

ADDRESS BY BRIG. O.J. GQOZO, HONOURABLE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF STATE, REPUBLIC OF CISKEI, AT CODESA, WORLD
TRADE CENTRE JOHANNESBURG, 20 DECEMBER, 1991.

THE HONOURABLE CHIEF JUSTICE, MESSRS CHAIRPERSONS,
FOREIGN DIGNITARIES, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND
GENTLEMEN.

- 1 -

AS SOUTHERN AFRICA MOVES INEXORABLY TOWARDS A TRUE DEMOCRACY,
WE HOPE! - WE STAND NAKED IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD,
VULNERABLE AT THE RAZOR'S EDGE OF HISTORY IN THE MAKING, AWAITING
OUR NEW CLOTHES OF CREDIBILITY AND LEGITIMACY.

CREDIBILITY IS THE GAP BETWEEN PROMISE OF DELIVERY AND DELIVERY
OF PROMISE. UNLESS THE EXPECTATIONS AND ASPIRATIONS OF EVERY
PARTY AND INTEREST GROUP, REPRESENTING THE TOTAL POPULATION OF
SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE CONSIDERED - NARROWING THE GAP - WE CAN ETCH
OUR BLOODY DEMISE IN STONE NOW!

IF THE GAP IS TOO LARGE THEN EITHER THE DESIRED FUTURE MUST BE REDEFINED WITH THE FOCUS ON THOSE ASPECTS WHICH CAN BE ACHIEVED OR CREATIVE SOLUTIONS MUST BE DEVELOPED.

ALL OF US HERE I AM SURE, ARE FOR CREATIVE SOLUTIONS.

A GAP ANALYSIS INCLUDES THE CURRENT STATE, THE IDEAL STATE, THE RESULTING GAP, AND THE RESOURCES REQUIRED TO CLOSE THE GAP.

THE CURRENT STATE

I NOW ADDRESS THE CURRENT STATE.

THE REPUBLIC OF CISKEI IS A SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT STATE, BALKANISED WITHIN SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT ALWAYS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY AFFECTED BY ANY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS WITHIN THE BROADER SOUTHERN AFRICA. DESPITE THIS INFLUENCE WE HAVE DEVELOPED OUR OWN IDENTITY AND CHARACTER.

WE HAVE A HIGHLY COMPLEX AND DEVELOPED INFRASTRUCTURES, ENTRENCHED LAWS, A UNIQUE LIBERAL TAX SYSTEM FOR CORPORATIONS AND INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF OUR SOCIETY, AND A MULTITUDE OF AGREEMENTS AND TREATIES.

AS SOVEREIGNTY OR STATEHOOD WAS NEVER ACCORDED TO US, BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WE MUST BE SEEN IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

SINCE THE HISTORICAL 2ND FEBRUARY, 1990, COMPETITIVE IDEOLOGIES

OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAVE MADE THEIR DIVERGENT IMPACT ON OUR SOCIETY. REGRETTABLY IN THE PROCESS, EXPECTATIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED.

LAW AND ORDER IS COMPROMISED AND CRIMINAL ELEMENTS ARE EXPLOITING THIS CLIMATE. RAISED EXPECTATIONS WHICH CANNOT BE MET IS UNIVERSALLY RECOGNISED AS AN INGREDIENT FOR A REVOLUTION.

SOUTHERN AFRICA IS IN A CRISIS OF LEGITIMACY. BY DEFINITION NOT ONLY ARE THE TBVC STATES BRANDED WITH THE ILLEGITIMACY STIGMA, BUT EVERY LEADER AND GOVERNMENT, LACKS LEGITIMACY.

IN OUR QUEST FOR LEGITIMACY AND CREDIBILITY TO IMPRESS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WE HAVE FORGOTTEN THE PERCEIVED COSTS OR THREATS TO MINORITY GROUP ELECTORATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY, WITH A ZERO-SUM CONCLUSION, A PERCEPTION OF NOWHERE TO GO, AND AN INORDINATE COMMITMENT TO THE FATHER LAND, ENTER THE BATTLEFIELD WITH NEW AND DANGEROUS AGENDAS. WE COULD BE SPAWNING A MINEFIELD.

WE MUST BEAR IN MIND THAT NOT ALL PARTIES WHO WISH TO NEGOTIATE THE FUTURE AND BEST INTERESTS OF THEIR ELECTORATES, FOR EXAMPLE THE ZULU ROYALTY, PAC, CP AND OTHERS, ARE HERE TODAY. ALTHOUGH I FULLY BELIEVE THAT PRINCIPLES SHOULD NOT BE COMPROMISED, I ALSO BELIEVE THAT HAD WE ALL STAYED HOME TODAY, THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA THAT WE ALL HANKER FOR, WOULD ELUDE US ALL FOREVER.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, THE GOLDEN CARROT OF MAJORITY RULE MAY IN TURN BE RENDERED ILLEGITIMATE ENOUGH TO PROMOTE SERIOUS CONFLICT, ANARCHY, INSTABILITY AND EVEN CIVIL WAR.

WE ARE PRESENT HERE TODAY IN A SPIRIT OF TRUST, COOPERATION AND GOODWILL, SEEKING A UNITED, NON RACIAL, MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY ACCEPTABLE TO ALL. IF WE ARE TO BOAST A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD WE MUST MAKE SERIOUS EFFORTS TO CONVINCE THESE OTHER PLAYERS TO ATTEND FUTURE TALKS OF THIS NATURE. SOONER OR LATER WE MAY HAVE TO ADDRESS A SITUATION WHICH MAY DEVELOP INTO AN INEVITABLE CLIMATE OF BITTER CONFLICT AND HOSTILITIES.

COULD WE SAY THEN THAT THIS WAS NOT ANTICIPATED?

THE GAP LIES WITH THE IMPONDERABLES FOR WHICH CODESA HOPEFULLY WILL PROVIDE CREATIVE SOLUTIONS. SOUTHERN AFRICA IS NOT A PROMISING CANDIDATE FOR DEMOCRACY.

EXTENSIVE STUDIES HAVE SHOWN THAT SOCIETIES DIVIDED ALONG RACIAL AND ETHNIC LINES AND ALSO POLARISED ALONG IDEOLOGICAL LINES, FIND DEMOCRACY DIFFICULT TO ATTAIN. HOW DO WE BRIDGE THESE CLEAVAGES, FOSTER INTER-GROUP POLITICAL TOLERANCE AND ACCOMMODATION, IN A CLIMATE CRYSTALLISED BY MANY YEARS OF DISTRUST.

MAJORITY RULE IS A SIMPLISTIC SOLUTION THAT BRINGS WITH IT ITS OWN PROBLEMS. IT COULD EXACERBATE AND NOT RESOLVE DECISIONS AND TENSIONS.

HOW DO WE HANDLE THE PRESENT ENTRENCHED CULTURE OF VIOLENCE WHEN 42% OF OUR POPULATION COMPRISE BLACK YOUTH , FIFTEEN YEARS AND UNDER, WHO HAVE NEVER EXPERIENCED TRADITIONAL OR FORMAL EDUCATION. AND HAVE BEEN INDOCTRINATED WITH IDEAS OF DISOBEDIENCE.

THERE CAN BE NO TRUE LIBERATION WITHOUT EDUCATION. THERE CAN BE NO LIBERATION WHEN DISCIPLINE AND RESPECT FOR MORAL AND TRADITIONAL VALUES IS LACKING.

THE IDEAL STATE

THE IDEAL STATE SHOULD CONTAIN AN ACTION PLAN. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT OUR SOCIETY IS BECOMING DIVIDED AND POLARISED, AND IF THIS CONTINUES WE WILL HAVE TO PAY THE PENALTIES OF ANARCHY, CHAOS AND VIOLENCE. CLEARLY WE DO NOT WISH THIS TO HAPPEN - AND WE WOULD ADDRESS THIS SCENARIO BY SUGGESTING A FEDERAL SYSTEM WITH CENTRAL AND REGIONAL CHECKS AND BALANCES, AND A CENTRAL PARLIAMENT CONSISTING OF UPPER AND LOWER HOUSES WHICH WOULD PROVIDE THESE NECESSARY CHECKS AND BALANCES.

WE ENDORSE THE USE OF REFERENDUMS AND ELECTIONS ON BOTH A NATIONAL AND REGIONAL LEVEL TO DETERMINE RESPECTIVE LEADERSHIPS.

WE SUPPORT INHERENT FAIRNESS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. NO GROUP MUST DOMINATE ANOTHER.

WE RECOMMEND AN ALTERNATIVE VOTING SYSTEM WHICH IS BASED ON A MAJORITY THRESHOLD FOR ELECTIONS.

THIS SOLVES COALITION GOVERNMENT PROBLEMS AND ALLOWS FOR SECOND AND THIRD PREFERENCES TO BE REALLOCATED UNTIL A MAJORITY IS ATTAINED BY A CANDIDATE.

THIS WILL HELP TO CREATE A GOVERNMENT COMMITTED TO ACCOMMODATIVE AND MODERATE POLICIES.

A BILL OF RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IS ESSENTIAL. EMERGENCY POWERS COULD BE BUILT IN TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE PRESENTLY BEING COMPROMISED BY INEFFICIENT LAW ENFORCEMENT, VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION

THE Ciskei HAS INITIATED INCENTIVES FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO ACCELERATE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND MADE UNIQUE COMMITMENTS TO LOCAL AND FOREIGN INVESTORS. WE REGARD OURSELVES DUTY BOUND AND LEGALLY COMMITTED TO SAFEGUARD AND EVENTUALLY NEGOTIATE GUARANTEES ACCEPTABLE TO OUR INVESTORS IN SO FAR AS CONTRACTS, AGREEMENTS AND EVEN PROMISES.

CODESA MUST BE REGARDED AS A VOLUNTARILY AGREED UPON STRUCTURE WHICH - IRRESPECTIVE OF PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES - SEEKS TO UNITE ALL LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS WITHIN THE BROADER SOUTH AFRICA WHO ARE COMMITTED TO BRING ABOUT A NEW SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS A NOBLE VEHICLE TO FACILITATE NEGOTIATIONS, DISCUSSIONS, DEBATE AND AGREEMENTS. THE PLAYERS MUST NEGOTIATE UNTIL AGREEMENT IS REACHED. ONLY THEN MAY DECISIONS BE BINDING.

CODESA MUST BE THE MEDIUM FOR WHICH A FRAMEWORK IS DEVELOPED FOR TBVC STATES TO BILATERALLY OR JOINTLY DISCUSS THE MECHANISM OF REINCORPORATION WITH EACH OTHER. A TIME FRAME MUST BE GIVEN FOR ADEQUATE CONSULTATION BY ALL GOVERNMENTS ON THE QUESTION OF REINCORPORATION. SURELY CISKEI CAN NEVER BE REINCORPORATED INTO A CONSTITUTIONAL VACUUM. THE CISKEI CITIZENS EXPECT US TO NEGOTIATE REINCORPORATION INTO A BETTER DISPENSATION THAN IS THEIR FATE AT PRESENT.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED IN ISOLATION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. EVENTS IN THE WORLD AROUND US ARE THERE FOR EVERYONE TO SEE. WE MUST HEED THESE WARNINGS.

ALL LEADERS MUST BE ACCOUNTABLE AND RESPONSIBLE FOR NOT RAISING EXPECTATIONS TO SUCH INORDINATELY HIGH LEVELS THAT THEY CANNOT BE MET BY AN INCUMBENT GOVERNMENT.

HISTORICALLY THE PARTY THAT RAISES THE HIGHEST EXPECTATIONS INCURS THE GREATEST WRATH OF THE ELECTORATE WHEN SUCH EXPECTATIONS CANNOT BE MET.

ALL SOUTH AFRICANS MUST BE COMMITTED TO THE CREATION OF WEALTH RATHER THAN THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. MECHANISMS FOR ADDRESSING THE GROSS INEQUALITIES OF THE PAST MUST BE ESTABLISHED.

A SOCIETY WHICH DOES NOT CARE FOR ITS DISADVANTAGED CITIZENS, DOES NOT ACCEPT ITS MORAL OBLIGATIONS, AND A NEW SOUTH AFRICA WOULD HAVE TO PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE UNEMPLOYED, THE HOMELESS, THE ELDERLY AND THE MENTALLY AND PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED AND OTHER UNDERPRIVILEGED PEOPLE.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT AND FEDERALISM

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT IS A FACTOR OF FUTURE STABILITY. THROUGHOUT THE WORLD REGIONAL GOVERNMENT IS INCREASING AND IS BEING RECOGNISED AS AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM FOR KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH AND BEING ACCOUNTABLE TO AN ELECTORATE. THIS IS APART FROM ITS INHERENT ABILITY TO FRACTIONALISE CONFLICTS AND ITS ABILITY TO CATER FOR HUMAN DIVERSITY AND DIFFERENCE OF INTERESTS. ACCEPTING REALITIES, THE CISKEI SEES ITSELF AS PART OF A REGION, DEFINED BY CULTURAL, POLITICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL PARAMETERS.

FEDERALISM ALSO PROTECTS OUR CIVIL SERVICE. A DECENTRALISED CIVIL SERVICE IS WELL EQUIPPED TO MANAGE LOCAL AFFAIRS IN THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF LOCAL CONDITIONS.

FOREIGN POLICY

IN TERMS OF FOREIGN POLICY, WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT WHILE WE WISH TO ATTRACT FOREIGN INVESTMENT TO ACCELERATE ECONOMIC GROWTH, SOLUTIONS FOR OUR PROBLEMS CANNOT BE SORTED OUT WITH THE PRIME OBJECTIVE OF APPEASING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.