make the successful handling of those matters, possible. The breakdown in negotiations in Working Group 2 dealing with constitutional principles and the constitution-making body, does not represent, in our view, a breakdown of Working Group 2 negotiations. Substantial agreements have been reached over a wide range of issues. And this, I think, has been wisely acknowledged by Mr Justice Mahomed in his introductory remarks.

/We ...

We believe that South Africa and the world should be informed on what agreements have been reached, and should be clearly told about the nature of the problem encountered in finalising the work of Working Group 2. The agreements in all the other working groups, and those already reached in Working Group 2, make CODESA a success, and to deny that success, is politically indefensible. When one reaches this kind of impasse in negotiations, you can either express your disappointment by wrecking activity, or in salvaging activity. The IFP believes that all the parties involved in Working Group 2 should set themselves the task of coming together after CODESA to salvage their own activities, and to salvage the activities of the South Africans that really want progress. This should be done as soon as possible in order to solve problems in a more manageable atmosphere. Parties must resist resorting to putting issues in power-play politics, and instead come together to further the politics of negotiation for the future of our beloved country; for the future of our children, and for the future of our children's children.

The equivalent of throwing your toys out of the cot because you cannot get your own way must be resisted at all costs.

CODESA 2 is not the end of the road, it is not the end of negotiations. It is still the beginning of the future. No point at all exists in taking up Working Group 2 job here, and doing it here among ourselves - no - we have to give it over to the good workers that have been busy at Working Group 2, from all the parties that have been diligently applying their minds, from different points of view, but they are

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the people that have been salvaging whatever there was to be salvaged in our country.

Inkatha Freedom Party's stand may however be put here. It is simply this: that with regard to constitutional matters, as we are building up, the foundation ought to be clear that 70% for constitution generally, with what is required for changes; 75% particularly for the Bill of Rights and for regional issues; this is our stand.

The lesson for the future: We do not need to set ourselves deadlines just for the sake of setting ourselves deadlines. We could have avoided today's impasse by calling up CODESA 2 only when we were ready to call up CODESA 2. Now instead of carrying on a mad rush to come to an end of things - without consolidating ground that is covered - instead of doing that, we ought to talk among ourselves and reasonably reach a conclusion that now we can talk to our people; now we can talk to our country; now we can talk to the world. Instead of saying: By such-and-such a day we must meet; by such-and-such a day we must meet. Already there are those that are saying CODESA 3 must be on by the first week of July. Absolute madness.

Only if we learn this lesson will future negotiations be meaningful. If we fail to learn this lesson, our CODESA 3 will end up in the same manner. I thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

I am privileged to call upon Professor H M Coovadia of the Natal Indian Congress.

/ Mr Chairpersons...

Mr Chairpersons, distinguished visitors from outside this country, our fellow South Africans. I have sat here and listened to a whole lot of debates and I am convinced that more than at any time in our history we have travelled a long way together, but there is still a long way to go. And I am not here to decry the gains we have made, because certainly we have made gains, but I think there is one very important point. When I have listened it seems to me that there are some people, who are established in part of the existing institutions in this country, who don't have a sense of urgency. And there are other people who are concerned about the daily suffering of children who are dying, schools which are being left vacant, elderly people who are being uncared for, and violence of a horrendous nature which is going on every day, and I can't understand how people cannot be moved by the degree of the violence and the horror of the suffering of the desperate millions in our country. And that's the reason, Mr Chairpersons, for the urgency that's in our voice, and there is a desperation in our demands.

Mr Chairman, what I would like to come to is the central sticking point. I think that there is no doubt that there is agreement on a range of issues. But there is one central point on which there is no agreement, and our contention is that that issue is so central that it dwarfs all the other achievements. It is like we have sat here for the past few weeks constructing a new body - a new body of something, a new human being - and we have put together legs, and we have put together heads, and we have put together eyes - we have got all those advantages, but the central sticking point is we haven't installed a heart. And Group 2 has failed to install the heart. So

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unless you have the heart of the matter, you will not resolve Group 1, Group 3, Group 4 and Group 5. And that's the difference between progress of a sort and progress which is not substantial.

Mr Chairman, we went into this meeting on the understanding that we would make every concession; make every allowance which is possible, which does not endanger the just wishes of the people whom we say we represent, and yet allows us to meet the desire for accommodating the vast differences of opinion in a sense of generosity. And that's the entry point into the areas of concession. But what happened was that in the end what was being asked of us was to secure a wafer-thin paper agreement to confuse the world, and to prolong the life of this unrepresentative government so that we would continue to cost the misery and appalling poverty of the majority of the people of South Africa in endless fashion. That's what we have been asked to agree to, and that's what we cannot agree to. Mr Chairman, at the end it was a blank cheque for a minority vote. That's what it was, and I want to dwell on that for one minute.

When we entered these negotiations, as I said, we wanted to enter it within a climate of confidence-building; that if there are differences, let's narrow those differences so that we can work together. But what we were being asked to do in the constitution-making process, we agreed that despite the fact that one could argue that a 51%; a simple majority was sufficient in formulating a constitution - you could argue that point - but we said no, we'll allow even a larger majority. And the larger majority we came to was a two-thirds majority - quite acceptable in all the canons of every law, of every form of justice

in any country. But even the two-thirds was not sufficient. What the State wanted; what the Government and its allies wanted was a 70% majority. You are now entering a terrain where it's no longer majority decision-making, but minority imposition of rules, and that is what is holding back any future progress.

Mr Chairman, what it means is that if I want to change one aspect of our society through the constitution - if I wanted to improve the health, welfare, education, so on and so forth, I would be restricted by a minority which is about 30% or so. In the end, Mr Chairman, this process must go forward, and that of course depends and lies in the hands of this Government. Now what I am saying, I am saying that I am turning to this Government, and that in the name of common human decency I am asking them to pave their own way out. Because I am saying to them that they have ruled without consent; they have governed against the will of the people; they have stood as an impenetrable barrier to the rising tide of expectations for the better life of ordinary people. They have distorted our history and harmed us individually, severally and collectively, beyond measure. And I am asking them on behalf of our organisations that they need to stay no longer, but usher their way out. That in the name of honour and justice: Go, but go now.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you Mr Coovadia. Ladies and Gentlemen, your next speaker is Mr Rajbansi of the National People's Party.

MR A RAJBANSI
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

The Honourable Chairpersons, Foreign Dignitaries, Leaders of the various Delegations, Ladies and Gentlemen. South Africa - and I regard it my privilege to follow Professor Coovadia - is now ready for its heart transplant. And we also recognise the fact that it will be a very grave mistake if we select the wrong heart in order to put into this body. There are many in this country who have waited very, very patiently, did not rush, so that by the finding, or the selection of the right heart, this particular body can survive for a very, very long time.

Ladies and Gentlemen, at CODESA 1, as the Honourable Justice Mahomed also stated, we made a tryst with destiny. Notwithstanding the fact that we are reporting no progress from Working Group No.2, CODESA today must record that a large instalment of that pledge is being delivered. I am an optimist, and today, despite the fact that in certain respects there may be a wide divide between delegations, we must re-dedicate ourselves in respect of finding solutions towards a common goal, and that is a truly non-racial, democratic South Africa.

There is no doubt about the fact, and as the Honourable Chairperson has indicated, that momentous decisions have taken place in Working Groups No. 1, Working Groups 2, 4 and 5. And we note the fact very, very strongly that there are divides in respect of crucial areas especially in the responsibility and task entrusted in Working Group No. 2. But we must also accept the fact that from our experience, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the divide is not wide. The encouraging factor, that is in respect of Working Groups No. 1, No. 2, No. 3 and No. 4, where "there is no progress" is reported, there is definitely a

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very, very strong emerging consensus. Momentous decisions have taken place. And I want to repeat, I am an optimist, and we must ensure that our goals are reached with mutual trust and faith and confidence in each other.

At prayer today, Mr Chairman, we heard of the following: Our guidance towards mutual faith, mutual respect, faith and confidence. That spirit that prevails in the various working groups, between the various delegations, is something about which we all in CODESA are very proud. We really need, and if we study the recommendations of Working Group No. 1 very carefully, a claimant of political tolerance, free political participation, national reconciliation and unity, ensuring a climate where there can be political activity without fear, and participants can be on an equal footing on the basis of equality with other participants.

We desire, Mr Chairman, that all disputes between the various parties in South Africa be resolved peacefully. That there must be a right of the freedom of expression of opinion, association and the freedom of movement. I commend to the various delegations today, the suggestions by way of recommendations and agreements made by Working Group 1, as follows:

That the leadership of the organisations urgently be required to come together for the successful implementation of the Peace Accord. And very important, I suggest to the various delegations to note that Working Group No. 1 recommends the appointment of the establishment of a Monitoring Commission. And I also very strongly suggest to the

political parties that they should refrain from making inflammatory statements in relation to the cause of violence, and desist from apportioning blame.

Mr Chairman, I want to deal very, very briefly with the question of minorities in this country. And I want to make it very clear, and without any shadow of doubt whatsoever, that we are not proposing in that commonly used phrase "meaningful participation for political minorities" an entrenchment of ethnicity.

When we refer to political minorities, we are not defining any minorities in this country on an ethnic basis. And I want to make it very clear today that inasmuch as we are Non-Aligned, we are supporting very strongly the principle of federalism, and the principle of strong regional governments. And in any country where there is a fertile ground for the establishment of strong regional governments; and at a time when freedom was achieved; and at a time when they were considering drafting new Constitutions; and when they ignored regionalism, history has recorded that such countries have ignored such matters at their peril.

Furthermore, we are making a case, as has been in other cases about proportional representation and multi-party democracy. And let us say CODESA 2 will never, never fail.

Thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our next speaker is Mr Chris Hani of the South African Communist Party.

/Esteemed...

MR C HANI
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Esteemed Chairpersons, President of the African National Congress, Comrade Nelson Mandela - CODESA has deadlocked. Without a satisfactory agreement in Working Group 2 on the central issue of democratic constitution-making, there can be no effective implementation of all other measures as proposed by other Working Groups. The blame for this deadlock must be laid firmly at the door of the principal deadlocker - the South African Government.

The issue is not about percentages. The critical issue revolves around the Government, together with a minority of parties, doing everything they can to undermine the democratisation of our country. Over the last five months the South African Government has tabled a host of different proposals at CODESA. One by one, each of these proposals has been rejected resoundingly by the respective Working Groups. But a sinister thread has run through all their proposals. They are all designed to entrench minority power and privilege.

In the past few weeks the South African Government has been compelled, by an overwhelming consensus here at CODESA, to accept in broad terms the eminently reasonable and democratic scenario originally tabled by the African National Congress-led alliance. They have accepted its framework, but they have never accepted its democratic spirit. This scenario has at its heart an elected constitution-making body.

Our proposal has been that this constitution-making body should draw up a new Constitution, working on the basis of a two-thirds majority.

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This was the exact formula which the South African Government agreed to in Namibia. Today the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, claimed that the South African Communist Party wanted to impose a "Marxist-Leninist Constitution" on South Africa. We can only assume that Mr Botha believes that more than two-thirds of South Africa's people want such a Constitution. We are flattered. But this is not at all our intention. We want a Constitution which is broadly acceptable to the overwhelming majority of our people. We want a South African Constitution, not a party political Constitution.

In the past three weeks, the South African Communist Party and its allies, have done everything to facilitate an agreement. Within the context of our broad scenario, we have considered various detailed formulations and compromises with a view to facilitating a breakthrough. The South African Government has decided to spurn all of these. The South African Government remains stuck in its dreams of perpetuating, through the back door, White minority rule. This is completely unacceptable.

Are we disappointed at the deadlock? Yes, we are, and deeply so.
Are we surprised by this deadlock? Sadly, we have to say no.

The Government continues to lack the will to negotiate seriously. What they fear above all else is democracy. Does this mean there is no future for negotiations? We like to believe that CODESA can and must establish a framework for the rapid democratisation of our country. But whether it does so, and whether there is an effective implementation of all transitional mechanisms agreed on at CODESA, will not be determined only here at the World Trade Centre. CODESA must hear the voice of our mobilised, vigilant and critical population out there, under whose mandate we are participating in CODESA.

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Popular involvement is the essence of democracy. It is not CODESA that will deliver, but the mobilised masses of our people. Only they can ensure that those who still cling to their fading and corrupt White minority power will finally shift. Only the mobilised people of our country can ensure that there is rapid and effective implementation of transitional measures to level the political playing field.

Let me highlight just one of these measures, which deeply concerns the South African Communist Party, and the broad liberation movement. It is absolutely unacceptable that as we meet here at CODESA 2, there are still hundreds of political prisoners being held hostage in South African jails. For too long we have been given vague assurances about pending progress. While notorious criminals like the kwaZulu policeman, Shange, and other Security Force killers are set free, more than four hundred political prisoners remain incarcerated. In particular I would like to single out Mzondeleli Nondula, Mthetheli Mncube and Robert McBride.

It has become fashionable in the highest Government circles to disown those carrying out your own policies. I have no intention of falling in with this fashion. Nondula, Mncube, McBride and others were soldiers in a struggle and we, their commanders at the time, stand unequivocally by them now. They must be released immediately.

As we meet here today, the Government of the day has been enveloped in a wave of scandals. These include evidence of rampant corruption, and their central involvement in the war against our people. This Government has stumbled from the Trust Feed massacre to the Development Aid scandal; from the Shange release to the brutal assassination of Matthew Goniwe; from Infogate to Inkathagate - so many gates. Now

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is the time for the exit gate for this Government. Any government in the civilised world implicated in so many scandals would have been thrown out of office by now. They must go.

What is the way ahead from here? The South African Communist Party will be returning to its working class and mass constituency. We will be consulting with them and seeking a renewed mandate.

Let it be very clear that we cannot allow the negotiations process to be indefinitely prolonged. Out of our consultation, we shall embark on a course of action which we are convinced will lead to a rapid breakthrough.

We join with the great majority of the people of South Africa in saying: Freedom now!

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you, Mr Hani.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the next speaker is Mr Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party.

/Honourable...

MR C EGLIN
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Honourable Chairpersons, Distinguished Guests and Fellow Delegates to CODESA, I want to confine my remarks on the subject of 'The Way Ahead, to the consequences to The Way Ahead, of the fact that we don't have before us a report from Working Group 2.

Yes, of course we're all disappointed. I want to tell you, millions of people around South Africa share our disappointment. But being disappointed is not good enough. After all we are the collective leadership of South Africa. What are we going to do about it?

Let me say this, that we the Democratic Party don't believe that in constitution-making you should rush quickly into artificial agreements. But equally we are not prepared to adopt an attitude of: Ag, mōre is nog 'n dag. And so, Mr Chairman, we believe that we should take every step possible as soon as we can, to resolve the impasse that has occurred. Amongst other reasons, the events that have unfolded in South Africa only in this last week, have pointed to the urgent need to establish an interim government of national unity in this country.

Mr Chairman, millions of people in South Africa are yearning for a new non-racial democratic constitution, and that day when that dawns on South Africa cannot be artificially delayed.

Mr Chairman, I understand the argument of those who say we were dealing with a package. And until you have all the agreements of the package in place, you haven't got an agreement. I accept

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that argument and yet I am disappointed that there isn't some report of progress towards that package before this Conference and before the people of South Africa, because as other speakers have said, there has been significant progress. There has been significant progress which, if it was known, would encourage people to believe that negotiation can succeed in spite of the fact that it hasn't been realised to its fullness in Working Group 2.

There has been fundamental progress in the area of constitutional principles which define the character and the structures of the new South Africa that's going to arise. There has been significant progress in the field of the constitution-making body and the constitution-making process, on the basic approach to constitution-making, on the way we've got to draft an interim Constitution, on the question of strong regional and local governments, and even progress made on the provisions regarding the drafting and the adoption of a Constitution.

But perhaps it's even more important that we at this Conference should realise not the things that have been achieved, but the things that are hampering the achievement, because we've got to get them out of the way. It's even more important because we've got to take steps to see that this impasse is resolved. And I don't believe that the solution is just to say: Go back to the Working Group and do the best you can. That is a "Môre is nog 'n dag" approach. I believe that while we're assembled here, and I look at the galaxy and the talent of the leadership that is assembled here, I think

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we should take the first urgent steps to resolve the impasse that is there.

Now Mr Chairman, most of the facts are known as far as the Democratic Party is concerned. We believe a new Constitution should be drawn up by a fully democratic and elected body without the interference of any fancy Senate. We believe that the Constitution should be ratified in every clause, other than the Bill of Rights, by a 70% majority. And the Bill of Rights alone should be confined to a 75% majority, because of the significance it has in protecting the Constitution, the rights of individuals, and through that, the rights of minorities in South Africa.

But Mr Chairman, what are the things that are at issue? If you look at it in terms of the written word, it's whether regions should have a 75% or a 70% decision; should make decisions on regional government in the future.

Secondly, the Government has got a concern about the role of the Senate in a future constitution. Ironically, we in the Democratic Party share that concern; we wouldn't make it a constitutional principle, and we share that concern in spite of what the National Party Government did in the 1950's. We must therefore try to protect the Constitution and the rights of the minority so-called Coloured people in the Cape. In spite of what they did, we still believe that the Senate can play an important part, provided it's a decent Senate in a decent Constitution.

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And then there's the concern of the ANC about the time frame. Yes, we understand that concern. Mr Chairman, we cannot allow these three things to stand between South Africa and the package of agreement.

But I see a fourth thing that is apparent; a fourth thing that is hampering the solution is a basic lack of mutual trust of one in another. And I want to say this: that unless the participants in CODESA, by their behaviour themselves, and by their behaviour one towards the other, start to develop a sense of mutual trust, of trust that we each are committed to a genuine democratic and non-racial South Africa, we are never going to reach agreement on the crunch issues that stand before us.

The fact that we have not a report form before us is important. It means there's going to be significant delay in the process of constitution-making; it means it's going to be longer before we can bring about an interim government of national unity; and it means we're going to lengthen the life of the unacceptable Tricameral system; it means we're going to postpone the day when South Africans can enjoy the dawn of a truly democratic and non-racial Constitution.

So I say, Mr Chairman, it's not good enough to say: Well we hope one day the Working Group can find a solution. I believe that while we're assembled here, and in particular while the leaders are assembled here, we've got to see whether we can break out of this; and we've got to see whether we can break out of the impasse. I

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don't believe that the issues that divide us, the issues that prevent us from having a total package, are so great that, quite frankly, the De Klerk's and the Mandela's and others that are assembled here today, cannot resolve this impasse.

So, Mr Speaker, I don't believe this is the time for foot dragging. It's not the time for faint hearts; it's not the time for political posturing; it's not the time for political point-scoring. It's the time, Mr Speaker, quite frankly to realise that we are in a crisis; we are in a crisis of Government; we are in a crisis of our economy; we're in a crisis of violence; we're in a crisis of mutual lack of confidence. And all I want to make this appeal is, that before we leave CODESA tomorrow, that CODESA through its leadership, will have given to the South Africa of today, and the South Africa that's going to dawn tomorrow, that kind of leadership that it needs; that there's a commitment to change; there's a commitment to truth; there's a commitment to justice and there's a mutual respect and trust of one another.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you, Mr Eglin.

Our next speaker is Dr T K Mopeli.

/Honourable...

DR T K MOPELI
DIKWANKWETLA PARTY

Honourable Chairpersons, Foreign Dignitaries, Countrymen, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am not depressed about the setbacks we have experienced this morning. Along the path of negotiations we are bound to come upon such setbacks, and even more serious problems. I must say, Honourable Chairpersons, I have on hand here the draft report of the Working Group 2 Steering Committee proposal, and this report was compiled on the 13th of this month.

Having read this report, I become filled with hope and encouragement about what is being achieved by this Steering Committee of Working Group 2. Without a spirit of give and take, live and let live, tolerance, there is very little we are going to achieve along the path of negotiation. CODESA must not fail. We must re-dedicate ourselves to ensure that this prestigious convention succeeds, for the sake of our children and for the sake of our country. This day must be viewed, despite the setbacks we experienced, as a day of hope, because we are here together as responsible people working towards a new Constitution and a new South Africa.

The mere fact that we are gathered here is cause for hope for a better future for each and every one of us. South Africa can never be the same after CODESA 2. Mr Master of Ceremonies, we have for the past five months been gathering here as parties and organisations, with their various constituencies, and most of the time with conflicting policies and interests. What I see that's being achieved today is a great miracle and a clear message to the people of South Africa

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and the international community, that we are deeply committed to the finding of a mutually acceptable constitutional and political dispensation that would enable our country to occupy pride of place in the role of nations.

The negotiations that are being conducted here have thrown up solutions that no-one ever thought of; breakthroughs that have been achieved, have been achieved owing to the spirit of give and take that prevailed in the corridors of this Centre. South Africa must become "n Reg Staat", a Constitutional State in which the Constitution of the country must become the supreme law for this country; a Constitution that will not only embody our visions, our dreams, but will also embody our aspirations, as well as protect our group and individual interests, without reverting to the yesteryear apartheid structures.

It has become common knowledge that in South Africa's over-heated political climate, it has become very difficult to conduct a rational discussion on matters that are being regarded as sound principles of government in the Western World. An advocacy, for example, for a system of government underpinned by a set of strong regional governments or Federal States is usually, and even immediately, greeted with suspicion and even with unbridled condemnation, that subtle attempts are being made to re-introduce White privilege, and the hitherto much condemned homeland system. In a country with a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural character such as ours, regionalism makes eminently good sense. It is just unfortunate that apartheid has given a bad reputation to certain

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constitutional concepts such as the right of self-determination, the protection of minorities, national states, etc. We need only refer to the Constitution of Belgium to understand what I mean. A hastily corralled Constitution can only bring untold harm and misery for this country. A much slower and more measured pace, to enable the participants to consult with their principals on constitutional aspects, has become a pressing necessity for the sake of the people outside this Centre, on whose behalf we are here to take momentous decisions that may have far-reaching implications for their daily lives.

It is now time, Mr Master of Ceremonies, to create a democratic climate for everyone. It is time to teach our people the value of political tolerance, and the value of a multi-party democracy for our country. Your political opponents are not necessarily your political enemies, but a climate for free political participation is an essential element of the transitional South Africa. All participants in the political process should be free to participate peacefully and equally with other participants.

Mnr die Seremoniemeester, die onmiddellike instelling van 'n oorgangs regering kan help om ons lewensstandaarde te verbeter, maar kan daar ooit vrye, regverdige verkiesings plaasvind solank geweld en insidente van intimidasie so voortwoeds? Geen waarde sal aan so 'n verkiesingsuitslag geheg kan word nie. Dit is nie onredelik om te vrees dat demokrasie waarna ons so smag in die proses vermoelik kan word. Leiers van alle politieke groeperinge moet hulle

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onverbiddelik daartoe verbind om geweldpleging en voorvalle van intimidasie in die sterkste taal af te keur en hulle volgelinge tot kalmte te roep.

To conclude, Mr Master of Ceremonies, if we cast our minds back three years ago, the general principle, the general acceptance of these principles by all concerned, is cause for hope. We all know that there are still issues to be decided: economic freedom, Government intervention, economic systems, accommodation of the diversity of languages, cultures and religions, affirmative action and the Bill of Rights, self-determination, the role of traditional leaders, a definition of the body that will oversee the period leading up to election. We do not want to one day face the wrath of our children and grandchildren because we have not acted responsibly enough.

This country of ours and its people deserve the best. It is up to us to make that happen. Thank you.

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Dankie Dr Mopeli.

Die volgende spreker is Prins S S J Mahlangu van Itando Yesizwe Party.

/The ...

PRINCE S S J MAHLANGU
ITANDO YESIZWE PARTY

The Honourable Chairpersons, members of the International Community, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to start my talk by expressing, heartily so, my disappointment and that of my people at the apparent decline in the enthusiasm and seriousness on the part of some of the parties and organisations participating at the Convention, in dealing with the significant task facing them.

I'm saying this with an acute sense of regret at the sight of a breakdown in the most significant, and in fact fundamental Working Group of CODESA. This, as you have heard, is that the Working Group in the negotiation process, Mr Chairperson, moving forward without it finalising its business and agreements, is like trying to put an engineless, beautiful car in motion. We want to commend, however, the good work that has been done by other Working Groups.

Mr Chairperson, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to use this opportunity to once again call upon the leaders of all parties and organisations in CODESA to put the interests of the people in our country, Black, Green, White or whatever, first. And personal selfish interests which can only sow frustration, mistrust, conflict and poverty, last. It is my unwavering conviction that if it were not for the greed of leaders, and if it were not for the unwillingness of leaders to accept all people as equal, and teach people to exercise political tolerance, we today would not be standing in the centre of national and international embarrassment we are in today. My appeal to all which I made when we had our CODESA 1, is: Let us approach this process of negotiation in a

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spirit of unity, fraternity, and in a spirit of reconciliation, and more significantly in a spirit of give and take.

Mr Chairperson, it would be irresponsible of me and my party not to reflect on the disturbing observation that the negotiations in some Working Groups have degenerated into a ring of bullfighters. I find it highly disturbing that the law of the jungle, where the fittest only survive, still to be prevailing.

Shall I, at this point in time, Mr Master of Ceremonies, reflect on my party's position regarding various political issues of importance. From what I am going to say regarding this matter, all we see is the extent to which my party has accommodated the principles of give and take and reconciliation. It will also be seen by all who did not come to CODESA, to bulldoze our own position, we have considered, not only our membership of Blacks, we however also tried to accommodate even those who are apparently remarkably fearful of democracy through which, surprisingly, they themselves ruled this country.

Mr Chairperson, the original standpoint of my party was as follows in the decision-making of the Constituent Assembly, that the National Assembly take decisions on the basis of a two-thirds majority across the board, including the Bill of Rights. However, after consultation and negotiations in Working Group 2, my party was prepared to consider other options like the following:

1. Regarding the adoption and amendment of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution, a 75% majority should be required;

2. Regarding the adoption and amendment of sections of the Constitution, a 70% majority should be required. Regional matters will also fall under this category of majority decision.

Lastly, Mr Chairperson, I want to caution with seriousness against the tendency of some negotiating parties and organisations, to desist from playing a hide and seek game at the expense of the majority of our people. Our people are impatiently waiting for the downfall of the minority Government, and its immediate replacement with an unqualified democratic order in this country. Let us desist from trying to create new complex systems that are devoid of democratic principles that would undermine the legitimate demands of our people. Our people need democracy not later than now.

Thank you, Honourable Chairpersons.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you, Prince Mahlangu.

Our next speaker is Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi.

/Honourable...

PROF H W E NTSANWISI
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Honourable Chairpersons, Foreign Visitors, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are assembled here today to reply to a few questions; to talk on The Way Forward.

The first question I would like to ask is: Is it peace or war? Our children have brought before us here today a declaration, and that declaration says:

"To our leaders we say: your decisions will have a large bearing on the immediate and long term future of the country. We therefore attach singular significance to the task that rests on the shoulders of those leaders at Codesa. By virtue of being the heirs of whatever destiny you set for us, we have no reason but to expect that our wishes will receive your kind appreciation. Your ability to resolve our problems with deliberate speed will enhance the possibility of creating a prosperous future for our country and its people. This is a result we expect. It is our appeal that you not disappoint us."

That is the request that we get from our children today. Are we going to disappoint them?

I want to appeal to the State President; I want to appeal to Madiba, the President of the African National Congress, to take heed of the request that our children are placing before us today, and that we do not disappoint them.

/We of ...

We of the Ximoko Progressive Party, speaking with a due sense of responsibility, want to say that we commit ourselves to continued negotiation. We commit ourselves and concern ourselves to introduce, after discussion, an interim government which will look after the interests of this country.

The Ximoko Progressive Party concerns itself also with the protection of minorities and regional governments. The Way Forward demands that we continue to make CODESA a success. We want to say that we are prepared as we shall indicate later on, to make compromises on those issues where we know we must compromise. We have also convictions where we dare not capitulate for the sake of peace and for the sake of the future of our children.

Having said that, we gather here at CODESA today to reflect upon what has been achieved in the months which have passed since December 1991. On the one hand we have messages of hope; on the other hand, signals of dissent in the inability of the crucial Working Group 2 to reach consensus on fundamental issues related to constitution making and the constitutional principles which need to underpin the Constitution. These principles can be discussed, but I want to say that we are not going to get answers to these constitutional principles by attacking and repeating the evils of the ghost of apartheid. We can only move forward if we start thinking about the future, and forgetting the evils of the past on which we have hammered and hammered over the years. The time has come for us now to face the future with courage, with hope, with the resolve to win.

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