The Management Committee's proposals will move, Ladies and Gentlemen, to the early establishment of the Transitional Executive Council. This is also needed in particular to enable the international community to lift sanctions against our country. The past is over and I want to suggest to the various participants at CODESA: That in accordance with the spirit that prevailed yesterday afternoon and today - early this morning - that we must place a tremendous emphasis on what Dr J N Reddy has said, that the past is now over and the future beckons, and as far as national reconciliation and one community in South Africa not being able to do without the other communities, I want to compare it with a common thing which we have used all our lives: The blackboard in our classrooms. The blackboards that are used in the various forums in this country are useless without a white chalk. And on the other hand we must realise that all the white chalk manufactured in this country is useless without a blackboard.

We recommend that these proposals be adopted as has been proposed by Mr Titus. Thank you.
Mr Chairpersons and Honoured Participants, we wish everyone to know that the central issue for us to address in the next few weeks is the unwillingness of this Government and the Nationalist Party to give up minority domination. No matter what they say and how often they say it, the position on minority domination should be understood; not from what they say but from what position they take on what constitutes a majority; what percentage determines a meaningful majority.

We maintain that one of the great advances in the development of human society over the ages has been universal agreement on mechanisms by which we resolve differences of opinion. One of the abiding achievements of civilisation has been the recognition when differences exist between groups of people, that the majority view must prevail. What this recognition implies is that although everyone is entitled to hold a view and to express it, in the end the position of most of the people or groups must be accepted.

Another interpretation flowing from this essential contribution from humankind's endeavours to find ways of living with each other in peace and without conflict, is that each vote, each person's view, is of equal importance and that no man or woman is superior or inferior. When you overturn this basic principle of civilised rules, norms, procedures, then you are endangering a fundamental rule which allows societies to resolve differences. This is what the Nationalist Party and the Government's proposals are asking us to do.

/We...
We also recognise that in recent years society has increasingly been called upon to deal with problems which occur when nation states reflect many divisions/diversities in the population. We do not wish to undermine the importance of this problem, and we believe that the solution to such problems is intended to prevent the domination and oppression of minorities by the majority. To this end, the universal trend has been to address these problems through a well-constructed Bill of Rights which is approved by a substantial majority and which is enforceable and testable by an independent judiciary.

In preventing domination and oppression by the majority, we should not be trapped in opting for a minority veto which is what the government and the Nationalist Party proposals amount to. We have lived through a sad history in which the minority has been systematically privileged through practical domination.

Finally Mr Chairpersons, we wish to indicate that the proposals made by the Management Committee are acceptable to us, with minor modifications which we might suggest later. But we hope desperately in terms of the cause of peace and justice, and for us to move to a situation where we could live in justice and in peace, that we will achieve that point rapidly.

Thank you.

/Honourable Chairpersons ...
Honourable Chairpersons, their Excellencies Members of the International Community, Fellow Leaders, Ladies and Gentlemen. My delegation wish to express its acceptance of the recommendations of the Management Committee, and we want to appreciate and commend the Management Committee for these brisk and clear-cut recommendations which will reduce the workload and the pressures placed on all our delegations as far as the business of CODESA is concerned.

However, although some of the points I want to endorse here for recording are more of a bilateral nature between the Ciskei Government and the South African Government, I would like the delegates here to take note of them. On Group 4, the recommendations as stated in this Working Group's report have omitted one of our very strong points which we think touches on the fundamental principles of my Government's policy.

The Ciskei Government wishes to put its position clearly in regard to the first draft of the report of Working Group 4 to CODESA 2. Ciskei has consistently on all previous occasions stated its position clearly on re-incorporation into South Africa. In regard to Ciskei's participation in an interim government, our position is clear in that Ciskei will not participate in an interim government at this stage, but would like to reserve its position, and in a positive light on The Way Ahead, reserve its position until such time that it has seen how these interim government structures are going to work.
Our position is also clear that, until the constitutional principles have been clearly stated and approved by CODESA and regional boundaries and all other related matters have been determined, Ciskei will keep its options open. At that stage Ciskei will decide on re-incorporation into South Africa.

The fundamental considerations on the part of the Ciskei Government is that Ciskei must be better off in the new South Africa than has been the case under its present circumstances. Therefore the Ciskei Government would like the endorsement on the report of Working Group 4, para 3.1.5, to read:

"The Ciskei Government wishes to record that it will keep its options clear and may participate at a later stage in the interim government structures."

A comment on the report of Working Group 4 on the subject of land reform and land moratorium. In Working Group 4's report, it is recorded that sufficient consensus was reached that no further transfers of land should take place from RSA to the TBVC states. It must however be remembered that there are a number of communities of people in the Republic of Ciskei who have been waiting for almost twelve or fifteen years for the fulfilment of promises on land issues made to them by the South African Government. In some of these cases the community has been waiting more than fifteen years for these promises to be fulfilled. And it is difficult to contemplate that these people will be denied the compensatory land promised to them. The Ciskei delegation would wish to propose that these land issues be /addressed...
addressed with immediate effect, and the promised compensatory land be transferred to the communities without further delay.

Our argument in this regard is that irrespective of whether the Ciskei is re-incorporated into the greater united South Africa today or tomorrow, this inevitable fact should however not overshadow the rightful historical claim to their compensatory land. These communities were resettled from Herschel, Glengrey and Humansdorp since 1972. The negotiations between the RSA Government and the Ciskei Government in this regard has already progressed to a point of merely formally transferring these lands to these people. It will be un-thinkable while these people are awaiting the actual transfer, to tell them that they are no longer getting these lands.

Thank you very much.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Thank you, Brigadier Gqozo.

Whilst these contributions are being made, if anybody wishes to, he can also address his mind to the amendments which were proposed by Mr Zitha.
Mr Chairpersons, Mr President, Distinguished Guests from overseas, Delegates. I am going to comment on behalf of Inkatha Freedom Party. I would like initially to start with a word of caution. Para 12 of Working Group 3 reads as follows:

"The following recommendations are made in regard to the first stage of the transition. These recommendations and their implementation are dependent upon agreement being reached by CODESA in respect of the second stage of the transition (and mark these words) including an interim constitution and general constitutional principles."

First there must be an interim constitution, and first there must be an agreement on general constitutional principles. And then, and then only, are we in any position to establish any transitional mechanisms whatsoever. That is the agreement that we've come to in Working Group 3.

I believe that there is a tendency in the Management Committee to rush too far ahead, and is rushing ahead of the people. Dr Mdhlalose this morning I believe, urged the Management Committee not to rush ahead at such great speed. And I'd like to just point to one event this morning which bears out I think the need for us to just to stop and think a little bit.

Dr Mandela, in his address to us, made a number of statements and asked on a number of occasions for those in our midst who disagreed with what he was saying to make his/her disagreement known. When

/Dr Mandela...
Dr Mandela had finished speaking, you'll have noted that something like less than half of the hall stood up to approve of what he said, and you will notice that something like more than half of the hall - well, let us not say half, let us say that a substantial proportion of the delegates - remained seated, registering disagreement with the statements that were made; not in principle but in the context in which they were made.

We, in IFP, believe that despite the difficulties and the shortcomings that there are in CODESA, the real achievers of CODESA in establishing the basis of consensus politics, and the way in which CODESA has actually reached agreements across very difficult lines of division, must be praised. We are today faced with the consequences of yesterday's disruptions. And the Managing Committee is asking us to make decisions about what we do to remedy those disruptions; to remedy the fact that Working Group 2 could not reach any conclusions.

The next meeting of the Management Committee is scheduled I believe for 25 May, that's just over a week and some days away, and we in the IFP urge - we really urge - that no decisions are made about the re-structuring of CODESA today because we just have not had the time to consider them, we've not had the time to discuss them amongst ourselves, we are being rushed into a request to decide now on issues which will have long-term implications.
In order to relieve the pressure on the decision-making process in each of our delegations, we would propose that the work of the Working Groups be suspended and that Management Committee must debate on the 25th, some revised working structure for CODESA.

At this stage, we want to urge that we are dealing with the future of the nation and that mistakes made now are going to be enormously costly in terms of the time that it will take to recover from them. And we really do urge that we do not allow ourselves to be rushed into decision-making about the future of CODESA this morning.

Thank you.
Chairpersons, Dignatories, Ladies and Gentlemen, the UPF endorses the proposals as submitted by the Management Committee to improve efficiency and to facilitate the urgent implementation of the agreements made in the various Working Groups. We believe that a period of four weeks will be reasonable for the Plenary Session to come together to endorse the progress made. And in view of a comment by my colleague, the leader of Inyandza National Movement, Comrade Zitha, I want to support his proposal that the Plenary Session should reconvene by the end of June, before Parliament adjourns in Cape Town.

May we further state that the Management Committee should ensure that the appointment of the sub-councils and technical committees, should be such that participating organisations and governments are not prejudiced in any manner.

Furthermore, we in the United People's Front, wish to state categorically that as patriotic South Africans who place the national interest over and above sectional interests, fully endorse the sentiments expressed by the leader of the African National Congress, Dr Nelson Mandela, with specific reference among others, to the immediate introduction of legislation by the Tricameral Parliament to enable the election of an interim transitional executive body to draft a new constitution. Such a constitution will, we agree, be approved of by a single supreme Parliament for the whole country.

Furthermore, we endorse the principle that the election of that body...
will be conducted by an independent electoral commission which should enlist the assistance of an international monitoring body to ensure that the elections are free and fair. However, to facilitate that process Messrs Chairpersons, as leaders of the respective political organisations or governments, we must take it upon ourselves to bring violence and intimidation to an end; as so adequately stated by the State President this morning.

The days of political posturing and mud-slinging exercises must now give way to a new spirit of reconciliation and reconstruction, of "togetherness" and not apartheid. If we are serious and dedicated to our commitment to peace and stability, as leaders we must refrain from talks and jointly have peace rallies in the affected communities. In this task the issue of an independent monitoring body such as OAU and/or other organisations such as UN, as well as a joint control of the Security Forces, remains of paramount importance. This will in my view not only give credibility to the Security Forces, but will reduce to a minimum the atrocities purportedly committed by "hit squads" that are allegedly linked into the present Security Forces.

I want in conclusion Messrs Chairpersons, to remind with all humility those of our colleagues in the homelands and the TBVC States, who would like to stick to their positions like glue, that the position that we are

(inaudible) We should be in a position to distinguish between a standing ovation and an approval.

Thank you.
MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you, Mr Ramodike.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have received a message to the effect that luncheon has been ready now since 12h30. It is evident that all speakers will not have completed their speeches before we can adjourn for lunch anyhow. So at this stage we are adjourning for lunch and please be back sharply at 14h00.

CONVENTION ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH
Ladies and Gentlemen, we are ready to resume. Before I carry on with the batting order of the speakers, there are two short amendments one of which will come from Mr Titus merely because a part which had been typed had been omitted from your draft. And the other will come from Mr Gordhan, who is Chairman of the Management Committee, and both of them are intended to facilitate further disputes and I have reason to believe that that will accelerate our proceedings very considerably.

MR Z TITUS
MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Thank you, Mr Justice Mahomed.
The first amendment relates to clause 2.7 of the document that was handed out to you. Right at the end, after the word "mandate" there are some missing words. This is purely a typographical mistake. What I'm going to read out to you was approved at the meeting of the Management Committee this morning. So I have now been given the liberty to make that addition. After the word "mandate" in clause 2.7, I request you to add the following words:

"...without summoning a Plenary Session of CODESA, and that it also be given the power to increase the representation /of..."
of individual parties/administrations/organisations on the Management Committee."

So that full sentence then reads:

"Subject to 2.5 above, the MC be authorised to exert such authority as is necessary to ensure that the objectives of the Declaration of Intent are attained, including the power to implement any agreement reached by Working Group 1 and also any other agreement falling within its mandate without summoning a Plenary Session of CODESA, and that it also be given the power to increase the representation of individual parties/administrations/organisations of the Management Committee."

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Mr Gordhan will move the other amendment which is simply to give to the word "urgency" in the proposed resolution a more relevant context.

MR P J GORDHAN

CHAIRMAN : MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Mr Chairperson, the clause that I'm referring to here is clause 2.5 which should now read as follows:

"The MC shall call a CODESA Plenary with suitable representation as a matter of urgency to adopt all agreements and to receive a report on all matters which have been assigned to it by CODESA 2, having regard to the scheduled adjournment of the current session of Parliament."

/Chairmen ...
MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

There was a potential area of dispute which arose from the speeches of Mr Zitha and Mr Felgate which may now be resolved in consequence of these amendments. I will call Mr Felgate, on behalf of Inkatha, to confirm this.

MR W S FELGATE
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Mr Chairman, Delegates, the amended version of the resolution put to the floor is quite acceptable and it caters for all of the concerns that I had.
Thank you.

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Ladies and Gentlemen, there being agreement on these matters, we shall now proceed. There are several more speakers. The following two speakers are Mr I Richards of the Labour Party and Mr Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party.

/Chairman...
Chairmen, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

There are some things that are best left unsaid. Unfortunately this morning somebody said something that I most certainly have to reply to. It is my belief that nobody in an assembly should be singled out singularly. And these are, after Comrade Mandela had spoken, I respected all other delegates and I did not rise. But I want to assure him sir, that I agreed with what he had said, but certainly there's a greater agreement and feeling for the spirit in which he had said this.

Now talking about spirit Mr Chairmen, as the Chairman of the Working Group 2 Committee, the Committee that had caused so much bloodshed - and I don't mean that in a physical sense - and heart-sweat, but certainly it affected the spirit of this CODESA 2. I want to assure you that we did not reach consensus, not because we did not want to reach consensus but simply because in the short space of time, it may not have been possible. But sir, what must now flow from this assembly is a spirit of commitment, a spirit of greater commitment to the people outside that we're committed to a government of consent, so that we can in the process remove the old etiquette of illegitimacy finally.

You see sir, it is all very well to speak about the "closed book of apartheid", but for a long time we are going to have to live with the legacies and the effects of apartheid. And until there is an interim constitution and an interim government, that legacy will still be...
with us. Therefore I appeal for the urgency of this situation. You know apartheid was once described in Parliament as "an experiment that failed"; excepting that it was not displayed to those present who paid that dear price for apartheid. Not only millions of Rands but hundreds of lives were lost in the process of this experiment being shared by all the peoples of South Africa. Sir, we cannot go on paying that price.

In the process there is a great crisis facing our country, and as long as we live with the effects and legacies of apartheid, millions of people are going to remain jobless; millions of people are going to remain homeless, hungry, but most of all violence is going to remain with us until all that has finally been buried.

Sir, I want to make an appeal to the Management Committee that so much work has been done in that Working Group, and that it is essential that Working Group 2 be kept intact so that it may continue and finally complete the document for submission. But I also want to warn that there is a state of absolute urgency in the completion of that document. You see the whole world and more particularly every South African, is waiting for that breath of fresh air to be blown into the new South Africa. And while there was tremendous expectation when that document was first produced by the Steering Committee - and I want to assure you that that document was examined several times and was continuously improved on - I do not believe that the spirit of that document can ever be improved upon or made better than it is at the moment. And it is the spirit of that document that must be endorsed by CODESA, and only CODESA.

Thank you very much.

/Mr Chairpersons ...
Mr Chairpersons, Fellow Delegates, Distinguished Guests and Comrades. Firstly we want to congratulate the Daily Management Committee for the slide show, but we all know of course that this is not enough to market CODESA to the puzzled millions on the ground. Because at the end of the day the process belongs to them. And we feel that more of our proceedings should come under public scrutiny. The public would in such circumstances if it came under more public scrutiny, for example, be able to judge not only the facts but the expressions on the faces of delegates when the Government rejects a motion to put in the words "democratically elected" before the word "senate".

We suggest Mr Chairperson, as food for thought for consideration to be given to a small pool of journalists to attend some of our crucial debates beyond just the Plenary Sessions of CODESA. It could of course lead to some posturing, but it could also make some delegates less ready to advance some patently devious proposals.

The second point I'd like to make, in case there is any misconception about this, is that the South African Communist Party wants to state that without agreement on the constitution-making body there cannot be an agreement on the arrangements for the first phase. And in such circumstances the crisis facing us will not pass.

Lastly Mr Chairperson, despite the amendment that has been placed before us, I want to speak in support of Chief Minister Zitha's amendment...
amendment on the time frame. For good reason there is a perception on the ground that CODESA is an endless open-ended process with each instalment ending in a false climax like the soap opera "Dallas". As one speaker expressed yesterday, for ordinary people time is of the essence. Each day that passes is a day of deprivation, of hunger, of rising unemployment, of violence, and of experiencing the indignity and humiliation and inequality of apartheid in their lives.

Mr Chairperson, the poor and disadvantaged of our population don't begin to understand appeals for patience by those who occupy comfortable office. These can afford to mark time; the wretched of our country cannot, and let's stop hearing remarks like: Why are we in such a hurry? And we've had enough of using words such as "a matter of urgency"; because Mr Chairperson, in our experience it becomes a euphemism for "môre is nog 'n dag".

Thank you.
The Government welcomes the proposals of the Management Committee, and we confirm that they be mandated in terms of the submission by Mr Titus. And in particular, we support the modification proposed by the Chairman of the Management Committee. Mr Chairman, it would be the height of imprudence to minimise the collective power of CODESA to make adaptations to resolve its own problems, deadlocks - yes, only from within.

CODESA has proved to be a crucible for thoughts and interests taking cognisance of the existence of the large and the small alike. From this crucible emanated respect for individuals, for parties, for regions, no matter their size, and has brought about a meeting of the minds on a variety of issues already, such as emergency, public safety, abolition of discriminatory legislation, independence of the media, an independent body to regulate telecommunication, transitional councils. Yes sir, awareness of the fact of CODESA's inherent power and abilities can help strike the proper balance between complacency on the one hand, and sabre-rattling on the other hand. The Government is, therefore, convinced that CODESA's mechanisms are capable of attending to incomplete business, and the Government would continue to support the CODESA process in every possible way.

Thank you.

/Honourable...
Honourable Chairpersons, Honoured Delegates, Distinguished International Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I've had an opportunity to discuss the content of the document containing recommendations of the Management Committee, as well as the amendments to this Plenary Session, with my Party.

It emanated from our discussions that the intention of the recommendations collectively suggest that we confer some additional authority to the Management Committee. Shall I point out that we in fact have no serious problem with conferring powers or authority to the Management Committee with a view to assuring improved co-ordination, effectiveness and efficiency. Of course these are normally achieved with ease and speed by a smaller group of people. We must, however, caution the Management Committee to guard against the degeneration of its good intention into an obstacle towards the achieving of the very noble objectives we want to achieve.

Another point of serious essence Chairpersons, is the question of urgency with which we have to treat our task. It cannot be a responsible attitude to regard the changed South Africa as an ordinary matter that deserves no urgent attention. The speed and vigilance, Chairpersons, Ladies and Gentlemen, is of essence.

There has developed over the years in our country events and cultures and sub-cultures, the continued existence of which can only lead to further crisis and disaster in our country. Let us regard the task /of...
of CODESA, which in effect means a move towards liberation to most South Africans; this also means the move from the culture of mistrust, hopelessness, frustration and anger. Let us work towards creating hope and trust amongst our people. Let our leaders approach once again the problems of negotiating in a spirit of trust, reconciliation, national unity, and the need to establish a stable, prosperous country for all.

Honourable Chairpersons, I want to conclude by commending the two of our colleagues who spoke this morning, for the messages of hope that emanated from their speeches. We want to call upon these leaders and all of us to try at all times to translate our good words into actions. I am of the opinion Chairpersons, that the sentiments expressed in the speech of the Honourable F W De Klerk, notably that his Government has no intention to entrench minority privileges, should be taken down to those who still think in the opposite way. I am also of the opinion that if the reasonable and democratic proposals by Dr Nelson Mandela could be adopted by this session, a giant and historical step towards a better society shall have been made. I urge you all dear leaders, to consider adopting this.

We, the Intando Yesizwe Party, Honourable Chairpersons, support the proposals and the recommendations of the Management Committee be adopted by this gathering.

I thank you very much.

/Ladies...
Ladies and Gentlemen, we believe that those delegates who have thoughts to express here have now submitted their cards. Those with afterthoughts - well, we have now closed the gate.

We still have about six speakers or so, and the next two persons will be Brig M G Ramushwana of the Venda Government, and Mr R H Mopeli of the Dikwankwetla Party.

/Esteemed...

I stand to comment and commend the contents of the report: The Way Forward. I support the idea that the Management Committee be mandated to exercise authority to suspend and reconstitute rationale structures, including technical committees, as seen necessary, to address the implementation of the agreements and outstanding tasks.

It is proper and fitting that the Management Committee be empowered to implement decisions and agreements approved within its mandate, and to increase the representation it so desires to effectively address issues/tasks to it to accomplish. This support stems from our conviction in that we have unreserved confidence on the matters of the Management Committee, however, Plenary session should be re-convened as matter of urgency.

I propose that the Management Committee should seriously consider time-frames. A schedule of time frames should be compiled by Management Committee, and be submitted to principals or participants for their comments.

Thank you.

/Honourable...
DR T K MOPELI  
DIKWANKWETLA PARTY

Honourable Chairpersons, Honourable Ladies and Gentlemen, Honoured Guests, Fellow Countrymen.

We, of the Dikwankwetla Party, wish to reiterate the comments we made yesterday, that the set-back suffered yesterday is not insurmountable. This, Mr Chairpersons, is evidenced by the recommendations we have just received from the Management Committee in which some urgent outstanding matters will further be handled.

But, Mr Chairpersons, I must emphasise the fact that in all the decisions that are taken in CODESA, all participants in CODESA must be involved. We, Mr Chairpersons, unreservedly support the special recommendation to 2.5, without reservations, and the recent amendments which have been made.

Further, Mr Chairpersons, experience has now taught us that we must always make sure that all assignments in all the groups are completed, to avoid the impasse in which we found ourselves yesterday. It is, further, Mr Chairpersons, not advisable to determine the date for the following session of CODESA before the Working Groups have completed their tasks.

And in conclusion, I feel most heartened to realise that the spirit of CODESA has not been dampened by the set-back that was encountered yesterday. For this I wish to thank most heartily the leaders of the various delegations for their sense of balance and determination...
to assure the success of CODESA. The spirit of CODESA must live on. CODESA must not fail! CODESA dare not fail! CODESA is our last hope! There is no other alternative.

Thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Our next two speakers are Mr R Cronje of the Bophuthatswana Government, and Major-General H B Holomisa of the Transkei Government.

/Honourable...
Honourable Chairmen, Distinguished Guests, Respected Fellow Delegates.

We are moving into a new dispensation. We, in Bophuthatswana, have often stated that we are not blind to the enfolding new dispensation that is evolving in Southern Africa. We've indicated quite clearly that we approach this with a completely unbiased open mind; that whilst we are proud of what we have achieved and of what we are, we are sufficiently realistic to understand that there are other options that have to be considered on the medium and long term basis.

But a fundamental issue that will affect possible consideration of incorporation into South Africa, will be the Constitution. The Constitution, its Bill of Rights, its values, its freedoms and its principles, and one aspect in particular, the degree to which such a Constitution will make provision not only for the three-tier system of government, but to a degree the powers and the functions and the boundaries of such regional governments, because we believe has been the case, and is the case in many countries of the world, similar to our in many respects, it has proven to be the most successful way of accommodating the complexities that we, ourselves, are also faced with.

But there is also another consideration. We all support the principle of democracy, and democracy means the support and the acceptance of the will of the majority of the people. And that stands without argument. But there is one aspect that we should bear in mind: Majoritarianism, in itself, does not mean that the actions and decisions are correct.
We have many incidents and many examples in modern world history where governments with major substantial support have made mistakes and have involved themselves in disasters. So, majoritarianism, in itself, as a principle, does not equate as being right and being correct.

We support those who say that the process at CODESA must work at speed. We accept that because the issues are urgent. But at the same time, we will caution that what we are dealing with, indeed, is the future, and decisions which will affect the future of all these millions of people that we are all talking about, for a long time to come. So we are pleading for a balance between the urgency of speed which we support on the one hand, but also the caution to make the correct, informed and well-assessed decisions which will affect their lives; a balance between the two. And in that respect, sir, we urge that the documentation which will enable us to make considered, well-analysed and consulted approaches, that those documents be provided to members of Management Committee timeously. We have not always had that opportunity.

We've had calls for reconciliation; we are now moving forward. This forum is a window to the rest of the international community, and we ask that the level and the tone of our speeches will reflect the dignity of moving towards a new future. People who walk forward, looking over their shoulders, stumble over their own feet. Let us bury the past.

Finally Mr Chairman, we have all talked about the violence and the
unacceptability. We are all committed and all disturbed and concerned. May I end by saying: The violence can be ended by the people sitting around these tables.

Thank you.

/Messrs Chairpersons ...
Messrs Chairpersons, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.
I rise to endorse the recommendations of the Management Committee and underscore their emphasis on improved efficiency and expeditious implementation of agreements reached by Working Groups.

I cannot over-emphasise the urgency of completing the work of Working Group 2 at the earliest possible opportunity. I also endorse the proposal of Comrade Zitha and Comrade Ramodike, that the next Plenary session of CODESA be convened before the end of June. It boggles the imagination that there are delegates in this conference room who would rather delay the democratic process. For various reasons, that speedy resolution of the political logjam we find ourselves in, is fraught with dangers.

Mr Chairman, I urge the delegates to take a serious note of the stipulated Way Forward, and challenges put by the President of the ANC, Dr Nelson Mandela. Participants who wish to opt out of the transitional period, for various considerations, are urged that they do not in any way hinder the free and democratic participation in the political process of South Africa of the people residing in those territories over whom they have jurisdiction. Transitional Executive Councils will be obliged to ensure a judicious use of funds transferred to these territories, to ensure that they are not used to disrupt the levelling of the playing field. Seconded South African security personnel, with the exception of technical personnel /in...
in those territories, must be withdrawn immediately the TEC is in place.

Finally, we shall take a very serious view of the administrations who stay out of the democratic process, if they should in any way prejudice the ideals and process emanating from CODESA. Yes, we agree, trust, honesty and reconciliation are the key words if we are to move forward. However, there is a growing perception by many in this country that the unbanning of liberation movements - yes, it is clear it was not meant to facilitate the cause for just solution to the intractable political problems bedevilling race relations in this South Africa - but it was a bold premeditated strategy to let these into the heart of the country with a view to rounding their members up, and finally inflicting severe political defeat on them, by systematically embarking upon schemes to discredit their leadership, with the resultant lowering of morale amongst their rank and file. Thank you.

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

Thank you, Major-General Holomisa.
"Where have all the ladies gone? Gone elsewhere, every one". Not really. Our next speaker is Dr F Ginwala of the African National Congress.
And the last speaker is Professor H W E Ntsanwisi of the Ximoko Progressive Party.
Chairpersons, Distinguished Delegates, Comrade President Mandela and Delegates.

The ANC is anxious that there be speedy implementation of the agreements that we reach here and at further CODESA meetings. However, implementation must follow and be on the basis of full agreement. To avoid ambiguity, we wish to move the following amendment to clause 2.3. After the word "facilitate", we wish to insert "speedy". And at the end of the sentence, we want to add "as soon as all agreements have been adopted". So the amended clause would read:

"The Management Committee shall examine all Working Group agreements with a view to establishing what work can be done in order to facilitate speedy implementation as soon as all agreements have been adopted."

Secondly, we wish to put an amendment - and I want to speak to it first. In our view the Management Committee is to be commended for having agreed on the implementation of a Gender Advisory Committee. The need for such a committee has been underlined in the proceedings these last two days, where women have been absent on the platform, on the floor of this Convention, and previously as well as now, in the Management Committee, the Steering Committee and the Working Groups. To ensure no further repetition, the amendment we wish to put is that: Realising that the Gender Advisory Committee came late into the process of CODESA; appreciating the work that the Gender Advisory Committee has covered within a period of a month of its existence, we recommend...
recommend that the Gender Advisory Committee be re-convened as soon as possible to continue its work as a sub-committee of the Management Committee.

And finally, I want to say a few words, which I think I will be speaking on behalf of a lot of people who are not present today. Welcome as this Gender Advisory Committee is, we note that it is only advisory to the Management. I want to point out that the days when the majority of the population of this country were only able to be part of advisory and consultative bodies, are over. This applies as much to the African people, and their exclusion from decision-making, as it applies to the exclusion of women.

An important aspect of democracy is about participation of people in making the decisions about their lives. That is what we have been talking about here these last two days; that is why we are here. And at the moment it is about negotiations, about participating in the constitutional process. So far CODESA is a bad start for women.

And I want to end by addressing myself particularly to the gentlemen here. You cannot talk of democracy and demand it for yourselves, if in your own organisations, your governments and administrations, women are not seen to be engaged at every level. Women are a majority of the population. And I want to end by reminding you, they will be the majority of the voters.

/Messrs...
Messrs Chairpersons, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

The Ximoko Progressive Party has entered upon the great enterprise of CODESA in the deep conviction that the alternative to negotiation for South Africa is one of violence and bloodshed on an unprecedented scale. As I remarked in my address to the Plenary Session yesterday, future generations will hold us responsible for the momentous events of the present. Let us not fail them. Because we dare not fail them.

We have been at once demoralised by the signals of dissent emanating from the crucial Working Group 2, and encouraged by the messages of hope that indeed there is potential for resolving them. The restrained and statesmanlike contributions of the State President and the leader of the African National Congress today, bear testimony to the ability of real leaders to rise above petty posturing, and truly to show The Way Forward.

I believe that to the extent CODESA has brought us all together, and that it stands upon the brink of agreement which will, by peaceful means, set South Africa upon a new path, it can in no way be regarded as having failed. Problems are inevitable, and we would do well to remind ourselves that CODESA exists for the very reason that problems need to be addressed and to be solved.

It would be very simplistic to regard CODESA as a process; merely as a formality, with immediate consensus and total unanimity as the order of the day.

/In respect...
In respect of the present impasse in Working Group 2, the Ximoko Progressive Party has argued the principle of exclusivity in that most fundamental of matters, namely constitution-making. We have supported significant special majorities for constitutional amendment, as we have done in respect of amendments affecting regional and local government. As a political party with a strong regional focus, we in the Ximoko Progressive Party, strongly support the principle of regionalism as a natural extension and enrichment of structures for democratic government. Allowing regional communities the right to conduct their own affairs, and protecting that right constitutionally, is surely a positive step forward, broadening the very basis of the democracy which we seek.

We have also supported, in concert with emerging consensus, the principle of bicameralism for the new South Africa, with the Second Chamber constituted so as to represent regional interests in a manner consistent with democracy. This principle is precedent in many of the world's great democracies; most notably the United States of America.

The Ximoko Progressive Party, above all, stands for a constitutional dispensation in South Africa, which will provide freedom, justice and security for all in our land, and which will accord the full diversity of interests in our complex society, the formal recognition which it deserves.

I thank you.

/The cards...