

2/4/2/1/1/17

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

THEME COMMITTEE 2 STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEME COMMITTEE MEETING

Monday
3 April 1995
18h00-21h30
M46

DOCUMENTATION

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CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY
THEME COMMITTEE 2
STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT
THEME COMMITTEE MEETING

Please note that a meeting of TC2 will be held as indicated below:

Date : Monday 3 April 1995

Time : 18h00 - 21h30

Venue : M46

AGENDA

1. Opening and Welcome
2. Theme Committee Minutes (13 March 1995)
(see documentation p 3 - 9)
3. Electoral System Workshop Proposal
(see documentation p 10)
4. Establishment of Commissions
(see documentation p 11)
5. Submissions
(separate documentation provided)
6. Any other business
7. Closure

REQUEST TO MEMBERS:

- A. Will members kindly bring with the following documentation:
- (i) this documentation pack
 - (ii) submissions volume 3
 - (iii) submissions volume 4
 - (iv) submissions spec edition
 - (v) submissions composite edition

- B. Will members also kindly finalise with their political parties each party's list of representatives and alternates to theme committee 2, and ensure that details of their recess addresses are made available to the Secretariat at the meeting (address forms will be provided at the meeting).
-

**HASSEN EBRAHIM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY**

Enquiries:	James Nene	Pager: 468 - 5050 CODE 9127; Tel: 403 - 2109
	Thomas Smit	403 - 2281
	Charmaine Fredericks	245031 EXT 2272

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY
THEME COMMITTEE 2
MINUTES OF COMMITTEE MEETING
Monday 13 March 1995
9H00-12h00
M46

PRESENT

Rabie JA (chairperson)

Ackerman C
Dexter P
Ebrahim AG
Eglin CW
Forster JA
Groenewald PH
Holomisa SP
Ligege MG
Mabudafhasi RT
Mahlangu MJ

Mars I
Moloto CP (Alt)
Mohlamonyane GM
Msomi M
Mushwana GM
Olifant DAA
Pahad EGH
Ramusi MC
Sethema BEE
Shabangu S

APOLOGIES

**Mlangeni A
Phakathi NE**

ABSENT

Some parties have yet to complete their list of representatives and alternates. An attendance register shall be tabled at the committee for confirmation, to enable Administration to ascertain who is absent at future meetings.

IN ATTENDANCE

TECHNICAL COMMITTEES: Dlova V, Motimele AMM, Nhlapo RT, Steytler NC, Van Wyk DH

SECRETARIAT: Nene J, Smit T, Fredericks C

1. OPENING AND WELCOME

1.1. The meeting was opened by Rabie JA.

2. THEME COMMITTEE MINUTES (27/02/95)

2.1. The above minutes were adopted subject to the following corrections:

- (i) the meeting was chaired and opened by Mahlangu, MJ, and Rabie JA shall be listed under apologies;
- (ii) in respect of annexure "A":
 - (a) item 1 (vi); "mayor" shall be replaced with "deputy speaker";
 - (b) item 2 (v); shall be deleted;
 - (c) item 4; the heading "Eastern Transvaal, White River", shall be replaced with "Northern Transvaal"

3. MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES

3.1. Response to Request to Management Committee for Guidelines Regarding Direct Political Party Access

3.1.1. The meeting noted the Executive Director's response, and indicated that the matter had been clarified.

3.1.2. The Executive Director's response included excerpts from the minutes of the Management Committee of 10 and 17

**Embargoed until 18h00
3 April 1995**

November 1994, which indicated amongst other matters:

- (i) that all requests from any structure of the Constitutional Assembly for legal or research assistance be made only by a Theme Committee;
- (ii) that parties or members requiring assistance should table such matters through the Theme Committee; and,
- (iii) that upon receipt of a request for research or legal assistance, that Administration will, in taking into consideration the recommendations made by a structure, seek to secure the best possible assistance.

4. CORE GROUP REPORT

4.1. The Core Group tabled:

- (i) the ad hoc Technical Committee's proposed *Workshop on Traditional Leaders and Indigenous Law* (see further item 5.2.); and,
- (ii) the TC2 Technical Committee's *Programme of Workshops and Core Group's Response* (see further item 6.1.).

5. TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON TRADITIONAL LEADERS

5.1. Attachment to TC2

5.1.1. The meeting noted that the ad hoc Technical Committee on Traditional Leaders was now attached to the TC2, for co-ordination purposes.

5.2. *Proposed Workshop on Traditional Leaders and Indigenous Law*

5.2.1. The convenor of the ad hoc Technical Committee, Prof T Nhlapo, presented the draft programme of a workshop scheduled to take place on 3 April 1995. This workshop had arisen from the meeting of joint Core Groups, Technical Committees, and the ad hoc Technical Committee, which took place on 6 March 1995.

5.2.2. Prof Nhlapo reported that it had not been intended by the joint meeting mentioned in item 5.2.1. that the workshop deal with the actual substance of the issues; its aim was to brief all TC's about the issues which are involved, with which TC's do they resort, and the process involved in addressing the issues. He added that the ad hoc Technical Committee also requires some

Embargoed until 18h00
3 April 1995

clarity from the TC2 regarding TC2's work programme for the ad hoc Technical Committee.

- 5.2.3. Prof Dlova noted that the TC2 Technical Committee accepted the principle of the workshop, but would like the details of the workshop concluded after there had been discussion by the TC2 Technical Committee about the content of the workshop.
- 5.2.4. The Chairperson clarified the issues raised above as follows: at the meeting of 6 March noted above, a particular mandate regarding the workshop was given to the ad hoc Technical Committee. However, the substance of the issues that may be identified at that workshop will be dealt with at other workshops and meetings of those affected Theme Committees. Therefore, the workshop scheduled to take place on 3 April, will replace the workshop intended by the TC2 Technical Committee to deal with substance and scheduled to take place on 3 April 1995 (see programme adopted under item 6.1.).
- 5.2.5. The meeting noted the draft programme for the *Proposed Workshop on Traditional Leaders and Indigenous Law* scheduled to take place on Monday 3 April 1995. The meeting approved the draft programme, with the following amendments: that the meeting shall not extend beyond lunch. The meeting agreed that even though the programme is lengthy, the inputs shall not be concerned with substance, but shall merely flesh out the issues in order to come to an understanding of the issues involved, which theme committees are affected thereby, and how to proceed on the basis of this understanding.

6. TECHNICAL COMMITTEE PROGRAMME IN GENERAL

- 6.1. The meeting adopted the TC2 Technical Committee's *Programme of Workshops, as amended* by the Core Group:

THEME COMMITTEE 2
PROPOSED PROGRAMME FOR IN-HOUSE WORKSHOPS

TECHNICAL ADVISORS' PROPOSAL

CORE GROUP'S RESPONSE

Embargoed until 18h00
3 April 1995

<p>Topic: Legislature & Executive: Provincial Level</p> <p>Date: 20 March 1995</p>	<p>Topic: Relationship between the Legislature & Executive: Appropriate checks and balances to ensure accountability, responsiveness, and openness: National Level</p> <p>Date: 27 March 1995</p>
<p>Topic: Traditional Authorities</p> <p>Date: 03 April 1995</p>	<p>Topic: Joint Theme Committees Workshop on Traditional Authorities and Indigenous law to replace TC 2 workshop on Traditional Authorities</p> <p>Date: 03 April 1995</p>
<p>Topic Community Self Determination/ Volkstaat</p> <p>Date: 24 April 1995</p>	<p>Topic: Community Self Determination/ Volkstaat</p> <p>No Workshop until the findings of the Volkstaat Council are presented to the Theme Committee.</p>
<p>Topic: Electoral system</p> <p>Date: 08 May 1995</p>	<p>Topic: Electoral system</p> <p>Date: 08 May 1995. This date is provisional</p>
<p>Topic: Constitutional Amendments</p> <p>Date: 22 May 1995</p>	<p>Topic: Constitutional Amendments</p> <p>NO DECISION TAKEN</p>

**Embargoed until 18h00
3 April 1995**

7. ANY OTHER BUSINESS

7.1. Submissions

7.1.1. The meeting noted that outstanding political party submissions in respect of block 2/3 shall be submitted as soon as possible.

7.1.2. The meeting also noted that the deadline for the public submissions was 10 March 1995, and that those submissions shall be processed by the Secretariat as soon as possible. It was noted that copies of the original submissions shall be made available to political parties, and that an analysis of the submissions document shall be made at a later stage.

7.2. Memorandum: Weekly Briefings on the Constitution Making Process

7.2.1. The meeting noted the memorandum from "Enoch Sithole", and agreed that although there is no doubt that the memo is well meant, messages other than from the Secretariat should be co-ordinated through Mr Ebrahim's office.

7.2.2. The meeting further adopted the proposal by Mr Sithole for weekly press briefings, and nominated the Co-chairpersons to attend after consultation with the Core Group, in order that a consensus viewpoint may be presented. It was noted that the press briefings may be opened up through consultation to include other members of the Theme Committee.

7.2.3. The meeting also noted a reservation that there should not be representation from each TC as a matter of routine even when a TC has nothing to report, because it may cause the press to lose interest.

7.3. Traditional Leaders' Submissions

7.3.1. The meeting noted that there are various ways in which the submissions or inputs in respect of traditional leaders may be sought, including written submissions, verbal evidence, and public participation meetings.

7.3.2. However, it was noted that there is widespread ignorance concerning the concept of traditional leadership, including in respect of the following issues:

(i) who are traditional authorities? What are the differences

**Embargoed until 18h00
3 April 1995**

between those who are government appointments, and those who are hereditary appointments?

- (ii) how does the system of traditional authorities work?
- (iii) what are the objections to the system?

7.3.3. In the premises, the meeting requested the ad hoc Technical Committee in respect of Traditional Leaders to compile a written report aimed at clarifying the questions referred to in 7.3.2. above. The meeting noted that the task shall take into account sensitivities that may exist regarding the issues. Furthermore, it noted that what was requested was not research which included recommendations, but merely information that would make the committee knowledgeable of the issues concerned, as well as how the different regions differ regarding these questions.

8. CLOSURE

8.1. The meeting closed at 11h00.

Signed by Chairperson_____

Embargoed until 18h00
3 April 1995

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE OF THEME COMMITTEE TWO

DRAFT PROPOSAL OF PROGRAMME FOR SEMINAR ON ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

1. Proportional representation and the 1994 election: the effect on election campaigning and accountability - an empirical analysis.

Mr Pierre de Vos (Law Faculty, UWC)

2. Towards accountable proportional representation: Combining proportional representation with constituencies.

Dr Jaques de Ville (Law Faculty, UWC)

3. Appointment to Parliament other than through direct elections: Members nominated by the executive, senators elected by the National Assembly.

Dr Tiya Maluwa (Law Faculty, UCT)

4. Electoral systems and party democracy.

5. Electoral systems, parliamentary autonomy and party control: An international perspective.

Mr Michael Krennerich (Centre of Political Science,
University of Heidelberg, Germany)

6. Regulating the electoral system in the final Constitution.

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

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FAX: (27) 21 461 4339

PO Box 15
CAPE TOWN 8000
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REF NO:

MEMORANDUM

23 March 1995

To All Theme Committees

Re : Establishment of Commissions

All Theme Committees have been requested by the Management Committee to reconsider the establishment of commissions. You should please consider what issues, if any, in your Theme Committee are best dealt with in Commissions. Please direct responses to the Executive Director by Friday 1 April 1995.

HASSEN EBRAHIM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

TELEPHONE: (021) 403 2252
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(SC - Technical Advisors - 15 March 1995)

CAPE TOWN 8000
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REF No:

15 March 1995

To all Theme Committee Chairpersons

Re: Appointment of Technical Experts to Technical Committees

At the last Constitutional Committee meeting held on 13 March 1995, a report was tabled from the Subcommittee dealing with the appointment of Technical Experts. The report dealt with the replacement of Technical Committee members and the appointment of various Ad-hoc Committees. Below follows all the appointments presented by the SubCommittee and approved by the Constitutional Committee.

1. Replacements

Prof Dlamini to serve in Theme Committee One instead of Prof Thomashausen.

2. Ad-Hoc Committee on Traditional Leaders

Prof B Mqeke would replace Prof Dlamini.

3. Ad-Hoc Committee on Self-determination

Prof Raath
Prof W Breytenbach
Prof Corder

4. Ad-Hoc Committee on Local Government

Mr Andrew Borraine
Mr Blake Mosley
Mr Andre Cornellisson

**5. Sub-Theme Committee 6.2. Technical Committee - Public Protector
(Still to be finalised)**

Mr Louis Van Zyl

Ms Christina Qunta

6. Sub-Theme Committee 6.2 Technical Committee - Land
(Still to be finalised)

Dr Funiwe Njobe
Ms Aninka Claasens

Hassen Ebrahim
Executive Director

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

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PO Box 15
CAPE TOWN 8000
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REF NO: B.1.1

28 February 1995

TO CHAIRPERSONS OF THEME COMMITTEES II, III & VI

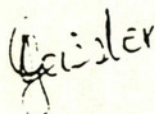
RE: PROPOSED WORKSHOP ON INSTITUTIONALISATION OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

My letter dated 21 February 1995 with regard to the above, refers.

I attach under cover hereof further correspondence received from Prof D M Irvine from the Commission on Provincial Government for your consideration, please.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully



**H EBRAHIM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

COMMISSION ON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Established in terms of section 163 of Act 200, 1993

260 Walker Street Sunnyside Private Bag X887 Pretoria 0001
Telephone (012) 44-2297 Fax (012) 341-8452

TELEFAX COVERING SHEET/DEKBLAD

TO/AAN: MR HASSEN EBRAHIM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY
FAXNUMBER/FAKSNOMMER: 021 4614339 / 4614487
FROM/VAN: PROFESSOR D IRVINE
SUBJECT/ONDERWERP: WORKSHOPS - CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY AND CPG.
NUMBER OF PAGES/AANTAL BLADSYE: 1 +
If you have not received all the pages please phone: Indien u nie al die bladsye ontvang het nie skakel asseblief: (012) 442297

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Established in terms of section 163 of Act 200, 1993

260 Walker Street Sunnyside Private Bag X887 Pretoria 0001
Telephone (012) 44-2297 Fax (012) 341-8452

1995-02-24

Mr Hassen Ebrahim
Executive Director
Constitutional Assembly
P O Box 15
CAPE TOWN
8000

Dear Mr Ebrahim

WORKSHOP PROGRAMMES: CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY AND COMMISSION ON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

To conform as closely as possible with the time frames within which the Constitutional Assembly is working, we are attempting to reorganise the schedule for Workshops we will be conducting on the following topics:

- (a) Financial and fiscal matters (provincial and local government);
- (b) Traditional authorities;
- (c) Local government;
- (d) Intergovernmental relations

It would be very helpful if you could let us know what Workshops the Constitutional Assembly is planning to organise on these or other topics. Clearly, it would make sense to avoid a mere duplication of effort; and more positively, to cooperate where feasible. However, it may also prove to be the case that the concerns and emphasis of the Constitutional Assembly and, more particularly, the Theme Committees, could differ from what the Commission hopes to gain from these Workshops.

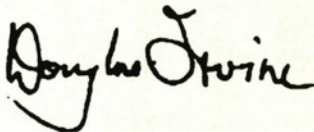
I would be grateful for information on the following, where available; though it is on the first two points that we need to be informed most urgently:

- CA Workshop topics
- Proposed dates and venues
- Programmes

- Target participants
- Speakers/expert participants

We will provide you with our revised programme as soon as this has been settled, following the discussions between the Chairpersons of the Constitutional Assembly and the Commission on 28 February.

Yours sincerely



PROF D M IRVINE
TECHNICAL CONSULTANT

md442

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

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PO Box 15
CAPE TOWN 8000
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REF NO:

MEMORANDUM

TO: MEMBERS OF THEME COMMITTEE II & III
FROM: HASSEN EBRAHIM
DATE: 15 MARCH 1995

RE: RELATIONSHIP WITH COMMISSION ON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

We wish to confirm that various discussions were held between the Chairpersons of the Constitutional Assembly and the Commission on Provincial Government. These discussions dealt with the working relationship between the two structures as well as the need for synchronisation of the respective programmes.

I attach under cover hereof a document received from the Commission on Provincial Government which sets out the proposed working relationship as well as the Commission's Work Programme.

I would appreciate it if you would kindly take note of the various activities and workshops of the Commission should your Theme Committee wish to interact with the Commission and participate in its activities. In this regard, I believe that it is equally important for us to keep the Commission informed of our activities such that the two could participate as and when necessary.

&&&

COMMISSION ON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Established in terms of section 163 of Act 200, 1993

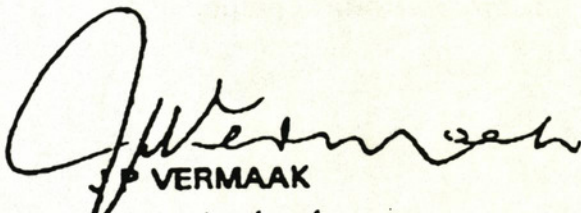
260 Walker Street Sunnyside Private Bag X887 Pretoria 0001
Telephone (012) 44-2297 Fax (012) 341-8452

TELEFAX COVERING SHEET/DEKBLAD

TO/AAN: Mr H Ebrahim
Executive Director: CA
06 MAR 1995
FAXNUMBER/FAKSNOMMER:
FROM/VAN: J P Vermaak
CPG
SUBJECT/ONDERWERP: Interaction between CPG and CA
NUMBER OF PAGES/AANTAL BLADSYE: 1 + 3
If you have not received all the pages please phone: Indien u nie al die bladsye ontvang het nie skakel asseblief: (012) 442297

Following our discussions with the CA Management in Cape Town, the CPG approved the attached document setting out the working relationship with CA structures and our programme for workshops and think tanks. We will particularly appreciate it if the dates for workshops could be noted as invitations to attend will be extended to a number of TC and CC members.

Regards


J P VERMAAK
6/3/1995

PROPOSED WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE COMMISSION ON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

- 1. In order to maintain the relevance of the Commission in the constitution-making process, its programme will have to be restructured to allow for closer synchronisation with the CA's programme. There is also a need for closer involvement in the work of Theme Committees and the Constitutional Committee of the CA.**
- 2. For this purpose, it may be necessary to reschedule the CPG's work so that it is wherever possible a week in advance of that of the programme for the Constitutional Committee and the Theme Committees. However, these programmes have not yet been finalised. In order to adhere to this arrangement, the CPG would need to be advised in regard to the agenda and documentation of the relevant Theme Committees and the Constitutional Committee at least 10 days before such meeting.**
- 3. The Commission's technical staff will prepare working documents on a regular basis for discussion and decision-making by the CPG Constitutional Committee. The CPG will not in any way be bound by the contents of any such working documents and may make any amendments, additions or exclusions decided upon during the discussion. The CPG's views will then be conveyed to the Theme Committees or the Constitutional Committee.**
- 4. The Chairperson himself - or someone designated by the Commission - will attend meetings of the Theme Committees and the Constitutional Committee, and make inputs in accordance with the CPG's decision on relevant aspects of constitutional matters. He will also identify and refer specific aspects to the CPG for further consideration and recommendation.**
- 5. A core group of the CPG Constitutional Committee will be formed who, with the assistance of some members of the Task Group (Think Tank) will deal with urgent matters arising from the CA's activities during the preceding week - possibly on the Sunday afternoon, before the CA meetings on the Monday.**

6. Pretoria should continue to be the CPG's base, but that activities in regard to constitution-making such as under 5 should move to Cape Town, and that for this purpose office accommodation should be obtained and block bookings made at the Town House Hotel.
7. Arrangements should be made for a technical adviser of the CPG who will be able to convey the CPG's views on constitutional issues during the writing of constitutional text, to be part of the relevant technical task team of the Constitutional Assembly, with a view to draft constitution-making.
8. The CPG's normal programme as set out in the attached document will have to be continued as time and personnel constraints, the availability of members of the CPG and Think Tanks and other logistical reasons make it almost impossible to further condense the programme without completely disrupting the work of the CPG.
9. The CPG will continue with its contact with the provinces in an attempt to obtain their responses to questions on key constitutional issues and comments on its recommendations as required by section 161(1) of the Constitution. However, the CA and the CPG will jointly explore ways to approach the provinces in a manner that will avoid confusion and duplication.

md455

COMMISSION ON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

PROGRAMME FOR WORKSHOPS, THINK TANKS AND CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS JANUARY TO JUNE 1995

DATE	NATURE	SUBJECT...
18 January	THINK TANK	General principles ex workshop
26 January	COMMITTEE	Consideration of general principles
16 February	THINK TANK	1. Provincial legislative competence 2. Provincial constitutions
2 March	COMMITTEE/ THINK TANK	Finalisation of 1 and 2
9 March	COMMITTEE/ THINK TANK	3. Provincial legislature (composition, representation, elections, proceedings, etc) 4. The Senate
23 March	COMMITTEE/ THINK TANK	5. Provincial Executive (composition, position of Premiers and MECs, procedures, etc) 6. Provincial staff matters
30 March	COMMITTEE	Finalisation of 3 - 6
7 - 8 April	WORKSHOP	Financial and Fiscal matters (Provincial and local government)
13 April	COMMITTEE/ THINK TANK	7. Financial and fiscal matters ex workshop
20 April	COMMITTEE	Finalisation of 7
21 April (Provisional)	WORKSHOP	Traditional authorities
4 May	COMMITTEE/ THINK TANK	8. Traditional authorities
11 - 12 May (Provisional)	WORKSHOP	Local government issues
18 May (morning)	COMMITTEE	Finalisation of 8
18 - 19 May	WORKSHOP	Institutionalisation of intergovernmental relations

DATE	NATURE	SUBJECT
25 May	COMMITTEE/ THINK TANK	9. Local government issues ex workshop
1 June	COMMITTEE/ THINK TANK	10. Institutionalisation of intergovernmental relations ex workshop
8 June	COMMITTEE	Finalisation of 9 and 10
15 June	COMMITTEE/ THINK TANK	11. Self determination 12. Number and boundaries of provinces 13. Sub-regions (powers and functions)

md318(A)

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

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PO Box 15
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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REF No:

MEMORANDUM

TO: THEME COMMITTEE II

FROM: HASSEN EBRAHIM

DATE: 7 MARCH 1995

PROPOSAL BY ELECTORAL REFORM CONSULTANCY SERVICES LIMITED

I attach under cover hereof a copy of letter and background information received from the Electoral Reform Consultancy Services Limited. As you will note from the correspondence, representatives from the Electoral Reform Society may be in South Africa in the near future.

Kindly let me have your advice as to whether your Theme Committee would have any interest in engaging the services there offered.

&&&&

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

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PO Box 15
CAPE TOWN 8000
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REF NO: B.1.1

7 March 1995

Programme Officer
Electoral Reform (Consultancy
Services) Limited
6 Chancel Street
Blackfriars
LONDON SE1 0UU

Dear Mr Bruce

Thank you for your fax dated 2 March 1995.

Within the structures of the Constitutional Assembly are six Theme Committees dealing with different aspects of the constitution. Theme Committee II deals with the Structures of Government and would also look at the question of an electoral system. The members of the Theme Committee have already begun the process of examining proposals for an electoral system.

I am sure that our Theme Committees would appreciate whatever assistance could be provided with regard to developing its views on the questions of an electoral system. In this regard, it is necessary to indicate the policy positions adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on the engagement.

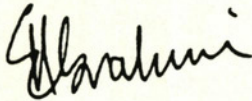
The Constitutional Assembly has adopted an approach which argues that the new constitution, which we are presently drafting, should be a home-grown exercise utilising in the main our South African experts. This does not however, rigidly exclude the possibility of engaging international experts.

Nevertheless, it may have some value to exchange ideas with regard to this matter for purposes of establishing a possible relationship with yourselves. In this regard, I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter and background information to the relevant Theme Committee for their consideration as well.

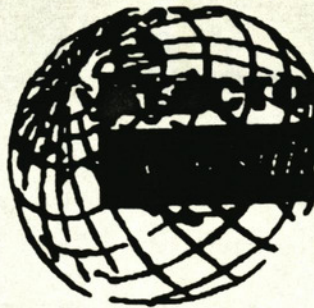
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I would appreciate it if you would kindly let me have your advice as to when exactly you intend to visit South Africa so that we may be able to schedule an appointment to discuss some of these matters.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'H Ebrahim', written in dark ink.

**H EBRAHIM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**



ELECTORAL REFORM

By Fax: 010 27 21 461 4339
5 pages (including this one)

2 March 1995

Mr Hassan Ebrahim
Executive Director
Constitutional Assembly
P.O. Box 15
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03 MAR 1995

0144 271

Dear Mr Ebrahim,

The Electoral Reform Society is keen to use its experience and specialist expertise to assist the continuing development of the democratic process in South Africa. The Society has a long record of involvement in such work around the world and I append a brief summary of its history.

We are conscious that key individuals in the new South Africa are fully occupied in grappling with the work that the recent transformation has brought, and are unlikely to be able to prepare detailed proposals for possible assistance. We therefore intend to travel to South Africa next month in the hope of being able to discuss in person with appropriate individuals how best we can assist their future work.

Our intention is to put together practical proposals on our return and then to send them to the appropriate people for comment and amendment before seeking support for the eventual proposal and services.

With me on this visit will be Michael Meadowcroft who is known to many of the relevant people, both through his political and public work in the UK, and also through his missions to South Africa.

We should very much like to see you whilst we are in the country in order to have the benefit of your advice. I hope it will be possible to arrange an appointment, and I will contact you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Andrew Bruce
Programme Officer

ELECTORAL REFORM (Consultancy Services) Limited
part of the Electoral Reform Society



Registered as Electoral Reform (Consultancy Services) Limited @ registration no. 2112826. A business in the conduct of the ordinary business of a company limited by guarantee in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC). @ Registered office: 6 Chancel Street, Blackfriars, London SE1 0UU.

02/05/1995 11:50 072 320 4500

Electoral Reform Society and Electoral Reform Consultancy Services

Introduction

The Electoral Reform Society is by far the oldest established organisation in the world working in the key sphere of developing democracy, both in the UK and abroad. Given the increasing outside commercial involvement in new and emerging democracies, and the number of new organisations being set up to work in this area, it is worth setting out its background.

Background

Electoral Reform (Consultancy Services) Ltd [ERCS], an independent, non-party, not-for-profit, non-governmental organisation, is a division of the Electoral Reform Society of Great Britain and Ireland [ERS]. Since its formation in 1884, the Society has worked for the development of democracy, in Britain and abroad, promoting, organising and monitoring elections.

As early as 1909, members of the Society were invited to South Africa to supervise elections to the Senate and to the municipal councils of Pretoria and Johannesburg. In 1921, the Society was involved in the devising of an electoral system for Malta and to this day, the Constitution of Malta states that it cannot alter its electoral system without consulting the Society. Following the Second World War, the Society was called upon by the Allied Military Government to help in preparation for resumed elections in the British zone of Germany, and in 1951 a Society representative was involved in the first election of the Gibraltar Legislative Council. In 1972, following the introduction of a new electoral system in Northern Ireland, the Society was engaged by the British Government to train returning officers and their staff.

In addition to ERCS, two further organisations also fall under the Electoral Reform Society banner, the expertise of which is used by ERCS. The first of these is Electoral Reform Ballot Services [ERBS], the leading balloting organisation in Britain, which handled over 32 million ballot papers in 1993. With an annual turnover of £5 million, ERBS organises and administers elections in the UK for local and central government, trade unions, companies and charities. In 1994 it also ran the main part of the Labour leadership election.

The second is the Arthur McDougall Fund, a research charity focusing on all electoral matters, and responsible for the publication of *Representation*, the Society's main journal of record and comment. There is also an extensive library administered by the McDougall Fund at the Society's offices in central London. Because it contains material relating to many countries which is no longer available

in those countries, the library is increasingly used for research on a wide range of topics connected with the development of democracy. Containing one of the most comprehensive collections of election material in the country, it is of great use to the Consultancy Services side of the Society.

In recognition of its work, the Society was granted consultancy status by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1983 for all matters relating to balloting. As a result of increasing overseas requests for assistance, Electoral Reform Consultancy Services was established as a separate division of the main Society in 1990, with the defined aim of offering a comprehensive advisory service for all democracies. In the last five years, ERCS has undertaken over 40 missions overseas. Neither ERCS or ERBS has individual shareholders and the whole Electoral Reform group works on a not-for-profit basis in that any surpluses are retained within the Society for its work. Its work must always be consonant with its aims, and is therefore taken on with the sole purpose of enhancing democracy rather than for commercial ends and it believes that this enhances relationships with its clients. The level of projected costs for each project can thus be based on a careful estimate of the needs of the particular situation.

Experience and Expertise

Through the combined expertise and experience of the Society ERCS has the resources to cover all aspects of electoral work and has experts available that have experience of working with election commissions and media commissions in a number of situations. In recent years, ERCS has acquired a wide range of experience working in different continents and undertaking commissions from a variety of agencies, including the United Nations, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Westminster Foundation, the European Union and host governments. We have also worked with non-governmental organisations operating in similar fields to ourselves.

The Electoral Reform Society's specialist staff are regularly consulted by visiting overseas delegations, particularly when there are electoral problems in the delegation's own countries. These delegations have often comprised senior election officials, government ministers, judges, journalists and academics from countries such as Azerbaijan, Peru, Bangladesh, Zambia, Ghana, Italy and Japan. It is particularly worth noting that, in advance of the then President de Klerk's February 1990 speech, which transformed the democratic situation in South Africa, the South African government privately sent the Chairman of its key Parliamentary Committee, together with officials, to consult

Specialists assigned to projects by ERCS are drawn from resources within the organisation and from a panel of experts. These include election officials, present and former members of the British Parliament, present and former elected members of local authorities, full time organisers from all the UK main political parties, academics and specialists in election systems. We are thus able to provide consultants of the highest possible calibre with experience most relevant to each individual project, and the long reputation of the Society stands behind its work.

Experience of Particular Relevance to this Project

To date, ERCS has had an involvement in a number of different African countries including:

- Malawi:** Last year a senior ERCS consultant headed the UN Electoral Assistance Secretariat, with responsibility for assisting the drafting and adoption of the new constitution, the entrenchment of human rights, a successful election and a peaceful transfer of power. In addition, ERCS coordinated monitoring missions for the referendum registration process in March 1993, for the referendum itself in June 1993, and for the registration process in March 1994, for the subsequent election.
- Mozambique:** In 1994, ERCS was contracted by the British Government (Overseas Development Administration) to select and coordinate the thirty British observers (members of both UN and EU teams) sent to Mozambique to observe the October elections.
- South Africa:** ERCS has taken part in two conferences in recent years. The first, in September 1990, was organised by the ANC and the University of Western Cape and focused on Electoral Systems. The second, in August 1994, looked at the rules and regulations for the FRY Provincial Assembly.
- Uganda:** ERCS devised and implemented a special training course for the key Ugandan electoral officials in 1992.
- Ghana:** A staff member from the balloting side of the organisation has just returned from Ghana, where he was advising the Central Election Commission and British Overseas Development Administration on the possible use of Optical Mark Readers at the next Ghanaian elections.

Other Experience

In 1992, ERCS was responsible for coordinating the monitoring of elections held in Iraqi-Kurdistan, and has recently been approached by the Speaker of the Iraqi Kurdish Parliament to undertake this responsibility again for elections which it is hoped will take place in 1995.

In 1991, ERCS was commissioned by the Hong Kong Democratic Federation to take evidence and produce a published report on matters relating to representation and elections. A visit has been made to the Philippines to participate in seminars relating to the development of civil society, and to Yemen to provide technical assistance in the run up to elections. ERCS has also sent experts to take part in a conference on election systems in Jordan and to train and produce a training manual for Palestinian election officials.

Much of the work of ERCS in recent months has focused on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union where a number of training seminars covering the development of political parties and the running of local government in countries as diverse as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Azerbaijan and Romania have been conducted. Experts involved with ERCS have also provided

technical assistance in Azerbaijan and Slovenia, advised on election procedure in Bulgaria, trained Trade Unions in Romania and produced a report on the political and electoral situation in Georgia for the British Foreign Office.

As well as selecting and coordinating British observers for the Mozambique elections in October 1974, experts from ERSU have also observed elections in South Africa, Russia, Yonku, Serbia, Bulgaria, Mexico, Estonia and Georgia.

At present future programmes are being developed for Jordan, South Africa, Latvia, Bulgaria, Romania and Russia. An extensive programme of teaching basic balloting skills to NGOs/political institutions in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union utilising the skills of the balloting side of the organisation is also currently being devised. A fact-finding visit is shortly to be made to South Africa and Malawi, and a second series of party and parliamentary training workshops is about to take place in Lithuania.



CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

MEMORANDUM

TO: THEME COMMITTEE II

FROM: HASSEN EBRAHIM
 EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

DATE: 28 MARCH 1995

RE: ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

As reported to your Core Group previously, I wish to now confirm that I have today met with representatives of the Electoral Reform Society.

I attach herewith background information on the Electoral Reform Society for your consideration.

Arising from our discussions, the Electoral Reform Society is presently putting together a project proposal for our consideration. This proposal would include considerations relating to funding.

I will revert to you with the project proposal as soon as it is available. In the meantime, your comments and responses would be of some assistance and value in dealing with this matter further.

P. O. Box 15, Cape Town, 8000
Republic Of South Africa

Tel: (021) 245 031, 403 2252 Fax: (021) 241 160/1/2/3, 461 4487, E-mail: conassem@iaccess.za

Electoral Reform Society and Electoral Reform Consultancy Services

Introduction

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Recent work in Africa

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Recent work in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union

- Azerbaijan:** Two ERCS teams have visited Azerbaijan in the past couple of years. The first, in April 1993, provided technical assistance, and the second, in December 1994 provided a programme of training for parliamentarians and political parties.
- Estonia:** During 1994 and 1995, ERCS worked with the Jaan Tõnisson Institute in conducting a series of three seminar/workshop training programmes covering political party and parliamentary development in both Tallinn and provincial cities. ERCS is hoping to return to Estonia after the election in March 1995 to conduct a two day review seminar for political parties.
- Latvia:** During 1994, ERCS made two visits to Latvia to conduct seminars covering political party development and local government. Following the visit of the ERCS Programme Officer to Latvia in February 1995, ERCS is hoping to develop a series of further programmes in the run up to elections in October 1995.
- Lithuania:** In September 1992, a team of six experts visited Lithuania to conduct a programme of training for political parties and candidates. In April 1995, a team of local government councillors and officers will return to Lithuania to lead a programme of local government training.
- Romania:** In 1992 and 1993, ERCS provided training for political parties and Trade Unions in Romania. A proposal is currently being drawn up for a training programme for election monitors.
- Georgian:** In 1992, ERCS produced a report on the political and electoral situation in Georgian for the British Foreign Office.
- Soviet Union:** In 1991, ERCS undertook a mission to what was then the Soviet Union to brief opposition parties.

Other Experience

In 1992, ERCS was responsible for coordinating the monitoring of elections held in Iraqi-Kurdistan, and has recently been approached by the Speaker of the Iraqi Kurdish Parliament to undertake this responsibility again for elections which it is hoped will take place in 1995.

In 1991, ERCS was commissioned by the Hong Kong Democratic Federation to take evidence and produce a published report on matters relating to representation and elections. A visit has been made to the Philippines to participate in seminars relating to the development of civil society, and to Yemen to provide technical assistance in the run up to elections. ERCS has also sent experts to take part in a conference on election systems in Jordan and to train and produce a training manual for Palestinian election officials.

Experts from ERCS have observed elections in South Africa, Mozambique, Russia, Yemen, Serbia, Bulgaria, Mexico, Estonia and Georgian.

Future programmes are currently being developed for Jordan, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Latvia, Bulgaria, Romania and Russia. An extensive programme of teaching basic balloting skills to NGOs and political institutions in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union utilising the skills of the balloting side of the organisation is also being devised. A fact-finding visit is shortly to be made to South Africa and Malawi, and a programme of local government training workshops is about to take place in Lithuania.

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

TELEPHONE: (021) 403 2252
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PO Box 15
CAPE TOWN 8000
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REF NO:

13 March 1995

MEMORANDUM

To all Theme Committees

The period from 18 April to 21 April immediately after the Easter recess has been set aside for CA business only. Theme Committees are requested to please make urgent recommendations as to how these four days can be best utilised for CA work. It would be the recommendation of the Administration that Theme Committees meet as follows :

Tuesday 18 April

TC1,2 and 3	09h00 - 13h00
TC4,5 and 6	14h00 - 18h00

Wednesday 19 April

TC4,5 and 6	09h00 - 13h00
TC1,2 and 3	14h00 - 18h00

Thursday 20 April

Management Committee	08h00 - 10h00
Party Caucuses	10h30 - 13h00
TC 4,5 and 6	14h00 - 18h00

Friday 21 April

TC1, 2 and 3	09h00 - 13h00
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HASSEN EBRAHIM
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

Telephone: (021) 403 2257/8
Fax: (021) 241160/1
Ref No:

PO Box 15
Cape Town
8000 RSA

MEMORANDUM

TO: Theme Committees
FROM: Enoch Sithole
DATE: 13 March 1995
RE: Advertising Block 3

The media department plans to run advertisement calling for submissions for block 3 on the week of the 27 March 1995, we request Theme Committees to give us the text that they would like to be printed in the advert.

The department expect this text to be furnished to us not later than the 23 March.

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

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PO Box 15
CAPE TOWN 8000
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REF NO:

MEMORANDUM

TO: MEMBERS OF THESE COMMITTEES II, III, IV AND V

FROM: HASSEN EBRAHIM

DATE: 20 MARCH 1995

RE: TRADITIONAL LEADERS

The National General Council of Contralesa met in a Workshop on Traditional Leaders and the constitution-making process on 17/18 March 1995. I attach under cover hereof a copy of their Press release for your information.

PRESS RELEASE

NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL OF CONTRALESA

- meeting in a workshop on Traditional Leaders and the Constitution-making Process held at the Manhattan Karos Hotel, Pretoria, 17-18 March 1995

The role, powers and functions of traditional leaders in negotiations and governmental process in general should be expanded in order to ensure that the views and aspirations of millions of people are properly represented on all levels of government. The current process of registration of voters for local government elections, can only be successful if clarity is reached on the role and status of traditional leaders in rural government. Provision should therefore be made for traditional leaders to become more involved in the current negotiations, the development of a new constitution, participating in the formulation of policy options especially regarding the social and economic restructuring of South Africa, and the implementation of RDP and other policy measures.

These are some of the most important recommendations that will be presented to the Constitutional Assembly by the executive of CONTRALESA. At a workshop on the future of traditional leaders in South Africa, which was facilitated by the Centre for Constitutional Analysis (HSRC) over the week-end, traditional leaders from across South Africa were exposed to information regarding the experience of traditional authorities in other post-independent African states, experiences in South Africa since the implementation of the interim constitution, and major problem areas that exist at present.

CONTRALESA emphasized that the experience of various African countries illustrate that at least in some cases, traditional authorities have over years of instability, provided a basis of stability and continuity - even though the fact that they were in many cases ignored and even abolished by the post-colonial governments. However, where many other democratic arrangements have failed or developed problems of various kinds, the institutions of traditional authorities have not only remained intact, they also fulfil a crucial role in the governmental process - especially on local levels and in the delivery of services.

The political and economic situation in Africa would have been much worse if it was not for the presence of traditional authorities and structures and approaches that accompany it.

The following are some of the most important recommendations that are being presented to the Constitutional Assembly:

- The democratic dispensation developed in South Africa should be developed in a manner which reflects the values of the whole community that it serves. The institution and role of traditional leaders, which have been in existence for longer than than liberal democracy in the West, have to be treated with respect and accordingly be integrated within the structures of national, provincial and local government
- Traditional authorities are organs of government in the same way as local and provincial levels - and must be treated accordingly. Traditional leaders have always had, and need continue to have, substantial legislative, administrative and even judicial powers which are exercised in conjunction with elected councillors and in consultation and cooperation with other levels of government (namely provincial and national)
- a series of meetings must be held between the Constitutional Assembly and the respective houses for traditional leaders in the provinces, in order to afford the opportunity for a proper dialogue. The understanding that was reached at the World Trade Centre to the effect that the Council for Traditional Leaders would be an integral part of the Constitutional Assembly must be implemented as a matter of urgency
- the constitution must acknowledge and protect the status of traditional authorities as fully fledged local government in rural areas. This means that all functions and powers guaranteed to local government, should also be accorded to rural local governments. These rural governments should be headed by the chief of the particular area, while elections will also be held for councillors

- traditional authorities, shall in their role as rural local government, render services of equal standard to all individuals residing in their particular areas of jurisdiction
- the powers of the provincial houses of traditional leaders should in general be strengthened and expanded. The fact that the houses in terms of the interim constitution only have advisory powers and that their advice can be ignored by the provincial legislature, undermines their credibility and legitimacy
- the establishment of the National Council of Traditional Leaders must be proceeded with as a matter of urgency in order to ensure that the will of traditional leaders is reflected on the national level

CONTRALESA wants to emphasize that traditional authorities have a crucial role to play in the democratization of South Africa, the formulation of policy on all levels of government, the social and economic restructuring of our country, and the implementation of various policy programmes - especially those related to rural areas.

CONTRALESA wants to express a serious concern that the process of drafting the new constitution could be perceived as overhasty by communities. Various aspects on the interim constitution have not yet been implemented or not tested in practice, while communities are now requested to consider improvements. The danger exists that in the same way that negotiations at Kempton Park were conducted with little public input, the current process could be exposed to criticism. With the view to making the Public Participation Programme more meaningful, the forums must also be held in the deep rural countryside and not only in towns and cities.

Nkosi Phathekile Holomisa (Ah! Dilizintaba)

President: CONTRALESA

18 MARCH 1995

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

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PO Box 15
CAPE TOWN 8000
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REF NO:

MEMORANDUM

TO: MEMBERS OF THEME COMMITTEES II, III

FROM: HASSEN EBRAHIM

DATE: 20 MARCH 1995

RE: SUBMISSION ON MATTERS PERTAINING TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

I attach under cover hereof a copy of a letter received from Dr Bertus de Villiers from the HSRC for your information.



KAADIK
GEENES
WETENSKAPLIKE
NAGKENSING

RGHN
HSRC
HUMAN
SCIENCES
RESEARCH
COUNCIL

Address
Telephone

Dr Bertus de Villiers
012.2022428

Mr H Ebrahim
Executive Director
Constitutional Assembly
P.O. Box 15
Cape Town
8000

Dear Mr Ebrahim

SUBMISSION ON MATTERS PERTAINING TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

The Centre for Constitutional Analysis has in the past few years done extensive research on matters pertaining to regional government, the allocation of powers and intergovernmental relations in other countries. Given your invitation to submit proposals to you Working Group, I would like to offer our services in the following ways:

- * We could give oral evidence regarding particular areas of interest to you
- * we could identify and invite foreign scholars to give evidence to you and/or to participate in workshops arranged on specific issues
- * attached is a list of our publications dealing with matters that may be of interest. All these sources can be obtained from us or from the library of Parliament
- * a copy of our latest publication will be forwarded to you. It deals with the foreign relations powers and provinces and is entitled **Foreign relations and the provinces - comparative experiences.**

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you require any other information.

Yours sincerely

B de Villiers
Bertus de Villiers

SENTRUM
CENTRE
FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL
ANALYSIS

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS ON REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

- De Villiers, B., "Grondwetlike streekontwikkeling in Spanje: Enkele riglyne vir die vestiging van streekregerings in Suid-Afrika." SA Publikereg. 1989:242-250.
- De Villiers, B., Regional government in the new South Africa, HSRC Publishers, 1992.
- De Villiers, B., "Regional government in the new South Africa", SA Public Law, 1992:89-116.
- De Villiers, B., "A Constitutional Scenario for Regional Government in South Africa: The Debate Continues" 1992 Occasional publication Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
- De Villiers, B., "A constitutional scenario for regional government in South Africa", SA Public Law, 1993:86-101.
- De Villiers, B., "Federalism in South Africa: Implications for individual and minority protection" South African Journal of Human Rights, 1993:373-387.
- De Villiers, B. and J Sindane (ed), Regionalism: Problems and prospects, HSRC Publishers, 1993
- De Villiers, B., Intergovernmental relations: Guidelines for South Africa (1993) Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
- De Villiers, B., "Intergovernmental relations: A Constitutional framework" in De Villiers (ed.), Birth of a constitution (Juta) 1994
- De Villiers, B., "Intergovernmental relations: Bundestreue and the duty to cooperate from a German perspective" (1994) SA Public Law 430-437
- De Villiers (ed.), Comparative federal experiences, (Juta) 1994
- De Villiers, B., Foreign relations and provinces - a comparative overview of Germany, the USA, Switzerland and Australia (1995) HSRC Publishers
- De Villiers, B., Bundestreue - theory and application in intergovernmental relations in Germany, Switzerland and Belgium Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 1995



CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

MEMORANDUM

TO: CHAIRPERSONS OF THEME COMMITTEES 1 - 6
FROM: HASSEN EBRAHIM
DATE: 27 MARCH 1995

PROPOSED DISCUSSION/LUNCH WITH GROUP OF WESTMINSTER PARLIAMENTARIANS

Please find attached under cover hereof a copy of a request for a meeting with 6 Westminster Parliamentarians who will be in Cape Town between 9 and 14 April 1995.

The proposed meeting will take place on 10 April 1995 with Mr Leon Wessels who has agreed to see them.

Please let me have your advice how to deal with this matter as soon as possible.

P. O. Box 15, Cape Town, 8000
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Tel: (021) 245 031, 403 2252 Fax: (021) 241 160/1/2/3, 461 4487. E-mail: conassem@iaccess.za



You've made your mark



Now have your say

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

MEMORANDUM

To: Executive Director (Constitutional Assembly)

[FOR ATTENTION: ANITA]

From: P A Lilienfeld (Parliamentary International Relations)

RE: PROPOSED DISCUSSIONS/LUNCH WITH GROUP OF WESTMINSTER PARLIAMENTARIANS

A delegation of six Westminster parliamentarians (CV's attached) will be visiting this Parliament between 9 and 14 April, during which time Parliament is in recess.

Mr Leon Wessels has agreed to hold discussions with the group on Monday 10 April, probably from 11:00 *[to be confirmed]*, to be followed by a lunch which he will host in Parliament.

It would be greatly appreciated if you could arrange for a member/members of the Executive of the Constitutional Assembly, as well as any theme committee chairpersons who may be available, to attend the meeting and lunch in order to brief the delegation. It is appreciated that this is to take place in recess and that difficulty may therefore be experienced in this regard.

Could you let me know what you manage to arrange in this regard?

Your help is really appreciated.

22 March 1995

A LXGRP-CA.MEM/p1

LEADER:**FOWLER, The Rt Hon. Sir Norman, (Sutton Coldfield) C. majority 26 036**

S. of late N. F. Fowler. B. Feb. 2, 1933, ed. King Edward VI Sch. Chelmsford and Trinity Hall, Cambridge (MA); m. May 29, 1979, Mrs Fiona Poole, d. of Mr and Mrs John Donald of London SW6. (2d). National Service, Essex Reg. 1956-58; Chrmn Cambridge Univ. Conservative Assn. 1960; Special Correspondent of *The Times* 1961-66. Home Affairs Correspondent of *The Times* 1966-70; Council Member Bow Group 1967-69; on Editorial Board of *Crossbow* 1962-70; Vice-Chrmn North Kensington Conservative Assn 1967-68. Chrmn East Midlands Conservative Political Centre 1970-73. Member Select Cttee Immigration and Race Relations 1970-74. Sec. Cons. Parl. Party Home Affairs Cttee 1971-72. Vice-Chrmn 1974. PPS to Sec. for Northern Ireland 1972-74. Opposition Spokesman Home Affairs, 1974-75. Chief Opposition Spokesman Social Services 1975-76. Chief Opposition Spokesman, Transport 1976-79. Minister of Transport, 1979-81. Secretary of State for Transport Jan.-Sept. 1981. Sec. of State for Social Services 1981-87. Secretary of State for Employment 1987-90. PC 1979. Kt. 1990. Chrmn Conservative Backbench Cttee on European Affairs 1991-92. Chrmn of the Conservative Party 1992-94. Author of: *After the Riots*, 1979; *Ministers Decide*, 1991. Member for Nottingham, South Div. 1970-74, and for Sutton Coldfield from 1974. Address: *The Rt Hon. Sir Norman Fowler, M.P., House of Commons, London, SW1A 0AA.* (0171-219-3000).

Transport

MEMBERS:**ASHLEY OF STOKE (Life Baron, UK), Jack Ashley; cr. 1992; CH 1975; PC 1979.**

Son of late Jack Ashley. B. Dec. 6, 1922; ed. St Patrick's Elementary School, Widnes; Ruskin College, Oxford and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (President of Union); m. Dec. 15, 1951, Pauline, d. of C. A. Crispin (3d). Labourer and crane driver 1935-46; Shop steward convenor 1946; Councillor, Widnes Borough Council 1945; BBC Radio Producer 1951-57; Commonwealth Fund Fellow 1955; BBC Senior Television Producer 1957-66; MP (Lab) for Stoke-on-Trent South 1966-92; Member, General Advisory Council, BBC 1967-69; PPS to Secretary of State for Economic Affairs 1967-70, and to Secretary of State for Health and Social Security 1974-79; Member, Labour Party National Exec Cttee 1976-78; Chrmn All Party Lords and Commons Disablement Group 1969-; Chancellor of Staffordshire University 1993-. Author of: *Journey into Silence* (autobiography) 1973. *Acts of Defiance* 1992. Labour. Special Interests: Disablement, Health, Medical Drugs, Poverty and Disadvantaged People, Hong Kong and China. Raised to the peerage as Baron Ashley of Stoke, of Widnes in the County of Cheshire 1992. Address: *The Rt Hon. the Lord Ashley of Stoke, CH, House of Lords, London, SW1A 0PW.*

GALE, Roger James, (Thanet North) C. majority 18 210

S. of Richard Byrne Gale, solicitor. B. Aug. 20, 1943; ed. Hardye's School, Dorchester and Guildhall School of Music & Drama (LGSM&D); m. 1st, 1964, Wendy Bowman (m. diss. 1967); m. 2nd, 1971, Susan Linda Sampson (m. diss. 1980); m. 3rd 1980, Susan Gabrielle Marks (2s 1d). Freelance broadcaster, Programme Director, Radio Scotland, Personal Asst to Gen. Man., Universal Films 1963-72. Freelance reporter, BBC Radio London 1972-73. Producer Radio 1 "Newsbeat" and producer BBC Radio 4 "Today" 1973-76. Director, BBC Children's Television 1976-79. Senior Producer, Children's Television, Thames TV. Editor, Teenage Unit, and producer special projects, Thames TV 1979-83. Vice-Chrmn, Holborn & St Pancras Cons. Assn 1971-72. Member Greater London Young Cons. Cttee 1972-82. All-Party Parl. Group for FRAME 1983-86. Fellow, Industry and Parliament Trust. Chrmn Back Bench Media Committee. Former Joint Secretary Back Bench Home Affairs Cttee. Delegate Council of Europe 1987-89. Member of Select Cttee on Home Affairs 1990-92; Member, Special Select Cttee on Televising of Proceedings of the House 1989-91. Chrmn Conservative Parliamentary Media Cttee. Chrmn All Party Parliamentary Animal Welfare Group. PPS to Rt Hon. Archibald Hamilton, MP, Minister of State for the Armed Forces 1992-93, and to Jeremy Hanley, MP, Minister of State for the Armed Forces 1993-94. Special Interests: Education, Animal Welfare, Media, Broadcasting, Tourism/Leisure Industries, Cable/Communications. Licensed Trade. Recreations: Swimming, canoeing, sailing. Contested Birmingham Northfield by-election 1982. Member for Thanet North since June 1983. Address: *Roger Gale Esq., M.P., House of Commons, London, SW1A 0AA* (01227-722366). Club: Kent County Cricket.

HOEY, Catherine Letitia (Kate). (*Vauxhall*) *Lab. majority 10,488.*



D. of Thomas and Letitia Hoey. B. June 21, 1946; ed. Lylehill Primary School, Belfast Royal Academy, Ulster College of Physical Education and City of London College, London. BSc. Economics. Senior Lecturer, Kingsway College 1976; Educational Adviser to Arsenal 1985-89; Member Hackney Borough Council 1978-82; Member CWS South East Political Committee from 1984. Member of Select Ctee on Broadcasting 1991-. Member of Opposition team on Citizen's Charter and Women 1992-93. Member, Select Ctee on Social Security 1994-. Occasional articles on sport in the press. *Special Interests:* Environment, Sport, Middle East, Dog control, Housing, Contested Dulwich in 1987.

Member for Vauxhall since June 15, 1989 By-election. *Address: Kate Hoey, M.P. House of Commons, London, SW1A 0AA (0171-219 5989).*

MICHAEL, Alun. (*Cardiff South and Penarth*) *Lab. majority 10,425*



S. of late Leslie Michael and of Elizabeth Michael. B. Aug. 22, 1943; ed. Colwyn Bay Grammar School and University of Keele; m. July 23, 1966. Mary, d. of Mr and Mrs Ambrose Crawley (2s 3d). Journalist, *South Wales Echo*, 1966-71; Youth Worker, Cardiff City Council 1971-74; Youth and Community Work South Glamorgan CC 1974-87. Magistrate since 1972. Chrmn Cardiff Juvenile Bench 1986. Member Cardiff City Council 1973-89. Past chrmn of Finance Ctee and Planning Ctee; Chrmn Economic Development Ctee 1987-89. Opposition Whip 1987-88. Opposition Front Bench Spokesman on Welsh Affairs 1988-92. Opposition Front Bench Spokesman on Home Affairs 1992-.

Chrmn of the Co-operative Group of MPs. Chrmn Parliamentary Friends of the Welsh National Opera; Joint Chrmn of All-Party Group on Somalia; Chrmn of All-Party Group on Alcohol Misuse; Chrmn of All-Party Panel on Penal Reform; Secretary, All-Party Group on Tertiary Education; Secretary, British-German Parliamentary Group. A National Vice-President, Youth Hostels Association. Member of Board of Crime Concern. *Special Interests:* Local Government, Housing, Juvenile Justice, Economic Development, Cooperative Development. *Recreations:* Long-distance walking, running, reading, opera, music. Member for Cardiff South and Penarth since June 1987. *Address: Alun Michael Esq., M.P. Home: 4 Stansell Road, Penarth, Wales (01222 705344) Office (01222 223533); House of Commons, London, SW1A 0AA (0171-219 3411). Clubs: Penarth Labour, Grange Stars (Cardiff), Earlswood (Cardiff).*

TOWNSEND, Cyril D. (*Bexleyheath*) *C. majority 14,036*



S. of Lt-Col C. M. Townsend. B. Dec. 21, 1937; ed. Bradfield Coll. and Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst; m. July 31, 1976. Anita, d. of late Lieutenant-Colonel F. G. W. Walsbe, MC and Mrs. Walsbe (2s). Commissioned The Durham Light Infantry in 1958, served in Berlin, UK, Cyprus and Borneo. Adjutant 1966-68. ADC to HE The Governor and C-in-C, Hong Kong, Sir David Trench, GCMG, MC, 1964-66. Former Chrmn, All Party Freedom for Rudolph Hess Campaign. Former Chrmn Bow Group Standing Ctee on Foreign Affairs. Chrmn British Cyprus Parliamentary Group. Personal Asst to Lord Plummer (Leader of the GLC) and the Rt Hon. Edward Heath, MBE, MP (Leader

of the Opposition) 1968-70. Cons. Research Dept 1970-74. Member of Select Ctee on Violence in the Family 1975. Introduced the Protection of Children Act 1978. PPS to Rt Hon. Reginald Prentice, MP. Min. of State DHSS (Disablement) May-Dec. 1979. Chrmn Select Ctee on the Armed Forces Bill 1981. Jt Chrmn The Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, Joint Vice-Chrmn Cons. Parl. Defence and Foreign Affairs Ctees. Vice Chrmn Cons. Middle East Council and the Hansard Society. Member Select Ctee on Foreign Affairs 1982-83. Chrmn and Co-Founder South Atlantic Council 1983-. British Parliamentary Observer at the Presidential Election in the Lebanon 1982. Led parliamentary delegation to Iran (the first since the revolution) organised by Lambeth Palace 1988. Attended CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Moscow with UK Delegation 1991. Fellow of the Industry and Parliament Trust. Publications: *Helping Others to Help Themselves: Voluntary Action in the Eighties* (1981). Contributor to *Contemporary Review* and Political Journals, and writes weekly for a Middle East newspaper *Al Havar*. *Special Interests:* Defence, Middle East, South Atlantic, Cyprus. *Recreations:* Books, music, exercise, exploring Cornwall. Member for Bexleyheath since 1974. *Address: Cyril Townsend Esq., M.P. House of Commons, London, SW1A 0AA (0171-219 4486).*