Principles: Rough draft. Version 2.

We envisage a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Afric where a Bill of Rights guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms for all on an equal basis, where our people live in an open and tolerant society, where the organs of Government are representative, professional neutral in their functioning, and where opportunities are progressively and rapidly expanded to ensure that all may enjoy dignified, comfortable

A United South Africa

and happy lives.

When we speak of a united, South Africa, we have in mind in the first place The outer limits of South the territorial integrity of our country.

Africa are well known.

with attempts to carve South Africa must be s Precisely how the Bant left to sensible negot into Namibia should be ar for in an

> Secondly, we envisage languages, have differer Africans.

Thirdly, the institution

frontiers but

tustal system er that can be of Walvis Bay

We speak many e are all South

integrated and

coherent whole, be drawn from all the people, and be accountable to the whole community. Our country must be amongst the most divided and We have seven armed forces, almost twenty fragmented in the world. Departments of Education, umpteen forms of local Government, tri-camarel Parliament. We need institutions of Government that are truly South African in the full sense of the term.

Fourthly, there must be a single system of fundamental rights guaranteed on an equal basis for all through the length and breadth of the country. Every South African, irrespective of race, colour, language, gender or creed should know that his or her basic rights and freedoms are guaranteed by the Constitution and enforceable by recourse to law.

strerctures muse be stro by institutions of gove intol and break that are

Timmings

diete molnur

Principles: Rough draft. Version 2.

We envisage a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa where a Bill of Rights guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms for all on an equal basis, where our people live in an open and tolerant society, where the organs of Government are representative, professional neutral in their functioning, and where opportunities are progressively and rapidly expanded to ensure that all may enjoy dignified, comfortable and happy lives.

## A United South Africa

When we speak of a united, South Africa, we have in mind in the first place the territorial integrity of our country. The outer limits of South Africa are well known. The problem is not with the external frontiers but with attempts to corve up the stiffic by means of the Bantustan system

South Africa must be seen territorially and constitutionally as a Precisely how the Bantustans are reincorporated is a matter that can be left to sensible negotiations; similarly the reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia should be arranged in a dignified way, Dimmers landament and by the bleingood on it as

Secondly, we envisage a single nationhood and loyalty. We speak many languages, have different origins and varied beliefs, but we are all South citizenship and Africans.

Thirdly, the institutions of Government must form an integrated and coherent whole, be drawn from all the people, and be accountable to the whole community. Our country must be amongst the most divided and We have seven armed forces, almost twenty fragmented in the world. Departments of Education, umpteen forms of local tri-camarel Parliament. We need institutions of Government that are truly South African in the full sense of the term.

Fourthly, there must be a single system of fundamental rights guaranteed on an equal basis for all through the length and breadth of the country. Every South African, irrespective of race, colour, language, gender or creed should know that his or her basic rights and freedoms are guaranteed by the Constitution and enforceable by recourse to law.

> id structures must be stromantly ed by institutions of gove that Cont/....2

Fifthly, the flag, names, public holidays and symbols of the country should encourage a sense of shared South Africaness.

should not over-bureaucratised South Africa. We believe that there is a need for strong and effective central Government to handle national tasks, strong and effective regional Government to deal with the tasks of the region, and effective local Government to ensure active local involvement in handling local issues. The precise relationships between central, regional and local Governments can be worked-out on the basis of acknowledging the overall integrity of South Africa and the existence of fundamental constitutional rights for all citizens throughout the land. The regions should not be devised as a means of perpetuating ethnic or divisions, but as territorial zones that make sense in terms of economic resources, availability of population, communications and urban/rural balance. They should not be such as to lock-up the riches of the country in some areas while others remain allo Crotice poverty-stricken.

National tasks would include external links and representation, defence and and ensuring the basic security of the country, general economic and fiscal policy, and the creation of a national policy framework and the furnishing of resources for tackling the vast problems of education, health, housing, nutrition, employment and social welfare.

Regional tasks would include development and the carrying-out of the basic tasks of Government at a regional level bearing in mind regional particularities and resources. Without restricting regions to any particular ethnic or language group, and without detracting from basic constitutional rights and freedoms, provision could be made for special recognition of language-use and other cultural features in the different regions.

Local tasks cover all the day to day aspects of living in the community. The single tax base and active local involvement of all sections of the population will be necessary in the fulfillment of these tasks.

racial fauthon

Cont/...3

averes

It is not the function of central Government to involve itself in each and every decision that has to be taken at the regional or local levels. At the same time central Government has the responsibility for ensuring that there is a common framework of principles and practices applicable to the whole country and for seeing to it that all areas of the country have equitable access to national resources.

Similarly, when we speak of a united South Africa we do not envisage the elimination of cultural, languistic, religious and political differences. On the contrary we regard the multiplicity of beliefs, faiths, tastes, cultures and preferences as contributing towards the richness and texture of South African life. What the new Constitution should avoid at all costs is the association of political rights with social and cultural

differences. When such differences are connected with domination or privilege, they become sources of division and conflict. The new Constitution must consistently and clearly affirm the fundamental principle of equal and undifferentiated citizenship so that differences of culture, interests and personality can then express themselves in a free and non conflictual-way.

Democratic

must be democratic in the universally accepted meaning of It must be Government of the people, by the people, for the It must be chosen by the people in free, fair and regular people. It must be removeable if it loses the confidence of the elections. Elections must be based on the principle of universal and equal without distinction as to race, language, creed, riches, social suffrage, should not be birth or gender. Illiterate voters position, The precise forms of suffrage can be negotiated within the disadvantaged. principles. We favour proportional universal of these framework representation coupled with regional and national lists.

Secondly, the legislature should be representative of the people as a whole, reflecting the such differences of political views and interests as may be present in the community at any particular time.

the mest ensure

Thirdly, the institutions of Covernment should not be restricted to or dominated by any language, religious, racial or cultural grouping. The institutions of Government should reflect the composition of South Africa as a whole and draw on the talents and experience of all. Similarly, they

favour or prejudice.

Fourthly, Government must be open. Ours has been a highly authoritarian society, characterised by arbitrary decision making by officials, and by excessive secrecy. All South Africans have the right to be informed about the issues and to know what the basis of Governmental decisions is. There is far too much fear of the Government. We must secure constitutional barriers to detention without trial, to spying on citizens, secret files, dirty tricks departments, disinformation and the use of Government money to promote party political objectives.

should act in a fair and objective manner towards all, without fear,

Fifthly, Government should be based on the principle of active involvement of the people. The existence of civic associations, ratepayers organisations and other independent bodies should be encouraged. Similarly, Government should collaborate with non-Governmental Organisations, without depriving the latter of their autonomy.

Finally, Government should be effective but not all-powerful. It should operate within the framework of the Constitution, acknowledging a separation of powers and the existence of fundamental rights and freedoms as quaranteed in a Bill of Rights.

## Non-racial

A non-racial South Africa means a South Africa in which all the artificial barriers and assumptions which have kept people apart and maintained domination, are removed. In its negative sense, non-racial means the elimination of all colour bars. In positive terms it means the affirmation of equal rights for all. It presupposes a South Africa in which every individual has an equal chance irrespective of his or her birth or colour. It recognises the worth of each individual.

A non-racial Constitution can be adopted rapidly but a non-racial South Africa would take many years to evolve. Yet although the massive discrepancies in education, health and living conditions imposed by decades of racial discrimination cannot be eliminated by constitutional declaration, the Constitution can furnish means progressively to reduce the imbalances and to ensure that everybody truly has an equal chance in life.

## Non-sexist

The new Constitution will be incomplete if it fails to respond to the claims of women to be full, free and equal participants in the new South Law and practice keep South African women out of their rightful place in helping to build democracy and enable a new nation to evolve, and deprive them of their human rights as individuals.

quantimos a saller suen enc

The new Constitution must:

guarantee equal rights for men and women in all spheres of public and private life;

create mechanisms whereby the disabilities and disadvantages to which women have been subjected are progressively and rapidly removed;

give appropriate recognition to reproductive and birthrights;

protection against sexual violence, abuse, constitutional harrassment or defamation;

ensure that the voices of women are heard in relation to all issues. and that particularly and all lives of proceedings.

A Bill of Rights

A Bill of Rights based on universally recognised principles of human rights shoulf form an integral part of the new Constitution. particular, it should guarantee all South Africans against the violations of human rights associated with apartheid and stress the principle of the equal dignity and worth of all South Africans.

The Bill of Rights should in clear and unambiguous language guarantee rights of personal freedom and political expression. It should also protect religious rights and freedoms and language rights. It should acknowledge the importance of guaranteeing minimum conditions of decent

It should create mechanisms for enforcing these rights. In particular, the Courts should have a primary role in ensuring that the Bill of Rights is operative. A Constitutional Court that enjoys the respect of all South Africans, that draws on the experience and talents of the whole population, that is independent and that functions in a manifestly fair and objective fashion, accountable only to the principles of the Constitution, should be created.

and dignified living for all South Africans.

Similarly, a Human Rights Commission should be established to ensure that violations of human rights are investigated and appropriate remedies found. It should be established to ensure that violations of human rights are investigated and appropriate remedies found. It should be established to ensure that violations of human rights are investigated and appropriate remedies found.

Finally, the post of Ombudstan should be created to deal with questions of abusive, arbitrary or discourteous exercise of office by any official.

## Open Society

The Constitution should recognise that South Africa is a country with people of diverse origins, speaking many languages, and having a variety of beliefs, opinions and preferences. Instead of setting group against group, the Constitution should guarantee the free articulation of differences within the framework of equal rights and tolerance.

An open society requires guarantees of the free functioning of non-Governmental Organisations, such as religious bodies, trade unions, sporting and cultural associations subject only to respect for fundamental human rights as set out in the Constitution.

Cont/....7

Non-Governmental Organisations should be encouraged to collaborate with the Government in furthering the aims of the Constitution, without thereby losing their identity or independence.

accessed There should be freedom of the press, and the media should be open and respond to all the views, opinions and interests of the community.

The Civil Service, the Army, Police and Prisons

Sanheamond

The three principal qualities of the Civil Service, the Army, Police and Prisons shall be: representativity, professionalism and neutrality in such a name as to different

Representativity - All organs of Government shall draw on the experience and talents of all sectors of the community. The present barriers based on race shall be eliminated and special steps shall be taken to ensure des reduces ratherns balanced participation.

Professionalism - In order to promote the interests of the whole population of South Africa, it will be important that the quality of service is high. So as not to contradict the principle or representativity special programmes of training and advancement should high. be undertaken to ensure that the best South Africans give the best possible service to all their fellow countrymen and women.

The organs of Government shall be accountable to Parliament and to the whole community. It is not their function to serve the interests of any party or sectional grouping. Neutrality presupposes a balanced composition of the bodies concerned and a sensitivity to the needs and aspirations of all sections of the community. There alm

Guarantees of opportunities for a dignified and comfortable life for all

A new South African nation can never evolve if the white part of the population lives in relative luxury while the great majority of black South Africans exist in conditions of squalor and deprivation.

The interests of the entire rop of a free SA, the Ald or gnal of service should be as

Appropriate constitutional expression must be found to guarantee basic human rights in relation to nutrition, shelter, education, health, employment and welfare. Government should be under a constitutional duty to work towards the establishment of a guaranteed and expanding floor of social, economic and educational rights for everybody.

It is particularly important that the Constitution facilitate access to education, employment and land, so that people have real and effective opportunities for improving their situation and pursuing happiness.