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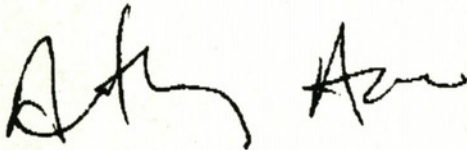
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TO: Ms Ashley Symes  
FAX NO: (011) 397-2211  
FROM: Anthony Asher  
SUBJECT: CODESA SUBMISSION

I enclose three pages outlining an idea that I think would substantially enhance the effectiveness of government in governing efficiently and effectively.

I would be happy to defend and develop them in a verbal presentation.

Yours sincerely,



Professor Anthony Asher  
Director of Actuarial Studies

## SUBMISSION ON A NEW CONSTITUTION

### 1 Main proposal

a) The following functions of government be performed by autonomous organizations as far as possible:

- International - Foreign Affairs, Defence, Ceremonial
- Social welfare - Including Pensions and Health
- Economic - all economic functions of government
- Education
- Justice - Justice, Interior, Prisons and Police

An approximate division of existing government departments and budget is shown in the appendix.

b) The "autonomous organizations" should be chambers of parliament - each responsible to the electorate, and each with legislative powers and an executive cabinet. (The international chamber should probably be indirectly elected by the other four.)

### 2 Reasons

#### a) Efficiency

No single organization or person (be it parliament, cabinet or president) can hope to have real expertise in all areas covered by a modern government.

At the same time, the need to co-ordinate these various branches of government are not so great that they require a single chain of command.

Efficiency requires devolution of powers and specialization.

#### b) Democracy

Elections for these specialist chambers would give the electorate greater choice in selecting political policies, because they would be able to choose an educational policy, another economic policy etc.

At the same time, candidates with specific skills in the area, would be more likely to offer themselves up for election: not only could they be less involved in areas that did not interest them, the demands of political office would be reduced.

Democracy also requires the devolution of powers, and more responsiveness to the electorate.

### 3 Some questions and answers

#### a) Finance

Financial matters would be governed:

- first by the constitution (which would probably require financial records to be kept according to generally accepted accounting principles, and for deficits to be repaid during the next fiscal year),
- and secondly by the Finance House which would collect taxes, and control costs.

The four houses directly responsible to the electorate would need some power of appeal in order to raise their own revenues. This could be achieved by a combined sitting of houses, or by a special referendum where the additional taxes were approved by the electorate.

It would be essential for democratic choice that the taxes raised by each house be separately visible to taxpayers.

*(Currently these decisions would be decided by an overloaded cabinet.)*

#### b) Overlap

Disputes as to which house had jurisdiction in a particular area could be referred to the Justice department for decision.

*(Currently these decisions would be decided by an overloaded cabinet.)*

#### c) Voting too costly

This system would require the electorate to vote fairly frequently, and might be costly. The main response is that the additional democracy that results will be worthwhile, but secondly, the growing power of computers could reduce the costs of voting in the future considerably.

Comparative 1991 budgets of different government functions

<u>Department</u>	<u>Expenditure</u> R million	
State President	16	These departments largely cover the "international" and ceremonial functions.
Information	41	
Foreign affairs	3797	
Constitutional dev	14	
Defence	<u>10071</u>	
	<u>13939</u>	
Mineral & Energy	1134	These departments cover the financial functions of government, and are also in what effectively are nationalized industries
Privatization	3	
Audit	64	
Manpower	328	
Environment	178	
Waterworks	351	
Commerce & Industry	2215	
Transport (Roads)	1508	
Public Works	1893	
Planning & Prov	408	
Provincial Roads	1476	
Agriculture	<u>302</u>	
	<u>9860</u>	
National Education	205	(From tricameral budgets)
Education & Training	2463	
Other education	<u>10883</u>	
	<u>13551</u>	
Justice	460	
Prisons	878	
Police	2928	
Interior	<u>241</u>	
	<u>4507</u>	
Health	720	<u>Social Welfare departments</u> Pensions and Development Aid
Provincial health	4796	
Community service	2373	
Other social welfare	<u>7320</u>	
	<u>15209</u>	
Parliament	57	These costs would be split amongst the five functions
Finance	12478	
Administration	407	
Service improvement	<u>1921</u>	
	<u>14863</u>	
GRAND TOTAL	71929	