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ADDRESS TO CODESA BY REVEREND ALLAN HENDRICKSE, LEADER OF THE
LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA: 20 DECEMBER 1991

MR CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW SOUTH AFRICANS - TODAY MARKS THE
BEGINNING OF THE MANIFESTATION OF THE DREAMS OF THE MAJORITY OF
SOUTH AFRICANS IN WHICH WE WILL ALL IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE,
COLOUR, CREED OR SEX TAKE IN OUR RIGHTFUL PLACE AS SOUTH
AFRICANS. I MUST PAY TRIBUTE TO GREAT MEN AND WOMEN WHO PAID
THE SUPREME PRICE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION AND TO THOSE
WHO PAID A HEAVY PRICE FOR THEIR IDEAS OR IDEALS AND WHO SPEND
MONTHS, YEARS IN INCARCERATION. DARE WE FORGET A GREAT
AFRIKANER LIKE BRAAM FISHER - OR A GREAT LEADER LIKE ROBERT
SUBUKWE OR A MARTYR LIKE STEVE BIKO - AND SO MANY OTHERS. WE
REMEMBER THOSE WHO SUFFERED AND DIED AS A RESULT OF APARTHEID.

WE CANNOT SPEND TOO MUCH TIME ON THE PAST LEST WE LOOSE THE
FUTURE. BUT I FEEL IT NECESSARY TO RECALL BRIEFLY THE HISTORY,
ROLE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

AFTER 30 YEARS I HEAR TODAY THE DEMANDS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN
COLOURED CONVENTION - KNOWN AS THE MALMESBURY CONVENTION.
(APRIL 1961) ON THE EXECUTIVE OF THE CONVENTION SERVED PERSONS
LIKE DR. R.E. VAN DER ROSS, MR. SONNY LEON, MR. JOE DANIELS
WHO LATER ALL FOUNDED THE LABOUR PARTY. ALSO MR. BARNEY
DESAI AND PROF. DENNIS BRUTUS AND OTHERS.

THE EXISTING GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE IN NO WAY REPRESENTS THE
PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. AS THE RESULT OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

HELD/...

HELD IN 1909 - A CONSTITUTION WAS WRITTEN WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION AND DECISION-MAKING BY THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS AS A MATTER OF FACT THE APPEALS OF AFRICAN COLOURED LEADERS WENT UNHEEDED BY THE THEN BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

THAT CONVENTION REMOVED FROM THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR THE RIGHT TO BE ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT - THAT CONVENTION DECIDED THAT "ONLY PEOPLE OF EUROPEAN DESCENT" COULD BE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT."

CONVENTION AGREED THAT:

(A) IT IS NECESSARY TO DRAW UP A NEW CONSTITUTION FULLY DEMOCRATIC AND TRULY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

(B) THAT SUCH A CONSTITUTION MUST EMBODY A BILL OF RIGHTS.

ECONOMIC POLICY: REALISING THAT THE MERE GRANTING OR POLITICAL FREED WILL NOT LIFT OUR PEOPLE OUT OF THE DIRE POVERTY AND STATE OF SEMI-STARVATION TO WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS AND KNOWING FULL WELL THAT THIS EXPLOITATION HAS BEEN PERPETUATED UNDER THE GUISE OF RACIALISM WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING ECONOMIC POLICY.

THAT ALL RESTRICTIONS ON THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO ENTER SKILLED TRADES BE ABOLISHED; THAT COLOUR BAR IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY BE SCRAPPED AND THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL/...

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK IRRESPECTIVE OF SEX, BE FIRMLY ENTRENCHED IN THE STATUTES OF THE LAND AND

THAT THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY SHOULD BE USED TO PROMOTE THE WELFARE OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION.

LABOUR: IN FORMULATING A HEALTHY ECONOMIC POLICY, WE FEEL THAT THE TOT SYSTEM, CONTRACT LABOUR, CHILD LABOUR, COMPOUND LABOUR AND CONVICT LABOUR MUST BE ABOLISHED.

LAND: WE FEEL THAT A RE-DIVISION OF THE LAND SHOULD TAKE PLACE, SO THAT IT CAN BE DEVELOPED IN FULL PRODUCTIVITY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE.

"HISTORY WILL SAY (THEY SAID) THAT MALMESBURY CONJURED THE DAWN - AND PROCLAIMED A NEW DYNAMIC FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATION - PEACE, JUSTICE, HONOUR, HAPPINESS AND SECURITY."

IS THIS NOT WHAT WE ARE SAYING 30 YEARS LATER.

FORMATION OF L.P. - WAS SEEN AS ESSENTIAL TO CONTINUE THE WORK OF THOSE GAOLED OR IN EXILE. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE LIBERATORY STRUGGLE HAD TO CONTINUE. BECAUSE OF THE "NON-POLITICAL INTERFERENCE ACT" WHICH LED TO THE LIBERAL PARTY DISBANDING - RATHER THAN ASKING THEIR MEMBERS OF COLOUR TO LEAVE, AND WHILE CERTAIN PARTIES DID ASK THEIR MEMBERS TO LEAVE, THE LABOUR PARTY WAS FORMED IN 1965, AND LATER OPTED FOR PARTICIPATION NOT AS AN ACCEPTANCE OF APARTHEID BUT TO USE CREATED PLATFORMS TO OPPOSE APARTHEID, EXPOSE THE IMMORALITY OF SUCH CREATIONS AND DISPOSE OF THEM. THE/...

THE CLOSING OF THE COLOURED PERSONS REPRESENTATION COUNCIL IS AN EXAMPLE. THIS IS ALSO TRUE OF OUR ESHOWE DECISION - WHERE WE REJECTED THE TRICAMERAL STRUCTURE AS A CONSTITUTIONAL MODEL BUT DECIDED TO USE IT TO OPPOSE AND DISPOSE OF DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION. THIS WAS SUCCESSFULLY DONE. SO MUCH SO THAT WHEN WE REJECTED THIS YEAR AS A RESULT OF CONSULTATION WITH LABOUR UNIONS, THE PRIVATISATION OF POST OFFICE BILL - CAME THE CONCERTED CAMPAIGN TO WOE MEMBERS OF MY PARTY INTO THE NATIONAL PARTY. BELIEVING ALSO THAT RECONCILIATION MUST AS FAR AS IS POSSIBLE BE BETWEEN EQUALS WE USED THE SYSTEM TO UPLIFT BY MEANS OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND WELFARE, HOUSING AND CREATION OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES, A COMMUNITY THAT HAD BEEN LEFT BEHIND.

WHILE OUR CONSTITUTION CLEARLY STATES - "IT IS THE INTENTIONS OF OUR PARTY IN THE FIRST INSTANT TO CONSOLIDATE THE POSITION OF ALL OPPRESSED SOUTH AFRICANS" - WE THEREFORE ATTENDED THE MEETING OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

THE LABOUR PARTY SEES THE NEED FOR THE CREATION OF A CLIMATE FOR FREE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, TO THIS END DEMANDS:

TOTAL ELIMINATION OF ALL DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION, WITH NO DISGUISED SUBSTITUTES.

IMMEDIATE ENDING OF VIOLENCE

INTIMIDATION

EQUAL AND FAIR ACCESS TO THE ELECTRONIC STATE MEDIA AND NOT SELECTIVE REPORTING AS IT PRESENT EXPERIENCED.

EQUAL AND FAIR ACCESS TO PUBLIC FACILITIES FOR MEETINGS. (POLITICAL).

SOCIO-ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.

ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD BE CONSIDERED: NOT FOR GIVING DIRECTION OR INFLUENCING CODESA - BUT BECAUSE OF THE INTERDEPENDANCE OF COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD AND WE WILL NEED THEM IN A RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME.

CONSTITUTIONALLY WE STATE THAT:

SOUTH AFRICA SHALL BE A SOVEREIGN, DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL STATE, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL.

THERE SHALL BE UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE (THAT IS ONE PERSON ONE VOTE) FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS OVER THE AGE OF 18 YEARS.

SOUTH AFRICA BE A NON-RACIAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEDERATION WITH THE DEVOLUTION OF POWER FROM CENTRAL GOVERNMENT to FEDERAL STATES. THERE SHALL BE A CLEAR DIVISION OF THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE AND JUDICIARY.

LEGISLATIVE: THE LEGISLATURE SHALL COMPRISE A BI-CAMERAL PARLIAMENT - THAT IS:

AN UPPER HOUSE IN THE FORM OF A FEDERAL SENATE IN WHICH ALL COMPONENT STATES WILL HAVE EQUAL REPRESENTATION;

A LOWER HOUSE ELECTED ON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION; AND

LEGISLATION SHALL BE APPROVED BY BOTH HOUSES.

EXECUTIVE/...

EXECUTIVE:

A PRESIDENT WHO SHALL BE ELECTED EITHER DIRECTLY BY POPULAR VOTE OR INDIRECTLY BE AN ELECTORAL COLLEGE COMPRISING MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES.

THE PRESIDENT SHALL APPOINT HIS CABINET WHICH WILL BE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL THE STATES.

JUDICIARY:

THE JUDICIARY SHALL FUNCTION INDEPENDENTLY FROM THE LEGISLATURE AND THE EXECUTIVE, AND JUDGES SHALL BE APPOINTED BY AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION, ESTABLISHED FOR SUCH PURPOSES.

THE CONSTITUTION SHALL BE SOVEREIGN AND ^{it} MUST NOT BE POSSIBLE TO DO WHAT THE NATIONAL PARTY IMMORALLY DID TO REMOVE US FROM THE COMMON VOTERS ROLL BY ENLARGING THE SENATE TO OBTAIN A $\frac{2}{3}$ MAJORITY TO CIRCUMVENT THE ENTRENCHED CLAUSE IN THE CONSTITUTION THERE SHALL BE A JUSTICIABLE AND ENTRENCHED BILL RIGHTS. AS FAR AS THE CONSTITUTION MAKING BODY/PROCESS IS CONCERNED, THE LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA WILL PUT THEIR POSITION TO THE PARTICULAR WORKING GROUP AFTER ITS CONGRESS IN DURBAN ON 27, 28 AND 29 DECEMBER 1991.

ON THE QUESTION OF INTERIM/TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENT

WE BELIEVE:

IT MUST BE A TEMPORARY ARRANGEMENT;

ITS OBJECT MUST BE TO HELP THE TRANSITION TO RUN AS SMOOTHLY AND FAIRLY TO ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED/INVOLVED.

THERE/...

THERE MUST BE CHECKS AND BALANCES AGAINST THE ACTIONS OF SUCH A TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENT.

SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT MUST BE ACCOUNTABLE TO PARLIAMENT.

PARLIAMENT MUST REMAIN THE SOVEREIGN INSTITUTION UNTIL IT HAS APPROVED THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

THERE MUST BE EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION BY ALL PARTIES INVOLVED IN SUCH AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT.

IT'S AREAS OF JURISDICTION MUST BE:

THE PREPARATION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE NEXT DEMOCRATIC ELECTION.

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE SABC AND OTHER PUBLIC BROADCASTING MEDIUMS.

THE SECURITY SERVICES.

KEY ELEMENTS OF PUBLIC SPENDING (FISCUS PRIORITIES).

APPOINTMENTS (COMMISSION FOR ADMINISTRATION. THE LATER BODY IS

AN OBSTACLE TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AFFIRMATE ACTION.

WITH REGARDS TO THE FUTURE OF THE TBVC STATES THE LABOUR PARTY BELIEVES THAT:

THE TBVC STATES ARE ECONOMICALLY AND GEOGRAPHICALLY AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

AND THAT

STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO CONSULT THE CITIZENS OF THESE STATES BY WAY OF REFERENDA ON THE RE-INCORPORATION OF THESE AREAS INTO THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

AND THAT

CODESA MUST INVESTIGATE THE POSSIBLE TRANSFORMATION OF THESE STATES INTO NON-RACIAL, ECONOMICALLY VIABLE GEOGRAPHIC STATES, TO FORM/...

TO FORM PART OF THE FEDERAL SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW SOUTH AFRICANS, WHILE WE AGAIN EMPHASISE THE IMPORTANCE OF CODESA AND WELCOME THIS CONVENTION WE BELIEVE THAT THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS MUST BE COMPLETED WITHIN A PERIOD OF 18 TO 24 MONTHS AND THAT THE AGREED NEW CONSTITUTION BE IMPLEMENTED WITHIN 12 MONTHS THEREAFTER. TO THIS END REGISTRATION OF ALL VOTERS MUST BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF 1993. WE BELIEVE THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS TAKEN BY CODESA MUST BE REFERRED TO PARLIAMENT.

WE STATE EMPHATICALLY THAT ALL DECISIONS OF CODESA MUST BE IMPLEMENTED BY ALL PARTICIPATES TO THIS THE LABOUR PARTY COMMITS ITSELF.

WHILE CODESA IS THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE BODY SOUTH AFRICA HAS EVER HAD AND WHEREAS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTS ONLY 5% OF THE S.A. COMMUNITY WE CANNOT ALLOW THE DECISIONS OF CODESA TO BE VETOED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

THE FUTURE REQUIRES OF US TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE, CONCILIATORY AND COURAGEOUS WITH A FIRM COMMITMENT TO ONE NATION - ONE SOUTH AFRICA.