

Appendix D

**Party Platforms of the Alliance of Free Democrats of Hungary
and the African National Congress of South Africa**



Szabad Demokraták[®]

WHO ARE THE FREE DEMOCRATS?
(Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége, SZDSZ
Alliance of Free Democrats)

WE ARE THE PARTY OF FREEDOM AND SOLIDARITY. Following the traditions of European and Hungarian liberalism, we fight for the freedom of the individual, for human and civil rights, for the restriction of state power and for a modern market economy. We also connect ourselves to the traditions of social democracy. We fight for the right of the workers to form independent organizations to defend their interests and for a society which seeks to secure a dignified life for every individual.

WE ARE UNYIELDING OPPONENTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY-STATE. The communist system that was introduced after 1947 is not to be reformed, but must be replaced. We are radicals but not extremists. We reject all violence, threats of political blackmail and any attempt to create confusion and chaos. In the interest of this peaceful revolution, we remain ready to negotiate with those in possession of power. But we are not ready to accept an agreement that helps the survival of communist power.

WE OPPOSE ANY FORM OF DICTATORSHIP, be it the totalitarian regime of the left or of the right, or an authoritarian regime. We stand opposed not only to a dictator whose power is based on the army, but also to a dictator whose power rests on popular acclaim. We stand equally opposed to any continuation of forty years of communist dictatorship, and also to any revival of the rigidly hierarchical Hungary of interwar authoritarianism. We want instead a modern liberal democracy in which majority rule rests on representative parliament and minority rights are guaranteed by the rule of law.

WE WANT HUNGARY TO JOIN WITH EUROPE COMPLETELY. We challenge the idea that our backwardness by Western standards is anything to be preserved. We reject the illusion that the particular Hungarian past points to a "third road" that makes no connection to "Western" liberalism or "Eastern" socialism. We want to proceed along a path of the worthiest Hungarian traditions established by the great 1848 reformers. Along with Eötvös and Déak, Széchenyi and Kossuth we believe that progress in Hungary is possible only by rising to Western standards.

WE FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL. The very word freedom is defined by individual rights: The right of the individual versus state power, the rights of the worker versus the employer, the rights of the entrepreneur versus bureaucracy, and the rights of the minority versus the majority. Only individuals guaranteed these rights can form a free society. It is this principle that sets us apart from socialist or communist collectivism to the left of us and national-Christian-conservative collectivism to the right of us.

WE SEE OURSELVES AS PART OF THE ENTIRE HUNGARIAN NATION. We feel strong solidarity with Hungarians outside Hungary's borders. We reject the dangerous illusion that those borders can be revised. We fight instead for a future in which borders do not separate Hungarian minorities in other countries from Hungarians at home. We fight for the individual and collective rights of minority Hungarians abroad, we fight for their rights to cultivate freely their language, culture and historical traditions.

WE HOLD THE CONVICTION THAT THE DOMESTIC MINORITIES ARE ENTITLED TO THESE SAME RIGHTS. We have a moral obligation to raise our voices for their rights as well. We defend Hungarian democracy and civil liberties when we condemn any public expression of anti-Gypsy and anti-Semitic sentiments. We seek to spread awareness that the Gypsy minority can free itself from its present position on the margin of Hungarian society only with the material and moral help of the majority. We also support the guarantee of full minority rights for Germans, Rumanians, South Slavs, and Slovaks in Hungary.

WE STAND FOR THE FULL SEPARATION OF STATE AND CHURCH. All forms of state supervision over any religious institution is to be abolished. The practice of religion, both individually and collectively, is the exclusive province of the believers themselves. At the same time, the convictions of non-believers are to be respected as their private affairs. We favour the reopening of church schools and more generally, we favour free access to religious education. At the same time, we oppose the teaching of religion as a compulsory subject in secular schools. Churches should be free to participate in political life, but they should not be able to act as part of the state.

WE AFFIRM TOLERANCE IN POLITICS, CULTURE, EDUCATION AND IN THE CONDUCT OF EVERYDAY LIFE. As everywhere in the modern world, a great variety of views and lifestyles exist side by side in Hungarian society. The state has no right to force any of these views or styles on its citizens. But citizens themselves are also obliged to respect this variety, in particular, views and styles they do not share. We resist any attempt by any group, even the majority, to force its own moral convictions on others by law.

WE WANT A MODERN MARKET ECONOMY. The crisis and the continuing decline of the Hungarian economy cannot be countered with limited reforms. The economy based on state ownership and direction from above has proved to be a failure. It is essential to recognize and allow the development of private property, in its widest variety ranging from individually owned enterprises to cooperatives and shareholding corporations, and to companies and banks operating according to the rule of the market. The market mechanism should be allowed to decide which enterprises and forms of organizations will predominate. The state should not take upon itself any more supervision of economic affairs than in any developed market economy.

WE WANT AN ECONOMY OPEN TO THE WORLD MARKET. Further isolation would only lead us to further decline. The reason for our indebtedness lies not in our having opened up to the world economy, but in the incapacity of the communist system to adapt to international competition, and in the fact that the communist leaders prolonged the agony by irresponsibly negotiating further loans. We should not fear foreign capital, but rather the inability of our state economy to revive.

WE ADVOCATE FREE TRADE UNIONS AND A WELL-ESTABLISHED SYSTEM OF SOCIAL WELFARE. Even the best market economy cannot automatically eliminate the vulnerability of wage-earners and old-age pensioners. Therefore we support the creation of strong organizations to represent these interests, the idea of worker's participation, and a system of social insurance operating on market principles, as well as state assistance to those most in need. Any economy based on the principle of performance can achieve balanced development only if market standards are combined with an effective social policy based on the principle of solidarity.

WE WANT A HEALTHY HUNGARY. Freedom should also mean freedom for life. We are fighting for a country in which neither state power nor market forces are allowed to damage a healthy natural environment. Technology or the market must not become their slaves. Development should not be measured in kilowatts and profits only, but in quality of life, ecological sanity, freedom of thought, cultural riches.

WE WANT AN INDEPENDENT AND NEUTRAL HUNGARY. We realize that it would be unwise to declare our neutrality in a unilateral fashion. But we believe that Hungary will be able to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact by means of multilateral negotiations before the two military blocs are actually dissolved and Soviet troops will be withdrawn. As a political party, we seek correct relations with the representatives of the Soviet Union and other East-European states. But the allies of our party are the democratic movements of the region. The founders of the SZDSZ, the Democratic Opposition, have been fighting alongside these

movements for freedom, independence, human rights and peaceful international relations for more than a decade.

WE SEEK ALLIANCE WITH EVERY POLITICAL ELEMENT THAT FAVOURS LIBERAL DEMOCRACY AND A MODERN MARKET ECONOMY. We see FIDESZ as such a movement, and find similar trends in other parties as well. Till democracy has been completed, we seek cooperation with every element in the opposition, even those with whom we might, in the future, disagree. We value highly and we wish to enhance further the good relations between the local organizations of the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Hungarian Democratic Forum. We will make very effort to normalize relations between the leaders of the two organizations.

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SUCCESSOR TO THE FORMER COMMUNIST PARTY WILL DEPEND ON THE UNAMBIGUOUS SEPARATION OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST PARTY FROM THE PRIVILEGES OF THE PARTY-STATE. We are in no case prepared to participate in a coalition with the HSP in the first government after the elections. In our judgement, both the integrity and the stability of the transformation demand the HSP retreat into opposition. We emphasize that we do not demand the HSP's withdrawal from political life, but only from the positions previously held by the communist within the state. Therefore, whether in a governing majority, or in opposition, the Free Democrats will always raise their voice against any kind of political exclusion and witchhunt. Those rights which we have now achieved will serve to protect the access of all parties to the democratic process.

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KELEL'AFRIKÁ A HOŠE KATIE

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A Better Life for All

AFRICA A MOWENIA



Together we have won the right for all South Africans to vote

On 27 April, for the first time in our history, all of us will stand tall and proud as equal citizens in our common home.

South Africa's first democratic elections are about our common yearning for freedom, peace and a better life for all. They are about a past of oppression and despair and a future of hope and democracy.

There are those who would like us to believe that the past doesn't exist: that decades of apartheid rule have suddenly disappeared. But the economic and social devastation of apartheid remains. Our country is in a mess.

To eradicate the serious problems caused by apartheid, South Africa needs a government with the political will to meet the challenge. A government that understands the needs of the future because it understands the neglect and division of the past. We need a government that puts people first.

Proud of our past - Confident of the future

When the African National Congress set out its vision for a non-racial society on 8 January 1912, we did not know how long it would take to achieve it. What we knew was that we would not rest until these ideals were realised.

For over 80 years, the ANC has led the struggle to bring about a South Africa that belongs to all the people.

The ANC is a home for all South Africans. Our strength flows from our roots among the people. That is why we inspired people's resistance during the darkest moments. That is why we initiated and led the negotiations process. Our programme reflects years of people's struggles and is informed by their aspirations.

A Clear Plan

To build a better life for all requires clear goals and a workable plan. Any solution to the crisis of apartheid needs an approach which rises above narrow interests and harnesses all our country's resources. It requires:

- a democratic society based on equality, non-racialism and non-sexism:

- a nation built by developing our different cultures, beliefs and languages as a source of our common strength;
- an economy which grows through providing jobs, housing and education;
- a peaceful and secure environment in which people can live without fear.

These are the principles which will guide us as we work together to build a new society. The detailed framework is contained in our Reconstruction and Development Programme.

The ANC is ready to govern: we are ready to listen. In developing our policies over the years, we have consulted widely, most recently in People's Forums. We have also discussed with role players in the economy, education and other areas.

While others throw up their hands in despair or point fingers, we want to roll up our sleeves and tackle the problems. We are aware that eliminating the mess created over decades by the National Party will not be easy. But we know that you can make a difference. If we all work together, we are capable of achieving even more.

One of the most urgent challenges facing South Africa is the adoption of a new democratic constitution. In the Constitutional Assembly, whatever our majority, the ANC will strive through consultation and debate to reach national consensus.

A Government Of the People

The ANC has always stood for basic democratic principles which include:

- a constitution and Bill of Rights which guarantee human rights for all, including the right to a minimum standard of life;
- the right of all people to elect a government of their choice in regular, free and fair elections in a multi-party democracy;
- democratic government at provincial and local levels, with the powers and resources to meet people's needs;
- an independent judiciary and constitutional court protected from any government or party political interference;
- freedom from discrimination on racial, gender or any other ground;
- freedom of association and the right to worship.

A Good Beginning

Through negotiations and struggle, the ANC has ensured that South Africa's new constitution will be drafted by democratically-elected representatives.

We firmly commit ourselves to the Constitutional Principles agreed to in multi-party negotiations as a basis for drafting a new democratic constitution.

The interim constitution is an important first step towards democracy. However, the new constitution and Bill of Rights need to be truly democratic.

The challenge is to make democracy a living reality.

An Open Society

The ANC will strive for an open society that encourages vigorous debate. People must be free to express their views without fear, including criticising the government of the day. Freedom of the media will be essential for a flourishing of democracy.



Unity in Diversity

All South African languages will have equal status. No one culture will be promoted over another. Traditional leaders will be accorded the status they deserve in line with the principles of democracy. Freedom of religion and worship will be a basic right: Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Jews and all others - none will be discriminated against.

A New Style of Government

Government administration exists to serve the people. It must be answerable to them. The ANC will encourage private citizens to use the independent Public Protector to investigate corruption, dishonesty or violation of rules of conduct on the part of government officials - those found guilty will be dealt with. Forums representing government and workers, business, education and other groups will be strengthened to help in policy formulation. In government, the ANC will continue the tradition of People's Forums - meetings in which ordinary people can voice their opinions.