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ADDRESS : DR J N REDDY, LEADER : SOLIDARITY PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA, DELIVERED AT THE CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA HELD AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE, JOHANNESBURG ON FRIDAY, 20 DECEMBER 1991

MR CHAIRMAN, DELEGATES AND VARIOUS DIGNITARIES

ON THIS HISTORIC DAY I STAND BEFORE YOU AND THE NATION IN ALL HUMILITY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE REALISATION OF THE GOAL OF MY PARTY SOLIDARITY AND OF MY PERSONAL VISION OF THE BIRTH OF A NEW NATION TO BE FOUNDED ON THE PILLARS OF ESTABLISHED DEMOCRATIC VALUES THAT ACKNOWLEDGE THE DIGNITY OF LIFE AND THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS TO VARIOUS FREEDOMS IN THEIR QUEST FOR A BETTER LIFE STYLE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.

A NUMBER OF POLITICAL PARTIES ARE ASSEMBLED HERE TODAY UNDER THE BANNER OF THE CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA. PARTIES WHICH HAVE ADOPTED DIFFERENT STRATEGIES PREVIOUSLY ARE NOW COMMITTED TO THE INSTRUMENT OF NEGOTIATION TO ACHIEVE COMMON GOALS. 'THIS IS NO DOUBT OUR FINEST HOUR.'

I WISH TO PLEDGE MY COMMITMENT AND THAT OF SOLIDARITY TO THE RESOLUTION OF A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AND THE FOUNDING OF A CONSTITUTION THAT ENSURES JUSTICE AND PEACE, PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY AND HARMONY AND STABILITY FOR THIS GENERATION AND THE GENERATIONS TO COME. WE OWE IT TO ALL THE PEOPLE WHO OVER THE YEARS HAVE STRUGGLED TO ESTABLISH AN UNDIVIDED SOUTH AFRICA (WHICH INCLUDES THE TBVC STATES) AND A GOVERNMENT THAT ENJOYS LEGITIMACY.

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THIS DAY OFFERS THE GREATEST PROSPECTS FOR ACHIEVING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT THROUGH THE VISION AND LEADERSHIP OF THOSE ASSEMBLED HERE BECAUSE OF THE GROWING ACCEPTANCE OF THE REALITY THAT THERE CAN BE NO LASTING PEACE AND NO SUSTAINED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT UNLESS THE GOVERNMENT IS BASED ON THE SUFFRAGE AND CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

MY PARTY SUBMITS FOR CONSIDERATION AND DEBATE A SET OF PRINCIPLES BASED ON ACCEPTED VALUES OF A MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER IN SOUTH AFRICA.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

THE CONSTITUTION SHALL BE THE SOLE CRITERION FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION; THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY IS THE HIGHEST PRINCIPLE OF LAW AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS ARE GUARANTEED IN A JUSTICIABLE BILL OF RIGHTS; THE GUARANTEE OF

PROTECTION IS ENSURED THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSTITUTIONAL COURT; THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE ARE EXERCISED BY SEPARATE LEGISLATIVE, EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES WITH APPROPRIATE CHECKS AND BALANCES;

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THERE SHALL BE UNIVERSAL ADULT FRANCHISE BASED ON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION STRUCTURED TO MEET THE NEEDS OF OUR UNIQUE SITUATION WITH PERIODIC ELECTIONS IN A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM; A DIRECTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT; A MULTI-PARTY CABINET BASED ON PROPORTIONALITY TO SYMBOLISE A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY; A BICAMERAL PARLIAMENT; A DECENTRALISED REGIONAL /PROVINCIAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WITH DEVOLVED POWERS ENTRENCHED IN THE CONSTITUTION; A THIRD TIER OF GOVERNMENT WITH POWERS AND FUNCTIONS RELEVANT TO THE NEEDS OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES.

#### MINORITY INCLUSION

THE BASIS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STABLE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AND A WELL-FUNCTIONING POLITICAL SYSTEM IS THE RECOGNITION OF THE PLURALITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. SOLIDARITY ADVOCATES THAT MINORITIES SHALL BE PROTECTED BY THE PRINCIPLE OF INCLUSIVITY AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT.

THE EXISTENCE OF MINORITY GROUPS IS A REALITY THAT CANNOT BE IGNORED IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THEREFORE HAS TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED AND RECOGNISED IF WE ARE TO AVOID TENSION AND CONFLICT. THERE IS RECENT EVIDENCE THAT NEW MINORITY GROUPINGS ARE ASSERTING THEMSELVES MORE THAN EVER BEFORE IN MANY COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD.

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IN SOUTH AFRICA, ETHNICITY HAS BEEN USED AS A DIVISIVE FORCE, LEADING TO SUSPICION, MISTRUST AND CYNICISM. ETHNICITY CREATES AN IDENTITY AND A SENSE OF BELONGING AND OUGHT NOT TO BE REGARDED AS MISCONCEIVED OR IRRELEVANT. IN THE VIRTUAL ABSENCE OF EXPERIENCE IN THE PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY, THERE MUST BE AN AWARENESS AND SENSITIVITY TOWARDS MINORITY GROUPS AT LEAST IN THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE. IGNORING IT IS WRONG, CONDEMNING IT ACCOMPLISHES NOTHING.

A TOPICAL SUBJECT IN THE PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE IS THE QUESTION OF THE EXTENT OF PROVISION FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF MINORITY GROUPS IN GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES. THE DEBATE IN MY VIEW TENDS TO BE DISTORTED, PARTIAL AND EMOTIVE WITH THE INTENTION OF CREATING THE PERCEPTION THAT THOSE WHO ACKNOWLEDGE MINORITIES ARE DIVIDING SOCIETY. YET INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY THE UNITED NATIONS SINCE 1960 POINT TO A NEW APPROACH THAT PROVIDES MINORITY GROUPS WITH CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION. TO AVOID MISTRUST AND SUSPICION, ANY POLITICAL SOLUTION MUST ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF MINORITIES IN AN OPEN, IMPARTIAL AND REASONED MANNER.

UNBRIDLED MAJORITARIANISM IN A DIVIDED SOCIETY SUCH AS OURS WILL ONLY INCREASE THE UNCERTAINTIES AND EXACERBATE THE TENSIONS.

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IN FORMULATING ITS CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES, SOLIDARITY HAS ENDEAVOURED TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF MINORITIES WITHIN THE PARAMETERS OF A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF PARTIES PROFESS TO SUPPORT A FUTURE GOVERNMENT IN WHICH 'NO GROUP DOMINATES'. THE SUREST WAY TO KILL THE IDEA OF DEMOCRACY IN A PLURAL SOCIETY IS TO ADOPT THE SYSTEM OF 'FIRST-PAST-THE-POST' OR 'WINNER TAKES ALL'. IN A HETEROGENEOUS SOCIETY THE OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO ACHIEVE MAXIMUM AGREEMENT TO ENHANCE THE LEGITIMACY OF DECISIONS.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOLIDARITY HAVE MANY INNOVATIONS THAT OVERCOME THE OBSTACLES TO DEMOCRACY. IT IS DESIRABLE TO HAVE A SEPARATELY OR DIRECTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT THROUGH AN ELECTORAL SYSTEM THAT PROVIDES STRONG INCENTIVES FOR A CANDIDATE TO REACH OUT TO GROUPS OTHER THAN HIS OWN OR RISK LOSING THE ELECTIONS. THE CANDIDATE WILL REFLECT THE HETEROGENEITY OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PEOPLE AND THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT WILL SERVE TO REINFORCE THE PRINCIPLE OF MEANINGFUL MINORITY INCLUSION AND THUS SYMBOLISING THE UNITY OF THE NATION. THIS WOULD REPRESENT A POSITIVE EXPRESSION OF AN INCLUSIVE DEMOCRACY.

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THERE IS A NEED FOR A BROAD CONSENSUS AMONG ALL POLITICAL PARTIES AT THIS CONVENTION THAT MINORITIES NEED TO BE INCLUDED IN THE DECISION MAKING STRUCTURES OF GOVERNMENT.

IT MUST BE STRESSED THAT INDIVIDUALS SHOULD NEITHER BE OBLIGED TO BELONG TO MINORITIES NOR SHOULD THEY BE PROHIBITED FROM DOING SO. THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT MUST BE DESIGNED TO INCULCATE A COMMON PATRIOTISM AMONG ALL MEMBERS OF THE POPULATION.

#### ECONOMIC GROWTH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

THE MERE DISMANTLING OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM IS NO ASSURANCE THAT DEMOCRACY WILL ENDURE IN SOUTH AFRICA. A POST-APARTHEID GOVERNMENT WILL BE UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE TO MEET THE RISING EXPECTATIONS OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN THEIR STANDARDS OF LIVING AND QUALITY OF LIFE.

DEMANDS WILL BE PLACED ON HOUSING, EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, AND EMPLOYMENT AND CAN ONLY BE MET BY A MARKET BASED SYSTEM WITH MINIMUM GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION WHICH CAN PRODUCE BOTH ECONOMIC GROWTH AND ECONOMIC EQUITY. IT IS CRUCIAL TO DEVELOP CONDITIONS CONDUCIVE TO ATTRACTING OVERSEAS CAPITAL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

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LET US HOPE THAT THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS BY NEARLY ALL THE LEADING COUNTRIES PROVIDES THE INCENTIVE FOR ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT REQUIRES MANUFACTURED EXPORTS AND TARGETED INCENTIVES ARE THE REAL KEY TO EXPORT-LED GROWTH.

LARGE CORPORATIONS MUST PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMERGENT ENTREPRENEURS TO ENTER INTO THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR IN A COMPLEMENTARY MANNER RATHER THAN MONOPOLISING THE WHOLE RANGE OF ACTIVITIES. SIMPLISTIC SOLUTIONS SUCH AS FORCING BIG FIRMS TO BREAK UP WOULD ONLY REMOVE THE SYMPTOMS RATHER THAN THE CAUSES. THE NEED IS FOR WEALTH CREATION - NOT WEALTH DESTRUCTION.

THE SMALL BUSINESS SECTOR WHICH IS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO JOB CREATION MUST BE ENCOURAGED THROUGH INCENTIVES AND RECOGNISED IN A RESTRUCTURED ECONOMY. HAVING REGARD TO THE FACT THAT SMALL BUSINESS PROVIDES A LARGER PERCENTAGE OF THE WORK OPPORTUNITIES IN BOTH THE USA AND JAPAN, THE SMALL BUSINESS SECTOR SHOULD SERVE AS A CATALYST FOR THE ECONOMIC MOBILITY OF THE DEVELOPING SECTORS OF OUR POPULATION.

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A COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP MUST BE ENCOURAGED BETWEEN LABOUR AND CAPITAL AND THERE IS A NEED TO INCULCATE THE NECESSITY OF A PRODUCTIVE WORK ETHIC FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO REGAIN HER COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE IN THOSE INDUSTRIES WHICH MAKE USE OF INTENSIVE LABOUR. THE COUNTRY IS WELL ENDOWED WITH MINERAL RESOURCES, HAS A HIGH LEVEL OF MANAGEMENT, CIVIL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SKILLS, SOPHISTICATED BANKING AND FINANCIAL SYSTEMS AND IS SUPPORTED BY A WELL DEVELOPED INFRASTRUCTURE. SOUTH AFRICA NEEDS TO SEEK AND FOSTER CLOSER REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A GATEWAY TO AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD IN THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER.

POLITICAL FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA WITHOUT ECONOMIC PROSPERITY WILL BE AN EMPTY GESTURE. PROSPERITY AND LIBERTY GO HAND IN HAND, WITHOUT ECONOMIC LIBERTY PROSPERITY CAN ONLY BE A VISION OR A DREAM. ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION WILL SUBSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN EXACERBATING TENSIONS AND CONFLICT. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION COULD RUN INTO FIERCE OPPOSITION IN CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIP. THE ANSWER IS TO STIMULATE WEALTH CREATION AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES. OUR PRIORITY MUST BE TO CREATE AN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACKS FOR STABILITY AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS FOR NOW AND FOR THE FUTURE.

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CONCLUSION

WE ARE STANDING ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW AND A CHALLENGING FUTURE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY. WE ARE MOVING AWAY FROM A SYSTEM OF DENIAL TO ONE OF INCLUSION, FROM OPPRESSION TO OPENNESS, FROM AUTHORITARIANISM TO DEMOCRACY. WE ARE TREADING THE PATH OF THE UNKNOWN. NONE OF US CAN CLAIM TO HAVE A MEANINGFUL EXPERIENCE OF DEMOCRACY OR AN APPRECIATION FOR THE DEMANDS THAT A DEMOCRATIC VALUE SYSTEM PLACES ON OUR BEHAVIOUR AND CONDUCT.

WE MUST LEAVE BEHIND THE BAGGAGE OF THE PAST, THE HATE, THE FEAR, THE SUSPICION AND THE BITTERNESS AND TOGETHER WORK FOR THE SUCCESS OF A NEW SYSTEM THAT WILL EMERGE AFTER THE FULLEST CONSULTATION, COMPROMISE AND CONSENSUS. CONSENSUS REPRESENTS A NON-ZERO OUTCOME IN WHICH ALL PARTIES BENEFIT.

I WISH TO REFER TO MY CALL IN PARLIAMENT EARLIER THIS YEAR FOR THE INCLUSION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EXTRA PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL AND IN THIS CONTEXT I FULLY SUPPORT THE NEED TO CONSTITUTE AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT COMPRISING OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN THIS CONVENTION.

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I URGE ALL OTHER POLITICAL GROUPS NOT TO BECOME PRISONERS OF HISTORY, TO UNSHACKLE THEMSELVES FROM THE RHETORIC OF THE PAST AND TO JOIN HANDS IN A SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION TO BUILD A NEW NATION. THE IMPERATIVES OF HISTORY DEMAND SUPPORT FOR THE GOALS OF THIS CONVENTION COMMITTED TO PRIMARY ETHICAL CONCEPTS OF FREEDOM, EQUALITY AND JUSTICE..

GETTING RID OF THE APARTHEID STRUCTURES IS EASY, REPLACING IT WITH A STABLE DEMOCRACY IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT AND CHALLENGING. ENSURING DEMOCRACY MAY BE FAR MORE DIFFICULT THAN NEGOTIATING A NEW POLITICAL ORDER. RISING EXPECTATIONS HAVE TO BE SCALED DOWN TO REALISTIC TERMS. DEMOCRACY WILL BE THREATENED IF IT FAILS TO PRODUCE A DRAMATIC CHANGE IN THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED SECTORS OF OUR POPULATION. A POST-APARTHEID GOVERNMENT NEEDS A CONSIDERABLE 'PROBATIONARY PERIOD' TO SETTLE IN AND ACHIEVE STABILITY AS THE NEW POLITICAL ORDER WILL BE MARKED BY MANY PRESSURES AND DEMANDS FROM ALL GROUPS. ANY NEWLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT TAKING OFFICE NEEDS TIME TO DEVELOP A DEMOCRATIC CULTURE TO PERMEATE EVERY SPECTRUM OF SOCIETY.

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I PLEDGE MY PERSONAL SUPPORT AND COOPERATION AND THAT OF MY PARTY SOLIDARITY TO HONOUR OUR COMMITMENT FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THIS CONVENTION'S TASK TO ESTABLISH THE GROUNDWORK FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA. THE FORMATION OF CODESA IS IN ITSELF A UNIQUE EXPERIENCE. AN AGREEMENT HAS TO BE NEGOTIATED AND ENTERED INTO BETWEEN CODESA AND THE GOVERNMENT TO TRANSLATE WHERE NECESSARY AND APPROPRIATE THE DECISIONS OF CODESA INTO LAW EITHER BY THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW LEGISLATION OR THE AMENDMENT OF EXISTING ONES BY PARLIAMENT TO FACILITATE THE PROCESS OF CONSTITUTION MAKING FOR A NEW SOUTH AFRICA.

THE GREATEST CHALLENGE ULTIMATELY IS NOT WHETHER WE PRODUCE THE PERFECT CONSTITUTION BUT THE WILL AND DETERMINATION TO HONOUR, PROTECT AND NURTURE THE TRADITION AND PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA. THE WORLD IS LITTERED WITH FAR TOO MANY MONUMENTS TO FAILED DEMOCRACY AND WE SHOULD THEREFORE REFRAIN FROM REPEATING SUCH EXPERIMENTS.

TO FAIL TO ACT WISELY NOW IS ONLY TO ENSURE HAVING TO ACT DESPERATELY LATER. THIS IS THE CHALLENGE THAT FACES US TODAY. THE FUTURE MUST BE GIVEN A CHANCE.

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