

basic human rights; the right to vote, the right to education, housing and work, the right to form trade unions, to travel freely, to worship; to receive medical care and so forth. There is no difference between the rights demanded here and the statements of the churches about human rights".

Aardsbiskop D. Tutu: The Freedom Charter is the handwork of S.A. of all races and colours and ages . . . It speaks about our common humanity and our common South African citizenship . . . about a sharing society, about a caring community, about a compassionate fellowship . . . about providing for each according to their need . . . about a just, participatory and sustainable society".

Die gebeure op 21 Maart 1960 in Sharpsville waar 69 onskuldige mense vermoor en honderde beseer was, het grootliks daartoe bygedra tot

die besluit en aanvaarding van 'n gewapende strydvoering. In dieselfde jaar was die ANC onwettig verklaar. Chief A. Luthuli het die volgende te se in die verband: "Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all".

Belangrik was dat na 49 jaar van geweldlose strydvoering, was Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) op 16 Desember 1961 gestig. Dit was aangekondig deur 'n reeks ontploffings wat landwyd die aarde geskud het. Vandag word die ANC deur die Botha-regering gevrees; nie soseer dat

ons 'n gewapende stryd voer nie, maar omdat die ANC die mense verteenwoordig en gevolglik so aanvaar is. In Mei verlede jaar het die Wereld Raad van Kerke hier in Lusaka ons stryd in totaal aavaar. d.w.s. ons gewapende strydvoering was na jare van twyfelagtigheid deur die W.R.K. uiteindelik aanvaar. Deur die besluit het ons 'n mylpaal bereik in ons stryd vir vryheid, geregtigheid en vrede.

Na hierdie breedvoerige uiteensetting, kan daar nog rede wees vir twyfel? Die besluit is joue. . . Besluit nou om jou deel by te dra vir 'n toekoms waar jy jou geloof vryelik kan beoefen.

Die vraag lei: Hoe lank nog gelowige sal jy hunker op twee gedagtes? Hoe lank nog sal jy die mense mishandeling aanskou en stilbly?

VOORWAARTS TOT 'N REGERING VAN DIE MENSE. . .

CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

THE Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People at Kliptown near Johannesburg, was the first systematic statement in the history of our country of the political and constitutional vision of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The Freedom Charter remains today unique as the only South African document of its kind that adheres firmly to democratic principles as accepted throughout the world. Amongst South Africans it has become by far the most widely accepted programme for a post-apartheid country. The stage is now approaching where the Freedom Charter must be converted from a vision for the

future into a constitutional reality.

We in the African National Congress submit to the people of South Africa, and to all those throughout the world who wish to see an end to apartheid, our basic guidelines for the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa. Extensive and democratic debate on these guidelines will mobilise the widest sections of our population to achieve agreement on how to put an end to the tyranny and oppression under which our people live, thus enabling them to lead normal and decent lives as free citizens in a free country.

The immediate aim is to create a just and democratic

society that will sweep away the century's old legacy of colonial conquest and white domination, and abolish all laws imposing racial oppression and discrimination. The removal of discriminatory laws is, however, not enough; the structures and the institutions of apartheid must be dismantled and be replaced by democratic ones. Steps must be taken to ensure that apartheid ideas and practices are not permitted to appear in old forms or new.

In addition, the effects of centuries of racial domination and inequality must be overcome by constitutional provisions for corrective action which guarantees a rapid and
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edly "being involved in
k's acquaintance with
urity police dates back
7 when he was detained
visiting a family whose
were detained. There-
he was picked up at
short intervals spending
or months in detention.
was the most severe, he
erned for 8 months and
sulted in the deteriora-
his health.

dy in 1981 prior to his
on, he had joined the
e for Contextual
y as Research Officer.
3 he was appointed
Secretary of the Insti-
position he held till
gifted science scholar,
as never been able to
e his B.Sc. degree
the fact that when he
floop in 1974 he was
nai year. His periodic
ns have been very
because every time it
e lost yet another year
. He has since started
in Theology.

mitted Christian of
the moral standards, he

is practical about his politics
and compelling about the exam-
ple he gives. A gifted public
speaker he often remarks in
passing that he "does not have
anything new to tell the people
but has a new way of telling
them what they already
know." Frank is a tireless
worker who amazingly
manages to honour his appoint-
ments for large meetings and
small gatherings and still
attend his Sunday worship at
his father's church at Naledi
every Sunday. He is always
so willing to minister to
people in crisis situations that
he often overstretches himself.
His only fault, the one which
he never ceases to worry
about, is that he spends little
time with his family.

There is a joke that Frank
is so busy that his wife has to
negotiate an appointment in
his diary to see him. He rather
responds by saying "maybe we
have reached a stage in the
fight against apartheid where
priorities must be readjusted.
Maybe the times dictate that
the fight for justice in our
society should not be subordi-
nated to such noble commit-

ments as an evening with your
wife or an uninterrupted year
of study at University." How-
ever, as a family man he is a
source of inspiration and a
model to countless young
couples. He married in 1980
and together with his wife
Kagiso, they have two child-
ren. Frank's political back-
ground and formation is the
Black Consciousness move-
ment of the 1970's. He was
involved in the founding of
AZAPO and also delivered a
paper at the inauguration of
AZAPO in 1979.

However, during the early
1980's his ideological base
shifted to the non-racial posi-
tion espoused by the Freedom
Charter, a document he holds
in high esteem, second only
to the Bible. Until recently he
was the vice-president of the
United Democratic Front an
alliance of organizations oppo-
sing apartheid and unpholding
the non-racial ideal.

Frank undoubtedly is a
model par excellence of the
new brand of Black Theolo-
gian of liberation. He is a
people's theologian.

e 24

e redistribution of
nd opening up of
to all. The constitu-
also be such as to
the habits of non-
king, the practice of
behaviour and the
of genuinely shared
consciousness.

stitution must give
tion to the funda-
an rights of all
are shall be equal
all individuals,
of race, colour, sex
In addition, it

requires the entrenching of
equal cultural, linguistic and
religious rights for all.

Under the conditions of
contemporary South Africa
87% of the land and 95% of
the instruments of production
of the country are in the hands
of the ruling class which is
solely drawn from the white
community. It follows, there-
fore, that constitutional
protection for group rights
would perpetuate the status
quo and would mean that the
mass of the people would
continue to be constitutionally

trapped in poverty and remain
as outsiders in the land of their
birth.

Finally, success of the
constitution will be, to a large
extent, determined by the
degree to which it promotes
conditions for the active
involvement of all sectors of
the population and at all levels
in government and in the
economic and cultural life.
Bearing these fundamental
objectives in mind, we declare
that the elimination of apart-
heid and the creation of a
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truly just and democratic South Africa requires a constitution based on the following principles:

THE STATE:

a) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.

b) i) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive and administration.

ii) Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration.

c) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.

d) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.

FRANCHISE

e) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person, one vote.

f) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and be elected to all legislative bodies.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

g) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall

recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.

A BILL OF RIGHTS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION:

h) The constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, which shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their enforcement.

i) The state and all social institutions shall be under a duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms.

j) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.

k) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed.

l) Subject to clauses (i) and (k) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, expression, thought, worship and the press.

m) All parties which conform to the provisions of paragraphs (i) to (k) shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country.

ECONOMY

n) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of all sections of the population.

o) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of private productive capacity.

p) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector.

q) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small-scale family activities shall be supported by the state.

r) The state shall promote the acquisition of managerial, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks.

s) Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

WORKERS

t) A charter protecting workers, trade union rights, the right to strike and collective bargaining into the constitution.

WOMEN

u) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate sexual inequalities.

THE FAMILY

v) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected.

INTERNATIONAL

w) South Africa shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations and to the achievements of national liberation, world peace and disarmament.