The cards which we've had of speakers who wish to speak is now exhausted. And I would just call on Mr Gordhan, the Chairman of the Management Committee, to respond to some of the suggestions with regard to amendments.

Thank you, Mr Chairperson.

I wish to address two issues, the first is in respect of the Gender Advisory Committee. I think it is important to place on record, as one of the speaker's has indicated, that this Committee had worked under tremendous stress, and in a very short period of time, in responding to the challenge, in a sense, of the Management Committee that they provide guidelines and responses to the agreements in the various Working Groups. And I think Plenary needs to give a significant acknowledgement of the effort that they have put in in that regard.

May I also inform you that the Management Committee at its meeting earlier today, returned to this particular matter, and the status of the Gender Advisory Committee, and by total consensus had agreed that the Gender Advisory Committee still stands in place post-CODESA 2, and that the relationship between the GAC and the Management Committee is open to discussion and negotiation. And we trust that we /can...
can constructively take this understanding forward post this particular meeting.

The second matter, Mr Chairperson, is in relation to the Working Groups. We have become aware of some concerns amongst participants that suspending Working Groups might mean disbanding them. Let me assure you that the Management Committee is extremely mindful of the very valuable contribution that Working Groups have made to the process of arriving at agreements on extremely difficult issues.

At the same time, through your own responses and feedback, it has become quite clear that we might need additional structures which can provide better co-ordination and efficiency. In that sense, Working Groups are going to be treated very, very sensitively, and will assure all of you that the Management Committee will be mindful of your concerns in this regard.

Thank you very much.

/After that...
MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

After that discussion, what is clear is that the original amendments proposed by Mr Zitha fall away; his concerns have been accommodated. The proposal by Dr Ginwala also falls away. And we will be undertaking an explanation given by Mr Gordhan. What you have before you, is the original resolution as amended initially by Mr Gordhan and the Management Committee, and there has been, since, one other amendment on behalf of the ANC, which has not fallen away; it simply gives some urgency to 2.3 by the addition of the words "speedy implementation of all agreements". You can take the original resolution as amended in these respects, including the resolution proposed by Dr Ginwala in regard to paragraph 2.3.

With those amendments, is there any opposition whatever?
Then I declare that these resolutions are carried unanimously and with acclaim.

The next item on the Agenda is supposed to be "Closing Remarks", but I have had a special request in the last few minutes from two speakers of great stature, and I have considerable reason to believe that it will add to the spirit in which we have approached our work, and offer faith, and hope, and optimism, after the disappointments we initially suffered. In consultation with my esteemed colleague and the Management Committee, we have decided, for these special reasons, to allow both these speakers to make brief statements. They are the State President, Mr De Klerk, and Dr Nelson Mandela. The preference expressed by both is that Dr Mandela will speak first.

/Comrades...
Comrades and friends, I would like to thank all those who expressed appreciation of the remarks made this morning by Mr De Klerk and another fellow. We have expressed our views on matters which were discussed here - friendly, without pulling any punches. When addressing national questions it is necessary for public figures to speak out honestly, and as they feel it is necessary, to draw the attention of the community to issues that must be rectified. Having expressed ourselves friendly on these issues, nevertheless, problems remain to be resolved. We have come here in order to seek solutions for those problems. Yesterday and today I listened carefully to the comments which were made. In my view, one of the striking features was the fact that in spite of all the differences, men and women emerged from all political parties, who have the capacity to seize and to concentrate on those issues that unite us.

Secondly, there is a realisation, again of a number of speakers from all political organisations, that tensions in the community can be very dangerous. And we regard it as our duty to contribute towards the eliminations of those tensions. We are entrusted in removing tensions. Firstly, because they are harmful to one's health. Equally important, because they make it difficult for talented and gifted men and women to make their contribution towards the resolution of difficulties.

Men of ability, men and women of peace, they function better in an atmosphere where there are no tensions. When there are tensions, it is the wrong persons who come to the top, and we want to prevent that situation at all costs. I hope I am speaking for the majority here
when I say that because of the contribution of men and women of that
calibre, we have been able to save CODESA and the Peace Process. We
are going back home full of strength and hope.

I just want to correct some mistake - which I do not know how it arose -
I believe that there is circulating here, reports that African National
Congress has changed its approach to the question of linkage of the
mechanisms which we have put forward in order to ensure a transition
from an apartheid to a non-racial society. I believe some people go
so far as to say that we entered into such an agreement with Mr De
Klerk last night. Nothing could be further from the truth. The ANC
believes in linkage, that the mechanisms which are set out in
Phase 1 can only be agreed to by us if all the mechanisms in these
phases are agreed upon. There can be no agreement by us on any
particular phase if we fail to agree on the rest of these mechanisms.
That linkage forms the central part of our strategy. Nevertheless, I
am sure that many of those who subscribe to that point of view, that
there has been agreement, have done so honestly and genuinely. But
now that I have made this statement, they know where we stand.

I must add my voice in thanking the Management Committee for the
excellent work they have done. I also wish to express, with all
humility, my appreciation of the role which has been played by each
and every one of you here. Few individuals have spoken, but we know
that for one individual to make a contribution, he needs ten men and
women behind him to enable him to make that contribution. The test
of addressing political problems is a collective task, and no
individual, no matter how gifted he is, can himself make the maximum contribution towards a resolution of these problems unless as he acts as part of a collective.

I also want to thank our honoured visitors, members of the international community, because these are our best friends. We have made the advances which enable us now to sit together to address the problems of our country, partly because of the solid and sustained support they have given to the anti-apartheid struggle. Our victory is their victory, and we hope that the next time they visit us, we will be able to welcome them as a free country that is participating in the problems of the world, and that is as part of the world bodies that are there to address those issues.

I must also, in addition to my remarks in appreciation to the work of the Management Committee, of the Working Groups, thank our co-Chairpersons who have conducted these proceedings with remarkable skill and dignity. Had it not been for their wise leadership, it is possible that we would not have recorded the success which we have achieved, in spite of our disappointment that CODESA 2 has not been able to deliver the goods. Having said this, I wish to say that today I'll be leaving the country, and I will do so in the spirit of a man who comes from a meeting which has done a remarkable job. To members of my delegation and I, we will always think of this meeting with fond memories. I have gone around the entire country and met the leaders of almost all the political parties here, and tried to address mutual problems with them. There is not a single leader here, from all sides, whom I have not met and discussed common problems. And I am encouraged ...
encouraged to see that in spite of all the differences that have emerged here, where I can say confidently that we are members of one family, and one day we will all be able to deliver the goods.

Thank you very much.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

I have the privilege of calling upon President De Klerk.
Mr Chairman, I would like to start out by just putting a misunderstanding right, and that is: I didn't ask specifically for an opportunity to address CODESA at the close, but being a seasoned politician, we seasoned politicians never refuse an opportunity when offered, and therefore I have decided to accept the offer which was made.

Mr Chairman, I would like to start out by moving an unopposed vote of thanks to the Chair, to the Secretariat, and to all those who were directly involved in the arrangements beforehand and in the day-to-day arrangements here on the floor, and with regard to everything which went with it, the wining and dining, the food, the logistical services, everything was arranged very well. And a specific word of thanks to Mr Neil Swart and his staff who run this marvellous venue. Thank you very much on behalf of all the delegates at CODESA for the hard work which ensured the success of this meeting.

I would also like to extend a word of thanks to all delegates for the dignified way in which we dealt with a very difficult session of CODESA. We started off on the wrong foot. There was an atmosphere of crisis in the air. We have managed jointly, through the wisdom and the commitment of the leaders of all the delegations, to make sure that we transformed crisis to success and progress. We thank you for that. That is how South Africa will have a Way Forward. We share a common destiny with each other, we come from a troubled history. In many speeches it became apparent that it is difficult for many of us to forget our grievances and to put it behind us; that there is a tendency to constantly revive grievances from a past era in our
history. I am an Afrikaner. If we Afrikaners were to keep grievances alive with regard to suppression, and injustices done to us in our history, we would have been the most gripey nation on this continent—we have reason to keep them alive. But that is what CODESA is about. It is about building a future. It is about correcting that which is wrong in our society. It is about creating a new and a just society. It is about making of that common destiny, a glorious destiny; a destiny within which there is no victory for a part of our people—with its negative other side of being the victim—but a destiny in which all South Africans become winners; in which on the basis of justice we create a dispensation not only constitutional, but also in the economic sphere, in the social sphere, with regard to education, in all spheres of life, where each and every South African will, without any discrimination whatsoever, be able to be a proud, and a happy and a prosperous South African, enjoying stability, enjoying security, enjoying opportunity. That is the goal towards which I know that all those, who take CODESA seriously, are reaching out. That is the goal which the millions and millions of South Africans, not here today, want us to achieve. We won't achieve it if any significant part of this meeting, in any way works for a victory for a situation in which there will be victors and victims; winners and losers. We will only reach that ideal if we continue to work on a basis of cooperation; of finding each other in a real process of negotiation, which means give and take, which entails sacrifice, which entails meeting each other halfway—even if it means letting go—letting go of points of view which might be thirty or forty, or fifty, or sixty, or seventy years old. Even if it means compromising on basics. That is the only way in which we can really reach an accord; an agreement which binds in /the...
the overwhelming majority of South Africans towards a new dispensa-
tion which offers security to those who have much to lose. And I am
not speaking in the material sense, in the sense of money or the rich.
The poorest man having a decent life, going to Church every Sunday,
having a roof over his head — he has much to lose. He has a stake
in stability. We must strike a balance between the needs of those who
have much to lose, and those who have suffered as a result of back-
logs, those who have not as yet enjoyed equal opportunities and full
rights. If we want to advance the cause of the one, to the detriment
of the other, we will never have peace. Only if we strike that
balance, and only if what we do in truth will be in the interest of
all South Africans, will our solutions last. Let us work for that.
We're on one ship, if it sinks, all of us will drown. Let us keep
that ship afloat. Let us give the ship direction towards a better and
a proud future built on the foundation of justice. Let us work in
terms of the procedures which we have agreed upon today, to attain
that goal as soon as possible. Time is of the essence.
I thank you.

MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

Dr Mdlalose would like just a minute to add to the same spirit.

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

You may not believe this, but I did not ask for it. That is a fact, and I am sure the co-Chairman will know that that is a fact.

Chairpersons, I do like to say CODESA is the only show in town. Democracy and justice arise out of solved problems and out of settled disputes. As the latest co-signatory, I do want to assure the co-Chairman, the participants here in CODESA, and the world at large, that the Inkatha Freedom Party is as committed as anybody to the process of CODESA. We have given commitment to this, we have given commitment to negotiation, we have given commitment to the new Republic of South Africa. We are praying for tolerance, we are praying for understanding, we are praying for broadening of participation. I would like to thank you very much.

/Ladies...
Ladies and Gentlemen, we are very close to the end of these proceedings. We have received a request, which is eminently worth acceding to, and that is by the International Observers at this gathering. We have been requested to read it out to you, and I shall do so:

"At the conclusion of CODESA 2, we, the Observers from the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Commonwealth congratulate the representatives of the South African people for the progress they have made in the last five months towards the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The proceedings of CODESA 2 have demonstrated the commitment of the people of South Africa, as a whole, to build on the progress made thus far towards the establishment of the new South Africa.

We reiterate our total support for the CODESA process, and urge all the representatives of the South African people, as a matter of urgency, to make a renewed and determined effort to finalise arrangements for the transitional period, including agreement on the establishment of an Interim Government. The International Community will continue to support the endeavours of the people of South Africa to achieve these objectives."

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have now reached the so-called closing remarks by the Joint Chairpersons - who happen to be Chairmen. CODESA has spoken for itself. I need say no more. Dankie. Thank you.

/This...
This brings us right to the end of our proceedings. There has been, if not in objective content, then in emotional temper, a perceptible change in how we felt yesterday and how we are feeling today in the last minutes of this Convention. Truth is an enormously powerful force. It has the quality of persistence and of endurance, and the capacity to ultimately triumph over illusion, over fantasy, over diversion, after all these actors have made their brief, if sometimes seductive and daunting presence in our lives. This has been mercifully and brilliantly clear after two days of very intense discussion and negotiation. No amount of frustration or agony, or of disappointment, or even of disenchantment, which have all made their fleeting and nagging appearances in the last two days, have succeeded in concealing certain basic irreversible truths about the reality of our existence in South Africa today. And it is these truths which have caused us to move from despair and disappointment to the kind of hope which enabled Dr Mandela to say that he leaves abroad a satisfied man in many respects. But like all truths, they are very simple truths, but not less crucial because they are simple. What are these truths, which must impact themselves over and over again? Very simple truths. The first truth is: Apartheid has brought us to a crisis. It has brought massive historical and political and economic consequences which need very radical restructuring and reversal. We have to now irraddically abandon that past and look to the future. As they say: There is no future in the past. /The second...
The second simple truth is that the cure for that pathology is just as dramatic; and is self-evident. It has to be premised on a new political order based on what the civilised world accepts as a defensible and caring universal democracy, disciplined by a constitution articulating and generating fundamental human rights, with a totally independent and courageous judiciary.

The third basic truth is that the need to address ourselves to this very, very urgent solution is self-evident, because pathology has a self-perpetuating power, and it is haemorrhaging our economic and political, and even our emotional resources, with an intensity which might become seriously eversible, in material respects, if the cure of democracy is not urgently applied.

The fourth, also simple and manifest truth is, that there is no access to this road which is swifter, which is more productive, which is more defensible and which is more enduring than the road of absolutely honest, courageous and earnest negotiations and peace. The atmosphere has to be conducive to peace and rationality. Indeed, there is no other road which will not be longer, which will not be more painful, and indeed which will not be totally disastrous. This became strongly evident from the contribution of the State President and Dr Mandela.

And the fifth and final, and simple truth is this: That we know it. After all the speeches and all the fancy footwork, we know it. Deep in our hearts we know it. There is no other road. We can have no longer honest delusions about pursuing an alternative, other than persistent, courageous and honest negotiations with urgency. Now, this awareness...
awareness, and confession, itself generates enormous reservoirs of energy and goodwill among all sections of our nation in thirst of peace and justice, and it causes an accelerating consensus between us in important areas of constitution-making, several of which were identified with great clarity and precision by Dr Mandela as he spelt out, sentence after sentence: Do you disagree with this? And we cannot pretend that we disagree that we need a constitution-making body. We cannot pretend that we need proportional representation in adult universal suffrage. We cannot pretend that we don't need constitutional principles which determine this. We cannot pretend that we don't need transitional authority. So in the end, the contributions made by the President and by Mr Mandela have brought us back to certain central realities. The central reality is that there are truths which won't allow us to perpetuate disappointment and depression for too long. There is no alternative to a democracy; there is no alternative to doing it by peace and through negotiation.

Therefore, in our view of the mood of this Conference, which ended so positively by contributions from Dr Mandela, President De Klerk and Dr Mdlalose, this Conference is our moment of truth, but it is not our moment of despair. On the contrary, it is a moment of profound challenge and excitement and renewal. A courageous and wide response will enable us to overcome. Our people are entitled to demand this of us, and neither they, nor history, will forgive us if we avoid the obvious solution: democracy. Or seek to postpone it. Or if we avoid or seek to postpone the way to democracy, which is peace, negotiation and rational debate. I thank you all for your tremendous input throughout this Conference and I have pleasure in closing this Session.
Ladies and Gentlemen, I would just like to tell you that I received a note to the effect that the European Community are associating with the joint statement which I have read out to you.

There are now votes of thanks to be delivered by two speakers. The first is Dr Zach De Beer, who will apparently refer to the Management Committee in his speech, and then one by Professor S Rapinga of the Daily Management Committee.
Honourable Chairmen, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. As the Chairman has told you, it falls to my colleague, Professor Selby Rapinga, to make the main speech of thanks. I have a small but important part of the thanking to do, and that is on your behalf, to express gratitude to Mr Pravin Gordhan for his important part as Chairman of both the Management Committee and the Daily Management Committee.

His has been no light task. These two bodies have been meeting intensively, and often under great strain. One or other of them meets almost every day, certainly every couple of days. It's frequently necessary to convene meetings or change dates at short notice. Venues are not always convenient, and he is involved in a tremendous amount of travel. Throughout all this, Pravin has displayed an urbanity, a quick intelligence and humour, an articulacy, and a charm, which have made it possible for the bodies concerned to do far better than they otherwise could have.

In the light of what I have said, it's all the more a pity that I have to refer to the special matter which I now mention. Yesterday, during our deliberations here, there were posters outside referring to Mr Gordhan by name and to his membership of the South African Communist Party, and tending to suggest or imply that in his conduct as Chairman of the CODESA Management Committee, he is influenced by his political loyalties. I regard this as an ugly and shameful attempt at intimidation.

Having got to know Mr Gordhan quite well - and I work on these two
bodies - I want to state for the record that I know what Mr Gordhan's politics are. They are, as it happens, by no means mine. They have simply never appeared during the course of his work as Chairman. He has been impeccable in that regard. He has been a truly impartial and excellent Chairman of both these bodies and I pay tribute to him, as I thank him for all the hard work he has done for CODESA.
The Chairpersons, Justice Mahomed and Justice Schabort, leaders of political organisations, parties, governments and administrations, representatives of the United Nations, the organisations of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the European Community, heads of missions, religious leaders, delegates of participating organisations, ladies and gentlemen, I would like on behalf of the Management Committee to add our voice of gratitude to a number of people, who in one way or another, made a contribution to this very important Convention. The tireless efforts you have put into seeing this occasion come into fruition are noted with appreciation.

I wish to thank in particular the following: Firstly, the Chairpersons, Justice Mahomed and Justice Schabort. You have managed the complex process of the Convention in a very skillful, wise, indefatigable, and in an impeccable manner. To yourselves, I wish to say thank you very much.

The various participating Religious Leaders, we thank you for the spiritual guidance; in your deliverance of prayers in this time of turmoil, uncertainty, indecision and great expectations, such prayers generate a ray of hope and spiritual comfort. Thank you.

The various International Organisations, we thank you for identifying with CODESA - hopefully a negotiation process to usher in a non-racial, non-sexist, and democratic South Africa - your presence here to observe the Convention is highly appreciated. Your role is crucial in helping us to democracy.
We wish to thank also the Heads of Missions. The importance of monitoring a process of this nature cannot be over-emphasised. Thank you for accepting our invitations.

I would also like to thank the millions of South Africans who have followed the proceedings with interest and patience in the past two days. Without you, the people of our country, and without your support a democratic South Africa will be only an illusion.

Lastly, Chairpersons, I would like to thank the Secretariats and their administrative staff for the logistical arrangements. We are aware that you have spent long hours in your offices preparing for this Convention, sometimes having to leave in the early hours of the morning. Your efforts help to facilitate progress in administration. The country is indeed thankful to you. I thank you.
The last item are the prayers from leaders of the Hindu, Anglican and Moslem faiths. I call upon Pundit Maharaj who is a leader in the Hindu faith.

PRAYERS BY:

PUNDIT T S MAHARAJ
BISHOP W NDUNGANE
SHEIKH N MOHAMED

MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

These proceedings are now closed.

CONCLUSION OF THE CONVENTION
Declaration of Intent

CODESA
Convention for a Democratic South Africa
DECLARATION OF INTENT

We, the duly authorised representatives of political parties, political organisations, administrations and the South African Government, coming together at this first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, mindful of the awesome responsibility that rests on us at this moment in the history of our country,

declare our solemn commitment:

1. to bring about an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty, pursuing amidst our diversity, freedom, 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;

2. to work to heal the divisions of the past, to secure the advancement of all, and to establish a free and open society based on democratic values where the dignity, worth and rights of every South African are protected by law;

3. to strive to improve the quality of life of our people through policies that will promote economic growth and human development and ensure equal opportunities and social justice for all South Africans;

4. to create a climate conducive to peaceful constitutional change by eliminating violence, intimidation and destabilisation and by promoting free political participation, discussion and debate;

5. to set in motion the process of drawing up and establishing a constitution that will ensure, inter alia:
   a. that South Africa will be a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory;
   b. that the Constitution will be the supreme law and that it will be guarded over by an independent, non-racial and impartial judiciary;
   c. that there will be a multi-party democracy with the right to form and join political parties and with regular elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters roll; in general the basic electoral system shall be that of proportional representation;
   d. that there shall be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with appropriate checks and balances;
   e. that the diversity of languages, cultures and religions of the people of South Africa shall be acknowledged;
   f. that all shall enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties including freedom of religion, speech and assembly protected by an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights and a legal system that guarantees equality of all before the law.

We agree:

1. that the present and future participants shall be entitled to put forward freely to the Convention any proposal consistent with democracy.

2. that CODESA will establish a mechanism whose task it will be, in co-operation with administrations and the South African Government, to draft the texts of all legislation required to give effect to the agreements reached in CODESA.
We, the representatives of political parties, political organisations and administrations, further solemnly commit ourselves to be bound by the agreements of CODESA and in good faith to take all such steps as are within our power and authority to realise their implementation.

SIGNATURE(S) 

REPRESENTING 

African National Congress
Bophuthatswana Government
Ciskei Government
Democratic Party
Dikwankwela Party
Inkatha Freedom Party
Inyandza National Movement
Intando Yesizwe Party
Labour Party of South Africa
Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress
National Party
National People’s Party
Solidarity
South African Communist Party
Transkei Government
United People’s Front
Venda Government
Ximoko Progressive Party

We, the South African Government, declare ourselves to be bound by agreements we reach together with other participants in CODESA in accordance with the standing rules and hereby commit ourselves to the implementation thereof within our capacity, powers and authority.

SIGNATURE 

South African Government

Nkosi sikele! l’Afrika. Ons vir jou Suid Afrika.
Morena boloka sechabo sa heso. May the Lord bless our country.
Mudzimu Fhatutshedza Afrika. Hosi katekisa Afrika.
ADDENDUM
TO THE DECLARATION OF INTENT

"For the avoidance of doubt as to the interpretation of the Declaration of Intent, it is declared by its signatories that irrespective of their individual interpretive views thereof, no provision of the Declaration, interpreted alone or in conjunction with any other provision thereof shall be construed as -

1. favouring or inhibiting or precluding the adoption of any particular constitutional model, whether unitary, federal, confederal, or otherwise, consistent with democracy;

2. preventing any participant from advocating the same or the separation, in terms of any constitutional model, of powers between a central government and the regions; during the proceedings of CODESA or any of its committees or Working Groups;

3. and that this Addendum shall be added to and form part of the Declaration."