# CONSTITUTIONAL

Official Newsletter of the Constitutional Assembly

13 - 26 January 1995 Number 1

Building the cornerstone of the nation

eing able to write one's own constitution is a privilege not many people in the world have ever had. Inspite of our history of oppression and conflict, we will enjoy that privilege.

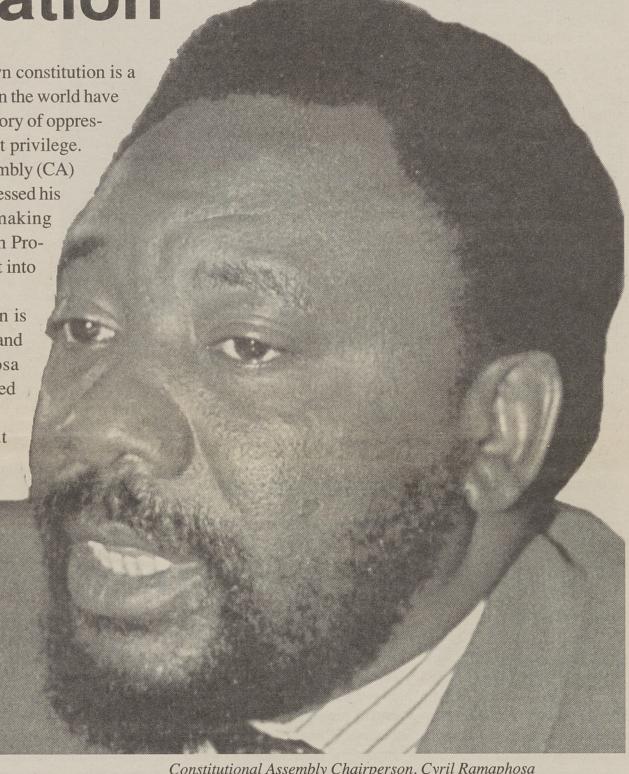
This is how Constitutional Assembly (CA) chairperson, Cyril Ramaphosa, expressed his feelings about the constitution-making process and the Public Participation Programme (PPP) which has been built into the process.

For some people, a constitution is something for academics, lawyers and other intellectuals, but Ramaphosa cautioned that apartheid laws affected people from all walks of life:

"Racial discrimination that caused so much suffering in this country was enshrined in the constitution.

"From this provision in the constitution, the apartheid parliament passed more and more repressive laws — including the Bantu Education Act and the Land Act — which stripped our people of their dignity and the right to the land of their birth.

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Constitutional Assembly Chairperson, Cyril Ramaphosa

### Inside

Interviews with the chief negotiators of the seven CA political parties, African National Congress, National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, Pan Africanist Congress, Democratic Party, Freedom Front and African Christian Democratic Party



Having your say in the constitution making process



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1995 calender target dates for the new constitution

"1995 - the year of the new constitution"

# IFP seeks strong provincial government

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Felgate said the IFP would also want to ensure that more powers are given to the provinces, arguing that even the Interim Constitution stipulated that the provinces "will have no less than..."

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The IFP, Felgate said, had not yet developed a firm position on the type of a constituency-based system it would like the new constitution to provide for.

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But the IFP would certainly not want the principle of a Government of National Unity (GNU) to be carried over to the new constitution.

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Turning to the Volkstaat

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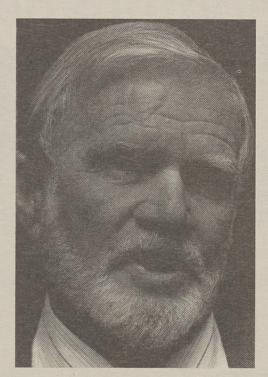
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But he said the current boundaries were "fairly satisfactory, although we will need some adjustments in areas such as the Eastern Cape Province". The protection of traditional law and custom is also on a list of issues the IFP will want the CA to consider. Felgate said the IFP wanted an arrangement where traditional authorities will be sub-structures of elected bodies, instead of falling under them which would "destroy traditional authority".

The IFP had no problems with the time frames for writing the new constitution. But, Felgate said: "We want the new constitution to be written efficiently and quickly, if possible, within the existing time frames.

"But we must not sacrifice the integrity of the constitution by taking short-cuts to force things into time frames," he said.



Walter Felgate

## Building the cornerstone of the nation

from page 1

s we are all aware, problems caused by these laws, did not affect lawyers and academics alone. All of us paid the price—one way or the other."

Responding to comments made by some CA members and other commentators that the time available for writing the new constitution was not adequate, Ramaphosa said: "We have close to 18 months in which to write and adopt the new constitution. If we use this time with the resolve of doing just that, the time will certainly be enough."

However, he did not dismiss suggestions that because of the PPP element, there might not be enough time for all South Africans to be given the opportunity of making an input.

Ramaphosa believes that "we should proceed with our work and review the time frames should we realise that the time is insufficient.

"We can't have an open ended process, for numerous reasons. Firstly we are using taxpayers' money. We cannot continue spending without giving an indication to our people about when we will deliver.

"We also need to deliver the new constitution as soon as possible, because of the various inefficiencies of the Interim Constitution," he said.

Ramaphosa is convinced that should an extension be required, all seven parties in the CA will unanimously vote to ammend the Interim Constitution's provision which stipulates that the constitution-making process should run for two years.

"We demonstrated that flexibility when there was a need to increase the number of members of the Panel of Independent Constitutional Experts from five to seven. No party or member of the CA voted against this amendment," he said.

He was referring to the recent amendment to the constitution which was required to ensure that race and gender representivity was accommodated in the panel.

Ramaphosa was confident that it wont be necessary to resort to refernda to help the CA break deadlocks should any arise. He is convinced that all seven parties will "always strive to find consensus" even on issues that could be regarded as contentious.

"We went through the first six months of the process without any hurdles at all. "Our deliberations have been marked by an honest desire by all to ensure that we reach as much consensus as possible. I have no doubt that the same spirit will prevail during the equally difficult stage that we will enter when we resume our work soon," he said.

About the PPP, Ramaphosa said: "No citizen of our country should fail to answer to this noble challenge" of taking part in the writing of the new constitution.

Every weekend CA members will travel to townships, villages, suburbs, informal settlements and farms to address workshops, seminars, sector and area forums where people will be given the opportunity to make inputs.

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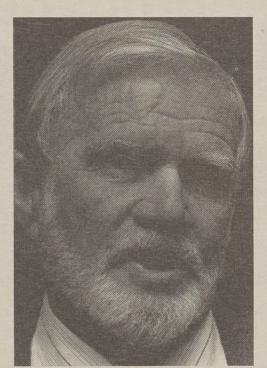
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## People's aspirations come first - ANC

s the Constitutional As sembly (CA) begins to deal with substantive issues, the ANC will try to ensure that the final constitution "reflects the aspirations of all South Africans", according to the party's chief negotiator, Mohammed Valli Moosa.

"The constitution the ANC would like to see at the end of the process should unambiguously reflect the principle of majority rule," Moosa explained. "It will have to provide that future governments will be based on that principle."

He said the ANC was entering this stage of the constitutionmaking process with the principle that "nobody, no political party should assume that it knows best what the people of the country want".

"We will insist that the CA leaves no stone unturned in consulting with people throughout the country. Whatever emerges from that process will have to be reflected in the new constitution." he said.

On the question of a federal system of government being enshrined in the new constitution, Moosa said his organisation would rather opt for a constitution that is "not for or against federalism, as such".

"We will take note of the experiences we have learnt from the way provincial governments are operating now. We will consult with our structures in the provinces whether to leave or change that system," said Moosa.

Regarding the question of rights of citizens being enshrined in the new constitution, Moosa said the ANC would like to ensure that the final text contains a Bill of Rights, instead of a chapter (on fundemental rights) contained in the Interim Constitution.

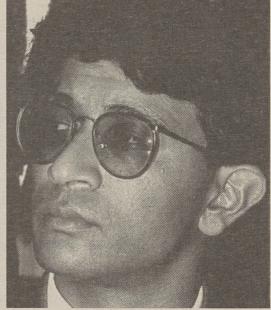
"More careful thought will have to be given to second and third generation rights. We understand that this issue could not be finalised at the multi-party negotiating process because we thought that that body could not perform this

"The constitution must guarantee that there will be a vertical and horizontal application of the Bill of Rights so that citizens can know how to relate to each other, instead of the constitution provid-

ing only for a relationship between the citizens and the state," he said.

The ANC will also want a constitution that unequivocally provides for democratic representation at all levels. "The constitutional principles say that there should be democratically elected governments at all levels, from national to local level," Moosa said.

Asked whether this provision would not lead to clashes with traditional authorities since traditional leaders are not supposed to be elected, Moosa said: "Democratic representation at all levels does not in any way mean that we will not give recognition



Mohammed Valli Moosa

to traditional authorities and traditional leaders.

"We will be fortunate that when we draft the new text the House of Traditional Leaders will already be in place and we will draw on their input on how traditional authority can be embodied in the new constitution without resulting in any confusion."

Regarding the issue of a Volkstaat, Moosa said the ANC would wait until the Volkstaat Council has made its submissions on this issue and the nature of the Volkstaat is explained.

"The nature of their input will inform us about the response we should give," he said.

# Minority rights must be protected - NP

that will enhance the Interim Constitution, says the par-Schoeman.

The NP, which is the second largest party in the Constitutional Assembly, will certainly play a key role in shaping the new constitution.

Schoeman said the NP wants to ensure a new constitution that will have a "balanced" charter on fundamental rights to satisfy the different interest groups in the country, "taking into account international protocols and minority rights".

This, Schoeman said, was not an attempt to secure a minority veto, but a way to ensure that all cultural, language, political and religious, however small, are recognised and given a role to play.

However, Schoeman said the NP was still trying to work out whether the system of proportional representation — which en-

he National Party (NP) sures a role for political minoriwants a new constitu-tion ties, at least — should be retained in the new constitution.

"It is too early to have a ty's executive director Fanus fixed view about what kind of a system we want."

> "We are considering a dual system of proportional representation as well as constituencies to reflect proportionality and retain the line between the electorate and their representatives.

not taken a final decision on ments are concerned. whether they would like the new constitution to provide for a Government of National Unity (GNU).

"It's also too early to tell. As far as we are concerned, the GNU is working well, it is helping us through the difficult phase of transition.

"We are studying other models in several parts of the world, to determine whether we should have a 100 percent proportional representation system or a constituency-based system," he said.

The NP, Schoeman said, be-

lieves that a constituency-based system was essential because it provides a direct link between party elected representatives and voters, which the proportional representation system fails to do.

One other aspect the NP would like to see enshrined in the new constitution is the powers of provincial governments.

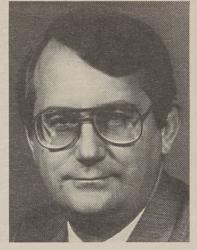
"We will want a fuller and detailed situation as far as the Equally, the NP has as yet powers for provincial govern-

> "The new constitution should make it certain to them (the provinces) about what their powers are," said Schoeman.

> This, he added, did not necessarily mean that the NP wanted more powers for provincial governments than those provided for in the Interim Constitution, but that there should be more clarity in the new constitution.

> Equally, the NP would want the functions of the second house of parliament, the Senate, clearly defined in the new constitution.

> > "We would like Senators to



Fanus Schoeman

play their role as representatives of the provinces. As it is now, the Senate is trying to work out its functions for itself. The new constitution should make it easier for them."

The size of Parliament — 400 National Assembly and 90 Senate members — which for other parties was too big and needed to be cut down in the new constitution, was not a priority for the NP, Schoeman said.

"If you have a country as big as ours, it is important to ensure that you give every citizen the right to be properly represented in parliament."

Schoeman said his party would not go back to its policy that South Africa should be a Christian state.

"It is not wise for a government to stand for a specific religion," he said. "Religious freedom are the key words.

# How you can play a role in the constitution - making process

constitution-making process. The PPP includes a media through which members of the public can take part in the campaign to inform, educate and stimulate public interest process. Because of this, several people have contacted on the process. A multi-media strategy will ensure that peo- the CA to find out exactly how the PPP will work. Here ple throughout the country are informed and educated about are some of the questions that were asked:

he Constitutional Assembly (CA) has decided to the process. This campaign will have a strong rural focus. run a Public Participation Programme (PPP) to al The PPP will be the first of its kind in the world with a low all South African citizens to take part in the community liaison campaign which will provide a forum

## How can I, as an ordinary person, take part?

Members of the Theme Committees will hold area forums throughout the country where any member of the public can express his or her views on any issue about the writing of the constitution.

Members of the public may also make written submissions to the CA.

The public will be constantly informed, through the media, about the issues that will be under discussion at the Theme Committees. The Theme Committees may also hold hearings on specific matters and may invite the public to participate. These hearings, like the area forums, can be held anywhere in the country, not necessarily in Cape Town. The public will be informed about venues of each hearing or area forum.

### After I have made my input, how will it reach the CA?

Inputs from the public will be written down, summarised and put before the relevant Theme Committees together with submissions. The inputs will then be processed in the same way as submissions from political parties and other structures. Written submissions will also be placed before the relevant Theme Committees.

The administration of the CA will note all submissions in a register which will contain, among other data, the nature of each submission, the name of the person or institution responsible for the submission and the Theme Committee to which the submission was referred. Through this any member of the public may, at any time, find out from the CA how his or her submission was treated.

#### Send your submissions to

The Secretariat Constitutional Assembly P.O. Box 15, Cape Town 8000

#### Is there a deadline for submissions?

The themes for discussion have been divided into blocks. Each block will run for a specific period. During that period, members of the public will be informed through the media about the deadline and the subject for which submissions should be made.

Although late submissions will be acommodated, timeous ones will ensure that the administration and Theme Committees have enough time to process them.

In the case of oral submissions, the public will make their inputs directly to Theme Committee members who will guide them on the issue under discussion in that particular period.

Members of the public can make inputs about any other matter relating to the process, even if such a matter belongs to a past or future block. The final deadline for submissions is June 30 1995 —the date on which all six Theme Committees will submit their final report to the Constitutional Committee.

### After 30 June, will I have another opportunity to make an input?

Yes! On July 14, the CA will adopt a draft constitution and refer it to the Constitutional Court which will certify whether the draft complies with all the 34 Constitutional Principles.

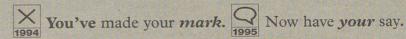
After certification, the draft constitution will be published for public comment. Members of the CA will again hold meetings with the public throughout the country to hear what the public has to say about the draft. Written comments will also be accommodated. This process will run until May 10 next year when the CA will consider all the comments and adopt the final constitution after debate.

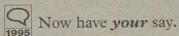


## The layman's guide.

- **Step 1** You decide what you want in the constitution.
- **Step 2** You air your views by contacting a member of the Constitutional Assembly, your organisation or write direct to The Secretariat, The Constitutional Assembly, PO Box 15 Cape Town, 8000.
- **Step 3** Theme Committees will receive the proposals and compile reports for debate by the Constitutional Committee.
- **Step 4** All 490 elected members of the Constitutional Assembly will debate and then draw up a draft constitution based on all the proposals that are submitted.
- Step 5 The Draft Constitution is made available to the public for comment.
- Step 6 The Constitutional Assembly adopts the new
- Step 7 Our new Constitution is referred to the Constitutional Court for certification.

For the first time in mankind's history a Constitution is being drafted by the very people it will affect. You, the citizens of our land. So don't keep quiet. Remember if you don't live under your law you'll live under someone else's.





THE NEW CONSTITUTION

HUNT LASCARIS TBWA 501004

# Volkstaat high on FF's agenda

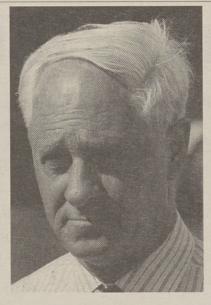
eneral Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front's (FF) goal in the process of drafting the new constitution is the achievement of a "tailor-made constitution to satisfy the peculiar and specific requirements of South Africa".

Viljoen said no constitutional model applied elsewhere in the world could provide a lesson to South Africa, given the "complexities of our situation".

"If you apply direct majority rule, you will permanently put some people outside decisionmaking.

"Afrikaners may be in the minority but they can play a key role in assisting the majority in decision-making... And that is the role that the new constitution must define," he said.

Viljoen argues that a way



General Viljoen

has to be found to "acknowledge" majority rule, but also to ensure that there is no oppression over the minority. His party, he said, cannot prescribe a solution to this. "That is what we have to negotiate."

Discussing the notion of a Volkstaat — a subject that is likely to dominate his party's submissions — Viljoen insisted that this was neither a demand for a separate country for Afrikaners nor for an area where Afrikaners can exercise racial discrimination over people of other races.

"If you look at the situation now, we (the Afrikaners) are distributed throughout the country. There is nowhere where we are not. But there is no arge area where we are in the majority because of mistakes of the past.

"What we are talking about, when we talk about a Volkstaat, is an engine room to develop Afrikaner culture, religion and language, so that we can have our own radio stations, schools and universities and be sure that our language will be the official language in that area," he said.

He added that Afrikaners living in the Volkstaat would have to have political but not economic autonomy because "South Africa is inter-dependent economically".

The process of establishing the Volkstaat, he said, would start with the identification of an area where Afrikaners would be resettled voluntarily. Other nations could stay In this area and would not be denied franchise, he added.

Asked whether Afrikaners would enjoy any additional rights in the Volkstaat, he said: "No! This is not the purpose. The problem is that we are being swamped by other nations. Our language is slowly dying.

"You will see now that many black kids will come to schools that teach in Afrikaans — not that I am against this — and what will happen is that they (the

schools) will have to change and teach in English simply because soon there will be a majority black rule."

Discussing the type of arrangement his party was looking for, he said: "We are looking for an area like Venda, where the majority are Vendas, they speak their language, they have their own leaders and exercise their culture, but they are still part of South Africa."

Should the envisaged Volkstaat be classified as a province, would they insist on an Afrikaner premier, for example? Viljoen said: "We will have a constitution there that will not allow racial discrimination. But just as this country will always have a black president because of the numbers, in that province as well, we might end up with Afrikaner dominated government all the time, because we will be in the majority."

Fears that such an Afrikaner province or Volkstaat might later seek independence could be real, but he argued: "To my mind there is no region in South Africa that can afford independence. Take KwaZulu/Natal, it is a big region, but it won't survive on its own because our economy is so interdependent."

# Supreme laws of God must prevail - ACDP

he African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) is set to ensure a new constitution that "upholds God's moral laws", says its leader, Pastor Kenneth Meshoe.

"We don't want to see a constitution that undermines the supreme laws of God," he insisted during an interview with *Constitutional Talk*.

The ACDP is the smallest of the seven parties represented in the Constitutional Assembly. It was established shortly before the April elections and its electoral campaign was based on Christian principles, family values and an open economy. Although the party and its leadership believe in Christianity, Meshoe says the party does not favour a situation where a country is declared a Christian state.

"A country cannot become Christian but only its' people. The constitution must allow Christians and other religious groups to worship freely without any government interference." What the ACDP wants, Meshoe says, is to ensure that "whether we are Christians, Muslims or any other religion, we have a constitution that respects the will of God. Christian and Islamic principles — when it comes to moral issues — are not in conflict with one another."

The ACDP wants to ensure "the rights of victims", as well.

"We want to see a constitution that protects the rights of all citizens, especially the rights of law abiding citizens. We hear all the time about the rights of culprits and prisoners," said Meshoe.

Although he did not suggest that convicted criminals should not have rights, Meshoe said: "It does not make sense that a convicted criminal would insist on a two-star accommodation in jail, when a law abiding citizen is living in a shack."

There also should be a balance between rights and responsibilities, Meshoe said.

"When people demand certain rights, they must also be pre-

pared to accept responsibilities."

Meshoe is concerned about a provision in the Interim Constitution that, in his opinion, goes against "the will of God and African culture".

And that is the clause in the Interim Constitution that prohibits discrimination on grounds such as sexual preference.

The ACDP, Meshoe said, is against homosexuality, therefore giving no room for marriages of people of the same sex.

"What people do not realise is that this clause puts us priests in a lot of trouble... What it means is that if two people of the same sex come to my church and ask me to marry them, if I refuse on grounds that they are of the same sex, they have recourse to the law," he said.

During the process of drafting the new constitution, the ACDP will make people aware of the "real implications of a clause of this nature" as the party would like it omitted when the new constitution is drawn.



Pastor Kenneth Meshoe

A provision allowing priests a choice on whether to perform this type of marriage would not be enough as far as the ACDP is concerned, Meshoe said. "We have to test the will of the people on this issue... And I am sure the majority of our people would not allow such marriages to be legalised. This is against the will of God and African culture. It is just the truth," he insisted.

Asked whether such a position would not antagonise the human rights movement, Meshoe said: "If human rights groupings want to be against the truth, so be it.

"And, as an African, I wouldn't like to see European liberals imposing their lifestyles on the African masses."

# Clarify Court's role - PAC

s the process of debating substantive issues starts, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is concerned that the Constitutional Court "and not the people" will have the final word on the new constitutional text, according to its chief negotiators, Gora Ebrahim.

The Constitutional Court is supposed to certify the new constitutional text to ensure that it complies with the set of 34 Constitutional Principles that the Constitutional Assembly (CA) has to abide by during its work.

Ebrahim argues that the Constitutional Court is not thoroughly representative of the entire South African population.

"The Constitutional Court cannot claim to either have been elected or representative," he said.

He said the legal profession from which the majority of members of this court have been drawn, was made up of the "same people who have ruled in the past".

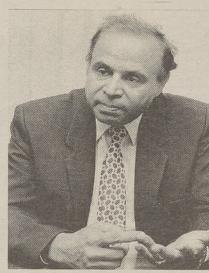
"There are serious imbalances in the legal profession from the point of view of race and gender. If you have a composition of that kind and then draw people from that body to have a final say in the new constitution, then the whole purpose of a having a CA is defeated," said Ebrahim.

His party did not have a problem with the principle of the CA being bound by Constitutional Principles in the performance of its tasks, but it was concerned with some of those principles.

"We do have problems that some of those Constitutional Principles are merely aimed at protecting certain interests.

"If the idea is that they should be there to protect the interests of our people, against whom are we protecting them because the CA is a body elected by the people themselves?"

Ebrahim said his party wanted the principle of a unitary state to be enshrined in the new



Gora Ebrahim

constitution. "We will not agree to any move towards fragmentation based on ethnicity or race."

This, however, did not mean that the PAC would object to the existence of provincial and local governments, he said. "But these structures must be limited to the task of service delivery within a broad central government policy."

The PAC, therefore, would not agree to the suggestion that provinces should have their own constitutions. "That will mean fragmenting the country," Ebrahim said.

While the PAC recognised that a constituency-based system would not have been possible in

the April election, the party would now go out to ensure that this system is enshrined in the final constitution. "The PAC recognises the fact that under the present circumstances, it would not have been possible to hold a constituency-based election, because we would end up having apartheidbased constituencies, because of the way in which the apartheid system has divided us.

"We must now strive towards demarcating constituencies. Fortunately, we will hold local government elections soon — which cannot be held without a proper registration of voters."

Asked about the PAC's position on the Volkstaat issue, since it abstained when the vote on the establishment of the Volkstaat Council was tabled in the National Assembly, Ebrahim said: "We could not vote on something that is not clear to us.

"The Volkstaat advocates have not yet submitted a full proposal on the said Volkstaat. We want to know what will happen to non-Afrikaners living in that Volkstaat?

"If we are about to write a constitution that will guarantee equal rights to all, what other rights are the Volkstaat advocates would like to enjoy in the

# Keep it liberal, democratic and

# federal - DF

emocratic Party (DP) chief negotiator, Colin Eglin, said the starting point for his party when it comes to writing the new constitution is that of "a constitution that is liberal, democratic and federal".

A constitution like this, he said, will be "best suited to meet the needs of our people and reflect the realities of our country".

"Throughout the constitution-making process the Democratic Party will try to strengthen these features, some of which are present in the Interim Constitution and we will want to see them built into the new constitution," he said.

The overall DP input into the making of the new constitution will be based on the party's desire to ensure that a constitution must bring government closer to the people — and the people closer to government.

"Wherever possible, people must be empowered to make decisions on matters directly affecting their lives and their communities," he said.

"This can be done by strength-

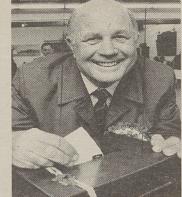
ening the provincial system, allocating more original powers to the provincial governments and ensuring their financial and fiscal viability," Eglin said.

"In addition, there must be effective people-driven local governments in both the urban and rural areas through which communities can exercise a considerable degree of local autonomy." To ensure effectiveness whether at the national, provincial or local levels of government, the DP, will want to ensure that the constitution maximises openness and accountability at these levels.

"This can be done by introducing strong checks on the executive government and on the decisions of bureaucrats, and by introducing direct constituency accountability for elected public representatives.

"The public must have the right of access to information relating to executive and administrative decisions," said Eglin.

The Bill of Rights to be enshrined in the new constitution should



Colin Eglin

guarantee fundamental human rights, civil liberties and equality before the law to all the people of the country, he added.

"The Bill of Rights must be written in a language that can be understood and be meaningful to the individual citizens of our country."

If the Bill of Rights will provide a legal framework within which the society will function and governance will take place, it is essential that there should be a strong and independent judiciary, he said.

This means that the courts as well as the entire legal system should be readily accessible to the ordinary citizens.

"While it is important that the new constitution should totally reject all forms of racial discrimination, it must provide for the cultural, religious and language diversity that is part of our country's rich heritage.

"Each South African, whether acting as in an individual or acting together with others with whom he or she shares a common heritage, must feel comfortable and secure under the new constitution.

"The new constitution must encourage our people to say 'inspite of our diversity, we are all South Africans. Because the constitution respects our rights, we respect it too'," said Eglin.

Although believing that representivity and accountability makes it necessary for South Africa to have a range of legislative, executive and judicial structures, the DP believes that a developing country like South Africa should take the cost factor into account.

In this regard, the DP will strive to ensure that government structures under the new constitution are as small and as cost-effective as possible. "After all, there is not much point in having new constitutional structures if the country cannot afford to pay for them," he said.

# Structure of the Constitutional Assembly (CA)

Constitutional Assembly
490 members
400 from the National Assembly
90 from the Senate

Panel of Independent Constitutional Experts 7 Members

Constitutional Committee
46 Members

Management Committee 12 members

Theme

Character of State

30 Members Theme

Structure of State

30 Members Theme Committee

Relationship between levels of Government

30 Members Theme Committee

Fundamental Rights

30 Members Theme Committee 5

Judiciary and legal systems

30 Members Theme Committee

Specialised structures of Government

6

30 Members

#### **CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY**

This is the highest decision-maker in the entire process. It will receive reports from the Constitutional Committee.

These will be debated and adopted as the constitutional text.

#### PANEL OF INDEPENDENT CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERTS

Their role is to help break deadlocks that may occur during the process.

They may also be asked to perform any other tasks by the Constitutional Assembly or the Chairperson.

#### **CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE**

This structure receives summaries of submissions from the six Theme Committees, debate, formulate positions of agreement and disagreement and process these for further debate by the Constitutional Assembly.

#### **MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE**

It deals with issues relating to the management of the process. Its tasks include setting up agendas for Constitutional Committee meetings and attend to administrative matters of the entire Constitutional Assembly.

#### THEME COMMITTEES

These receive submissions from political parties, organisations and the public. These submissions are received in writing, hearings, public meetings or conferences. These will be the structures that will interact with the public at large.