

AMENDMENTS ATTACHED AT THE LAST Pages
After THANK YOU [1]

REMARKS BY THE HONOURABLE CHAIRMAN OF THE MILITARY COUNCIL, MAJOR GENERAL H.B. HOLOMISA, AT CODESA ON 20 DECEMBER 1991.

The peculiar independent constitutional status of Transkei necessitated that this territory be represented as a state by the government and elected representatives of organizations, interest groups and various structures across the social spectrum of the territory. In order to secure a proper mandate from the people of Transkei four conferences of delegates from these organizations and groupings were held to discuss and prepare for the CODESA conference. All in all fifty-nine organisations based in the territory attended the conferences and each sent five representatives. As a delegation we can with confidence claim that the inputs we shall make at this gathering represent the aspirations and concerns of the majority of Transkeians from divergent social groupings with a variety of political opinions and affiliations.

Transkeians believe in the creation of a new democratic order in South Africa at the earliest possible opportunity. The mechanism for bringing about this objective must ensure unrestricted, and unconstrained participation by all the people of South Africa at grassroots level in the discussions and determinations of all the principles that will form the bedrock of a democratic constitution acceptable to all South Africans. An elected Constituent Assembly has been identified as such a mechanism.

We have responded positively to an invitation to attend the Preparatory meeting on the 29th November and the Codesa conference today and tomorrow as well as the future meetings because we believe that this forum has the capacity or the potential to steer the country to the desired goal. Millions of South Africans and well wishers in Africa and abroad have focussed their eyes and pinned their hopes on a fruitful outcome of these deliberations. Through selfless reflection and debate, disinterested dialogue, objectivity and statesmanship we must project this forum as a worthy mechanism which should draw into its fold even those who have so far demurred from attending this conference because of certain political considerations.

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The universal discrediting and condemnation of Apartheid underlines the illegitimacy of the present Apartheid government. The latter's disavowal of the Apartheid creed and apparent readiness to enter into negotiations for a democratic, non-racial South Africa underwrites the death knell for Apartheid and its creations and is by implication an abdication from the socio-political order they have enforced, defended and sustained for the duration of the Apartheid internal colonial epoch.

This, therefore, calls for an honest, objective and disinterested evaluation of the purpose, content, essence, scope and status of the Convention for A democratic South Africa in so far as it is a gathering for the determination of the modalities for the setting

up of a mechanism that will transform South Africa from apartheid to democracy.

At the Sand River and Vereeniging Conventions at the beginning of this century the Boer and British Combatants agreed on a cease-fire and on principles of a then new White South Africa. At the Conventions of 1909 they resolved on a Union of South Africa under White hegemony. The realization of the Union of South Africa in 1910 was a direct consequence of the resolutions of the above-mentioned conventions.

It is therefore a reasonable and logical expectation that the resolutions for change - if indeed they are for change as we understand it - adopted by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, should be implemented by this Convention through a mutually - agreed-upon mechanism. This, in categorical terms, means that, the exultation of the Semantics of the so-called sovereignty of the Apartheid Parliament for the purpose of arrogating to itself tje exclusive responsibility of legislating the decisions of CODESA is an anachronism and absurdity of the first order. History denies this option. The Transkei Delegation, Chairpersons has resolved that the appropriate status be accorded to CODESA to endow its decisions with meaningful legal status. Transkei therefore advocates the enactment of a law by the RSA Parliament to formally establish CODESA so that its decisions are valid in the eyes of everybody including the RSA legislature.

The contrary would be the subordination of CODESA resolutions to a Sectarian parliament, and therefore, by design, wittingly or unwittingly, the perpetuation of the status quo. We do not wish to believe, for one moment, that this is the purpose of this Convention.

Strong feelings are being entertained across the entire country that Codesa also be a vehicle for the restoration of peace and stability. The noble sentiments and lofty objectives embraced in the National Peace Accord, hitherto a fatherless and motherless child, can only be given effect, meaning and purpose to only if Codesa decides to assume full responsibility for their implementation. One of the most viable options to render the work of the National Peace Committee of the Peace Accord meaningful and make it bear fruit is to involve all leaders of political organisations/ parties and Heads of Governments in South Africa's context in decision-making on matters related to security at the highest level, for example, the State Security Council/Cabinet Committee for Security Affairs level, for purposes of ensuring that the recommendations be made by the Codesa will be given effect to and that the security establishment does not take any decision or action which undermines the spirit and letter of the Convention. The involvement of all at State Security Council Level will eliminate fears and suspicions and dissipate charges and allegations of hidden agendas. The urgency of this matter is born out by the threats of violence and civil war that are venti-

lated from several quarters.

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In the same vein, the role of Codesa, during its temporary period of existence, should be expanded to bring about peace throughout Southern Africa. This, in effect, entails that South African soil will cease to be a launching pad for attacks on neighbouring countries like Mozambique.

A warning is also sounded to African countries having trade links with South Africa which give material, logistical and military support to the Renamo bandits that, if they do not stop the flow of aid to these butchers of humanity in Mozambique, Codesa will demand the immediate cutting of all trade and diplomatic links with those African countries.

Great care has also to be exercised when grappling with the wave of multi-party democracy engulfing the African continent at present. The exponents and sponsors of the concept of multi-party democracy in Africa have a moral duty to ensure that it does not engender anarchy and chaos in the wake of its introduction, that it does not incite tribal and regional hatred/jealousies thereby plunging the various countries into bloody civil wars as parties vie with one another for political ascendancy. The source of multidemocracy must be from within, it must not be imposed from outside.

It is also important to note, that the failure of CODESA spells economic doom for South Africa and therefore a prescription for social and political disaster. South Africa can no longer afford an internal and international siege. For our own sakes we need economic growth and equitable distribution of opportunities and wealth. This is the only way violence and strife, manipulation and fratricide will end.

Transkeians have always regarded themselves as part of South Africa. The very type of relationship that exists between Transkei and the other independent homelands on the one hand and South African government on the other, confirms the inseparability of these homelands from the rest of South Africa. Transkei therefore has braced herself for the sacrificing of her present constitutional status in favour of re-incorporation. However, she must be a part of the debate and process of re-incorporation in order to ensure that she does not rejoin an Apartheid South Africa.

It must be stated with pellucid clarity that the question of Transkei's re-incorporation into South Africa will not be a matter of bilateral discussions between the Transkei and RSA Governments but by the Interim Government. Hopefully all participants appreciate the significance of the Interim Government which in essence means the dissolutions of the Tricameral Parliament, all Homeland Parliaments and the disappearance of Military

Governments from the national political scene. It is reasonably expected that Codesa will expedite the completion of her tasks in order to pave way for the establishment of an interim government by June 1992.

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We welcome the presence of representatives of international forums charged with the task of monitoring the process.

Since the administration of rural areas is founded on chieftainship, there is an urgent need for CODESA to address the future role of traditional leaders.

Transkei has the honour to move that a task group be formed by CODESA to travel around the country meeting with traditional leaders, look into their interests and endeavour to forge unity among them so that they ventilate their aspirations in fruitful unison rather than as disparate groups. The task group will have to report to CODESA on its findings.

These positive steps will minimise the chances of the manipulation of traditional leaders by certain individuals and other groups for the furtherance of their political ambitions.

The founding of CODESA is fuelling the already high expectations among the disadvantaged people that their deliverance from denial, deprivation and the seemingly permanent state of penury is about to come to an abrupt end. CODESA is therefore urged to consider the advisability of monitoring the RSA budget. Such a

step will encourage and facilitate the freedom of speech by CODESA delegates who still rely on the central Government for the financial sustenance of their respective administrations.

It must have been noted that the scourge of violence gripping the country has always been attributed to ethnic rivalry. We boldly refuted these statements and the third party involvement through the use of slush-funds has been exposed. This merits the undivided attention of CODESA if any meaningful progress is to be made in the restoration of trust among participants.

The South African public at large has constantly complained about the bias of the SABC-TV and Radio. It would be a prudent move for CODESA to insist on a fair distribution of the Board of Directors so that it becomes representative of the entire population.

The conduct of the country's foreign relations needs to be examined closely during the period of Codesa's life-span. The danger always looms that an interested party can hijack collective achievements for self-projection abroad in a bid to improve its image and present itself in a better light as the sole agent of changes occurring in the country. It is incumbent upon Codesa to place a moratorium on the opening of new diplomatic links with other countries as this can militate against her (Codesa) interests should the negotiating process crumble in the face of intransigence by the ruling white oligarchy.

Our hearty thanks go to the Steering Committee which has worked round the clock to make this day a reality. We cannot forget to commend the initiatives of Dr Mandela and President De Klerk who commenced talks in the latter part of 1989 to unlock the country's political logjam. Codesa can correctly be judged as the direct outcome and continuation of the meeting of the two leaders. With the broad participation of South Africans the ship can safely be steered and land in safe waters.

Thank you.

Consideration, and 'The Universal Discrediting'

One method by which this ideal could be achieved would be the granting of general amnesty to all Political Prisoners and the granting of unconditional indemnity to all Political Exiles so as to enable them to return freely to the country of their birth. It must not be forgotten that all these patriots have contributed in no small way to the process which will lead to freedom and Democracy in South Africa. Codesa should not be perceived as a body which is incapable of addressing all aspects of the Democratisation of the Country.

quarters" AND "IN THE SAME VEIN"
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This issue becomes important if one bears in mind that the South African Security Forces have at one time or another been deployed in the states of some of the participants at this convention. There is an urgent need for Codesa to consider whether such actions were or are intended to promote Democracy and the ideals for which Codesa stands, in those states, Transkei included.