I happen to believe in merit as the yardstick, not race, not religion and not gender. But surely there must be many women who, on merit, should have been here yesterday and today participating in this enormously important convention which will so vitally affect the future of themselves and their children.

I wish to submit, Mr Chairperson, that CODESA's democratic way forward must include more capable women in its working groups and in its future plenary sessions.

Thank you, sir.

JUSTICE SCHABORT: Thank you Mrs Suzman. I need hardly refer to the gentlemen. I suppose there is, as has already been indicated by the ovation, general universal acceptance of the sentiments expressed by Mrs Suzman.

/My name....
My name is Gertrude Shope representing the delegation of the ANC
Women's League.

Co-Chairpersons, the ANC Women's League Delegation represented
here this morning, would like on behalf of all the women of our
country to register its observation to the lack of the
presence of women in this very important forum. We feel that we
would like to comment on the organisations who have taken the
trouble of including women in their delegations, but we would
also Chairpersons, want to say that the fact that women have been
participating in the various working groups of this important
forum, is an affirmation that women have a very important contri­
bution to make towards a truly non-racial, non-sexist and demo­
cratic South Africa.

We would like further, Chairpersons, to add, all organisa­
tions and political parties to make a concerted effort to include
women in all their deliberations and the decision-making forums.

In conclusion, the women is a step in the right direction towards
the building of a non-sexist society. Therefore it is very, very
important that all the delegations that come from the parties or
from the organisations should take heed of the fact that women
have a very important role to play, and therefore should never be
left behind.

Thank you Chairpersons.
My name is Faith Gasa from the IFP. I think I must just in passing note that the fact that we are also reminded not to repeat ourselves shows that we have not yet made our mark. However, also in the interest of time, I am not going to belabour what has been said, but I wish to say that the IFP does have a wonderful illustration of twenty-eight women in its central committee. Having said so, in our delegation we have got four women. Mr Chairman, I wish to thank my sisters, Helen Suzman and Gertrude Shope, for the comments that they have made here. Now the issue is not that we are asking women to come for the sake of just coming. We have got a legacy of women who have taken their rightful place in community, in society. And if you sit down here as leaders of delegations, as national statesmen, think of the first person that ever taught you, and you will never think of anybody but a female teacher. So we have always made our mark in life and we are asking that the mistakes that have been occurring in the past should not continue. CODESA is a process and it shall have made quite a lot of mistakes, if at the end of the South African Constitution, and at the end of this active debate, it has excluded women. We have got that latent, innate talent to be sensitive on issues that pass you. I am not making this as a mistake in your make-up or mien, my brothers, but I am saying, the emotional aspects which are needed to support your debates in Parliament and everywhere, we are always there with that latent sixth sense. And we are not coming here like silly little girls who want to play tricks. We are coming to give quite a lot because there are quite a lot of women of integrity in South Africa. And when I talk so, I am reminded of the /women ...
Women for South Africa, and many other women's groups. You will find that we are here because of women. So we mustn't be left out.

Then finally, I did raise this when we had the Conference on Violence and Intimidation, and when we had the CBM consultation, all the consultations which are making history in South Africa, we get left off. We don't want to show our power irresponsibly. But we are just saying, don't come to the finality without us or else South Africa has no future.

Thank you.

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you. Listening to these ladies, ladies and gentlemen, I am reminded of what Cato said - the old Roman who lived more than 2 000 years ago. He said:

"All men of the world rule all women of the world.
We Romans rule all men of the world and we are ruled by our wives."

"The hand that rocks the cradle is still the hand that rules the world."

/N MADLALA ...
I want to start off by saying that several participants to this Convention have, through signing the Declaration of Intent, placed themselves to set in motion the process of drawing up and establishing a Constitution that will ensure the ushering in of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist society. We in the South African Communist Party want to reiterate our concern that women, who form more than 50% of our society, be part of the process of drawing up the new Constitution. We are concerned that so far the participation of women in the various structures of CODESA, as well as in this particular Convention is minimal. Like the ANC Women's League, we would like to point out that it is a known fact that Black working-class women in particular, suffer the worst forms of deprivation and exploitation. As a party that has tasked itself with the responsibility of ensuring that the rights and needs of the most oppressed and exploited sections of our society are safeguarded, we want to strongly recommend to this Convention that serious thought be given to establishing, as quickly as possible, a mechanism for ensuring that the needs and demands of women are incorporated into the new Constitution and that their voice is heard at every level of the CODESA structures.

We also want to make a special appeal to the organisations and parties present here, that they should take this matter seriously and they should discuss it and send recommendations to the CODESA working groups and structures.
Good morning ladies and gentlemen. I am Ann Routier from the National Party. I would like to say at the outset, that within my own party there is a philosophy of utilising women with a particular expertise or capacity or qualification, and that they have, over the past few years, been promoting this within the National Party. We are no longer just lickers of envelopes and bakers of cakes. Certainly the National Party has a number of extremely capable and qualified women. I think that that, to me, is the most important thing about any women's lobby. A woman should not be there as a token. I do not believe, if I could put it that way, in the bra-burning aspect of feminism. But I do believe that every woman who has a contribution to make, both in the peace process, in the political process, in the democratic process, should be given the opportunity to participate.

There are a number of delegations here today who have mentioned a non-sexist, a non-racist democracy. Some of those democrats do not in their own delegations have a woman. How non-sexist are they? I know that, for instance, the Women's Lobby which was recently formed did send a telegram to the head of every delegation here present some 10 days ago, including our two Justices. From very few of them have they had any response whatsoever. I do know that the State President did respond and he responded by positively putting a woman in each of the National Party and the Government delegations.

But I would like to congratulate in particular, Chief Minister /Buthelezi ...
Buthelezi because I see that in the IFP delegation there are more women than in any other in the room.

And lastly, if I can just send this message. Women don't want to be there because they are women. Women want to be there, they are more than 50% of this population. Our right is not as women, our right is as people who are qualified, who are intelligent and have a contribution to make.

Thank you.
JUSTICE SCHABORT: Points well made and well taken. Thank you, Mrs Suzman.

MRS SUZMAN: I am not going to make a speech Mr Chairman. I just want to ask that you move as a formal proposal, the suggestion really which was made by Miss Mtintso, and that is that the new Management Committee investigate appropriate mechanisms for adequate representation of women in the various structures created by CODESA. It might mean enlarging the working committees from two to three delegates.

JUSTICE SCHABORT: Whilst the panel is considering that proposal, ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to ask you to make a correction to the first of your organograms. The name of Mr Mahlangu - it is the bottom division there, the second block from the right. It is J L Mahlangu and not N J Mahlangu.

I am told that the panel has no objection to this being incorporated in the proposal. Ladies and gentlemen, it reads as follows:

""The new Management Committee will investigate appropriate mechanisms for adequate representation of women in the various structures created by CODESA."

/Now...
Now reverting to the proposal as tabled, I do believe that there is a speaker from the TIC.

Mr Chairman, on the Steering Committee the organisations were allowed back-up personnel. And on that committee there was also the acceptance of the idea of proxies.

What I want to know is, would a similar situation prevail with the Management Committee?

Mr Chairman, I think our response to that is that on the CODESA Management, which was the previous Steering Committee, we are proposing that we work on the basis of one plus one. In other words, one representative with one back-up adviser for each participating organisation.

Thank you Mr Chairman. I would like to deal with the report by Dr Maduna. I would like to say that I endorse its contents fully. But I would like to go one step further and say that we'll have to be given some direction here as to who will chair the working groups. Or, if no final decision is going to be taken today as to who is going to chair the working groups some direction should be given to us as to how such persons shall be appointed.
JUSTICE SCHABORT: Very well.

SECONDLY, I WOULD LIKE TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTION OF FURTHER PARTICIPATION - THE ADMISSION OF FURTHER PARTICIPANTS TO CODESA. I WOULD LIKE TO SAY I AGREE WITH WHAT DR MADUNA HAD TO SAY. THAT IS THAT THIS MATTER BE LEFT TO THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE. BUT I WOULD LIKE TO ADD A FURTHER RIDER AND REQUEST CODESA ITSELF TO FORMULATE BROAD GUIDELINES ON THIS. BECAUSE WE HAVE HAD A LOT OF DISCUSSION ON THIS AND WE WOULD LIKE TO MOVE TO AND FRO WITHOUT REACHING A FINAL DECISION ON THIS. WE WOULD THEREFORE LIKE TO PROPOSE THAT A SET OF PRINCIPLES OR BROAD GUIDELINES BE GIVEN TO THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE, AND THAT THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE BE THEN MANDATED TO TAKE WHATEVER DECISION THEY HAVE GOT TO TAKE ON THE ADMISSION OF PARTIES, TO TAKE THEM, HAVING RECOURSE TO THE GUIDELINES OR THE PRINCIPLES WHICH SHALL HAVE BEEN ADUMBRATED BY CODESA AND AGREED TO BY CODESA.

Thank you Mr Chairman.

JUSTICE SCHABORT: Thank you. In the meantime let us hear another speaker please.

W S FELGATE: Could we have a one plus two back-up in Management Committee and a one plus one back-up in work groups? That is a proposal Mr Chairman.

JUSTICE SCHABORT: What about that?

/The ...
The proposal from the panel is that we have a one plus one back-up in the Management Committee. We are proposing that we have a one plus two and in the work groups we have a one plus one.

I am Rajoo from Solidarity Party. I would like clarity on substitute and proxy. When there were delegates and back-up people, there was a provision for substitute. Now I want to know whether proxies are also allowed, as a point of clarity. Thank you.

Gordhan from the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress. Mr Chairman, may I respectfully suggest, in order to facilitate the proceedings that we take each proposal put forward to the panel on the stage and put it to the house, one at a time. It is my view that this would facilitate our discussions and help us.

Yes. I don't think it was anticipated that there would be as many of these proposals as have been forthcoming. But at this stage we will afford the panel an opportunity of dealing with those that have been made so far. I think it's a good recommendation.

Mr Chairman, my point is that the proposals emerging from the panel itself be put to the house one at a time and if there are counter-proposals, they can be made in a particular order. What we are having is moving up and down the list at the moment.

Yes. Let me just ask, how many other speakers are there still? There are only three more speakers so...
we will confine this discussion to these three additional speakers. And on that basis, I would afford these speakers to make their points if they are pertinent to what we are presently discussing. And the panel will note that and comment on that in due course.

Thank you Mr Chairman. Ken Andrew, Democratic Party.

In response to the suggestion of Mr Felgate, we would like to disagree and recommend that in fact, in respect of the Management Committee that one has one delegate and that person is allowed two back-up advisers or staff persons within the room. In respect of working groups, that each delegation be allowed two delegates on a working group as well as two back-up persons, advisers or staff people. Thirdly, in respect of proxies and alternates, we would suggest that delegates be allowed to have alternates representing them at any meeting but one would not have proxies in the sense that you would send a message with some other delegation to act on your behalf. So you could have an alternate but you couldn't have a proxy by way of a written message or something similar. Thank you.

Professor Viljoen?

Mr Chairman, I would like to associate myself with the two points made by Mr Andrew. I think these working groups are going to have very important assignments and it's going to be really difficult to have only one plus one on a working group. I would also support his idea of a second back-up on the Management Committee. As

/far as ...
far as the suggestion is concerned that we should lay down guidelines and principles for the Management Committee to decide with regard to further participants, I think that would be difficult because we have no prepared recommendations with regard to guidelines and principles. But they are needed and I would therefore suggest that we refer the question of laying down guidelines and principles to the Management Committee to decide in the interim and have those guidelines and principles afterwards submitted to CODESA 2 for confirmation.

I would also Mr Chairman, like to associate myself with the Secretariat's recommendation that the whole question of further participants be referred to the Management Committee. It is true that some of these matters of further participants have been referred to and fro; that there has not always been an ability to get a final resolution on them. But I would plead that we should avoid arriving at a negative decision, especially on such a real and a sensitive question as the need of the King of the Zulus representing his nation to be involved in constitutional negotiations with CODESA.

I would therefore like to support the general trend and the overall effect of the Secretariat's recommendation to have further participants referred to the Management Committee. But I would like to suggest that there are /at least ...
at least three categories which require consideration.

The one is the need for the King of the Zulus representing his nation to be involved in constitutional negotiations with CODESA, which I have already mentioned.

The second is the proposal with regard to traditional leaders which is a matter of grave importance too, which I think should be specifically considered. And then other requests for participation, provided they come from potential participants in terms of Rule 1.1, namely political parties, political organisations and administrations, such requests that have not yet been finally dealt with.

I would therefore just like to specify that within the general ambit of the Secretariat's recommendation, these three categories, amongst others, receive specific attention.

Mr Rajbansi, do you still wish to speak?

Yes, most of my points have been covered by Mr Ken Andrew and I don't intend repeating them Mr Chairman, except to state that the working groups will be the engine room of CODESA. And we are very strongly opposed to any alteration to the suggestion made by the Secretariat. We support that the aides which will be allowed at the Management Committee be increased from one to two. Thank you.

/Thank you ...
Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, that would then conclude the contributions from the floor according to the decision taken. I call on Mr Maduna.

B HOLOMISA: On a point of order Mr Chairman.

JUSTICE SCHABORT: Yes General?

B HOLOMISA: Thank you Mr Chairman.

JUSTICE SCHABORT: Just a moment General. Is this now concerning this particular proposal? Because it was accepted and decided that there would only be three more speakers on this topic.

B HOLOMISA: Unfortunately, the Honourable Minister for Constitutional Affairs has raised a point which is of interest to us. And I feel we have a right to respond. Thank you.

JUSTICE SCHABORT: Ladies and gentlemen, will we afford the Transkei delegation an opportunity to address this particular issue?

CONVENTION: Yes.

JUSTICE SCHABORT: Yes, thank you. Then you may proceed.

B HOLOMISA: Thank you Mr Chairman. We have before us an agenda which deals with the admissions of further participants at CODESA. You will remember sir, that we spent a lot of time at the preparatory meeting discussing the attendance of the Zulu King at CODESA. There are a number of other traditional leaders who have a rightful claim to admission at CODESA. So as to ensure that CODESA does not become an unwieldy body in view of the number of traditional leaders that we have, Transkei has the honour to move that a task group be formed by /CODESA ...
CODESA to travel around the country, meeting with traditional leaders, looking to their interests and endeavour to forge unity among them so that they ventilate their aspirations in fruitful unison rather than as disparate groups. The task group will have to report to CODESA on its findings. Thank you sir.

Thank you.

Professor Viljoen, would you be able to accommodate this within the structure of your proposal?

Mr Chairman, I have avoided being instructive. My contribution was to suggest three areas which should, amongst others, receive attention where the recommendation of the Secretariat that the Management Committee further deal with additional requests for participation be considered. I would argue, sir, that to give now instructions about the detail of the methodology to be followed, to consult for instance with traditional leaders, which I think is a very good idea in itself, isn't really a matter for which we are here prepared. And I would therefore also suggest that the proposal of General Holomisa be referred to the Management Committee as a method which could be followed in dealing with the consideration of further participants, particularly further participants in the general category of traditional leaders.

Yes. Thank you Dr Viljoen.

General, would that be carrying your approval?

Mr Chairman, I fully agree with the Honourable Minister. Thank you.
Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now ask Dr Maduna to comment on these aspects.

Thank you co-Chairpersons. I think some aspects have been addressed already by the meeting. There are just one or two aspects which were raised which we would like to respond to. Firstly, the question of chairmanship for working groups. Our feeling is that we shouldn't be prescriptive when working groups meet for the first time. Each working group will decide who will chair its meetings on the basis of ability. And then, should a person be drawn from a participating organisation for that purpose, that organisation will be entitled to bring in another person to actually be on the committee, to fill that vacancy.

Secondly, the question of back-up advisers has been handled but we feel we should mention to this meeting that our argument for a one-to-one arrangement at the level of management, and one is to two when we come to the working groups, is the fact that at working group level that's where work actually takes place.

/ The working ...
The working groups need more back-up staff or back-up advisers so that they can thrash out issues and come up with recommendations to the management which is a body that will basically deal with recommendations that shall have gone through a whole process of machinery.

As far as proxies are concerned, we are aware that we have made an allowance for proxies up to now when we address the question of the Managing Secretariat, but our proposal of course does away with that, and we are saying where a representative of any organisation cannot attend a meeting for whatever reason, management has to be informed by that organisation well in advance, say 48 hours before, as to who will come in the place of the delegate. That arrangement we feel will do away with lots of irregularities.

I think those are the two items that we felt we should just highlight Mr Chairman, as a way of summarising our input in this regard. Thank you very much.

M J MAHLANGU: Mr Chairman, we just want to correct something from the remark raised by Dr Maduna. I think firstly he referred to the working group as 2 is to 2, and the management 1 is to 1.

JUSTICE SCHABORT: What you are saying is correct.

M J MAHLANGU: Thank you.

/Ladies...
MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Ladies and gentlemen, we've got the scheme of composition of the working groups; the Management Committee as proposed. Is there unanimity as regards the composition as proposed and contained in the documents before you?
Agreed generally, apart from the voices that were raised.
Well then there was sufficient concensus on this score.

As regards the question of issues that would preferably be left to the Management Committee as proposed by Professor Viljoen, being guidelines and principles, further participants, the question of traditional leaders, and I take it the King of the Zulus and other participants, that those questions be left to the Management Committee.
Ladies and gentlemen, is there general agreement in that connection?
Thank you very much.
Accordingly is this document accepted, subject to what I have now mentioned?
(Agreed)
Thank you.

/CLOSING...
CLOSING REMARKS

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Dames en Here, as dit gister 'n baie lang dag was, ek wil nie sê die langste dag in die geskiedenis van ons land nie, is dit vandag 'n kort dag gewees. Ons gaan hierdie verrigtinge nou afsluit met enkele opmerkings. Ons het baie gepraat. Hopelik is daar ook veel gesê.

Our mission and contribution here as co-chairman has been purely a facilitatory one, one we have assumed with considerable trepidation lest our participation should be perceived as affecting our independence and impartiality as judges, which we treasure above all. The processes initiated under the banner of CODESA have been conceived by you, ladies and gentlemen, as politicians. They have been pursued by you to this point and it is over to you to determine the fate of CODESA. What is at stake is the future of us all, and more importantly of our children and theirs. May the good Lord guide all the politicians of South Africa, those gathered here and those who are not here.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

At 10h00 yesterday we began an uncertain but politically exciting leap into the future by consciously agreeing to explore, to identify, to debate and to articulate our dreams for a new and free South Africa, liberated from the shame and the pain of its racial past. Twenty-seven hours later we have reached the end of
the beginning of this journey. And this first journey has indeed been in its intensity and passion the kind of experience of which history is made in celestial leaps. For nearly two full days, some of the most troubled and some of the most traumatised of our sons and daughters have given public expression in varying degrees to their deepest feelings. Sometimes to the nobility of their aspirations, sometimes to the sweetness of their dreams, sometimes to the horror of their fears, sometimes to the depths of their anxieties, sometimes still to the intensity of their anger, sometimes to the pathos of their suffering, and at still other times to an abiding faith in our future.

The experience has matured us all. An emotional and intellectual catharsis which has sometimes opened painful wounds and sometimes lifted us to states bordering on spiritual intoxication. And even the pain acquires a strange kind of sweetness under the balming influence of a renewed faith and determination never again to repeat the tragedy of our past. We have argued, we have confronted, and we have loved, all at the same time. And we have emerged stronger because some experiences have to be lived intensely both in the dimensions of pain and pleasure to mutate a new catharsis and to regenerate our souls.

This first meeting of CODESA has yielded mighty results in at least three crucial areas. In the first place, we have
intellectually, if not yet practically, made a giant leap forward from the immoral premises of apartheid and racism towards the spiritualising and liberating dimensions of structures based on love and sharing between all the citizens of our beloved land. This is written in the bold and vigorous strokes of those parts of the Declaration of Intent to which every party at this Convention, including those who have not yet signed, have expressed their unanimous commitment.

In the second place, we have after our years of isolation, experienced the enthusiastic support of the international community of observers who have given momentum to our commitment by an unprecedented and public declaration of empathy and solidarity.

And thirdly, we have given to what would otherwise be in danger of becoming an aborted romance without any internal stability, the potential teeth, the discipline, the support structures, the nuts and bolts, to sustain it into an achievable and imminent future in the form of mechanisms and working groups and commissions with detailed programmes. Make no mistake about it, these are mighty achievements. Perhaps we are much too close to it to appreciate its enormity. If we place what we have resolved and if we pursue what we have resolved with the urgency, the speed and the integrity which our country is entitled to demand of us, subsequent generations might well identify this day and this moment as the day when South Africa was reborn, not only to bring glory to its own citizens, but to rekindle hope...
and regeneration for the Africa of which it is a part and for a world in search of a new idealism to regenerate many of its recently frustrated dreams. I thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have a request from Dr Mandela and Professor Viljoen to make certain formal and courteous remarks. I will call on Dr Nelson Mandela to please come to the podium.
Firstly, on behalf of the delegation of the ANC, I wish to thank the Chairpersons for the excellent manner in which they have Chaired this Convention. They have done so in an even-handed manner; brought to bear on our discussions the wisdom, the experience which they have acquired in the course of their profession. I am certainly not going to ask for the formation of a troika consisting of the Chief Justice and the two Chairpersons here. But what they have said in the course of this convention; what the Chief Justice said; the contribution by Judge Schabort, and especially the address which Judge Mahomed has given, will allay some of the fears and balance some of the criticisms which we justifiably make against the country's judiciary. Their performance here is evidence that some of the traditions of the great judges in this country have not altogether been lost.

What I want to refer now to something that happened yesterday which may have been a cause of concern to all the delegates here. The participants in CODESA are brought together by a common commitment to find a speedy solution to the problems of our country. Our very presence in CODESA presumes that there's agreement amongst ourselves to act in a constructive manner to arrive at this result, and therefore none of us should act in a manner designed to weaken any of the participants in CODESA because each one of us has an obligation to bring our respective constituencies into the peace process. The growth of the right
wing in the country which is committed to the maintenance of apartheid and is ready to resort to violence to achieve this end must be a matter of great concern to all of us. The enemies of CODESA must be gloating over what happened towards the close of the session yesterday. What was said yesterday had to be said, but I want to disabuse the right wing of whatever illusion they might entertain that we can in any way approve of their efforts to undermine the African National Congress, the National Party, the Government or any other party committed to the peaceful resolution of our common problems facing all of us.

I am certain that participants will realise from what happened yesterday that settling the problems of our country is not going to be an easy process. To that extent I once more commit my organisation to do all in its power to ensure a smooth cooperation between all CODESA participants, and the Government in particular, and appeal to all the other participants in CODESA to adopt the same attitude. Thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

There will be a response from Mr Pik Botha.
Mr Chairman, leaders of delegations, fellow participants, as this very important meeting is drawing to a close, it is not for me to pronounce any judgment. That is for our leaders. But on behalf of the South African Government, it is my duty and it is also a wish of my heart to say to the leader of the ANC and to the ANC, and I hope I will be true to myself, if I do so straightforwardly, that we were badly hurt yesterday, very, very badly - there is no other way I can describe it - by the remarks of Mr Mandela. Because sir, I can also go back in history. I do not know where we must end in going back. I can go back into history and point out to 30 000 women and children who died in concentration camps which would have meant that we, the Boere, the Afrikaners, would have been a few million more today if that didn't happen.

I can also go back into injustices of how mineral rights were taken away from my grandfathers' farms and how they suffered and lived in poverty. I do not say this in a cynical way and in a revengeful way. The fact of the matter is that all of us as we sit here, coming from so many countries of the world and from Africa, we all have had a history of conflict, of strife. It was after all my people who fought the fiercest anti-colonial war on this Continent. We kept at bay half-a-million British troops which even by today's standards is an achievement. We are African. We will remain African. And what is more, all

/over ...
over Africa where I visit and where I travel, I am accepted as an African. Sir, when I speak to my African brothers north of the Limpopo River, they understand the need, the absolute necessity that we should join forces because Europe, America - and their ambassadors are here, they can hear me and report it to their Governments - they are embarked on a new world order. Ask them. Central Europe is going to require funds and focus and attention. The events in the Soviet Union is going to require attention and the focus of the major powers. Where does that leave us? We cannot afford here in CODESA, we cannot afford in Southern Africa, we cannot afford in Africa to let these important developments pass us by.

I say to you here they talk in the chambers in Europe - where they meet secretly and openly - of Africa being marginalised. They refer to us as the Continent which might be marginalised. That means the Continent which will wink out of existence. They are going to say goodbye to us. Whether we are Black or White, Coloured or Asian, they are going to say goodbye to us. There is therefore an urgent need, apart from our internal - the internal necessity to stand together, to act in friendliness to one another, to act in considerateness to one another - there is an urgent necessity to show a united plan or programme towards the industrialized world. If we do not do that - ask them - they will say goodbye to us. And it is against that background that I would hope - and I think my friend the leader of the ANC would

/agree ...
agree with me - after all we had this brief conversation yesterday evening - and he will recall that I said to him some of his remarks hurt us badly. Then he said to me: Alright, I will attend to it and that gave me hope. That gave me hope. I do not think we will achieve much by further acrimonious exchanges. I merely wanted to state here - because that is not the task of my President - that is the task of his Cabinet and all his supporters to say to you: You hurt us badly, very, very badly. We could hit back, believe me we could hit back, but we refrained. We refrained, we refrained for the sake of a better atmosphere here, and for the sake of reconciliation also displayed by the attitude of the ANC leadership this morning in coming to greet us as friendly brothers.

And on that note, I want to conclude by reminding you of what a Swazi philosopher once told me. There are two stories I want to leave with you and then I will conclude, as my President would also like to express a few words. This Swazi philosopher when I asked him: What is your secret that you grew old with such serenity, calmly, happiness on your face? And you know how the Swazis can be with their lovely grey hair, sitting there philosophising. And he just said to me: Just one reason. The road of life I walked in such a way that I left enough room on that road for others to pass me by without us bumping into one another. And the other one, which I once said at the United Nations, came from an African Bishop who is not with us anymore /but ...
but he said to me: We are like the Zebra. It doesn't matter whether you put the bullet through the white stripe or the black stripe, if it hits the animal the whole animal will die. Thank you for this opportunity.

**MR JUSTICE MAHOMED**

Dr Mdlalose would like to say a few words.

/DR MDLALOSE ...
The Honourable Judges, Chairpersons of CODESA, the respected delegates of this Convention for Democracy in South Africa, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you sir, for the privilege you have granted me to say a word or two. My word or two consists essentially of thanks.

The first point I would like to put across, by way of emphasis, is the fact that Inkatha Freedom Party is more than ever committed to CODESA, to the spirit of CODESA, and to the forward journey that has been started over this weekend. We have been on this road to democracy for some decades, for many years in fact. We have been in our own way fighting apartheid and with so many people that there are in South Africa, there have been many ways of fighting apartheid, some acceptable to some people, others not acceptable to other people, but we have been fighting against apartheid and we are still fighting. Ways may have differed according to different inclinations, according to different philosophies, but the aim has been the same, the end of it all must be justice, fairness, equality and humanism for every human being in South Africa. This has to be irrespective of sex, irrespective of colour, irrespective of ethnicity.

We would like to appeal to ourselves as South Africans, all of us, appeal for tolerance, appeal for acceptance, appeal for realisation that the 35-odd million people that we are in South Africa cannot all think alike, and they cannot all kill
the cat the same way. Differences have been, and differences there will always be. Tolerance, acceptance, one for the other. I would like at this juncture to thank everybody that has participated on behalf of Inkatha, everybody that has participated in this CODESA because we have learned one from the other. I would like to thank the supporting structures that have gone on because they have maintained us and they have helped us to move ahead. I would also like to thank the whole of the Republic of South Africa because the good wishes for success in this CODESA has come from the whole of South Africa, Black, White, Yellow, Green, everybody has said: Let there be success. There will be success in South Africa.

I also want to thank the whole world for here we have the Organisation of African Unity. Here among us we have United Nations representatives. Here among us we have Non-Allied Movement representatives. Here among us we have ambassadors and consulate generals for many, many countries throughout the world. But the last and most important thanks that I would like to give are thanks to you sirs. Thanks to you for having seen us through our initial stages of the preparatory committee meeting. Thanks for having seen us through these two days here. Thanks for your good guidance. And having been a head boy in my earlier days, I like to think of the imagery of the cow that is full of milk; the udder being full like that, but the little calf out there may be gambolling around perhaps not /so ...
so anxious to come and suck. That is what happens. And the imagery is: Long before the calf wishes to suck, does the cow yearn to suckle. You have been like that cow to us, you, as our Chairmen. I would like to thank everybody.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

I was under the impression that Mr Pik Botha had been nominated to respond to Mr Mandela's remarks on behalf of the Government, but I have a note here from Professor Viljoen that says: the President asks permission for a few words please. Regard being had to his status, and in the hope that it helps the process of healing, I will not deny him that opportunity.

/President de Klerk...
Thank you, Mr Chairman. As Mr Botha indicated, I would like, as the leader of the Government delegation, to thank you, the two Chairmen, and all those who worked in the supporting structures, most heartily for the very wise and the very efficient way in which this Convention has been managed.

Thank you very much also from our side in Government, and from all those who over months also in interaction with us - I also speak on their behalf - worked towards this Convention.

Mr Chairman, this Convention is an historic one. The work now has to start. We have attained wonders in these few days. We have reached consensus on the agenda. We have reached consensus on the structures which need to be put into place to effectively deal with that agenda. The next step is that we must man those structures within a short time so that early in the new year they can start working.

The goal which we have set ourselves, and on which there is consensus between us, is a noble goal. It is the goal of bringing about a new dispensation which is fair and equitable and just, of which all South Africans can be proud, and in which all South Africans can participate. I want to pledge myself here that I will not allow anything from our side to stand in the way of reaching that goal. Therefore, we have decided to work together. We have pledged ourselves to do that in the Declaration of Intent. We will bring our part to make sure

/that ...
that the common goals which we have already defined, and the common goals which we are about to define, that those common goals we will strive towards with every ounce of energy and that you will always find us there. We will negotiate with honesty and integrity.

Sir, at the close of this Convention, we stand on the threshold of Christmas. My bede is dat die gees van Kersfees die boodskap van liefde en vrede wat dit omdra, die boodskap van verlossing wat daarin vervat is, dat daardie boodskap ook die kultuur sal word van hierdie Konvensie op sy pad vorentoe, dat daardie boodskap die karakter sal bepaal van die nuwe Suid Afrika waarvoor ons werk. Verdraagsaamheid, liefde vir u naaste, integriteit, vrede, werkelike samewerking.

I wish for all of you that this spirit of Christmas will also in your personal and family lives manifest itself, not only in this festive season, but also in 1992 which will be a crucial year for our country. In that spirit I greet you, and I look forward to when we reconvene in the working groups. May all the deliberations there succeed in bringing us soon towards the dream of a new constitution which will be fair and just; which will be acceptable to all South Africans; which will put this country finally on the road to realise its tremendous potential. I thank you.

/CHAIRMAN ...
I'm happy to say that we have reached the end of this momentous session, save for a few logistical announcements by Mr Murphy Morobe. I wish you all a very happy Christmas.

CONCLUSION OF THE CONVENTION