

The Things That Unite Us

AS SOUTH AFRICANS

2 February 2011



The Things That Unite Us As South Africans

PRESENTED BY **the FW de Klerk Foundation**
IN CONJUNCTION WITH **the Konrad Adenauer Foundation**



FW de Klerk
FOUNDATION

Upholding South Africa's National Accord



**Konrad
Adenauer
Stiftung**

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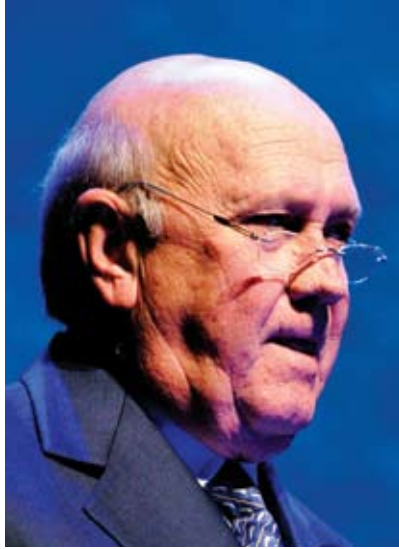
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*“The symbols that [the Constitution] enshrines -
our national anthem, our national flag and our coat of arms -
have been enthusiastically adopted by the vast majority
of people from all our communities.”*

FW DE KLERK





FW DE KLERK
CAPE TOWN
2 FEBRUARY 2011

The FW de Klerk Foundation decided to dedicate its second 2 February conference this year to the theme of the Things that Unite Us as South Africans.

In doing so, it is not our intention to pretend that there are not many issues that still divide us - or that South Africa is not faced with enormous challenges and problems. None of us can escape the reality of continuing inequality; massive unemployment; dismal educational performance; service delivery problems, crime and corruption. We cannot avoid these realities because they confront us every time we open a newspaper or watch the evening news or sit down to dinner with our friends.

However, in the process we are sometimes inclined to forget the enormous progress that we have made in the past twenty years; we do not remember the seemingly hopeless situation of the mid-80s from which all escaped; and we lose sight of the many things that unite us as South Africans.

Our objective is accordingly to draw attention to the unifying forces in our society and to the enormous progress that we have made since 1994. We have identified the following unifying forces: firstly, our remarkable achievement in succeeding to solve our intractable historic conflict through peaceful negotiations; secondly, the excellent Constitution that emerged from the negotiations; thirdly, the national symbols that we have adopted since 1994; fourthly, the unifying role played by national icons like Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu; fifthly, the role that sport - and particularly the 2010 FIFA World Cup - has played in promoting national unity; sixthly and seventhly the pride that we share in our country and in our achievements; eighthly, the role or religion in uniting us; ninthly, the reality that whether we like it or not we are all mutually dependent; and lastly, the fact that South Africans really do practise Ubuntu through the daily caring, sharing and contributions of millions of our people.

I should like to express my sincere thanks to the Konrad Adenauer Foundation for once again co-hosting our 2 February conference - as part of its on-going support for constitutionalism and democratic consolidation in South Africa. ■

“...we are sometimes inclined to forget the enormous progress that we have made ...; we do not remember the seemingly hopeless situation of the mid-80s ...; and we lose sight of the many things that unite us as South Africans.”





DR WERNER BOEHLER

National Unity requires a common Vision

**If a country were to be a ship and
the country's population were to be its passengers,
what would it be that the passengers on the ship have in common?**

Would it be enough to share the same space for days, weeks or months? To hear the same sounds made by sea gulls and the wind? To watch together the sun rise and sun set? Certainly not!

The unifying factor of all the people on board would be the desire to reach a certain destination.

In the cases of countries and nations it is no different. Nations form where a common destiny, or one could say vision, is articulated and agreed upon. Nations fall apart when a critical mass of the population does no longer subscribe to this vision, even worse oppose it.

Former president FW de Klerk is therefore right to point out the importance of the South African Constitution as the common ground, the common vision and hence, the ultimate compass for the future of South Africa and all its people.

The South African Constitution of 1996, praised as one of the most modern constitutions in the world, formulates a vision of a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law. It goes further by declaring the objective "to improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person."

Seventeen years into democracy there can be no doubt that this objective is not an easy one and no quick fixes will do. Poverty, Education, Unemployment, HIV/Aids are just a few

critical areas that hold the country back and still need to be dealt with adequately.

Besides these problems and challenges the country is faced with, one often forgets the achievements and things to celebrate. Last year's first class hosting of the FIFA Soccer World Cup showed the world what South Africa is capable of and ultimately changed international perceptions not only of South Africa but the African continent as a whole.

It is therefore a great pleasure and privilege for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to partner with the FW de Klerk Foundation in hosting the conference "The Things That Unite Us", focussing on unifying factors, such as sport, Ubuntu, socio-economic interdependence, religion and most importantly the South African Constitution. We wish to compliment former President FW de Klerk and Dave Steward, director of the FW de Klerk Foundation, for their decision to annually host such a conference on the 2nd February each year, commemorating the groundbreaking speech FW de Klerk held before Parliament in 1990, that pathed the way for a non-racial and democratic South Africa that we take so often for granted these days. ■



Religion

Almost 80% of South Africans are Christians;
1.5% are Moslems and
there is a strong Jewish community.
Many South Africans also continue to follow traditional beliefs.



THE FACT THAT so many South Africans share a common faith is also a source of unity that transcends ethnic differences. All the world's major religions attach central importance to charity and to obligations to assist the poor and the needy.

- In many Christian denominations adherents are expected to pay a 'tithe', or a tenth of their income, to the Church. Assistance to the poor is also a central element in the teaching of Jesus.
- In Judaism there is a similar requirement - tzedakah to provide charity to the Jewish - and non-Jewish - poor.
- Zakaat - or charitable giving to the poor - is one of the five central commandments of Islam.

80% of cash charitable donations and 60% of donations of food and goods are channeled through churches - and Moslem and Jewish religious organisations. Cash donations to religious organisations amount to almost R750 million per month. Donations of money, goods and time through religious organisations represent the main channel through which South Africans of all races help their less fortunate compatriots. Most of the donations go the poor, to children and to people with AIDS.





ARCHBISHOP THABO MAKGOBA

**I nearly started by saying
'Let us pray'
because that's what I do best!**

Ladies and Gentlemen, President De Klerk, Dave - it is an honour and immense privilege for me to speak on this occasion, an important milestone (21st anniversary of President de Klerk's speech that initiated South Africa's constitutional transformation). A process that we need to give thanks for.

Indeed, there are many more things that unite us as South Africans than divide us – we should celebrate as we pledge ourselves to commit to eradicating all that separates us.

Religion indeed has the potential to unite us and equally if abused, it can be a tool that human beings can use for disunity.

Let me briefly paint the global context:

- If you look at the impact the blasphemy laws have in Pakistan;
- If you look at the discourse in the Holy Basin;
- If you look at others places where interreligious communication is not possible;

you just want to give thanks for us as South Africans.

You know if you allow me to go back in history that religion was also used to give a framework for apartheid, but when religious people met and declared it incompatible with religious belief, we all came together and opposed it.

This unity in faith has helped South Africa to understand the needs of our current society and “to appreciate the significance of the spiritual and the philosophical dimensions of the problems and the opportunities we face” as a nation.

We are able, together as the faith community, putting doctrinal differences aside, for example, to monitor our elections

which ensure that democracy is upheld in our country.

We are able to walk together as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, the Baha'i to plead for calm, dignity and respect for all God's people.

Let me cite a few cases where we have done that:

- When South Africans wanted to eliminate those who are different (I know some people gave it a nice term – xenophobia) we stood together and said this can't be done in our name;
- When communities faced challenges of water and sanitation we are able to walk together as people of faith and to highlight their deepest needs;
- When the Zimbabweans were marginalised and still they do not have their home as refugees, we are able to draw from our sacred texts and to plead for the cause of the refugees;
- I am glad that Dr Danny Jordaan is going to be honoured.

Before even 2010 soccer was played, people of different faiths were asked to come and bless the stadia. Unfortunately we didn't pray with the intention to let Bafana Bafana win.

So the list of the things that unite us is long if you care for this country. We don't always agree as people of faith, but we agree to disagree - we don't believe that the winner must take it all.

And so multi-faith or inter-religious or ecumenical witness in South Africa helps us not only to preach tolerance but to proclaim it through our actions.

Let me again cite a local example: some churches and

“We are able to walk together as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, the Baha'i to plead for calm, dignity and respect for all God's people.”



mosques in Cape Town were being demolished, whether rightly or wrongly. And people of faith, regardless of whether those were their churches or mosques, came together and sought an audience with the Mayor. We said we know that sometimes people believe that people of faith are untouchable sacred cows, but we are but for the sake of our country do maintain law and order but exercise it with mercy, justice and compassion as we move forward.

Some of you may say, but how do you as people of faith in South Africa hold such different positions when this does not work. We all believe we are called to be wholesome leaders; that we need to talk for the farmers who from time to time face crime or drought; that we need to be the voice for those who are HIV positive, and the despairing and equally that we need to speak to the wealth-makers and say, "through your wealth making, are you proclaiming God, are you demeaning others, are you treating others with dignity?" Our values of speaking against greed and discrimination, on the basis of creed, colour or gender unite us as people of faith.

I am aware, as you have said, that to speak about those things that unite us only would be a serious omission, but I will leave those for another occasion.

And secondly I am aware that if you invite an Archbishop, you won't get a generic faith perspective so allow me to draw from the well of my own religion - Christianity.

Christianity makes the bold assertion that we are created in love - that each human being is made in the image of God and so each human being possesses an intrinsic dignity - a dignity that is akin to God himself.

We are further reminded to love our neighbour as ourselves. If there is this love, Scripture says, among you all will be united and know that you are my disciples.

And so my Christian belief says everyone is my neighbour, and made in the image of God. And that I need to do good unto all my neighbours.

And so celebrating these values reminds me that the ingredients of unity should be respect for the dignity of each human being, respect for the dignity of different, and respect for God's environment.

And furthermore, going from Scripture we are reminded that in Jesus Christ the values of justice, grace and peace were unveiled. In short, as a Christian I am called to be intolerant of disunity.

I am called to celebrate things that remind me that this world that we inhabit in South Africa belongs to God and it is for all God's children.

I also encourage you to look boldly at some of the things that are ingredients for disunity - for example, corruption, inequalities, crime, maternal death rates, incompetence and mediocrity. And equally let us celebrate where we are. I need to look at where we come from. Because if we look at where we come from, we are able to say as South Africans, "yes we can." We are able to say the future is possible.

I am arguing that pursuing unity is synonymous to pursuing respect for life, very much with pursuing truthfulness and according God's people a respectable place in this our country.

And celebrating our icons - I don't want to go there - also reminds me that in Mandela, in Tutu, in Mr de Klerk, we are able to see the embodiment of this love, of this neighbourliness that I earlier spoke about.

And as I conclude I want to highlight some of the walks of witness that we as the faith community have done in order to build peace and unity in this our country.

Hence as faith groups,

- recently we marched together against the information bill - that seeks to gag and compromise the truth;
- we also marched together for responsible behaviour and to call God's people to be sensitive to climate changes and to care for the environment;
- and in the past, and even now, we continue to pray together for South Africans.

The Introduction to the Constitution ends with a call to prayer

*Mag God seën Suid-Afrika
May God protect our people
Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika*

And so those are some of the few thoughts that I really wanted to share with you.

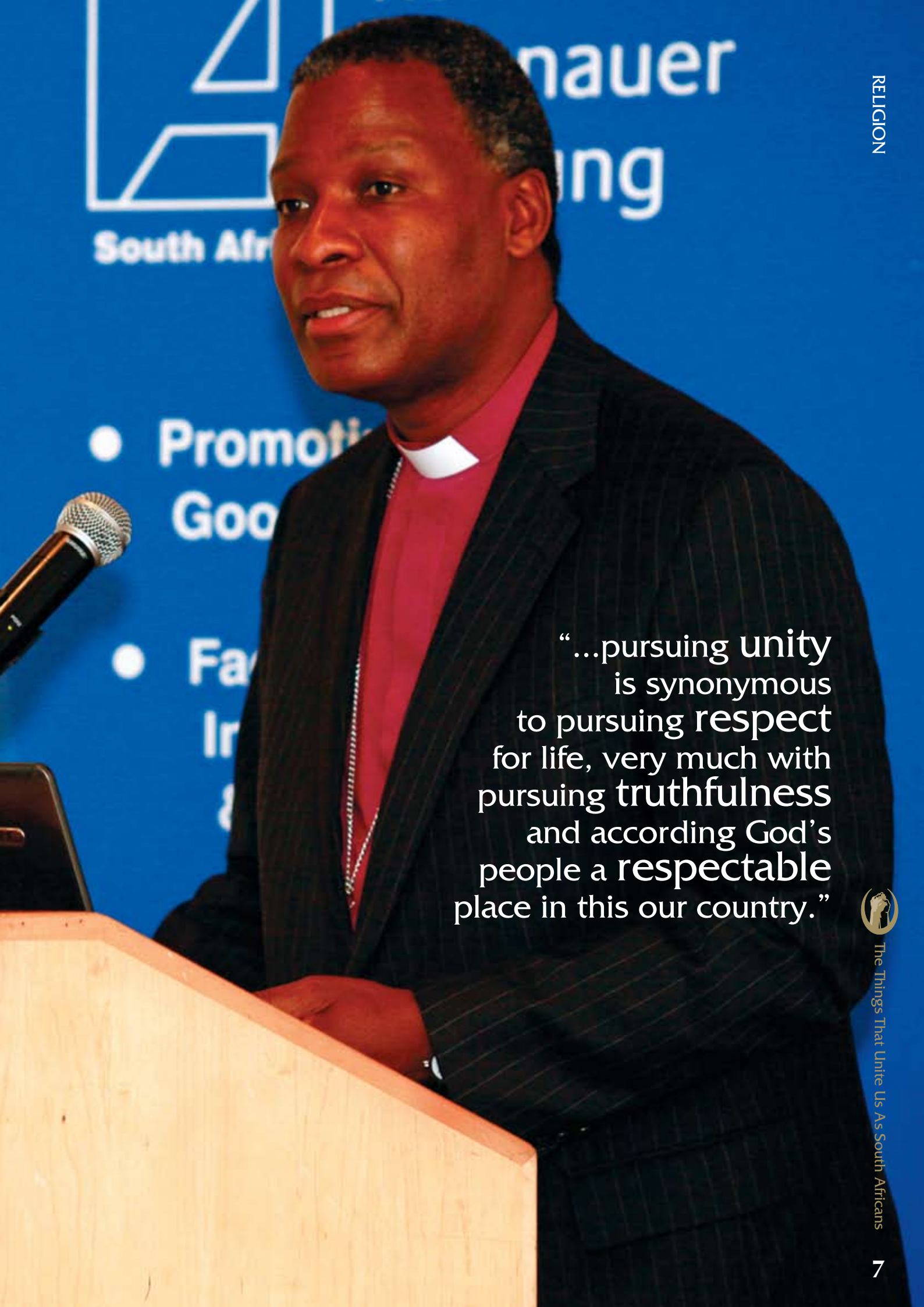
And I thank you. ■

The Most Revd Dr Thabo Cecil Makgoba

The Most Revd Dr Thabo Cecil Makgoba has served as the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa since January 2008. Born in 1960, he grew up in a Johannesburg township. After school, he studied Psychology to Masters level, while training alongside for ordained ministry, and lectured part time after ordination. He was awarded a PhD on Spirituality in the Mining Workplace in 2009. After various parish and chaplaincy positions, he was ordained Bishop Suf-fragan in the Diocese of Grahamstown in 2002, then elected Bishop of the Diocese in 2004. In 2007 he became the youngest person elected to head the Anglican Church in Southern Africa.

"...the ingredients of unity should be respect for the dignity of each human being, respect for the dignity of different, and respect for God's environment."



A man with short dark hair, wearing a black pinstriped suit jacket over a red clerical shirt with a white collar, is speaking at a light-colored wooden podium. A microphone is positioned in front of him. The background is a blue wall with white text and graphics. The text includes 'nauer', 'ng', 'South Afr', '● Promoti', 'Goo', '● Fa', 'In', and '&'. There is also a graphic of a triangle and a trapezoid.

“...pursuing unity is synonymous to pursuing respect for life, very much with pursuing truthfulness and according God’s people a respectable place in this our country.”



Ubuntu

One of the strongest forces uniting South Africans is that we actually do practise Ubuntu. We care about one another - regardless of race, religion or cultural background.



ACCORDING TO an old Zulu maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* - "a person is a person through (other) persons". It is only by acting with humanity toward one's fellow man that a person can be one with the spirit of his people and be worthy of veneration after his death. This is the essence of the African spirit of shared humanity that is known as 'ubuntu'. According to Archbishop Tutu Ubuntu 'speaks about our interconnectedness. You can't be human all by yourself, and when you have this quality - Ubuntu - you are known for your generosity'.

For most black South Africans Ubuntu is not a detached social theory - it is a central facet of their lives - and for many it is their primary means of subsistence. However, Ubuntu is not an approach to one's fellow man that is limited to black South Africans. According to a recent survey of high net worth individuals in countries around the world, South Africans were the second most generous group after Americans. They also gave more freely of their time to charitable work than people from all but three other countries. The survey ascribed their generosity to the spirit of Ubuntu on the one hand and to the enormous inequalities that continue to exist in our society on the other.





KEVIN CHAPLIN

Molweni, goeie dag, shalom, salaam mulaikum, good afternoon, Ladies and Gentlemen

It is a real privilege to address you today. Firstly let me applaud Mr De Klerk as a man who has always espoused Ubuntu. I am sure you agree with me that we live in a wonderful country - we have such a rich mix of people. Growing up during apartheid South Africa, it was only when I matriculated in the 1980's that I got to mix with people of other colour and I quickly realized that there is wonderful warmth amongst South Africans of other colour to my own. It is definitely our people who make SA so special, so unique and so respected around the world. I often meet overseas people and they always comment how they love coming to SA. When they come here they love the smiles and friendliness from our people. The Belgian Consul General recently retired - when she goes to Belgium she finds people very unfriendly, impolite at airports etc. If you look at the world cup - everyone of all race, colour, culture, religion walking the fan walk, cheering, at the cricket ODI, how our nation has united on all fronts, our success on the business and economic front. I am not saying we do not have challenges we have HUGE ONES! But which country does not, the fact is we are going in the right direction.

Now ladies and gentlemen I do believe we have a very special concept that has played an important role in our success and will play a role in continuing to unite us, in fact it is a very strong force for unity. This is Ubuntu ladies and gentlemen. So what is Ubuntu? The Cardinal spirit of Ubuntu is expressed in Xhosa as "Umntu ngumntu ngabanye abantu" in English as "people are people through other people." "I am human because I belong to the human community and I view and treat others accordingly." In fact it is an African word for a universal concept.

Ubuntu:

- Is the potential for being human.
- Is to value the good of community above self interest.
- Is to strive to help people in the spirit of service.
- Is to show respect to others and to be honest and trustworthy.
- Ubuntu regards humanity as an integral part of the eco-systems

that lead to a communal responsibility to sustain life.

- Ubuntu shares natural resources on a principle of equity among and between generations.
- Ubuntu is fair to all.
- Ubuntu is compassionate.
- Ubuntu is a collective respect for human dignity.
- Ubuntu refers to people.
- Ubuntu is one of the things that you recognize when you experience it.

Again, I say it is not an African concept but an African word for a universal concept.

Ladies and gentlemen that is why they say it takes a village to raise a child. Nothing we achieve in life is just our own doing; it has got to do with all those around us. There are several definitions for Ubuntu from manners, humanity to the definition given in the SA white paper on Welfare which recognizes Ubuntu as: The principle of caring for each other's well being and a spirit of mutual support. Each individual's humanity is ideally expressed through his or her relationship with others and theirs in turn through recognition of the individuals' humanity. Ubuntu means people are people through other people. It acknowledges both the rights and responsibilities of every citizen in promoting individual and societal well - being (Govt. Gazette 2/2/1996).

An African expression of Ubuntu says - your pain is my pain, my wealth is your wealth, your salvation is my salvation. It is about the individual being so rooted in the community that your personal identity is defined by what you give to the community. An example of a greeting in the Shona language is "Good morning, did you sleep well? I slept well if you sleep well?" "How has your day been? My day has been good if yours has been good." In other words, we are so connected that if you did not sleep well or are not having a good day, how could I? The greeting would apply to a stranger and family member.

Simply put "I am what I am because of others."

This phrase communicates a basic respect, empathy and



compassion for others. The phrase “Simunye” - “we are one” and “an injury to one is an injury to all” reinforces this community sentiment.

Ubuntu inspires us to open ourselves to others, to learn of others as we learn of ourselves. It means we must recognize the diversity of culture, traditions, languages, values and customs of all humanity. True Ubuntu requires an authentic respect for human dignity, equality justice and related values and an honest appreciation of the differences. Mahatma Gandhi was one of the icons who espoused Ubuntu. We were lucky to have him living in SA for over 20 years. He was an honest seeker of truth, a fearless defender of the weak and uncompromising practitioner of non-violence.

The Amy Biehl story is one of the best examples in the world of Ubuntu. It is one of forgiveness, reconciliation and restorative justice. The good that came out from the parents is phenomenal. Two of the four young men who went to jail and were granted amnesty still work for the Amy Biehl Foundation today and are making a difference. We now have 1800 children in our programmes. If Linda and Peter Biehl could forgive the 4 men for Amy’s death there’s no reason why everyone here today cannot forgive others in their life for something, be it a brother / sister who borrowed money from their parents and never returned it, a friend who stole their friends’ girlfriend / wife / boyfriend / husband. The Amy Biehl Foundation is striving to develop and empower the youth from the townships through educational and cultural activities that keep them away from all the negative influences and creates emotionally well-rounded future leaders and entrepreneurs for SA and the world.

Nelson Mandela is obviously the other epitome of Ubuntu. These 3 are true examples.

Dirk Louw of the University of the North said; “an Ubuntu perception of the other is never fixed, it allows the other to be, to become and never reduces the other to any specific characteristic or conduct, it enhances the self-realization of others.”

Desmond Tutu calls Ubuntu a doctrine of God - It is God’s way of communicating personhood - Arch Tutu said it doesn’t matter if we can’t agree with each other on everything - from how to dress, where to live etc. Living in community does not mean being the same all the time. It does not mean believing the same way about everything or even liking everyone the same way - What matters is how we live in community with each other.

Think of the word Shosholozla - meaning “work as one”. Ubuntu thus defines the individual in terms of his / her relationship with others.

Now ladies and gentlemen, following these principals, putting them into practice is the thing that unites us and will ensure it remains a force for unity. We all get so busy in our daily lives, trying to make money, build a business etc etc. I would like to give you some practical ideas. We do risk Ubuntu disappearing if we are not careful. Yes, we have been successful in many areas, economic growth and stability, we’ve built over 66000 classrooms, provided water to 10 million homes, built over 2.3 million homes for 9 million people, electricity given to 3 ½ million homes.

But

- 1 in 4 men say they have raped.
- 40% of SA men admit to using violence against their partner.
- 1 in 3 divorces.
- Look at our HIV Aids infection rate.
- Parents are spending less than 10% of their time engaging and communicating with their children.
- SA is ranked 55th out of 180 countries on corruption.
- SA is 129 out of 182 countries for the Human Development index.
- SA is one of the world’s most unequal societies.

- SA is the 9th most unequal society in the world (Paraguay 8th and Columbia 10th).

So, ladies and gentlemen we need to go back to basics, really practice Ubuntu as that will be such a strong force to unite us, to be able to overcome whatever adversity lies ahead. So what do we need to do: - practically

- Become role models / mentors at work and in our neighbourhood.
- Take a genuine interest - ask your domestic worker at home, cleaner at work do they have a toilet, bath, shower inside their home. I only found out a few days ago when I asked that mine did not have. It only costs about R2000 to put these in and you could even just start with a toilet.
- Wave at people driving down your road, meet your neighbours - 2 or 3 houses away.
- Spend time talking to your children.
- Work at your marriage.
- Learn Xhosa - do one sentence a week and practice.
- Don’t throw cigarettes out the car - shocking that people do; if you see someone do it, hoot at them.
- Buy the Big Issue at the robot.
- Give rubbish in your car to the guy standing by the robots and give him R1.
- Buy funny money flyers at the robot and give R1.
- Take a certain % off what you earn and give to charity - the Pick ‘n Pay and Raymond Ackerman model is a wonderful example. From when he bought his first 2 stores, he didn’t wait to make big profits before he gave back to the community. From month 1 he made a difference. Every single business, no matter how small, and every individual should allocate something for social responsibility. When I was in banking for 25 years one of the things we built our business on was being socially responsible. I can tell you it contributed to our success financially.
- Winston Churchill said: “You make a living by what you earn and a life by what you give.”
- Psychologists will tell you that people who believe their life is meaningless commit suicide, people who believe they are making a difference lead a more fulfilling and satisfying life.

So think of ways in your business and personal life you can make a difference.

- Attend the Table of Peace and Unity on Table Mountain every year.
- Come to the Ubuntu Festival in July.
- Come to a monthly Ubuntu Breakfast.

Arch Bishop Tutu says God cannot wipe away a tear or put a hand of reassurance on someone’s shoulder but through you and you and you he can.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you can all think of ways to implement and practice Ubuntu. Today I hope I have given you more insight and some food for thought. Let us all go out there and each day do something, think of that ripple effect in the ocean, how it spreads. So how can you be a part of creating the world and SA, how can you bring someone else hope and joy at work or in your community, maybe a word of appreciation, a word of praise, a helping hand, a shoulder, a moment to pass on a skill. Isn’t that the world you want to be part of? Well let’s create it together! Remember the key isn’t finding happiness, it’s creating it.

Mr De Klerk set a strong foundation for us in 1990, let us each unite and take Ubuntu into every sphere of our lives. I assure you it is a strong force for unity. We have a responsibility to leave the future generations with a great legacy. Max Du Preez said “the first responsibility of a leader is to define reality. The last is to say Thank You. In between the leader is a servant.” Har-



old Kushner - Author - Academic lecturer said "The purpose of life is not to win, the purpose of life is to grow and share. When you come to look back at all you have done in your life you will get more satisfaction from the pleasure you have brought other people's lives than you will from the time you out did and defeated them. We must continue to strive to build a society in which all South Africans, black and white, Christian, Jew and Muslim walk tall without any fear in their inalienable rights to human dignity, with a single shared national cultural vision. We must develop a common South African underpinned by Ubuntu - oriented patriotism.

We must have a shared common agenda in our society and Ubuntu should form the basis of developing a theory of peaceful co-existence and co-operation. Ubuntu would help to restore trust in all of us irrespective of whom we are or where we come from. Ubuntu stands a chance of facilitating the healing process in repairing polarized relationships; help organizations to focus on the social determinates of productivity; help to create a concern for people in the workplace; help to create a culture of racial, political and cultural tolerance based on unconditional respect, acceptance and human dignity; help to give marginalized black employees a strong cultural identity which can build confidence, and help develop a theory of business co-operation, which is necessary in a racially and socially divided society.

The Ubuntu values, if strategically and innovatively tapped, could contribute positively to the socio- economic development of SA and give it a competitive edge in the world markets.

Thank You ■

Kevin Chaplin

Kevin Chaplin is the founder and Managing Director of the South African Ubuntu Foundation and Managing Director of the Amy Biehl Foundation. He also holds board memberships of several charitable organisations. An alumnus of Unisa, Kevin recently also graduated from the UCT Graduate School of Business. He was awarded the Knights Circle of Valour Award for Community Service and the Melvin Jones International Fellow Award for Dedicated Humanitarian Service. He has also been voted top guest speaker at UCT in 2005 and selected onto UCT Graduate School Distinguished Speakers programme in 2007. He raised over R8 million for various charities in the past 6 years and was recently appointed to the Board of European Association of Children and Youth, representing Africa.



Sport

Sport has been one of the most powerful unifying factors for the emerging multicultural South African nation.



- South Africa's fairytale victory in the 1995 Rugby World Cup - and President Mandela's historic gesture in donning the Springbok rugby jersey - was one of the seminal moments in the creation of our new national identity. Its dissemination throughout the world through the movie 'Invictus' has become an international symbol of reconciliation of our emerging national unity.
- All South Africans rallied around the national soccer team, Bafana Bafana, as it achieved victory in the Africa Cup of Nations in 1996.
- South Africans have also united behind our national cricket team. In 2009 our test cricket team was ranked first in the world and is currently ranked second.
- South Africans from all our communities united once again behind the Springboks in their 2007 Rugby World Cup Victory in France.
- South Africa's golfers have repeatedly distinguished themselves in the golf arena. Since 1994 they have won more major titles than the golfers of any other country except the United States.
- In 2009 South Africa's men swimmers held more five world records - more than all other countries - with the exceptions of the United States and Australia.
- However, the FIFA World Cup - which South Africa successfully hosted in 2010 - arguably did more to promote national unity than any other event in our short history.





MORNÉ DU PLESSIS

**While we pray for the wellbeing of President Mandela –
it is fitting in the context of my presentation –
to recall the words of this great man,
at the Laureus Awards in Monaco in 2000
I was privileged to be present at this occasion:**

“Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. Sport can awaken hope where there was previously despair”.

10 Years later the words spoken by President Mandela received an endorsement from an entirely unexpected source. I quote:

“During this past year of abundant sporting events I have seen for myself just how important sport is in bringing people together from all backgrounds, from all walks of life and all age groups”.

This is from Queen Elizabeth II’s Christmas day message on the 25th December 2010.

Some 18 years ago - an internationally renowned sports scientist - Prof Tim Noakes and myself founded the Sports Science Institute of South Africa.

Our aim and vision was to establish a world class Sports Science and Sports Medical research facility that would endeavour to improve the sporting performance of our sportsmen and women.

The trophies, the medals (and I suppose the money earned) are a measure of modern sporting success, but we believe the ultimate value of a nation’s sporting excellence and indeed international participation is the unifying role this success and participation plays in our society.

In the same year we opened the Institute for research, teaching and business, South Africa hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup. All of South Africa rejoiced as a rugby team made up of 14 white men and 1 black man beat the mighty All Blacks to win the World Cup for the first time. Inspired by the great Statesman and father of a newly formed nation, this country after years of separation and hurt got its first glimpse of the national unity during the tournament.

I was present at the miracle of birth of our three wonderful

children - an experience that will stay with me for the rest of my life! So too - imprinted on my mind is the moment of walking out onto the field after the teams had lined up for the signing of the National Anthem in that bright June day at Ellis Park and to bear witness to 60 - 70 000 people, mainly white South Africans chanting - Nelson, Nelson, Nelson! This was surely another miracle I witnessed, even more so considering my background of playing my rugby in the 1970’s when rugby was considered as a divisive influence.

In 2008 the book by Journalist John Carlin called “playing the Enemy” was published and shortly after the film directed by Clint Eastwood and starring Morgan Friedman, called *Invictus*, was released. Whatever the merits, artistic and other, of these two projects, it was evident that not only our country, but the entire world, was moved by one of the great sports stories ever told about a President and his quest to unify a nation through the game of rugby.

This is a day of commemorating speeches - may I respectfully share with you the following speech or team talk as it has some bearing on what I want to mention in a few minutes, and it also refers to a defining moment, as Mr De Klerk’s speech of 2 February 1990 was.

Shortly before the first match South Africa played against Australia at Newlands, Prof Tim Noakes sent me, as the Manager of the team, a message that formed part of the team talk before that first important match. I share with you a shortened version, again with no disrespect for the magnitude of importance of the speech of February 1990.

I share with you :

“There is a defining moment in each person’s life when the true measure of who he is is tested. For ever after he will be judged and, more importantly, he will judge himself, on the basis of how he answered that moment of truth.



That moment in our lives has arrived. In the ninety minutes against Australia our moment of truth will arrive.

Nor should we wish to escape that judgement. Everything we have done on our lives, perhaps by choice, perhaps by forces that we do not understand, leads to this conclusion. Whatever happens in the rest of this tournament will hinge on the outcome of this game. More importantly, whatever else may occur in our lives, we will be defined by what happens at Newlands, May the 25th, 1995. And that is our unique privilege. We have the opportunity once in our lives absolutely to define who we are.

Seize the moment for greatness. So that the future generations of South Africans may know that this was the finest hour in the long and distinguished annals of South African rugby. That when our moment of judgement came, we were not found wanting."

In 1996 BAFANA won the African Cup of Nations; Josiah Thugwane, a small athlete of 5.2 inches tall, wins the gold medal in the marathon in Atlanta, as does Penny Heynes in swimming; Schoeman, Neethling, Ferns and Townsend shook the swimming world with Gold in Athens. Over the years Natalie du Toit becomes a world sporting icon. John Smit leads South Africa to victory for a second World Cup rugby victory in Paris. In these and in numerous other occasions of sporting achievements we find a reason to be collectively proud of our country and the people it produces. I have no doubt that this pride has had a positive influence on National Unity.

Queen Elizabeth referred to this past year's abundant sporting events. She must surely (not sure it is the correct protocol to assume) have included the FIFA 2010 World Cup in this abundance.

By way of the 2010 World Cup - once again sport offered, this time not only a team, but a nation - to absolutely define who we are. This country, as a small nation on the tip of Africa decided to roll up its sleeves, open their hearts and work towards the extraordinary ambitious objective of staging the biggest sporting event in the world. In the period before and particularly during the World Cup we are united in our efforts to stage the event and in support of our team - and this time I don't recall anybody counting the colour of the players in our national team.

Generosity is giving more than you can - Pride is taking less than you need.

If so - this country was a generous and proud nation in 2010. It is extremely appropriate that the FW De Klerk Goodwill Award for promoting goodwill and unity has been awarded to Dr Danny Jordaan. Dr Jordaan motivated this country to use a sporting event to seize its moment of greatness, and when the moment of judgment came South Africa was not found wanting.

The question for this nation now is what will be the lasting legacy of the successful 2010 FIFA World Cup?

And, in this respect, it can be easy to become cynical about the importance of sport's role in society AND to over dramatise and over value its function in a world with seemingly insurmountable climatic, health, educational and political challenges, would be an insult to those who suffer every day at the mercy of these influences and other uncontrollable forces.

I have a sister who lives in Chile. Earlier last year they suffered a devastating earthquake, later the mining disaster and the subsequent miraculous rescue.

From The Wall Street Journal under the headline of: A show of

competence and determination inspires the world. By Peggy Noonan

"Chile! Viva Chile! If I had your flag, I would wave it today from the roof of my building, and watch my New York neighbours smile, nod and wave as they walked by. What a thing Chile has done. They say on TV, "Chile needed this". But the world needed it. And the world knew it: That's why they watched, a billion of them, as the men came out of the mine.

Why did the world need it? Because the saving of those men gave us something we don't see enough, a brilliant example of human excellence of cohesion, of united and committed action, of planning and execution, of caring. They used the human brain and spirit to save life. All we get all day every day is scandal. But this inspired."

Sport at best inspires. Like the Chilean mining rescue, every now and then a sporting occasion gives us something we don't see enough (amidst all the scandal and corruption) a brilliant example of human excellence - of cohesion, of united and committed action, of planning and execution. The use of the human strength, brain and spirit / courage.


There are no short cuts to nation building - sporting participation and sporting excellence are but one of our national assets. We need to use this asset wisely. This dedication, excellence and courage that true sporting endeavour portrays is what inspires us to look past our prejudices and differences, and makes this country and the world a slightly better place to be. ■

Morné Du Plessis

Morné du Plessis is an Executive Director of the Marc Group Ltd, a group geared to service the entire sport and entertainment value chain. He matriculated at Grey College and is an alumnus of the University of Stellenbosch. A former Springbok rugby player and captain (retired 1980), he was Manager of the South African team that won the 1995 Rugby World Cup. Morné co-founded the Sports Science Institute of South Africa. He chairs the Management Committee of the Chris Burger / Petro Jackson Players' Fund, serves on the World Sports Academy, and chairs the Laureus Sport for Good Foundation Trust in South Africa. He is also a recipient of The National Order of Ikhamanga in Silver.

"In these and in numerous other occasions of sporting achievements we find a reason to be collectively proud of our country and the people it produces."



A middle-aged man with short, wavy brown hair and black-rimmed glasses is speaking at a podium. He is wearing a light blue button-down shirt under a dark navy blue blazer. He is looking slightly to his left with a pleasant expression. Two microphones are positioned in front of him on the podium. The background is a light-colored wood-paneled wall.

“Generosity is giving more than you can - Pride is taking less than you need. If so - this country was a generous and proud nation in 2010.”



Our Symbiotic Relationship

“South Africa’s collective future depends on the ability of all our people to understand that the success of black South Africa is conditional on the success of white South Africa, and that the success of white South Africa is conditional on the success of black South Africa”.

PRESIDENT THABO MBEKI, FEBRUARY 2005



ONE OF THE MAIN factors that led to the collapse of apartheid was the growing awareness of economic interdependence between black and white South Africans. The absurdity of the idea that blacks and whites would be able to pursue separate economic destinies became apparent during the 1970s with the accelerating integration of the economy brought about by economic growth. Dependence of white businesses on black workers made it essential for the Government to reform South Africa’s labour system at the end of the 70s. The extension of real trade union rights to black workers following the Wiehahn reforms was a major step in the direction of the establishment of a non-racial South Africa.

In the new South Africa the economic, political and social destinies of South Africans of all races and all sectors of the economy are inextricably intertwined. It is impossible to imagine continuing economic growth, effective food production and social development without the active participation of all our communities.

“It does not matter whether you shoot a zebra in a white or a black stripe: the result is the same.”

OLD SAYING





TEMBA NOLUTSHUNGU

**The Honourable Mr De Klerk,
Mr Dave Steward,
staff of the Foundation and delegates:
I am honoured to have been invited to address
this important conference.**

I hope that you, and all fellow South Africans will feel impelled not only to recognise but also to nurture, protect and honour the things that unite us. As my humble contribution to this end I have chosen to talk about “our symbiotic relationship as a force for unity”.

I have noticed that, since 1994, South Africans seem to fall into one of two camps. One camp tends to emphasise all the negative things happening in the country. The other, to give inordinate prominence to the positive features of contemporary South Africa. What I’ve found interesting, is that the latter camp (the optimists) tends to demonise the negative camp (the pessimists). These critics are deemed unpatriotic. If they happen to be white, they are dubbed racist, or nostalgic for the apartheid past (“they must leave the country and go elsewhere”). If they are black, they are accused of breaking ranks with fellow blacks or simply of being politically incorrect.

But these critics do tend to have a factual basis for the arguments they make and the points they raise. For example, South Africa does suffer from high levels of crime and corruption; the economy is negatively affected by racially preferential policies; and many policies and laws put constraints on the private sector

and prescribe uncomfortable terms and conditions with regard to employing people.

We have to accept that the two camps do cater for opposing views. But to my mind, instead of only seeing the confrontational potential that exists, these contrary views and tendencies (call them sentiments, or even a state of mind) should be seen as something that unites us, rather than something that divides us. They all should be celebrated because, as opposing and conflictual as they are, they mutually reinforce an evolving culture of democracy in our country. Assuming, of course, that we understand the concept of democracy. Inter alia, democracy is about freedom of expression, freedom of opinion, freedom of association, and freedom of access to information. In South Africa, underpinning all of these freedoms is our Constitution. A constitution which should always be respected by one and all as the supreme law of the country and should never be tampered with in order to serve ephemeral and partisan interests. If we, as South Africans, understand and accept this, among related democratic principles, then robust debate and vehement disagreement will be evidence of our shared commitment to democratic principles.

If we want to talk about the things that unite us, we must

“If we want to talk about the things that unite us, we must agree that these opposing tendencies should be accepted as a reflection of our dynamic dispensation and culture; that, at the end of the day, the co-existence of different views and opinions is the essence of democracy.”



agree that these opposing tendencies should be accepted as a reflection of our dynamic democratic dispensation and culture; that, at the end of the day, the co-existence of different views and opinions is the essence of democracy. The country belongs as much to the optimists as it does to the pessimists. So let us stop this pernicious, puerile and sometimes ad hominem mudslinging right now and embrace these contradictory

tendencies as symptomatic of the emergence of an all-embracing democratic culture.

I used the word symbiosis in the title of my talk. To understand why, one cannot do better than to go to the economic arena, and focus on the much maligned and unsung "business enterprise" - formal or informal, big or small. The business enterprise is one of the most important and effective sites of our unity and it could do even more if government policies did not impede its natural functioning. Let me elaborate.

First of all, a business enterprise is at the forefront of our individual and personal struggles to achieve our progressively expanding socio-economic aspirations. Businesses employ individuals on the basis that they will add value to the enterprise; anything else is totally irrelevant. They attract people of diverse social, cultural and racial backgrounds and therefore naturally contribute to social cohesion. Enterprises are comprised of a collage of diverse people who are collectively focussed on ensuring the survival, success and excellence of the business. Because the income statements and balance sheets of businesses do not on the whole reflect altruistic activities (except in the case of larger enterprises which have "social responsibility" portfolios), many people do not recognise that, in reality, in the context of business logic, their employees' wider socio-economic needs are being addressed. A business exists solely for the sake of making profits, that is, to realise returns on investment. This it achieves by delivering goods and services in a competitive environment, on the basis of good value for money. Businesses that survive are those which serve their customers best, irrespective of who these consumers are. The more competitively they deliver, the greater the returns. Even incorrigible racists, if they went into business in South Africa today, would find themselves employing people that otherwise they would not have tolerated or considered, given their racial preferences. They would also find that they have to sell to all consumers, irrespective of their racial preferences, if they do not want to go out of business. On the other side of the coin, consumers generally do not give a damn as to who they buy from, so long as the producer or salesman caters to their whims and fancies.

In this scenario, the people involved at all levels, from management to shop-floor, collaborate to promote the fortunes of the business. In the process they are drawn together. They interact at a personal level; they discuss and share their personal anxieties and priorities and exchange advice about the most intimate of problems. There are very few other such sites where people of diverse backgrounds, who may have grown up in very different circumstances, find it easy to divulge and discuss intimate details in an empathetic and supportive environment.

In my opinion, if we want to build upon the unifying potential of the business environment and extend these symbiotic relationships far and wide, government has to come to the party. This it can do simply by enacting enabling policies which are conducive to the proliferation of business enterprises. At the stroke of the statutory pen government can repeal many of the plethora of cumbersome policies which presently unnecessar-

ily raise the cost of not only of doing business but also going into business in South Africa. If government introduces policies which facilitate entry into the market by removing or drastically lowering the legislative barriers to entry, South Africans will experience an economic miracle that could potentially be second to none in the world. South Africa can become the wonderful country that we all aspire it to be if the socio-economic glue of business enterprises that connects us together is allowed to increase in a collaborative effort that will raise us up above our individual and national challenges.

The scenario that I depict is that of the impersonal operation of the free market in which there is voluntary exchange, freedom of choice and the protection of private property.

Racially discriminatory policies engender racial disharmony and undermine any progress towards a more cohesive rainbow nation.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasise that to rail at the world for past injustices is an exercise in futility. Past injustices should not be justification for racially oriented policies. If we persist in implementing policies which have a racially discriminatory and punitive effect on any sector of the population, however well intentioned these policies may be, in the process we are passing on a poisoned chalice to our children and our children's children and the people of South Africa will never be free to prosper.


Temba A Nolutshungu, Director, Free Market Foundation. The views expressed in this paper are solely the author's and are not necessarily shared by the Foundation ■

Temba Nolutshungu

Temba Nolutshungu is a director of the Free Market Foundation. A former director of the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront and Langeberg Foods, he is currently chairman of the Langa Heritage Foundation and trustee of the Helen Suzman Foundation amongst numerous others. During Apartheid, Temba was a black consciousness pioneer in the Struggle and was detained twice in solitary confinement. In his writings and comments on public policy, he dedicates his efforts to the enhancement of individual liberty for all. He has attended and presented papers at international conferences in countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and North and South America. Along with international scholars he has recently co-authored 'Why Liberty' and is currently compiling the forthcoming 'Nationalisation'.

"...if we want to build upon the unifying potential of the business environment and extend these symbiotic relationships far and wide, government has to come to the party."





“...to rail at the world for past injustices is an exercise in futility. Past injustices should not be justification for racially orientated policies.”



Remarks

BY PRINCE MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
MP PRESIDENT OF THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY AND
TRADITIONAL PRIME MINISTER OF THE ZULU NATION

Director of Programmes,
His Excellency the former President Mr. FW de Klerk,
His Grace Archbishop Mokgaba,
Members of Parliament;
distinguished guests ladies and gentlemen:

Soon after the adoption of our final Constitution, I remarked in Parliament that, we were faced with a much more arduous task than making of the new South Africa. Having finalized the Constitution and with it the new South Africa, we had to forge the new South Africans.

My generation dedicated itself completely to the task of bringing democracy to South Africa and establishing a new Republic. We freed the country and its entire people. In so doing we left for the generation that follows us to ensure that freedom may forge a new population of genuinely free, responsible, aware, and both politically and economically active citizens.

I say this to shift emphasis from the analysis of what may unite us now to the goal of a future society. I hope that an emerging national consensus on the long term vision of an open and prosperous society may create the basis for a new social compact. We need a new struggle which expresses and embodies the aspirations of a new generation. We need the courage of dreaming of forging a new people.

Today, we commemorate the historic event, which took place 21 years ago, when President de Klerk announced the release of President Nelson Mandela. This placed us on a long journey to develop a shared feeling of a people, with one common destiny. It was a first step for us to wrestle with, focusing on that which unites us, and not that which divides us as fellow compatriots. This is by no means an easy path to walk, because of our divided past.

It is for this reason why the image of 1994, and subsequent elections, when all South Africans queued up together, is an assurance to me that we will survive together on this southernmost tip of Africa, provided we accept our common destiny. However, when we celebrate National Days and see how few South Africans of other minority groups participate, it indicates that we still have a long journey to travel in achieving this common destiny, which can only be achieved if we all focus on things that unite us rather than a past which so divided us.

It is when President de Klerk and I requested representatives of the National Party and representatives of the IFP to take the first step in the right direction that we began to grow as a nation with one destiny. That Committee had to identify factors that impeded the negotiation process, which President de Klerk wanted us to start after his election, as the Leader of the then ruling party and the Head of State.

To me the major problem in South Africa today is poverty and lack of employment. In the past the ruling party advocated socialism. We were all encouraged when subsequently Mandela embraced the free enterprise system. I believe that this was the ruling party's Damascene experience. Most of us believed that the free enterprise system was the best economic policy for South Africa, despite some of its shortcomings. It still is the only

path towards sustainable job creation.

When President Thabo Mbeki announced the policy of GEAR, an acronym for growth, employment and redistribution, I was still in Cabinet. I remember describing this in Parliament as a Damascene experience on the part of the ruling party. And yet what happened? Immediately the tripartite partners of the ANC, COSATU and the South African Communist Party rejected GEAR. All of us saw them on national television jumping up and down shouting: WE DO NOT WANT GEAR! WE DO NOT WANT GEAR! ASIFUNI GEAR! We then had ASGISA after that. Cosatu now has its own economic policy. Today, there is also now a long debate on the nationalisation of mines. It is a Tower of Babel situation on a matter which is vital to us. In such a situation, when President Zuma promises to create new jobs, one asks the question: is he going to re-invent the wheel in the midst of so much dissension on the economy?

The most important issue which affects the majority of our people today is gut-wrenching poverty. To me, this a major issue on which we as a nation should be speaking with one voice. It is one major issue which should unite us. We have achieved our political emancipation, but we are yet to achieve our economic emancipation.

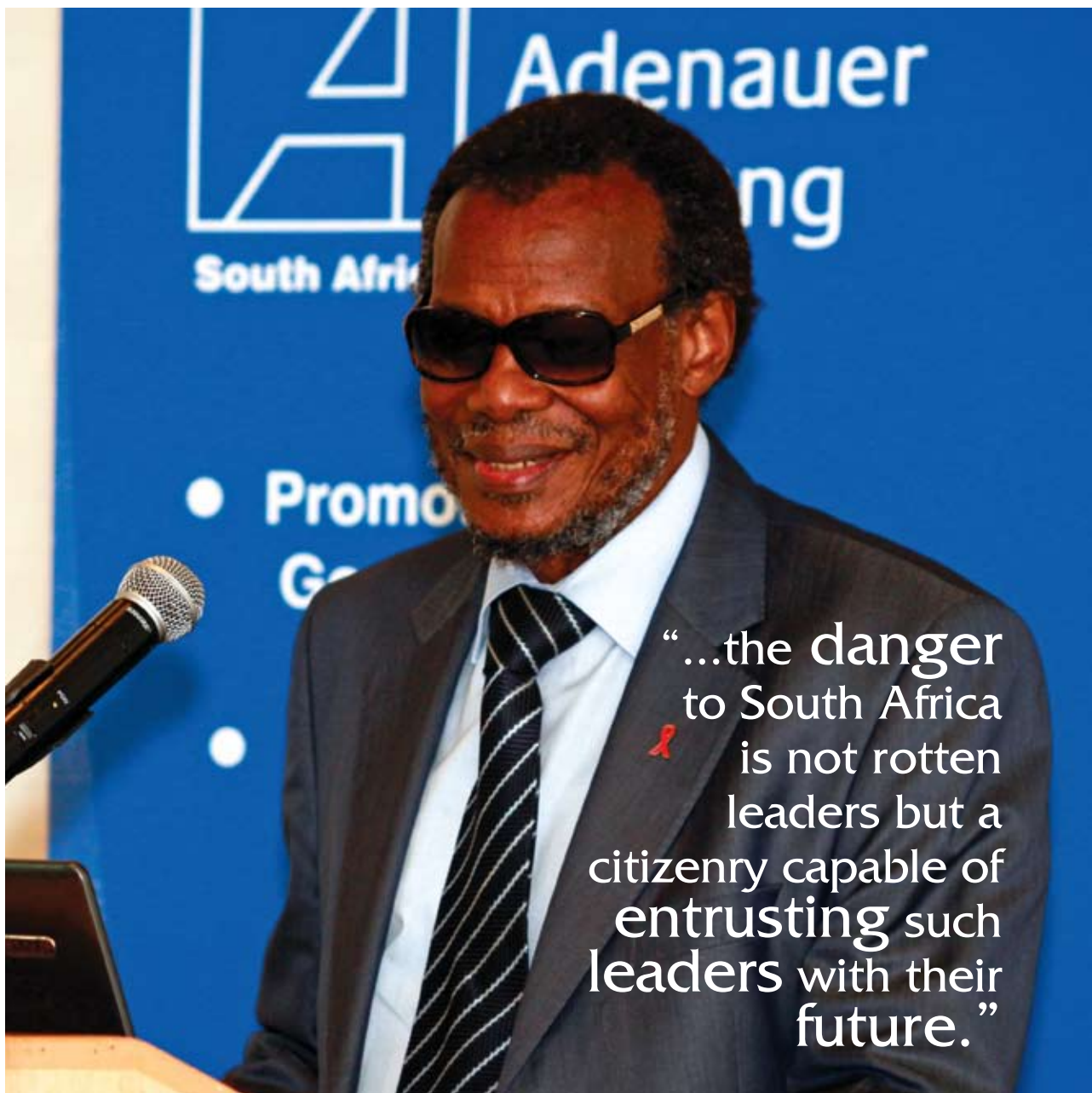
We must find common agreement on how to address poverty and joblessness. This has the potential of starting a revolution in our country. If such a revolution does take place, all the gains we have made so far, to forge a common destiny, would be lost.

We need a national consensus on how to address the economic policies that can liberate us from the trenches of economic enslavement. Achieving this successfully will have a domino effect as far as the other problems, which are equally challenging to us as a nation. These are issues such as BEE which continue to divide us. The Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe and the President himself have remarked that we need to have a national discourse on these issues. The sooner we start the better.

In forging a new Republic we have but laid a mere foundation. We have tried to consolidate that foundation by taking national pride in many things. Being a new process, we had to start there where it was easier to perform nation building, but we can't stop there. We took right and well deserved pride in sporting events such as success at the rugby World Cup champions. We then took the next step of hosting major international events raging from three high-level UN events, including the one against racism and xenophobia, to the World Economic Forum and other prestigious events. All this was done at major social and fiscal cost and opportunity cost. Yet, in this process the country came to grip with its human capabilities and immense natural and logistical resources.

We put all these to the final test in the successful organization





“...the danger to South Africa is not rotten leaders but a citizenry capable of entrusting such leaders with their future.”

and delivery of the World Cup in which so many of our people participated. This too came at an immense opportunity cost and actual economic cost. Sufficient emphasis has been placed on how the World Cup has unified all South Africans that I don't need to harp on it myself. Yet, I wish to move the debate beyond it, to shift emphasis from the pride of what happens on the sports fields to the pride of having engineered the stadium and organizational machinery which delivered the World Cup. Unfortunately, no matter how important these events are, they have only laid the foundation of the work which awaits us.

We must need to build on this foundation to deliver a first class social and economic infrastructure which all our citizens can use every day and can take pride from every day, as people do across the world in respect of their advanced infrastructures. For all this to happen, let us seek a national consensus on our economic policies.

There are no shortcuts to nation building. Nation building cannot take place from a top down approach. We need to build a 21st century infrastructure inclusive of universal free internet access. But we must also build 21st century South Africans so that children in the most rural areas can take advantage of the digital opportunities and the new digital frontier and the final social leveler. Nation building begins and ends with people build-

ing, and building of individuals who are aware and responsible citizens. This remains a long and arduous journey. Without it we are doomed.

In many domestic and international venues concerns are expressed about the country's leadership. Yet, the danger to South Africa is not rotten leaders but a citizenry capable of entrusting such leaders with their future. It will be far easier to limit and undo the follies of a few rotten leaders than to install the necessary common sense and good judgment to a depraved electorate willing to have such people as their leaders. The problem is much deeper and far more serious, than corrupt or inept leaders, who are a mere symptom of what ails South Africa. Blaming the King of the fools should not blind anyone to the vast confederacy of fools that made him their King. The Republic can survive fools in high offices. It is less likely to survive if those electing them are left in their condition of human underdevelopment. How we all focus on this, is the biggest challenge as far as achieving the concept of the things that unite us, as a country.

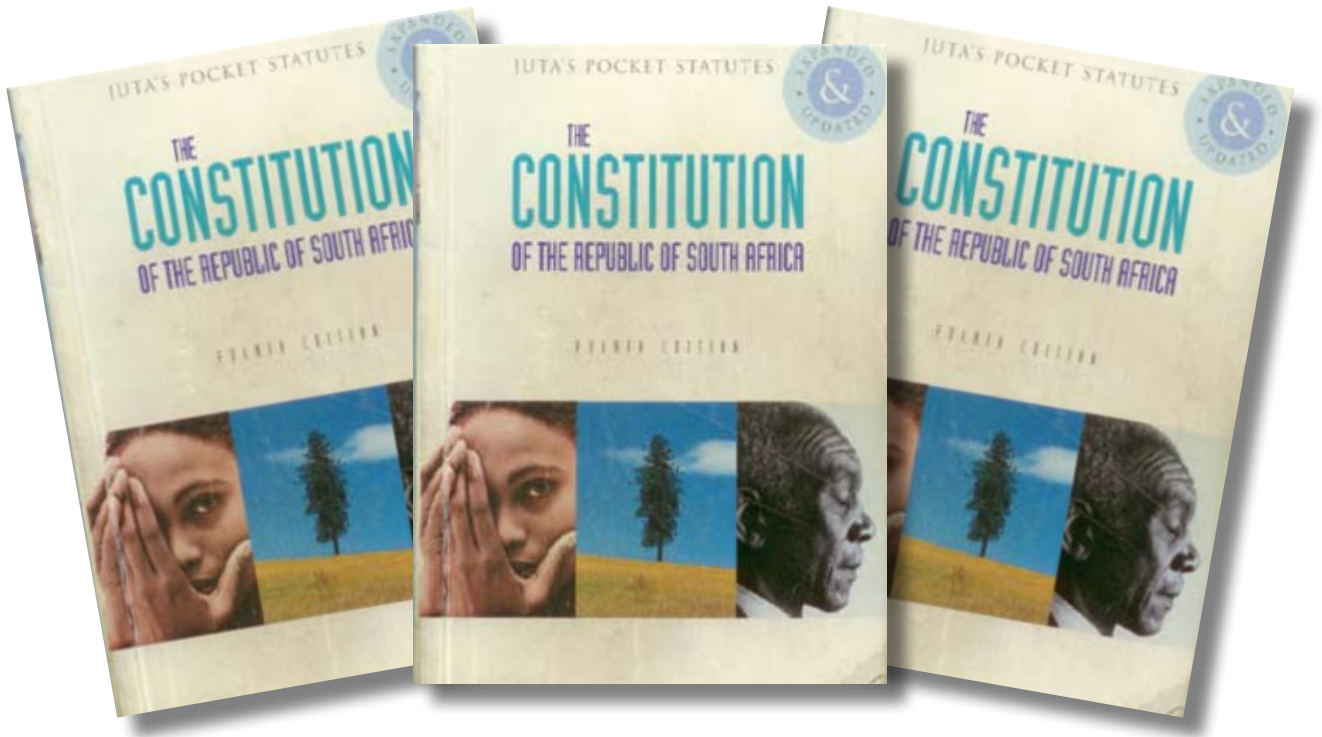
What unites us must be the awareness that unless we solve social and human underdevelopment within the next 50 years, the Republic will not succeed. It is an arduous, but one on which genuine national building can rightly be forged.

I thank you. ■



Our Constitution

The Interim Constitution provided the framework for South Africa's first fully democratic and inclusive national elections on 27 April 1994.



THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY that South Africans elected in April, 1994 also sat as a Constitutional Assembly which was tasked with the responsibility of drawing up a final Constitution. As required by the 1993 Constitution, the new Constitution would have to comply with 35 immutable constitutional principles. The newly established Constitutional Court would have to certify that the new constitution complied with these principles before it could come into effect.

The 1996 Constitution is significant for the establishment of national unity because it went beyond establishment of the structures required for democratic government: it also articulated the values on which the new South Africa would be built and presented a national vision toward which all South Africans should aspire.

The 1996 Constitution, in a very real sense, is a solemn accord which creates the basis for our national unity. In the Preamble the Constitution spells out a vision of the kind of society that we should become:

"We, therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic, so as to:

- Heal the divisions of the past;
- Establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental rights;
- Lay the foundations of a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is protected by the law;
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential in each person; and
- Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place in the family of nations."





FW DE KLERK

**It is a pleasure for me to address this conference
on the indispensable contribution
that our Constitution makes to national unity.**

The Conference has already heard of the important role played by sport, religion, economic interdependence and the spirit of Ubuntu in promoting national unity. I would like to deal with another factor that lies at the foundation of our emerging national unity: our Constitution.

When considering the unifying role of our Constitution it would be useful to recall the factors that lay at the roots of our historic divisions.

The simple reality is that the country we know today as South Africa was - like so many other African countries - an artificial creation of European imperialists. South Africa, in its present territorial form, was created when the Union of Old South Africa was established on 31 May, 1910. During the preceding century Britain - in what the historian Sir John Seeley described as a fit of absent-mindedness - gained dominion over most of southern Africa. Indeed, the central theme of our history during the nineteenth century was the relentless conquest by Britain of the three dominant independent peoples of the region - first the Xhosa, then the Zulus and finally, the Afrikaners.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Britain found itself in possession of an untidy - and often vexatious - assortment of territories and colonies in the sub-continent. What to do with them? It concluded that the best solution would be to apply the prescription that had recently worked so well in Canada and Australia, where separate colonies had been consolidated into tidy federations. Why not try the same approach in South Africa?

Unfortunately, the situations were entirely different: in Canada and Australia the indigenous populations were small and disorganised and the settlers shared the same broad British culture and values.

In South Africa

- the indigenous population was a large majority that comprised coherent and formidable nations (the Zulus had, after all, inflicted a crushing defeat on the British army at Ishlandwana

in 1879).

- The white population was fractious and had only just emerged from a devastating war that had laid waste much of the country and killed a sizable portion of the Afrikaner population.
- There was no common language; no common history; and few common aspirations.
- Worse still - without any consultation and without their consent - sovereignty over the black national groups was transferred to white South Africans.

There was no basis for national unity. The subsequent fifty years were marked by a continuing struggle for dominance between the two white peoples - with Afrikaners intent on re-establishing their lost republics and English-speaking South Africans determined to maintain their ties with Britain.

With the independence of most of the African colonies after 1960 the political focus shifted from disunity between the white communities to the growing tensions and divisions with black South Africans. One's politics were determined by one's definition of who comprised the South African nation:

- for rightwing Afrikaners, the nation was the 'volk';
- for moderate Afrikaners and for most English-speaking South Africans, the nation comprised whites.
- For liberal whites and for the ANC it was everyone in South Africa.
- For the PAC it was the blacks.

From the 1960s onward, these different perceptions of who constituted the South African nation led to deepening division and escalating conflict. The National Party Government - in pursuit of the ideology of ethnic self-determination - tried to create nation states for all South Africa's constituent peoples. However, it allocated only 13% of the country to 79% of the people and severely restricted the rights of 'non-whites' living in the so-called 'white areas'. Predictably, its policies were vehemently rejected



by the vast majority of South Africans.

However, by 1986 the National Party had begun to accept that its policies had failed; that attempts to 'reform apartheid' would not succeed - and that the country's problems could be addressed only by accepting the principle of a united, non-racial South Africa in which all citizens would enjoy equal constitutional rights.

By the time I became president in September 1989 the National Party was already committed to fundamental transformation. 21 years ago, on 2 February 1990, I announced the steps that opened the way to our national transformation.

In the subsequent months South Africans from all political parties with significant support came together to hammer out agreements on the establishment of our non-racial constitutional democracy.

In December 1991 their representatives gathered at CODESA to commence negotiations on a new constitution. Their first act was to adopt a Declaration of Intent which called, among other things, for a Constitution that would ensure:

- that South Africa would be a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state;
- that the Constitution would be the supreme law and that it would be guarded over by an independent, non-racial and impartial judiciary;
- that there would be a multi-party democracy with the right to form and join political parties and with regular elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters roll;
- that there would be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with appropriate checks and balances;
- that the diversity of languages, cultures and religions of the people of South Africa would be acknowledged;
- that everyone would enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties including freedom of religion, speech and assembly protected by an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights and a legal system that guarantees equality of all before the law.

Within two years we had adopted an interim constitution that included all these elements. The vision adopted in the Declaration of Intent was subsequently the foundation of the 1996 Constitution and is now part of our everyday reality in South Africa.

The fact that after such a long and divided history we South Africans succeeded in achieving these goals has been an inspiration for the peaceful resolution of conflicts everywhere.

- We showed the world that even the most intractable disputes can be solved by peaceful negotiations;
- We showed that it is possible to break out of the destructive cycle of fear, discrimination and prejudice that continues to beset so many divided societies around the world; and
- We showed that new societies can be built on the basis of shared visions, shared values and shared approaches to governance and fundamental rights.

However, our Constitution was much more than simply a blueprint for how the new society would be governed and a shopping list of the rights that would be assured. In a very real sense it was a solemn compact on how the issues that had divided South Africa for generations would be resolved. It dealt, on the one hand, with the fears of minorities that their civil, cultural and economic rights would be swept aside in a majority rule dispensation. On the other hand it addressed the aspirations of the majority - for justice, for equality and for a better life.

For these reasons it is a carefully balanced document:

On the one hand it is unambiguously transformative. It clearly requires action to promote equality. It empowers the State to

take measures to promote the achievement of equality through the advancement of persons or categories of persons who had been disadvantaged by unfair discrimination.

On the other hand it prohibits unfair discrimination - and requires proof that any discriminatory measures that are adopted are fair.

Section 25 of the Constitution opens the way to expropriation in the national interest - including expropriation for the purpose of land reform. However, it requires the payment of compensation that would have to be agreed by the parties involved or be decided by a court within the framework of a number of clear and objective criteria.

The Constitution calls for national unity - but recognises the diversity of South Africa's languages and cultures and assures everyone's right to speak the language and practise the culture - of their choice.

The Constitution has worked reasonably well in maintaining the cohesion of our new society and in providing the foundation for growing national unity. The symbols that it enshrines - our national anthem, our national flag and our coat of arms - have been enthusiastically adopted by the vast majority of people from all our communities. They now constitute the main outward and visible signs of our new unity.

However, the Constitution goes further than that: it presents a vision of a society based on justice and human dignity to which we should all aspire. In its Preamble it calls for a society

- that has healed the divisions of the past;
- that is based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental rights;
- that is based on openness, in which the will of the people and of every citizen is protected by the law;
- a society that will improve the quality of life of all citizens and will free the potential in each person; and
- that will be united and able to take its rightful place in the family of nations.

The Constitution also spells out the basic values on which our new society has been established: they include

- human dignity; the achievement of equality; and the advancement of human rights and freedoms;
- non-racialism and non-sexism;
- the supremacy of the constitution and the rule of law, including the invalidity of law or conduct inconsistent with the Constitution and the fulfillment of constitutional obligations.
- a common South African citizenship - with equality of all citizens in respect of the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship as well as the duties and responsibilities of citizenship;
- a multi-party system of democratic government based on accountability, responsiveness and openness with universal adult suffrage, a national common voters roll, and regular elections; and
- recognition of eleven official languages, all of which must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

This vision and these values are the foundation of our emerging national unity.

Unfortunately, they are not espoused by everyone.

There are those who think that the 1996 Constitution was simply an expedient to accommodate the prevailing exigencies and balance of forces of the time. They imagine that with the passage of time it will be possible to ignore or dispense with elements of the Constitution that do not accord with their personal or party agendas.

In some areas this is already happening.

- The language provisions in the founding principles of the Constitution are being increasingly ignored by government. Gov-



“In a very real sense [the Constitution] was a solemn compact on how the issues that had divided South Africa for generations would be resolved.”



ernment at the national level is unashamedly conducted in only one language - English. The right to education in the language of one's choice is under threat.

- The independence of key institutions that were established to support constitutional democracy - such as the National Prosecuting authority - has been seriously undermined.
- Leading parties and politicians openly espouse programmes that are irreconcilable with the letter and spirit of our Constitution.
- The language of some other leaders grows more intemperate by the day in calling for the racial redistribution of wealth and in resurrecting the struggle language - and songs - of the past.

Despite these problems, the Constitution continues to provide a firm foundation for our young non-racial democracy. It remains the main foundation of our national unity.

But it is fragile. Our new society and our national unity depend in the long run on adherence to the vision, the values and the fundamental rights that the Constitution enshrines. The more we deviate from them, the more we undermine the foundations of our new society.

In his disturbing poem, 'The Second Coming' William Butler Yeats conjured up a stark picture of disintegration.

*"Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity."*

This afternoon we have been discussing the things that unite us:

- The things that hold the centre together;
- The things that preserve the ceremonies of innocence;
- The things that ensure that our society does not fall apart;

These things that unite us include

- our wonderful success in solving our historic problems by peaceful means;
- the national symbols of which we have all become so proud;
- the religious principles that are shared by so many of our people;
- our mutual interdependence;
- the unifying power of sport - that was so magnificently evident in the success of the 2010 FIFA World Cup; and
- the voluntary work and generosity of millions of South Africans from all our communities who selflessly care for their fellow citizens in the true spirit of Ubuntu.

But most notably they include our Constitution which expresses the values and dreams of our people and protects their fundamental rights. It provides us with a common space where we can all come together, in unity, in security and in hope.

I have no doubt that the vision, values and rights enshrined in the Constitution enjoy the support of the vast majority of all our people.

Our challenge as South Africans is to ensure that the Constitutional centre holds and that it will continue to provide the basis for national unity and coherence. I am confident that it will do so - but then, the best must be prepared to defend it with all the conviction they can muster. The great moderate majority in our emerging non-racial nation must raise their voices in unison - and drown out the voices of the extremists, of those who are full of passionate intensity.

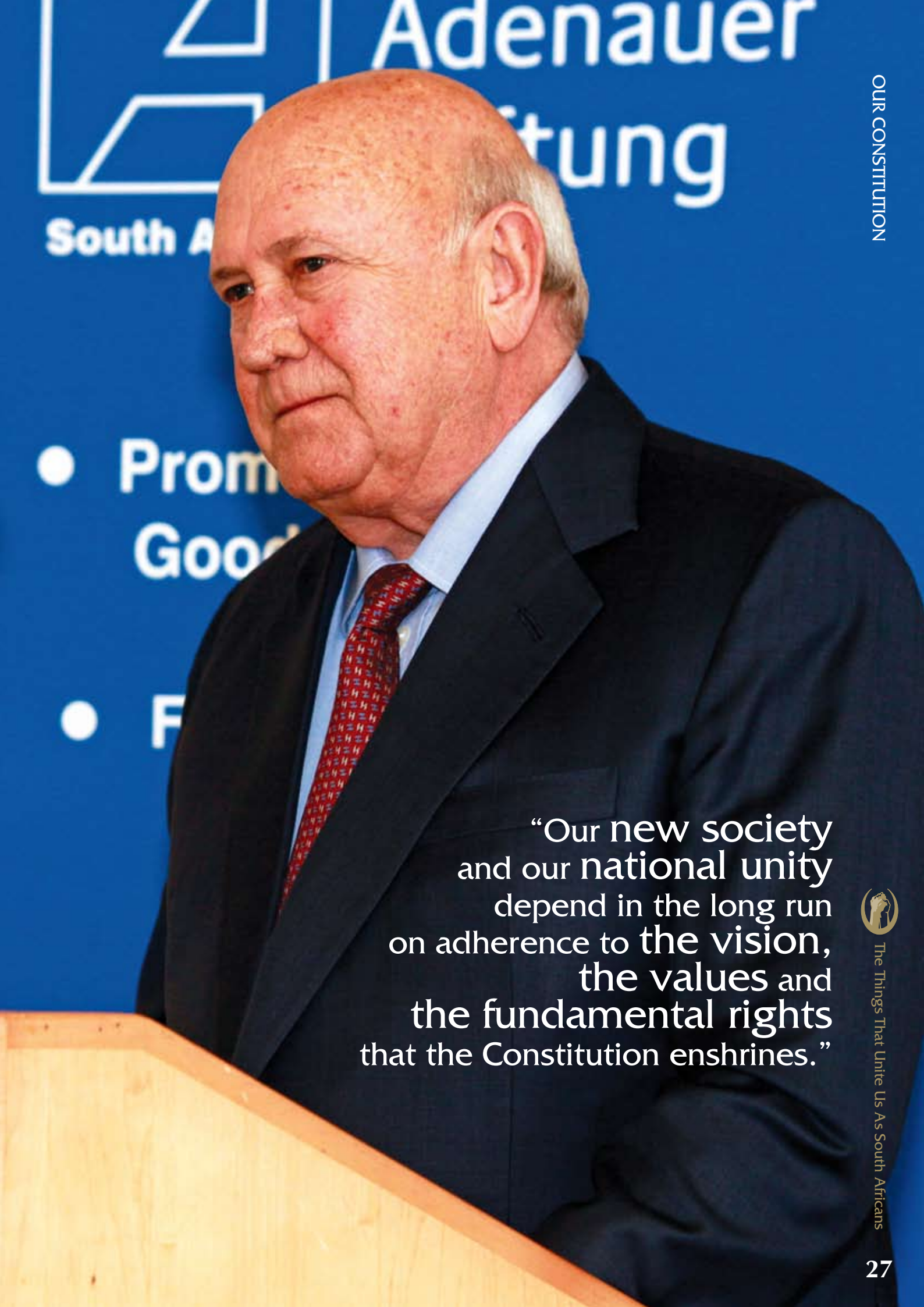
The unity and the future of our new non-racial nation depend on it. ■

FW De Klerk

During his presidency from September 1989 until May 1994, FW de Klerk dismantled apartheid and initiated and presided over the inclusive negotiations that led to the adoption of South Africa's first fully democratic Constitution in December 1993. After the election on 27 April 1994, Mr De Klerk served as one of South Africa's two Executive Deputy Presidents until 1996 when his party withdrew from the Government of National Unity. He retired from active politics in September 1997. He published his autobiography, "The Last Trek - A New Beginning" in 1999 and the same year established the FW de Klerk Foundation. The Foundation upholds the Constitution through the work of its Centre for Constitutional Rights and works for positive relations in multicultural societies. Mr De Klerk is also the Chairman of the Global Leadership Foundation, established in 2004, whose panel of former presidents, prime ministers and statesmen provides discreet advice to heads of government on issues that concern them.

"Our challenge as South Africans is to ensure that the Constitutional centre holds and that it will continue to provide a basis for national unity and coherence."





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THE FW DE KLERK FOUNDATION



FW de Klerk
FOUNDATION

Upholding South Africa's National Accord

The FW de Klerk Foundation continues the philosophical and political heritage that FW de Klerk established when he was president by:

- Upholding the Constitution and the national accord on which it is based;
 - Promoting communication between leadership groups;
- Commissioning research and communicating on topics of importance to South Africa's multicultural society;
 - Promoting the peaceful resolution of conflicts in divided societies throughout the world; and by
 - Mobilising financial support for handicapped children

THE CENTRE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS



Centre for
**CONSTITUTIONAL
RIGHTS**

Upholding South Africa's Constitutional Accord

The Foundation supports the Constitution and the national accord on which it is based through the activities of the Centre for Constitutional Rights. The Centre:

- Promotes the values, rights and principles in the Constitution;
- Monitors developments that might affect the Constitution;
- Informs people and organisations of their constitutional rights;
 - Assists people and organisations to claim their rights



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FW DE KLERK, SPEECH ON 2ND FEBRUARY 2011



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the Konrad Adenauer Foundation

