

ADDRESS BY THE LEADER OF
THE UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT MR. M.N. RAMODIKE
DURING A SESSION OF CODESA II
15 MAY 1992

THE CHAIRPERSON OF THIS CONVENTION, LEADERS AND DELEGATES FROM VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS, OUR SPECIAL GUESTS FROM BOTH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, AND THE UNITED NATIONS, AS WELL AS THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS, DIGNITARIES PRESENT HERE, MY COUNTRYMEN IT IS INDEED A PLEASURE FOR ME TO COMMENT ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE REPORT AS GIVEN.

MR. CHAIRPERSON WHEN WE FIRST MET HERE IN DECEMBER LAST YEAR WE SAID WE WERE MAKING HISTORY.

TODAY WE HAVE RECONVENED TO REVIEW THE PROGRESS MADE. INDEED WE HAVE RECONVENED TO PROVE TO THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD THAT THE FORUM WE HAVE CREATED HAS THE CAPACITY TO TAKE US SOMEWHERE. WITH THE RESOURCES AT OUR DISPOSAL. COUPLED WITH OUR RESOLVE AND DETERMINATION TO PUT AN END TO THE PREVAILING POLITICAL INJUSTICE, INSTABILITY, UNCERTAINTY AND THE GENERAL TORTURE OF OUR PEOPLE'S INTEGRITY THROUGH VIOLENCE, WE HAVE NO REASON TO FEAR THE FUTURE.

I WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO THANK THE MEN AND WOMEN ENGAGED IN THE VARIOUS WORKING GROUPS ESTABLISHED BY THIS CONVENTION DURING ITS FIRST SESSION FOR THE TIRELESS EFFORTS THEY HAVE MADE TO ARRIVE

AT THE CONCLUSION THAT CAUSED US TO GATHER ONCE AGAIN AND ENDORSE THE PROGRESS MADE. THIS PROVES ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE THAT GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS CAN DELIVER A SETTLEMENT CAPABLE OF ACCOMMODATING THE INTERESTS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE.

I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE SUCCEEDED SO FAR IN THIS REGARD. MR CHAIRPERSON, WHILE THE UPF IS FULLY APPRECIATIVE OF THE PROGRESS MADE BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE ANC ON THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE RETURN OF EXILES, WE WISH, HOWEVER TO SAY THAT THIS MATTER NEEDS TO BE EXPEDITIOUSLY HANDLED AND DISPOSED OF IN ORDER TO COMPLETE THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION.

FURTHERMORE, THE UPF BELIEVES THAT FOR US TO LEVEL THE PLAYING FIELD, COGNIZANCE SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THE FACT THAT THIS PROCESS CANNOT BE FULLY COMPLETED IF LAWS THAT MILITATE AGAINST FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY CANNOT BE REPEALED AND REPLACED BY LAWS THAT WILL BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE. LAWS SUCH AS THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND THE PUBLIC SAFETY ACT MUST BE REPEALED OR AMENDED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO ACCOMMODATE THE NEW ERA THAT WE ARE TRYING TO SHAPE.

I AM PARTICULARLY PLEASED TO REALIZE THAT SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS WAS REACHED AS FAR AS THE DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY IS CONCERNED. ON OUR PART, WE ARE SUPPORTIVE OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED THAT

A STATE OF EMERGENCY SHOULD ONLY BE DECLARED ON THE ADVICE OF A MULTIPARTY INTERIM EXECUTIVE, AND THAT SUCH A STATE OF EMERGENCY SHOULD BE OBJECTIVELY JUSTICIABLE IN A COURT OF LAW.

MY ORGANIZATION DOES NOT, HOWEVER, SUPPORT THE VIEW HELD BY OTHERS THAT SUCH A DECLARATION OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY SHOULD BE RETROSPECTIVE AS IS THE CASE NOW. ON THE ISSUE OF REFUGEES AND OTHER DISPLACED PERSONS, THE POSITION OF THE UPF IS VERY CLEAR AND THAT IS: WHILE WE APPRECIATE THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE REFUGEES FROM MOZAMBIQUE FLED THEIR COUNTRY, WE ARE ALSO MINDFUL OF THE FACT THAT THE CIVIL COMMOTION IN THAT COUNTRY HAS NOW SO SUBSIDED THAT THESE REFUGEES

SHOULD BE REPATRIATED TO THEIR HOMELAND. OUR COUNTRY, SOUTH AFRICA IS CAUGHT UP IN A SPIRALLING WAVE OF VIOLENCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT WHICH ARE ATTRIBUTABLE INTER ALIA, TO THE WORSENING SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. THE INFLUX OF THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF THE REFUGEES INTO OUR AREA WHICH IS ITSELF RAVAGED BY VIOLENCE, HUNGER AND STARVATION TENDS TO WORSEN AND NOT IMPROVE OUR OWN CONDITION. THE EASY SUPPLY OF AK 47 RIFLES IN THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN PARTS OF OUR COUNTRY AND THE MANY MURDERS AND RAPES THAT HAVE NOW BECOME A FEATURE OF OUR EXISTENCE CALLS FOR A SERIOUS REVIEW OF THE POSITION OF THE REFUGEES WHO ARE THEMSELVES

EXPLOITED TO FULL ADVANTAGE BY THE WHITE FARMERS IN THAT REGION. WE CANNOT ALLOW THIS SITUATION TO CONTINUE. I HOPE AND TRUST THAT THE TASK FORCE THAT HAS BEEN APPOINTED TO LOOK INTO THIS MATTER WILL COMPLETE ITS ASSIGNMENT IN DUE COURSE.

MR. CHAIRPERSON, AS VIOLENCE ESCALATES IN OUR COUNTRY DAY BY DAY, I WISH TO STATE THAT AS SIGNATORIES TO THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD, THE UPF IS FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE MEASURES AGREED TO IN WORKING GROUP I TO STRENGTHEN THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD NOT ONLY BY GIVING

IT LEGAL ENFORCEABILITY BUT BY PROVIDING THE NECESSARY INFRASTRUCTURE TO MAKE IT EFFECTIVE. WE CANNOT HAVE FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS IF VIOLENCE IS ALLOWED TO DOMINATE OUR SOCIETY. THAT IS WHY I PARTICULARLY APPLAUD THE PRESENCE OF THE DELEGATION SENT BY THE OAU TO MONITOR VIOLENCE IN OUR COUNTRY.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE STATE-CONTROLLED MEDIA SUCH AS THE SABC RADIO AND TV, OUR POSITION IN THE UPF IS THAT CONTROL OF SUCH BODIES MUST BE IN THE HANDS

OF AN INDEPENDENT, NEUTRAL BODY. THE UPF IS IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE CONDITIONS AS SET OUT IN THE REPORT OF WORKING GROUP I VIS-A-VIS THIS SUBJECT.

IT IS OUR VIEW IN THE UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT THAT AN ELECTED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY BE ENTRUSTED WITH THE TASK OF DRAWING UP THE CONSTITUTION OF THIS COUNTRY.

WE SAY SO ON THE BASIS OF OUR BELIEF THAT AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT SUCH AS THE CONSTITUTION REQUIRES A PROPERLY MANDATED BODY TO DRAFT AND FURTHER TO REMOVE ANY

QUESTION ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF MEMBERS PARTICIPATING IN THAT EXERCISE. WE ARE GLAD THAT MUCH PROGRESS HAS NOW BEEN MADE TOWARDS THIS END WHICH WILL ALSO SERVE AS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN WIDENING DEMOCRACY IN THIS COUNTRY.

FURTHERMORE, REGARDING THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE BASED THE UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT DEEMS IT IMPORTANT TO PROTECT CITIZENS' RIGHTS BY WAY OF A BILL OF RIGHTS AND TO ENSURE THE SEPARATION

OF POWERS BETWEEN THE ORGANS OF THE STATE. WE AGREE THAT NEW REGIONAL BOUNDARIES ARE REQUIRED URGENTLY FOR PURPOSES OF ARRANGING FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND FURTHER WISH TO EXPRESS THE VIEW THAT SUCH ELECTIONS SHOULD ENSURE PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. WE SUBSCRIBE TO THE IDEA OF REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS WHICH SHOULD BE STRONG AND EFFECTIVE ENOUGH TO ADMINISTER MATTERS OF A REGIONAL NATURE. SUCH GOVERNMENTS, HOWEVER, SHOULD HAVE LIMITED POWERS THAT WILL NOT IMPEDE THE PROMOTION OF NATIONAL OBJECTIVES BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT;

NOR SHOULD SUCH REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS BE AIMED AT THREATENING THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

WE IN THE UPF BELIEVE THAT THERE SHOULD BE 70% SUPPORT ACROSS THE BOARD FOR THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION, AND 75% FOR THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE SENATE, OUR VIEW IS THAT THIS BODY IS UNNECESSARY. HOWEVER, IF SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS IS REACHED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SENATE WE WISH TO MAKE IT CATEGORICALLY CLEAR THAT THE UPF CAN ONLY SUPPORT THE CREATION OF THIS BODY ONLY IF

IT IS TO BE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED AND FURTHERMORE,
THAT IT SHOULD NOT HAVE ANY VETO RIGHTS.

MR. CHAIRPERSON, THE LEVELLING OF THE POLITICAL FIELD
REMAINS BASIC TO THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION.
THE CREATION OF MULTIPARTY SUBCOUNCILS WILL SERVE
AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE AND PLAY A BALANCING ROLE
IN OUR TRANSITION FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW ORDER.

THE UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT ENDORSES THE GENERAL CONSENSUS
REACHED BY ALL DELEGATIONS AT CODESA ON THE REINCOR-
PORATION OF THE TBVC STATES INTO SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH
AGREEMENT IS IN LINE WITH CODESA DECLARATION OF INTENT
TO BRING ABOUT A UNITED, DEMOCRATIC, NON-RACIAL AND
NON-SEXIST SOUTH AFRICA.

THIS IS INDEED ONE OF THE MILESTONES ACHIEVED BY
CODESA TO DO AWAY WITH APARTHEID - CREATED STRUCTURES
WHICH CREATED A FALSE IMPRESSION THAT PEOPLE IN THESE
TERRITORIES WERE INDEPENDENT WHEN IN PRACTICE THEY

REMAINED DEPENDENT ON THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. TODAY WE ARE PLEASED THAT CODESA HAS PAVED THE WAY FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE TBVC STATES TO REJOIN SOUTH AFRICA WITHOUT BEING SUBJECTED TO UNNECESSARY ETHNIC REFERENDA AS THE ONLY MEANS OF TESTING THEIR WILL.

WE DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE VISION DISPLAYED BY THE TRANSKEI, VENDA AND CISKEI GOVERNMENTS AND WISH TO ASSURE THEM THAT WE HAVE ALWAYS RELIED ON THEIR WISDOM TO BRING US WHERE WE ARE TODAY. IT IS OUR WELL CONSIDERED OPINION THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

CANNOT JUSTIFIABLY PRONOUNCE APARTHEID DEAD WHILE WE STILL RETAIN THE HOMELANDS (BOTH INDEPENDENT AND SELF-GOVERNING) IN THEIR PRESENT FORM AND INDEED IF WE WERE TO EFFECTIVELY UNDO THE DAMAGE DONE BY APARTHEID WE WOULD HAVE TO BEGIN WITH THE GEOPOLITICAL INTEGRATION OF THE COUNTRY. THE VIEW HELD BY THE UPF IS THAT ANY SO-CALLED INDEPENDENT TERRITORY WHICH REFUSES REINCORPORATION SHOULD NOT BE ENTITLED TO ANY OBLIGATORY FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM SOUTH AFRICA. THE AGREEMENT REACHED BY CODESA THAT THE TBVC STATES WILL FULLY PARTICIPATE IN ALL THE PHASES OF THE PROCESS OF

TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND CONSTITUTION-MAKING INCLUDING NON-RACIAL ELECTIONS TO BRING ABOUT A NEW DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA IS COMMENDABLE.

THE UPF, HOWEVER, NOTES WITH REGRET THE RESERVATIONS EXPRESSED BY THE BOPHUTHATSWANA LEADERSHIP WITH REGARD TO REINCORPORATION. OUR CONCERN IN THIS REGARD LIES IN THE FACT THAT OUR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN IN THAT TERRITORY REMAIN SHUT OFF FROM THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND PREVENTED FROM PARTICIPAING

IN THE PROCESS UNDER THE CLOAK OF WHAT IS ACTUALLY NOMINAL INDEPENDENCE. NEITHER SOUTH AFRICA NOR THE PEOPLE OF THAT TERRITORY WILL FORGET THE MANNER IN WHICH INDEPENDENCE WAS IMPOSED ON THEM AND WE ALL STILL RECALL TOO VIVIDLY THE CRUEL AND MOST UNSCRUPULOUS PATH TO INDEPENDENCE. IT IS VERY IRONIC MR. CHAIRPERSON THAT THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSDANDS OF OUR PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN FORCIBLY INCORPORATED INTO THAT TERRITORY AMID PROTESTS, OUTRAGE AND RESISTANCE FROM ALL QUARTERS, TODAY CAN BE SAID TO BE JEALOUS OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

SUDDENLY THEY HAVE BECOME PATRIOTS OF A HOMELAND. LET IT BE KNOWN MR. CHAIRPERSON THAT IT SHOULD NEVER BE EXPECTED OF US IN THIS COUNTRY, EVER TO ABANDON OUR FOLLOWERS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN WHO ARE RESIDENT IN THOSE COUNTRIES ON WHOM INDEPENDENCE WAS IMPOSED. TO THE LEADERSHIP IN SUCH TERRITORIES, WHOM WE REGARD AS BROTHERS, WE HOPE THEY REALIZE SOONER THAT THE PINNERS OF REALITY ARE CLOSING IN ON THEM. MAY WE REMIND THEM OF THE WORDS OF CHARLES DICKENS WHEN HE SAID: "DON'T DO TOMORROW WHAT YOU CAN DO TODAY".

TO FACILITATE THE PROCESS OF REINCORPORATION UPF URGES CODESA TO IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISH THE THREE COMMISSIONS AS AGREED UPON TO WORK OUT THE MODALITIES TO ENSURE THE SMOOTH RETURN OF THESE STATES. LET US ALL JOIN HANDS TOGETHER IN A SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION AND RENEWAL.

RAMODIKE M.N.N.
LEADER OF THE UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT