

INTRODUCTION

The Constitutional Assembly (CA) was formally established on 24 May 1994. This report is produced on the first anniversary of this historic occasion.

This Annual Report records the most important milestones and charts the way forward in terms of our vision.

The ultimate mission of the CA is to draft and adopt a credible and enduring constitution which will enjoy the support and allegiance of all South Africa's people.

OVERVIEW

The process of drafting a new constitution is an intrinsic part of the democratic transformation of society as a whole and, therefore, does not take place in a vacuum.

Members of the CA are also elected political representatives. They are responsible for the establishment and development of the new democratic parliament, the government of national unity, a demanding legislative programme, attending to constituencies, and, not least, preparations for the pending local government elections.

This meant that until recently, structures of the CA were only able to operate on one day of the week during those periods when parliament was in session. It is against this background that the last twelve months have been characterised by the following:-

During the first three months, members of the CA were engaged in the important task of establishing the first democratic parliament. This resulted in very little work being accomplished in the CA itself. Structurally, the CA relied on a Steering Committee which considered the initial conceptual aspects of carrying out the work of constitution-making.

August 1994 saw the appointment of members of the Directorate, who set about the establishment of the basic infrastructure required to facilitate the work of the CA. The Constitutional Committee was formed on 15 August 1994.

September 1994 marked the founding meetings of the Management Committee and Theme Committees. The CA agreed on a strategy for the "Process and Framework of Drafting the New Constitution".

The following ten weeks, up to the parliamentary recess on 17 November 1994, were spent with Theme Committees considering and reaching agreement on their respective work programmes.

The substantive work of the CA started at the end of January 1995. The first four months of 1995 were spent with Theme Committees producing reports and analysing more than 22 000 submissions received in response to an advertising campaign. The first substantive reports from Theme Committees were tabled before the Constitutional Committee in February 1995.

The first draft formulations of the new constitutional text appeared in April 1995. These were tabled in the Constitutional Assembly on 19 May 1995.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The guiding principles of the process in the CA are:

openness

inclusivity, and

transparency.

The principles serve to knit together the ideas of political parties represented in the CA with those of civil society and the broader public so that the final product, the new constitution, really does serve as the corner-stone of a new democratic dispensation, and promotes the transformation, reconstruction and development of our country.

STRUCTURES

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

The CA itself remains the highest decision-making body in the process of drawing up a new constitution, and is the body which must debate and finally adopt a new constitution for South Africa by May 1996.

It is made up of 490 representatives from seven political parties:

African National Congress (ANC)	312
National Party (NP)	99
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	48
Freedom Front (FF)	14
Democratic Party (DP)	10
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)	5
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	2

The CA met on the following dates, considered reports and adopted resolutions on some of the following issues

1994

24 May	Elected Chairpersons, established Rules Committee
15 August	Appointed Constitutional Committee, received reports from Rules Committee and Steering Committee, agreed on appointment of Administration to be headed by Executive Director and two Deputy Executive Directors, agreed on guidelines for Financial Administration of constitution - making process
5 September	Established Theme Committees, adopted Process and Framework for

- the drafting of the new constitutional text
- 31 October Work Programme and Strategic Overview of Public Participation Programme (PPP)
- 14 November Amended Constitution to increase size of Independent Panel of Experts to include seven members and appointed Panel

1995

- 24 January Discussed perspectives on a new constitution
- 20 February Public Submissions, Drafting Procedures, Appointment of Technical Committees, progress reports from Theme Committees
- 19 May Reports from Theme Committees 6.1 and 6.2 and first Draft Formulations of New Constitution

CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE

The Constitutional Committee (CC) was one of the first structures set up by the CA to act as the central co-ordinating body in the constitution-making process, and to receive reports from Theme Committees. It is also the body which in turn prepares reports for the CA in plenary.

It consists of 44 members, drawn from all political parties in the CA, who are represented in this, as with all CA structures, on a proportional basis. Political parties are represented as follows: ANC (26), NP (9), IFP (4), FF (2), DP (1), PAC (1) and ACDP (1).

The CC has continued to meet on a weekly basis to receive reports from the Management Committee and Theme Committees.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The Management Committee has also met regularly since it was established by the CA. Its first meeting took place on 29 August 1994. The Management Committee has 12 members consisting of representatives from the following political parties: ANC (3), NP (2), IFP (1), FF (1), DP (1), PAC (1) and ACDP (1) and the two Chairpersons-

The Management Committee deals with process matters and is responsible for preparing reports and agendas for the CC. It has attended, between meetings of the CC, to the day-to-day management and overseeing of developments in CA structures.

Time management is one of the challenges facing the CA as a whole, and the Management Committee in particular. One of the major concerns of the Management Committee has been to ensure that the work of the CA proceeds according to schedule. This has meant an ongoing evaluation of the work of Theme Committees, and an adjustment of schedules and time frames where and when required. The working hours of the CA have been developed in conjunction with the whips from the other two houses.

THEME COMMITTEES

At one of its early sessions, the CA resolved to establish select committees, to be called Theme Committees, to deal with specific aspects of the new constitution.

On Monday 5 September, the CA established six Theme Committees:

Theme Committee 1 Character of Democratic State

Theme Committee 2 Structure of Government

Theme Committee 3 Relationship between Levels of Government

Theme Committee 4 Fundamental Rights

Theme Committee 5 Judiciary and Legal Systems

Theme Committee 6 Specialised structures of Government

Theme Committee 6 later established four sub-committees:

Theme Committee 6.1 Public Administration

Theme Committee 6.2 Financial Institutions and Public Enterprise

Theme Committee 6.3 Transformation and Monitoring

Theme Committee 6.4 Security Apparatus

The main function of the Theme Committees is to ensure the inclusive nature of the constitution-making process by receiving views and ideas, called submissions, from political parties in the CA, civil society and the broader public. These are then processed in the form of reports on sections of the new constitution. These reports are then discussed and debated at the CC and CA.

Theme Committees are therefore in many ways, the CA's interface with the public. It is at this level where the first processing of public views and opinions takes place.

Theme Committees meet weekly, and are presided over by three Chairpersons on a rotational basis. The Chairpersons are assisted in the management of Theme Committees by a Core Group of between 6 and 8 members.

An estimated 320 members of the CA have been engaged intensively in the constitution-making process by way of their membership of Theme Committees.

PROGRESS

Theme Committees have on the whole maintained the expected pace of the Work Programme. In terms of the broad time frames outlined in the CA's vision, Theme Committees are required to complete the major part of their work by 30 June 1995. With a few exceptions, it is expected that they will meet this deadline. It would appear that Theme Committees will have received most of the input from the public and other role-players by this deadline, and will continue to process these into reports after the July recess.

The progress each Theme Committee has made as at 15th May 1995 in relation to the Work Programme is outlined on the following page:

Theme Committee 1

Completed and submitted Reports on Democracy and Character of State, Equality and Single Sovereign State, discussing Draft Report on Supremacy of the Constitution.

Theme Committee 2

Completed Report on Separation of Powers, finalising Structure and Functioning of Government at National and Provincial Level.

Theme Committee 3

Completed Report on the Nature of Status of the Provincial and Local Systems of Government, considering National and Provincial Legislative and Executive Competencies.

Theme Committee 4

Completed Report on Constitutional Principle II, finalising Report on Various Rights.

Theme Committee 5

Completed Report on judiciary and Legal Systems, considering Traditional Authorities and Customary Law, work also resumed on Correctional Services.

Theme Committee 6.1

Completed Reports on Public Administration, considering Elections Commission.

Theme Committee 6.2

Completed Report on Reserve Bank, considering Auditor General and National Revenue Fund.

Theme Committee 6.3

Completed Report and finalising Draft Formulations on Public Protector, considering Human Rights Commission.

Theme Committee 6.4

Completed Report on Supremacy of the Constitution and Accountability and Control of the Security Forces, finalising Report on Defence and Policing.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

Each Theme Committee is supported by a Technical Committee. Ad-hoc committees of advisers have also been set up to deal with specialised subjects such as Local Government, Traditional Authorities and Selfdetermination. To date the CA has appointed 34 advisors who function on a part-time basis.

The functions of Technical Committees are to provide Theme Committees with technical advice, and to assist in the drafting of Theme Committee reports to the Constitutional Committee. These advisers work with the CA Law Advisers in producing draft text of the new constitution, which accompanies each Theme Committee report.

SUBMISSIONS

Much of the work of Theme Committees is concerned with the processing of submissions. In keeping with the policy of the CA to ensure maximum public participation, members of the public and civil society have been invited to send in their own submissions. The response has been overwhelming. To date the CA has received approximately 21 795 submissions.

These submissions come from a range of sources - individuals, organisations and institutions. These include religious bodies, animal rights groups, professional societies, civics, government departments and structures, NGO'S, schools, universities, technikons, farmers associations, business organisations, womens' organisations, youth and students groups, newspapers and tradi- tional healers associations.

A list of the political parties not in the CA, organisations and institutions that have made submissions (as at 18th May 1995) to the CA is attached. (See Appendix 1 on page).Many of the submissions from the public, have arrived in the form of organised petitions. These petitions have addressed issues such as abortion, sexual orientation, environment and the secular state.

To ensure the proper recording and processing of submissions, the CA Administration has set up a database project with the assistance of the University of Cape Town. This project has recently been applauded in the media as one of the first real attempts to ensure public access to government information.

HEARINGS AND SEMINARS

In addition to receiving written submissions, some Theme Committees have, in the course of their work, also organised many hearings, seminars and workshops to engage the various stakeholders and role players.

Public hearings, seminars and workshops organised by Theme Committees (excluding internal information seminars) have dealt with the following:

Theme Committee 1

Equality, Accountability and Seats of Government, Character of State and Democracy

Theme Committee 5

Judiciary and Legal Systems

Theme Committee 6.1

Public Administration, Elections Commission

Theme Committee 6.2

Financial and Fiscal Commission, Auditor General, Reserve Bank

Theme Committee 6.3

Public Protector, Human Rights Commission

Theme Committee 6.4

Security Apparatus, Police and Defence

BRIEFING WORKSHOPS

In the course of their work, Theme Committees have, with the assistance of Technical Committees, arranged various internal briefing workshops. These workshops are intended to provide Theme Committee members with the necessary background and expertise to guide their discussions and deliberations.

Workshops have addressed a range of subjects:

Theme Committee 1

Supremacy of the Constitution, Economy

Theme Committee 2

Executive: National level, Legislature: National level/unicameralism/bicameralism, Checks and Balances between organs of government in particular the Executive and Legislature (national level), Electoral System, Traditional

Authorities

Theme Committee 3

Unitarism vs Federalism, Concurrent Powers in a Federal or Quasifederal system, Constitutional Principles relevant to the relationship between national/provincial/local levels of government, Competencies, Constitutional Principles, Local Government

Theme Committee 5

Traditional Courts and Customary Law

Theme Committee 6.1

Public Administration and the Constitution

Theme Committee 6.4

Correctional Services and the Constitution

Theme Committees have also been invited to attend a number of seminars outside the CA. Theme Committee 3 attended a workshop on Local Government Beyond 2000 (Free State Municipal Association). Theme Committee 4 attended a Gender Conference: Towards the Final Constitution (UWC), a workshop on human rights, international law and South Africa (Raoul Wallenberg Institute, Sweden and National Speakers Office).

PANEL OF EXPERTS

The Constitutional Assembly has established an Independent Panel of Constitutional Experts as set out in terms of Section 72 of the Constitution. This panel consists of seven members:

Prof MG Erasmus, Prof C Murray, Advocate I Semanya, Adv Z Yacoob, Prof J Kruger, Ms MP Sedibe-Ncholo, Prof J Van der Westhuizen.

The primary role of the Panel is that of conflict-resolution in accordance with the terms of reference set out in Section 73(3),(4) and (5) of the Constitution and to advise the chairpersons and the CA.

There is a dynamic relationship and interaction between the Panel and the Chairpersons of the CA. The panel has recently produced a document for the CA on the style and language of the new constitution. This document has proved extremely useful in outlining some of the criteria for the drafters to consider in the debate on how much detail the new constitution should contain.

LIAISON WITH OTHER CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

In the course of its work, the CA interacts with a number of constitutional structures,

including the Commission on Provincial Government and the Volkstaat Council.

COMMISSION ON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

In accordance with Section 163 of the Constitution, a Commission on Provincial Government (CPG) has been established.

It has the important function of advising the CA on the development of a constitutional dispensation with regard to provincial systems of government.

Several discussions have taken place between the CA and various representatives of the CPG to ensure the proper synchronisation of the work of the two structures.

To date the CA has received preliminary recommendations from the Commission with regard to: provincial constitutions, provincial legislative competence, provincial legislatures, a second chamber, provincial executive authorities and provincial staff matters.

Theme Committees have also participated in a number of CPG workshops on subjects including: financial and fiscal provisions, traditional authorities and inter-governmental relations.

CPG representatives regularly attend Theme Committee 3 Constitutional Committee meetings as observers.

VOLKSTAAT COUNCIL

A relationship between the Volkstaat Council and the CA has been established. The Council has submitted recommendations to the CA on the possible establishment of a Volkstaat and its constitutional relationship with regard to national and provincial government.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The CA decided from the outset that the process which produces the new constitution must be a people-driven process. To this end, it has agreed to embark upon a Public Participation Programme (PPP) to give the greatest possible number of South Africans the opportunity of directly participating in the constitution-making process.

The PPP has two major arms: a Community Liaison Programme and a Media Campaign. The Community Liaison Programme in turn consists of various parts:

Constitutional Public Meetings (CPMs);

National Sector Hearings; and a

Constitutional Education Programme (CEPs).

CONSTITUTIONAL PUBLIC MEETINGS

The CA has organised several meetings to which the general public is invited, to listen to, and, more importantly, make their views known, to members of Theme Committees.

The Pilot Phase of the CPM programme was launched in Paarl in the Western Cape on 11 February 1995, and ended on 11 March 1995. During that period, a total of 9 CPM's were held in the following areas: Klerksdorp (NorthWest), Nelspruit (Eastern Transvaal), Graaf - Reinet (Eastern Cape), Namakgale (NorthernTransvaal), Mangaung (Free State), Kuboes (Northern Cape), Saldanha (Western Cape), Phalaborwa (Northern Transvaal) and Ivory Park (Gauteng). Over 5000 people attended these CPM'S.

The next phase of CPMs commenced on 6 May 1995 in Peddie (Eastern Cape), on 13 May in Standerton (Eastern Transvaal), and on 20 May in Upington (N. Cape), Taung (North West) and Harrismith (Free State). A total of 18 CPM's are planned for the months of May and June 1995.

NATIONAL SECTOR HEARINGS

In May 1995, the CA also began a round of consultations organised at national level with the major sectors of civil society. These national sector public hearings with groups like the religious community, traditional leaders, business, youth and women are planned to continue throughout June 1995.

The purpose of these hearings is to give an opportunity to major sectors to make their views known on the constitution. All Theme Committees are represented at the hearings.

National sector public hearings which have taken place:

1995:

8 May Business
12, 13 May Traditional Leaders
13 May National Children's Rights

The remaining national sector hearings are scheduled as follows:

1995:

26 May Religious Groups
27 May Youth
3 June Labour
4 June Women

Some of these sector hearings are ground-breaking events. Never before has there been such a large gathering of all traditional leaders who were consulted on their role and future. Similarly, the hearing with the captains of industry provided the business community with its first opportunity to be consulted at a national level on such an important issue as the new constitution.

CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMME

The Constitutional Education Programme (CEP) is a major part of the Public Participation Programme. The CEP lays a particular emphasis on the empowerment of rural, disadvantaged and marginalised groups so that these sectors are also able to contribute to the constitution-making process.

Many different strategies will be used to ensure that South Africans are educated about their rights and duties, and ultimately about the content of the new constitution. However, one of the main methods that will be used is community workshops.

It is also envisaged that schools, universities and technikons will be involved in the process. It is hoped that a schools programme will be initiated with the co-operation of the Department of Justice and the Department of Education. To this end, a national workshop of representatives from all universities and technikons was held in April 1995. The purpose of this workshop was to brief students and to look for ways in which students can assist in the education of other sectors of the population.

The need for a CEP is reinforced by the findings of a survey commissioned by the CA Administration. The results of the survey are dealt with in more detail in a later section of this report. However, the results clearly indicate the extent to which South Africa's black rural population (and women in particular) require more knowledge of constitutional matters if the call for public participation is to be a meaningful one.

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNICATION SERVICE

The South African Communication Service (SACS) has been assisting the CA to assist in the PPP as a whole. This has involved the assignment of a team of SACS staff to the CA Administration at national level who function largely as an Operations Team in the Community Liaison Department.

SACS has also provided office space and resources for the CA's provincial and training co-ordinators deployed at provincial level to co-ordinate the CEP programme.

MEDIA

To enhance public participation the CA has had to develop an effective media strategy. The major objectives of the CA media strategy are to inform, educate, stimulate public interest and create a forum for public participation. One of the most important messages of the CA media campaign is to let people know that an important process is unfolding which affects their lives and those of future generations, and that every South African has a unique opportunity to take part in the drafting of a new constitution.

The means used to implement the CA media strategy include:

- a national advertising campaign
- the production of an official CA newsletter
- the production of a weekly television show; and
- the production of occasional publications in the form of leaflets, posters and stickers.

The national advertising campaign moved into its second major burst in mid-May 1995. All forms of media were used including press, radio and television.

The CA's media campaign has sought to explain the continuity of the process, by linking the constitution-making process to the historic elections in April 1994. The message that has accompanied all CA advertisements has been: "You made your mark in 1994. Now have your say in 1995".

The CA also produces a regular newsletter, *Constitutional Talk*, published every three weeks. This tabloid is unique in that all 11 official languages are used. To date, 7 issues of *Constitutional Talk* have been published. About 100 000 issues are distributed at taxi ranks, while another 48 000 are distributed via a mailing list.

A weekly television talk-show, which also goes by the name of *Constitutional Talk*, has hit the air. This consists of a panel of representatives of political parties in the CA debating the various issues as they arise in Theme Committees. To date, four shows have been produced dealing with subjects like human rights, provincial and national government, separation of powers and the seat of government. Other subjects to be discussed are traditional authorities, language, national anthem and the flag. The show is aired on the CCV and NNTV channels.

The production of this show has been made possible with the kind sponsorship of the Liberty Life Foundation and South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). It is hoped that the show will continue throughout the process until the adoption of the new constitution, depending on future sponsorship. The possibility of a radio talk-show run along similar lines is also being investigated.

Of course, the major means of publicising the CA has been the existing channels of mass communication. The transparency of the CA process, With all meetings open to the public and the media, has greatly assisted in this process and has necessitated active and effective media liaison on the part of the CA.

SURVEY

Early in 1995, the CA Administration commissioned a survey to be conducted by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) and Roots Marketing and Research. The objective of the survey, which was both quantitative and qualitative, was to give an indication of the effectiveness or otherwise, of the CA's media campaign and PPP-

The survey was conducted in two parts by CASE and Roots during the month of April 1995. The findings were published on 17 May 1995. Despite extremely short turn-around, both agencies are to be commended for the quality of work produced.

CASE conducted a quantitative survey. A summary of CASE's findings is set out below and on page 15.

The multi-media approach adopted by Hunt Lascaris has been very successful. On their own, none of the mainstream media reached more than half of the people who access that media. Taken together however two-thirds of all South Africans have been exposed to the CA's media campaign.

About one third of all respondents have thought about the constitution, and the same number have talked about it. However, the public appears to be sceptical about the seriousness of the Assembly in calling for their involvement, and about the treatment their submissions would receive.

Levels of knowledge about what a constitution is are fairly high, although a large number of people still need education about the nature and function of a constitution.

The qualitative survey conducted by Roots provided more depth, giving an indication of people's way of thinking and complementing the numerical findings of CASE.

In general, while the concept of a constitution (as it related to makgotlas, stokvels, churches, burial societies and sports clubs) was understood as a set of rules to be followed, the concept of a country's constitution was virtually unknown in South Africa's rural areas. One participant responded: "...the constitution has only become known recently since the taking over of the new government."

Most respondents expressed a sense of national pride and patriotism in having been

invited to participate in the constitution-making process. However, it is in these same communities that it appears that education is required to ensure full participation.

There was a great deal of scepticism and fear amongst a few respondents who were concerned that the new constitution would be drafted with the current government outlook in mind. They seemed to feel that, at the end of the day, their views would be analysed and diagnosed, and those which are in line with government thinking would be accepted.

Some youth seemed more positive and spoke about the economic implications, racial integration and new social order. They also expressed fears about affirmative action.

Knowledge about the constitution-making process itself appeared to be lacking. Those who spoke about the CA, spoke about the role of political parties and either called for equal representation of parties or said the constitution should be drawn up by an independent and non-partisan structure.

When asked about the best ways the CA could use to reach them, respondents seemed to favour direct communication, like public meetings or rallies. Even though rural communities were exposed to radio, they still favoured face-to-face consultation.

When asked about what issues are important for the new constitution, many South Africans spoke immediately of so-called Second and Third Generation Rights, that is, basic needs like education, housing, water and employment. Amongst others one of the top issues was crime.

ADMINISTRATION

One of the first tasks that confronted the Chairpersons after their election was the establishment of the necessary administrative structures to help the CA in its work. To this end, a three-person Directorate, consisting of Hassen Ebrahim as Executive Director and Ms Louisa Zondo and Ms Marion Sparg as Deputy Executive Directors, was appointed in August 1994.

The Directorate was given the responsibility of setting up the CA Administration. To date, the CA Administration consists of approximately 70 staff. Departments which have been established are:

***Administration and Finance,
Community Liaison,***

***Law Advisors,
Media,
Research and
Secretariat.***

All CA staff have been appointed on contract for the duration of the constitution-making

process. It has also been necessary from time to time to employ staff on a shorter contract, ranging from three to six months.

The Administration is housed in premises in Regis House, Adderley Street and in Church Square.

The co-ordinators and trainers for the CEP are based in each of the nine provinces within SACS premises.

From parliament, Mr Peter Lilienfeld, was assigned the duties of Secretary to the CA to assist with plenary sessions of the CA and to assist with liaison with the administration in parliament.

FINANCES

Provision for expenditure on the CA is made by way of a separate programme under the Parliamentary budget. The Management Committee has been responsible, along with the Chairpersons and Administration, for the development and adoption of an annual budget for the CA's expenses.

However, in terms of the arrangement outlined above, the Secretary to Parliament remains the accounting officer as the CA's expenses are part of the overall budget for parliament.

The CA's expenditure in the 1994/95 financial year was approximately R 1 5 million. A financial report for the period May 1994 - 31 March 1995 is attached as Annexure 2.

The 1995/96 Budget for the CA, as reported to the Constitutional Committee in November 1994, is approximately R59 million. The original budget was cut by some 1 0% after concerns were expressed by Management Committee and in line with government's decision to reduce expenditure on administrative items in general.

A rough breakdown of the 1995/96 Budget follows:

Total Personnel Expenditure	R 9 789 141
Total Administrative Expenses	R20 850 000
Total Stores and Livestock	R13 344 000
Total Equipment	R 2 628 495
Total Professional Services	R12 812 000
TOTAL BUDGET	R59 423 636

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

The CA has received support from a number of countries in various aspects of its work. The support from the Australian, British, Dutch, French, German and United States governments is gratefully acknowledged. These countries have assisted in sponsoring workshops and have provided a number of experts to inform CA discussions. Recently the CA has received a number of invitations from countries wanting to share the South African experience.

EVALUATION AND WAY FORWARD

The writing of a new constitution for a democratic South Africa will no doubt stand out in history as one of the most important and abiding tasks in the transition of our country. The manner in which we have approached this task to date stems from a recognition of this fact, and our sincere desire that the final constitution be as reflective of the wishes of all our people, as it will be durable. One of the major achievements of the CA has been its "consensus" nature. It is remarkable that we have reached this stage without ever having applied the vote. All seven political parties have been taken on board. This is in keeping with the CA's guiding principles of inclusivity and openness.

The success of the CA's PPP can be measured from the results of the recent surveys which have been dealt with in some depth in this report. In short these findings are extremely positive, indicating that the CA has succeeded in reaching a great number of South Africans in a very short space of time. The survey findings serve as a further challenge to the CA, to ensure that its call for public participation delivers concrete results in the form of the new constitution.

The number of submissions received, some 22 000 thus far, is also an indication of the tremendous enthusiasm with which the CA's call has been met. However, a challenge still facing the CA is to convince the public that their submissions are being taken seriously and are considered equally as important as submissions received from political parties.

It is also clear that the CA will have to continue with its PPP. The favoured means of communication, as expressed by the people, is that of face-to-face consultation. If public participation is to succeed in the end, it will depend to a large extent on the number of CA representatives who attend public meetings and hearings to engage their constituencies.

The IFP walk-out is regrettable. This does not however mean that the IFP is totally absent from the constitution-making process. IFP representatives have attended CA public hearings and the views of the IFP in the form of submissions continue to be dealt with and considered in Theme Committees. In this regard, we remain confident that circumstances will make it possible for the IFP to return to the process.

As far as time-frames are concerned, it would appear that with very few exceptions, the first major deadline of 30 June 1995 will be met. Most Theme Committees will have completed the bulk of their work by this date.

Since January '95, when substantive work on the constitution begun, members of Theme Committees spent 14 Mondays (or a total of 451 hours) attending 41 workshops and hearings and processing almost 22 000 submissions. In addition, nearly 13 000 people in all parts of the country were involved in 15 CPM'S,

Bearing this in mind and considering the increasing volume of constitutional formulations that are to be processed in the coming weeks by the Constitutional Committee and Assembly, we remain confident that the process of drafting a new constitution is very much on track and will be timeously completed.

In conclusion, I must emphasise that the constitution-making process should not be seen in isolation from the broader context. South Africa is in the midst of a reconstruction process. The work of the CA is part of the broader reconstruction and democratisation process in our country.

The success the CA is achieving can only be fully understood if measured against the hectic first 12 months of democracy in our country which saw the launch of other major campaigns like local government elections. In spite of this the CA, as reflected in the CASE survey results, is succeeding in instilling a sense of constitutionalism in the minds of South Africans. This is an integral part of the ongoing struggle for democracy.

We anticipate that the CA will increasingly have to defer to the demands placed upon its members as we approach local government elections in November. When parliament adjourns later in the year, we will have to freeze CA activity for that period - probably lasting up to five months.

Bearing this in mind and considering the increasing volume of constitutional formulations that are to be processed in the coming weeks, we remain confident that the process of drafting a new constitution is very much on track and will be timeously completed.

The success we have enjoyed thus far, is indicative of the commitment of all involved in the process - elected representatives, political parties, staff and the South African public itself. To all, I offer my congratulations and support for the hard work ahead in 1995 and 1996.

M C RAMAPHOSA

CHAIRPERSON