

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

The ideal solution should contain an action plan. It seems to me that our society is becoming divided and polarised, and if this continues we will have to pay the penalties of anarchy, chaos and violence. Clearly we do not wish this to happen and we would address this scenario by suggesting a federal system with central and regional checks and balances and a central parliament consisting of upper and lower houses which would provide these necessary checks and balances. We endorse the use of referendums and elections on both a national and regional level to determine respective leadership. We support inherent fairness of proportional representation. No group must dominate another.

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

The Ciskei has initiated incentives for the private sector to

/accelerate...



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

CODESA must be regarded, we believe, as a voluntarily agreed upon structure which, irrespective of physical boundaries, seeks to unite all leaders of political parties and governments within the broader South Africa who are committed to bring about a new South Africa through negotiations. It is a noble vehicle to facilitate negotiations, discussions, debate and agreements. The players must themselves negotiate until agreement is reached. Only then may decisions be binding. CODESA must be the medium for which a framework is developed for the TBVC states to bilaterally or jointly discuss the mechanism of re-incorporation with each other. A time-frame must be given for adequate consultation by all governments on the question of re-incorporation. Surely Ciskei can never be re-incorporated into a constitutional vacuum. The Ciskei citizens will expect us to negotiate re-incorporation into some better dispensation than is their fate today.

Constitutional development cannot and should not be considered in isolation of economic development. Events in the world around us are there for everyone to see. We must heed these warnings and these red signs. All leaders must be accountable and responsible for not raising expectations to such inordinately high levels that they cannot be met by an incumbent government. Historically the

/party...



party that raises the highest expectations incurs the greatest wrath of the electorate when such expectations cannot be met the day it takes over.

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

Regional Government and Federalism.

Regional government is a factor of future stability. Throughout the world regional government is increasing and is being recognised as an effective mechanism for keeping in touch with, and being accountable to, an electorate. This is apart from its inherent ability to fractionalise conflicts and its ability to cater for human diversity and difference of interest.

Accepting realities, the Ciskei sees itself as part of a region defined by cultural, political, socio-economic and technical parameters. Federalism also protects our civil service. A de-centralised civil service is well equipped to manage local affairs in their understanding of local conditions.

/In...

In terms of foreign policy we must not forget that while we wish to attract foreign investment to accelerate economic growth, solutions for our problems cannot be sorted out with the prime objective of merely appeasing the international community. "Render unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar." We should address our own problems within the context of our own uniqueness in our country.

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

May I quote from a respected American judge:

"Liberty lies in the hearts of men. When it dies there no constitution, no law, no court can save it."

Thank you very much.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

I wish to take the opportunity of Dr De Beer's arrival to thank him and his Steering Committee for the incredible amount of energy and discipline they have put into the work of CODESA before today and to enable us to reach the end of the beginning to a new South Africa.

/Dr Z J De Beer ...



DR Z J DE BEER

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Mr Chairman sir, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

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

All of us here present share our love of justice, and of this land and its people. We share more: we share our faith in the ability of men and women of goodwill to achieve peace and prosperity.

Our task is to write the constitution which will enable those who come after us to be proud citizens of a free South Africa commanding respect in the community of nations.

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

It is necessary but not sufficient for us to close the book on yesterday's society and say: "from tomorrow we shall do justice,

/and...

and from tomorrow there will be equal opportunities." That is not sufficient. We must go further than this, and do all that can be done to repair the damage of the past. Yet we must tell truth to ourselves and the world, and say that our ability to achieve a perfect society is limited by the extent of our resources, human and material - just as is that of every other society in the world. Having looked fearlessly at the facts, we must follow the shortest road towards perfection, in the knowledge that we may never reach it, but in the determination that we shall strive towards it with each year and with each day that passes.

As we face our monumental task, we ask: "from where will the force, the strength and the drive come to achieve it?" Ultimately sir, the power to save lives and print books and build cities and grow food and sail the seas and work below the earth and fly to the moon has come from the wish of ordinary people for a better life. A better life for themselves, their families and their fellows. Ultimately, the efforts made have been made by individuals each following his or her own path to a desired destiny. That which sets people free to use their powers in the improvement of their lives maximises achievement, that which seeks to coerce and compel human beings who were born free is not only wicked in itself but also destructive of potential human progress. We all should believe in the immense creative force of a free human person, and we should all fear the damaging potential of one frustrated in the exercise of personal freedom. As I say that I think of those in this place today whose freedom was taken from them and who nonetheless found the strength and nobility to surmount that assault

/upon...



upon their characters, and I salute them: and I believe they will agree when I say that personal freedom must always be a primary aim of government.

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

In this connection I wish to refer to the cataclysmic events that have taken place in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union during these last years. I spoke this week to a woman of sophistication - not a South African - who had recently visited Saint Petersburg, and moved among private people. She spoke of two things: the very high quality of the people, well-educated and intellectually capable; and the bitter resentment they feel against all politicians. All the delegates to this Convention are political leaders, and I imagine that the vast majority hope to continue as leaders in the future. I do not wish to believe that there is one of us here who so despises the people that he or she does not care if they are full of such resentment. Millions of South Africans have experienced the bitterness of oppression. Let us never let that recur - nor let us ever again do to our

/people...



people what those Russian politicians did to theirs.

The rage among the Russian people would certainly seem to be based on the denial to them of normal political rights, but to at least the same extent it is founded in economic deprivation - a system that has failed. Now for many people - perhaps particularly for Liberal Democrats like ourselves - there is something attractive about the proposition that well-educated and able people can find the way to live their lives satisfactorily regardless of who governs. But Sir, the recent evidence denies this. It shows that the political system followed is actually a major determination of the quality of life; it matters. Unless we wish to be hated by generations to come, we must stay far away from all authoritarianism, either in its South African version or in the form of the system imposed in the former Soviet Union.

There can be no doubting the fact that the gap in economic standards between the elite few and the poverty-stricken masses in our country is intolerably wide, or that its rapid narrowing must be a tip-top government priority. But we may not run away from the equally indubitable fact that the wealth needed to close that gap is at present non-existent, it has to be created. Economic recovery and rapid growth therefore become a top priority also. And here also the world gives us lessons and demonstrations. Governments cannot and do not create wealth: they only obtain it with the consent of the people, and then spend it (which, heaven knows, is a most important duty). Wealth is created by free human beings applying their talents and strengths in the ceaseless and

/natural...



natural struggle for self-improvement, trading in free markets. This does not deny an economic role for government, but that role must always be a supportive one.

So it must be in South Africa. The creation of wealth is the responsibility of the people; its expenditure is that of government. And the chief and highest spending priority must be the social progress of the people - Education, Health and Housing.

The new government of South Africa will have, above all, two tasks: to restore law and order, and to establish sustained, rapid economic growth. To achieve these two, we shall have to harness all the creative talent of a wide section of our people.

Sir, the Chief Justice quoted this morning from Sir Henry De Villiers to show that we must be here for South Africa and not for any sectional interest of our own. Indeed this is so. Those, if there are any, who have come to CODESA to pursue party political aims without regard to the great national interest will be cursed by generations to come. Those who have come prepared to support all narrow interests to the general good will have a place among the heroes.

/DR T K MOPELI...

DR T K MOPELIDIKWANKWETLA PARTY

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

This is indeed a historic occasion, a historic occasion in which all parties in South Africa have, for the first time, come together in search of a democratic constitution which will, hopefully, be fair and just to all their citizens.

Mr Chairperson, the creation of a new South Africa is the responsibility of all South Africans. I wish therefore, here and now, to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate our leaders on having come together in a spirit of goodwill and harmony to find the mutually acceptable Constitution for our country. We must, in the words of Shakespeare, I quote:

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

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

The Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa has, since its establishment in 1974, believed in and upheld the philosophy that a National Constitution for our country, South Africa should not just be a document in solemn form, but should be a living framework for the government of a people exhibiting sufficient degree of cohesion. As a corollary to this belief the Party's

/standpoint ...



standpoint is that constitution, however carefully constituted, cannot function with efficacy among the people fundamentally at odds with one another.

To stand the test of time, we believe, a constitution should be a nationally endorsed scheme of rules which dictate, give direction, and constitute the character of the State. After being adopted by a convention of this stature the constitution should, we believe unshakably constitute the supreme law of the country. Each and every country needs a constitution that fits its own circumstances. Mr Chairperson, that is exactly why we are here.

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

"KOPANO KE MATLA"

"EX UNITATE VIRES"

"EENDRAG MAAK MAG"

"UNITY IS STRENGTH"

/Mr Chairperson ...

Mr Chairperson, the Party took up this burden after realising how our society was being plagued and torn asunder by tribal divisions, colour and class differentiations. It dawned upon us that the best law of any land is the law that resides in the hearts of men. That tolerance and forgiveness cannot be legislated: these are either to be in the hearts of men or they do not exist at all! We believe that when each group within a society perceives its survival in terms of the domination or extermination of another, this premonitates the seeds of social disintegration, and yet a society endowed with an abundance of tolerance is a society which must succeed in maximising human liberty.

Mr Chairperson, as we enter a new era, let us be reminded of the words of Martin Luther King Jnr. I quote:

"Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must, however, conduct our struggle on the high plain of dignity and discipline. We must not allow creative protest to develop into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force."

This is exactly, Mr Chairperson, what we are aspiring to achieve today; meeting physical force with soul force, conducting our struggle on the high plain of dignity and discipline, not allowing creative protest to develop into physical violence.

In conclusion Mr Chairperson, I do not have the slightest doubts that if the deliberations are conducted in a constructive spirit,

/there ...



there may yet emerge from this Convention a free and democratic order. We need to create a society with equal opportunity for all. South Africans from all walks of life have never before in the history of their country been afforded such an historic opportunity to come together for an all-comprehensive purpose of negotiating a constitutional future for their country. The new order is already with us. There is now no turning back. We must do everything possible to see to it that this country becomes a country in which everyone will have a free and equal chance to realise his or her individual talents and possibilities. We have no option but to "take the tide when it serves or lose our ventures".

Thank you very much.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our last and final speaker before the lunch adjournment is Dr Frank Mdlalose of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

DR F T MDLALOSEINKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Honourable Chairpersons, Mr Justice Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabert, our Spiritual Leaders, distinguished members of the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, the European Economic Community, the Commonwealth and Non-Aligned Movement, distinguished Ambassadors present; distinguished representatives from other countries, Cabinet Ministers present; distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is with a sense of deep pride that I rise to present a message from the Inkatha Freedom Party. I am proud to be a South African today. I am proud to serve my Party and my Country today. I am proud before mankind because South Africa is demonstrating the capacity which so many of us for so long now knew was there, to grasp thorny nettles and face the difficulties inherent in dismembering apartheid, throwing its pieces away and establishing a just South Africa, sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty, pursuing amidst our diversity freedom, dignity, equality and security for all, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed; a country free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination.

There has been conviction in the minds of millions of South Africans that we are capable as a society of coming together across all racial and political barriers to put South Africa first by joining together to work for a new South Africa.

I am proud to be a working member of my Party's delegation to CODESA and I commit my Party to achieve these goals.

/I declare ...



I declare that there are in South Africa reserves of strength and honour sufficient to make CODESA a resounding success. Inkatha Freedom Party has come to CODESA deeply committed to turn South Africa into a show piece of racial co-operation leading to a united people with a national will to make democracy work.

There will be long and hard hours of discussion and negotiation in the months to come, as we grapple with the problems of preserving our unity of purpose, when we are faced with very divergent views and aspirations about the principles and the details of the parliamentary democracy that we each think we need in this country.

Thus South Africa will be able to avoid the evils of centralisation which led to great suffering and the erosion of personal liberty that characterised the now defunct Communist societies of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

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

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

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

/cover ...

cover terrain which will have been regarded as totally hostile to all who dared to do so and to make astonishing progress in developing a unity of purpose to establish a fair and just race-free democracy in this country when we came together in a Preparatory Committee which played midwife to CODESA.

Despite our disappointments with the pre-CODESA processes we remain convinced that the only politics in this country now worthy of the name is the politics of peace and negotiation.

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

His Majesty is no by-stander to the great events that must now be shaped in this country.

He is a man of today, born out of the trials and the tribulations and the great suffering that illustrious Zulu Kings before him suffered, as they helped shape modern South Africa.

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

Umzukululu kaGuqa bathokoze nhlambamasoka uwaba lenkomo zakwaMoshoeshele uthukuthele ngaphakathi kwanoMagqi lwawakhethamathonsi kungawesilimela.



The Zulu Kings to whom he is successor fought ferocious wars against colonial domination. The last recorded organised resistance against foreign domination was the Bambatha rebellion under King Dinuzulu, his great grandfather, in 1906. He therefore has a vital, non-partisan, interest in the abolition of apartheid.

Now CODESA is meeting to negotiate a new South Africa. And yet the Zulu nation is excluded.

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

They have a thirst for democracy and justice which will shape the words of politicians and those who will be drawing up our constitution and design the new South Africa to the benefit of all mankind in this country.

Their exclusion is tragic and we should all support the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who in his other role as traditional Prime Minister to His Majesty the King of the Zulus had no alternative but to stand by his King and campaign for the acceptance of the rightful role of the Zulu people in reshaping South Africa.

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There are difficult discussions ahead. We in the Inkatha Freedom Party who have observed the African experiences will fight to avoid the disasters that attended faulty nation building and mis-conceived constitution making elsewhere on this continent.

There can be no centrist political solutions to South Africa's problems just as there can be no racist solutions.

We see CODESA as a forum for discussion and negotiations. We are committed to apply our minds to everything any party has to say and examine each proposal in a search for any merit it may contain.

It is only the common discovery of the best that each of us can produce which will help us succeed in shaping the new South Africa for the benefit of everybody in it and for generations to come.

I thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you Dr Mdlalose

CONVENTION ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH



PRINCE J S MAHLANGUITANDO YESIZWE PARTY

The Honourable Chairperson, the Chief Justice, Foreign Community Representatives, honourable ladies and gentlemen. We are indeed here today witnessing another important milestone and great achievement in the political development of our country: that is an endeavour by concerned political parties to bring about the true democratisation of South Africa in this Convention. All parties are indeed part of history in the making. My Party accepts this challenge with optimism. We in the Intando Yesizwe Party believe that where there is willingness and determination to do a thing, difficulties become lesser and lesser. During the Peace Convention in September, I categorically stated that by coming together as parties and organisations and also signing the Peace Accord, we were opening a door to peace and democracy and paving a way for a new order.

Mr Chairperson, let me indicate that this is a historic occasion that is not merely symbolic nor is it a public-relations exercise of various political organisations. This occasion is symbolic of an earnest engagement of all relevant formations in a bid to achieve a new order that all peace-loving and democracy-conscious people of this country, have been tirelessly working for.

Mr Chairperson, it is true that South Africa has entered an era in the political history where disunity and intolerance cannot be allowed to exist. Yes, we have entered an era that demands of all participants here a meaningful and positive contribution

/towards ...

towards the making of a new order in this country.

My Party remains steadfast in its commitment to the unity of South Africans, across ethnic and racial divides. We are more confident than ever before that our beautiful country will soon breathe the sweet fragrance of freedom, peace and social justice.

I want to add Mr Chairperson, that we have reached a stage in the democratisation process of our country where political confusion and misdirection cannot be allowed. We need to come out clear on the tactics and mechanisms of transferring power from minority rule to the democratic and legitimate government of the many. Our call in this regard has always been the eradication of apartheid and ushering of a democratic order that will be accommodative to all South Africans.

Let me warn here that it would be a fatal mistake to assume that these preliminary negotiations of CODESA One will address all political problems in this country.

I want to conclude by making a call to all present here to commence here and now with honest, true and selfless actions that will translate our dream of creating a new order into a living reality.

Let the struggle for creating peace and a just society continue. Let the efforts of all South Africans who are dedicated and

/seriously ...



seriously committed in creating a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and united South Africa, be crowned with success.

The Honourable Chairperson and fellow participants in this historic Convention, we in the Intando Yesizwe Party and certainly in other peace-loving and democratic formations, believe that for this Convention to yield any significant results, the will of the people should come first, and the personal will of us leaders should come last.

The Intando Yesizwe Party comes into the Convention with a clear view and conviction that a new government based on democratic principles in the place of the present one, should be our fundamental objective which need not be negotiable. The government envisaged by the Intando Yesizwe Party and most probably by many South African citizens, needs to start on a foundation of legitimacy but not on selfish intentions of certain formations.

The Chairperson, it is a long-standing conviction of the Intando Yesizwe Party that the people of South Africa will be better suited by a system of government that will adopt as its fundamental objective equality of all persons before the law. A government that will endeavour at all material times to guard against any form of perpetration of the past system of apartheid through disguised means, especially in terms of economic dispensation. And it is our honest prayer that this should be vigorously pursued by all, and we believe that this can be better achieved in a South Africa that is characterised by a conducive atmosphere for free political activity.

I take this opportunity Mr Chairperson, to urge concerned authorities to consider very seriously the question of political prisoners. The Intando Yesizwe Party also prays for the Convention to come out of its exercise one day, having proposed an economic system that will aggressively address the present economic imbalances and ensure a sustainable and growing economy that will benefit all South African citizens.

The Intando Yesizwe Party wishes to reiterate its belief that whilst regional governments are constituting an acceptable element in the governing of the country, the present regional authorities are definitely apartheid-based. It would be highly discouraging therefore, to find some of our leaders being adamantly glued to these structures. The Intando Yesizwe Party wishes to call upon all to treat the South African political process with honesty and genuineness.

Finally Mr Chairperson, the Intando Yesizwe Party wants to make an audible call to all delegations to convey the true sentiments of their followership. This we must strive to do in spite of any strong need inside us to enhance our own esteem. Let us all agree and accept with honesty that we are here going to speak on behalf of the people, and that should be the base of all our utterances and doings.

I thank you, Mr Chairperson.

/M C ZITHA ...



CHIEF MINISTER M C ZITHAINYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The Chief Justice, Co-Chairpersons, distinguished members of the International Community, Ministers of Religion present here, leaders of political organisations and administrations, delegates, ladies and gentlemen.

On behalf of the Inyandza National Movement and the accredited delegates of the Movement, I am profoundly privileged to address you on this historical and epoch-making occasion. Never in the history of the South African political spectrum have so many leaders representing such a number of political organisations, parties and persuasions, assembled with the sole purpose of determining constitutional principles and the modalities of constitution-making that will consequently result in the new Constitution for our country.

I do believe sir, that CODESA is set to pilot us along a unique historical path, poised not only to cross the Rubicon, but it also marks the formal point of no return in the negotiation process.

I must concede though, that change in any society is a difficult process. Change is either supported or resisted for various reasons. Ideal change occurs when the majority of parties and political organisations gain without the fear of losing. Though this ideal may sound difficult to attain, it is certainly within our reach, depending largely on how serious we are in our desire to give CODESA our best.

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In a book entitled "The Agony and the Ecstasy", the teacher of the great artist, Michelangelo, states:

"Sculpture is hard, brutal labour; talent is cheap; but dedication is expensive."

What else is life for in a nation if it is not for dedication by the people to freedom and to greatness. But a dedication to freedom and to greatness carries with it responsibilities and strict disciplines. It carries with it the responsibility of hard work so that the political and economic well-being and freedom of all our people will be attained.

To paraphrase John Adams, freedom requires that each individual conducts himself in a manner that his life demonstrates the dignity of man.

Of course sir, whilst CODESA will be dealing with a lot of procedural matters in the next two days, constitution-making entails far more than formal procedures. Constitution-making means the shaping of the minds, the sharing of ideals, the sharing of values, the forging of political co-operation and the projection of political leadership.

In fact sir, active constitution-making demands the construction of a set of values that can permeate society and which will guide and inspire socio-economic change and reform.

In the past thirteen years, the Inyandza National Movement succeeded in transforming KaNgwane and the Eastern Transvaal Lowveld region into a relevant political constituency with a very clear

/political ...



political vision. A vision of an undivided and a united South Africa; a vision of equal rights and equal opportunities where the dignity of man is respected. That all its people shall always enjoy common citizenship and nationality regardless of race, colour or creed. That all shall enjoy internationally recognised human rights and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights.

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

This vision that I have presented to you is very well summed up in the words of the late Winston Churchill, who stated that this vision includes:

"A safety net beneath which none need fall, and a ladder upon which all might climb."

The former British Prime Minister, Mr Harold MacMillan, spoke about the winds of change blowing in the continent of Africa. We must, however, be guarded that the winds of change do not turn into hurricanes of chaos and confusion.

As leader of the Inyandza National Movement and the accredited delegates of the Movement, I have pleasure in informing you Mr Chairman, that we have a very clear mandate from our constituency to participate in the deliberations of CODESA.

The Inyandza National Movement is ready and fully prepared to seize this golden opportunity CODESA affords us, to mould the

/future ...

future of our nation. Our values and principles are firmly entrenched in good old-fashioned democratic processes. Our experience lends us credibility and usefulness in the synchronisation of the political process that will be following in the near future.

I, on behalf of the Inyandza National Movement, hereby commit myself and the accredited delegates, to bring about, through serious negotiations in this forum, a united and unfragmented non-racial and democratic South Africa.

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

I must, however, appeal to all parties and political organisations to accept CODESA decisions as binding to all, including the Government of the day. We must all try to ensure that CODESA succeeds, but it has the potential of being derailed and undermined if the Government of the day does not give legal force to CODESA.

Sir, I therefore make a very passionate plea to all the leaders present here, including the Government of the day, to adopt a give-and-take approach in a spirit of consensus. In this very difficult test we will have to ensure that the hope of today is not transformed into the disillusionment of tomorrow. The hope of today must not be defeated by the doubts of tomorrow.

/The ...



The choice we face sir, is simple; we either make history or be made by history. I hope sir, for the sake of posterity, and for the sake of peace and prosperity, that we, as leaders and compatriots, are prepared for the great hour dawning in our political history. By the grace of God and the wisdom of the leadership present here, may our country become a monument not of oppression, not of hate, not of bitterness, but of love, understanding and unity.

I thank you.

/REVEREND ...

REVEREND A HENDRICKSELABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr Chairman and fellow South Africans. Some time ago a friend of mine returned from the United States where he had listened to a sermon by the world wellknown Vincent Peale, and he went up to him and said: What do I tell South Africans when I get back home? The message of Vincent Peale was: Tell your people not to stop dreaming.

Today Mr Chairman, marks the beginning of the manifestation of the dreams of the majority of South Africans in which we will all, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, take our rightful place as South Africans. I want to use this moment to pay tribute to great men and women who paid the supreme price in the struggle for liberation and to those who also paid a heavy price for their ideas and their ideals, and who spent many months and many years in incarceration. Dare we Mr Chairman, forget a great man, a great Afrikaner like Braam Fisher. Or a great leader like Robert Subukwe, or a martyr like Steve Biko. Or forget the great Chief Albert Luthuli. And so many others.

But I also want to use the occasion to pay tribute to Helen Suzman who for many years represented the voice of the oppressed in the South African Parliament. I also remember those who suffered and died because of apartheid, but I believe that our presence here is directed by the presence of that spirit.

We cannot spend too much time on the past lest we lose the future,

/but ...



but I feel it necessary to recall for a moment the history, the role and contribution of the Labour Party of South Africa.

After thirty years I hear today the demands of the South African Coloured Convention - the Malmesbury Convention of April 1961, as it is known. During that period the South African Indian Congress met in Durban, the African National Congress met in Pietermaritzburg, the South African Congress of Democrats met in Johannesburg, and the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation met together with others in the Malmesbury Convention. And on the Executive of that Convention, served persons - and we are happy to see him here today - Dr Richard van der Ross, Mr Sonny Leon, one of the founders of the Labour Party, Mr Joe Daniels, who later also was part of the founding of the Labour Party. Regrettably Mr Barney Desai of the PAC is not here, but he was part of the Convention Executive at that particular time. And for me also then personally this is a great day, as one who was present at that particular Convention.

The existing governmental structure in no way represents the people of South Africa. As a result of the National Convention held in 1909, a constitution was written without the participation in the decision-making by the majority of South Africans. As a matter of fact, the appeals of the African and Coloured leaders at that time, went unheeded by the British Government. That Convention, the 1909 one, removed from the people of colour the right to be elected to Parliament and that Convention decided that "only people of European descent" could be members of

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

That particular Convention agreed that:

(a) It is necessary to draw up a new Constitution fully democratic and truly representative of the people of South Africa.

(b) That such a Constitution must embody a Bill of Rights.

Realising, they said, that the mere granting of political freedom will not lift our people out of dire poverty and the state of semi-starvation to which they have been subjected for hundreds of years. That all restrictions on the right of the individual to enter skilled trades must be abolished and that the colour bar in commerce and industry be scrapped, and that the principle of equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex, be firmly entrenched in the statutes of the land, and that the natural resources of the country should be used to promote the welfare of the entire population.

In formulating a healthy economic policy, they said, we feel that the tot system, contract labour, child labour, compound labour and convict labour must be abolished. And we feel that the re-division of land should take place, so that it can be developed in full productivity for the benefit of the country as a whole.

/"History ...



"History will say (they said) that Malmesbury conjured the dawn and proclaimed a new dynamic for the South African nation - peace, justice, honour, happiness and security."

Is this then not what this Convention is saying again today after thirty years? They said then that the dawn was what they were looking for; we are happy to celebrate today the rising of the sun on the horizon of a new South Africa.

The formation of the Labour Party was seen as essential to continue the work of those who had been imprisoned - incarcerated - or those who had gone into exile. It was important, they said, that the liberatory struggle had to continue. And the Labour Party Mr Chairman, has always seen itself as part of the liberatory struggle. We have said that in spite of differences with regard to strategy, that our participation in structures was complementary rather than in opposition to other strategies. The liberatory struggle had to continue and because of the Non-political Interference Act which led to the disbanding of the Liberal Party rather than asking their members of colour to leave - rather than asking their members to leave while other parties did ask their members to leave, we felt that the Labour Party had to fill that gap in the political structure and we later opted for participation not as an acceptance of apartheid, but to use created platforms to oppose apartheid, to expose the immorality of such creations and eventually to dispose of them.

The closing of the Coloured Persons Representative Council in 1979, is an example of the success of participation. This is

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also true of our Eshowe decision of 1983 where we rejected the Tricameral structure as a constitutional model, but decided to use it to oppose, and to dispose of, discrimination. This was successfully done - so much so that when we this year rejected, as a result of consultation with Labour Unions, the privatisation of the Post Office Bill, came the concerted campaign to destroy the Labour Party by wooing members into the National Party, believing also that reconciliation must as far as is possible, be a reconciliation between equals. In other words, that your reconciliation is a horizontal process and can never be a vertical one in which those on the top keep what they have, and those who are at the bottom are denied that which they ought to have. We believe that reconciliation must as far as possible be between equals and to this end, we decided on a strategy of upliftment of a community that had been left behind, by means of education, health and welfare, housing and the creation of economic opportunities.

While there has been criticism of our participation within the Patriotic Front, let me say very clearly and loudly that the constitution of the Labour Party says:

"It is the intention of our Party in the first instance to consolidate the position of all oppressed South Africans."

The Labour Party sees the need for the creation of a climate for free political participation and to this end demands total elimination of all discriminatory legislation, with no disguised substitutes. A lot has been said about the repeal of the Group Areas Act but written into that repeal was the question of

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protection of environment which was nothing else but protection for White people.

We also look for, and seek and demand from all those involved, the ending of violence and intimidation. We also believe Mr Chairman, that equal and fair access to the electronic media is a must and that there be no selective reporting as is at present experienced. Equal and fair access to public facilities for meetings political, are absolutely essential. And then socio-economic reconstruction, certainly, for your end process of reform - the result of reform cannot take place unless there is a sound and healthy economy.

We believe Mr Chairman, that the international community does have a role to play, not in giving us advice how to solve our problems or influencing CODESA, but because of the fact that the world has become smaller and that there is an interdependence of one country upon another. And so I believe that we will need the rest of the world and its support in terms of a reconstruction programme.

Constitutionally the Labour Party states that South Africa shall be a sovereign, democratic non-racial state, based on the principle of equal citizenship for all. That there be universal suffrage - that is one person, one vote - for all South Africans of the age of eighteen years and over. That South Africa be a non-racial geographical federation of states with a devolution of power from central government to federal states, and that

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there shall be a clear division of the powers and functions of the executive, legislature and judiciary.

The legislature shall comprise a Bi-cameral Parliament; that is an upper house in the form of a federal senate in which all component states will have equal representation; a lower house elected on a basis of proportional representation, and that legislation be approved by both houses.

The executive - we believe a president who shall be elected either directly by popular vote, or indirectly by an electoral college comprising of members of both houses; that the president shall appoint his cabinet which will be, must be, representative of all your federal states.

The judiciary shall function independently from the legislature and the executive, and judges shall be appointed by an independent commission established for such a purpose.

The Constitution shall and must be sovereign and it must not be possible to do what was immorally done by the National Party, the ruling party of the day, when they removed the so-called Coloured people from the Coloured voters roll by immorally loading the Appeal Court with judges of their selection, or by loading the Senate in order to obtain a two-thirds majority to overcome the question of an entrenched clause.

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

/that ...



that it must be temporary, its object must be to help the transition to run as smoothly and fairly for all the parties concerned. That there must be checks and balances against the actions of such a transitional arrangement, and that that arrangement be accountable to Parliament. Parliament must remain the sovereign institution until it has approved the new Constitution. And that there must be equitable representation of all parties involved in such interim arrangements.

The preparation and management of the next democratic election must be its function, the management of the SABC and other public broadcasting mediums, the security services, key elements of public spending appointments, particularly the question of the Commission of Administration, because this has been a stumbling block in our acceptance as a strategy of affirmative action. We have not been able to overcome that.

With regard to the future of the TBVC States, the Labour Party believes that these States are economically and geographically an integral part of the Republic of South Africa and that steps must be taken to consult the citizens of these States by way of referenda on the re-incorporation of these areas into the Republic of South Africa. And that CODESA with their consent must investigate the possible transformation of these States into non-racial, economically viable geographic states to form part of the total federal South Africa.

Mr Chairman and fellow South Africans, while we again emphasise

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