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.
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.

/Geagte Regters ...
Geagte Regters Voorsitter, Gaste, Dames en Here, hoe langer ons neem om van mekaar te verskil waar ons eintlik behoort saam te stem, hoe langer gaan dit neem om by oplossings te kom van sake wat ons dringende aandag geniet. En derhalwe dink ek die drie minute reëling is a goeie reëling en ek sal poog om daarbinne te bly mnr die Voor­sitter. Ek kom by die kern van die saak.

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 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 reconvened 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...
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...
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 enrolling 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, as 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...
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, 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 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 P 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 upon 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...
MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

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.

MR P J GORDHAN
CHAIRMAN : MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

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 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 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 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 half way - 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 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 Mdlatlose would like just a minute to add to the same spirit.
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.