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 irradically 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, 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 can-
not 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 ...
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.
MR JUSTICE SCHABORT

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)

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

South African Government

Nkosi sikelel’ iAfrika. Ons vir jou Suid Afrika.
Morena boloka sechaba 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."

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