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ANC POLICY GUIDELINES FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SECTION I - FOUNDATIONS OF ANC POLICY

- 1. A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA**
- 2. ECONOMIC POLICY**
- 3. THE LAND**

SECTION II - DELIVERING THE GOODS

- 1. A NEW SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT**
- 2. HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES (still being drafted)**

SECTION III - IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE

- 1. HEALTH**
- 2. SOCIAL WELFARE**

SECTION IV - PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE

- 1. EDUCATION**
- 2. HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT**
- 3. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**
- 4. ENVIRONMENT**
- 5. ARTS AND CULTURE**

SECTION V - PEACE AND SECURITY

- 1. POLICE AND ARMY (still being drafted)**
- 2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (still being drafted)**

INTRODUCTION

The basic objectives of ANC policy are threefold:

- * To overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid, in a swift, progressive and principled way;
- * To develop an economy and state infrastructure that will progressively improve the quality of life of all South Africans; and,
- * To encourage the flourishing of the feeling that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, to promote a common loyalty to and pride in the country and to create a universal sense of freedom and security within its borders.

These are not mutually exclusive goals. On the contrary, the future of our country depends on the harmonious and simultaneous realisation of all three. The advancement of the majority of people will, in the medium-and-long-term, release hitherto untapped and suppressed talents and energies that will both boost and diversify the economy. Developing the economy will, in turn, provide the basis for overcoming the divisions of the past without creating new ones. Finally, the achievement of a genuine sense of national unity depends on all of us working together to overcome the inequalities created by apartheid.

The beacons guiding these advances are equal rights, non-racialism, non-sexism, democracy and mutual respect. A broad, inclusive approach, free of arrogance or complexes of superiority or inferiority, is fundamental.

We have to develop a truly South African vision of our country, one undistorted by the prejudices and sectarianism that has guided viewpoints on race and gender, in the past. We have to rely on the wisdom, life experiences, talents and know-how of all South Africans, men and women. There can be no apartheid in finding solutions to the problems created by apartheid.

This document does not present a rigid ANC blue-print for the future of South Africa, to which our supporters will be expected to rally and our opponents required to submit. Rather, the document represents a set of basic guidelines to policies we intend to pursue. These ideas will be developed through discussion within the ANC, and through consultation with the broadest spectrum of South African public opinion. The policies will be adapted according to these processes and on the basis of experience.

Our problems run deep

It is necessary to dwell on the problems which will be faced by the first government which is elected under a new democratic constitution. It will help create an understanding of the

magnitude of the tasks involved in transforming our country into one where everyone can enjoy a reasonable standard of living combined with peace and security. It will underline the fact that there are choices to be made and priorities to be established.

The nationalist government has pursued active political and social policies which, amongst others things, have led to: extreme levels of poverty and disease in the rural areas; the creation of urban ghettos where people have been denied access to even the most basic means of survival as a result of severely limited access to decent homes, electricity, water-borne sewerage, tarred roads, and recreational facilities; an education system preparing the majority of South Africans for lives of subordination and low income wage jobs; a social security system geared almost entirely to fulfilling the needs of the white minority; a health system that has seriously neglected the well-being of most South Africans; the social and political marginalisation of the majority of people, the African community in particular, their exclusion from public life and decision making as well as the denial of their culture.

Gender discrimination has either excluded or subordinated the nature of women's participation in all socio-economic and political institutions. Combined with apartheid, this has resulted in African women being the most exploited and poverty stricken section of the South African population.

Both the political system of apartheid and the pattern of economic development in our country, have been responsible for these developments. The white minority have used their exclusive access to political and economic power to promote their own sectional interests at the expense of black people and the country's natural resources. Black people have been systematically excluded and disadvantaged economically with the result that South Africa has one of the most unequal patterns of income and wealth distribution in the world.

Since the mid-1970s, the South african economy has stagnated. An average growth rate of 6% in the 1960s declined to 3% in the 1970s and is now below 1%. Unemployment is estimated at over 40% of the economically active population.

For over forty years, economic strategy was based on expanding industry through the substitution of hitherto imported manufactured goods for the wealthy minority. There has also been an emphasis on strategic industries such as arms and petrochemicals. This led to the emergence of a significant manufacturing sector in our country, but one which is generally uncompetitive in terms of international costs and prices.

The alienation of land from the indigenous people and the denial of the African majority's rights to land and political power in our country are intimately connected. The agricultural sector in South Africa is currently experiencing a deep crisis. Debt levels of white farmers have reached R14 billion.

These problems have led to rapidly increasing unemployment and a serious decline in living standards.

Our people remain divided. We do not know each other. We are prevented from developing a national vision, in terms of which, we would see our country through the eyes of all its citizens, and not just one group or another. We live apart, physically separated, spiritually alienated, frightened of getting too close, knowing that we have different life-chances and different views of what change means. We are ruled by a multiplicity of fragmented departments, boards, councils and ministries. Apartheid has left us apart.

Policies for transformation

In this context it is vital that the ANC develops a clear response. This response must be aimed both at establishing a new and democratic political dispensation that replaces the racist and undemocratic apartheid constitution and addresses the legacy of apartheid in the broader socio-economic sphere.

This document is a direct response to the above challenges. It sets out for discussion a comprehensive set of guidelines highlighting the ANC's broad policy response to all the major areas of political, social and economic life. The document is structured so as to highlight the strong relationship between the creation of political democracy and social and economic transformation.

It is critical, however, that we honestly face up to the extent of the problems confronting our country. They are not going to be solved overnight and there are no easy or quick solutions. The problems run deep and resources are limited. Accordingly, the policies proposed here represent our broad vision. These policies highlight our ultimate goals, which will need to be transformed into effective and realisable programmes in the short-term.

In other words, we will need to establish priorities both within each of the different policy areas and between these broad areas. These priorities must be arrived at through democratic discussions and decision making processes and we must establish just and efficient mechanisms for implementing these decisions. Progress will also depend on involving as many sections of our society as possible in finding solutions.

SECTION I - THE FOUNDATIONS OF ANC POLICY

1. A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The goal of the ANC, ever since it was formed in 1912, has been to give the people of our country, all the people, the chance to choose the government they want. That is why generations of our leaders and members have set their sights on the objective of a new and democratic constitution which would at last remove the colonial status of the African people, abolish all forms of discrimination, and recognise the basic equality of all South Africans.

We are proud of our role in pioneering the spirit of democracy and constitutionalism in our land, we are proud of the Freedom Charter. We hope that the people will elect us to office. None has fought harder for freedom and democracy than we have. What matters, however, is that the people will finally have won the right to choose their own government. They should have the right to elect us if they so wish. Similarly, they should have the right to throw us out of office if we fail them.

Our task now is to rally all South African patriots around the principles for which we have always stood, namely, of equality, mutual respect and promotion of basic human rights. After so many decades of struggle and sacrifice, we must achieve a constitution that guarantees that oppression, inequality and division will never stalk our land again.

We want a country that is unified, open, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and free. We must abolish all forms of discrimination, domination, privilege or abuse. We must ensure that the basic rights and freedoms of all are respected. We must see to it that the religious, linguistic and cultural variety of our land is fully acknowledged, and that neither the majority nor minorities nor individuals are subjected to any forms of oppression or abuse. We do not want new forms of tyranny to replace the old.

South Africa has never had good government for all. Government has until now always been used to harass, divide and humiliate the great majority of South Africans, while securing privilege and relatively high standards of service for the minority. We need a constitution that guarantees a high quality of government service for all. The public service must be based on the principles of representation, competence, impartiality and accountability. For the first time we envisage a public service that is drawn from and serves the interests of the public as a whole.

THE VOTE

The ANC stands for one person, one vote on a common voters roll. The achievement of the vote will signal the achievement of full citizenship and equality for all. It will place elections at the centre of political life in our country and ensure that from now

onwards government is both accountable and responsive to all the people.

We have long opposed the idea of entrenching race or ethnic group rights in the constitution. We feel that the diversity of our population will best be catered for by a system of non-racial, non-sexist democracy, in which appropriate checks and balances will ensure the active participation of all in political life and prevent the abuse or oppression of any.

In keeping with this inclusive and balanced approach, the ANC supports the system of voting by proportional representation. Instead of voting for single candidates to represent geographically delimited constituencies, people will vote wherever they are for party lists. The parties will then get a share of the members of Parliament in proportion to their share of the total vote. A party that gets half the votes will get half the seats, one that gets ten per cent of the votes will get ten per cent of the seats, and so on.

In order to ensure that people in the regions have a strong say in the preparation of the lists, we propose that there be a single vote which will count towards both national and regional lists of the parties. The persons elected on the regional lists will then be directly accountable to people in the regions, without losing their position as members of a national party.

These lists will have to be balanced as well in terms of women's representation.

A BICAMERAL PARLIAMENT

The ANC favours a Parliament consisting of two chambers.

The National Assembly will be elected by universal suffrage according to proportional representation. It will control the nation's budget and have primary responsibility for the preparation and adoption of the country's main laws. The Senate will be representative of the regions, and have the power to review and delay legislation. It will also have special responsibility for promoting regional development and for ensuring respect for the principles of the Bill of Rights. The Senate will, in addition, have particular powers in relation to blocking amendments to the constitution.

THE EXECUTIVE

The ANC proposes that the Head of State be a President with both ceremonial and executive powers. The President should either be directly elected by the people, or else chosen by the National Assembly at its first session. He or she will have a fixed term of office and be available for re-election only once. The President will nominate and supervise the functioning of the cabinet, acting through and in liaison with a Prime Minister who will be directly accountable to the National Assembly.

A BILL OF RIGHTS

A central place in the Constitution will be occupied by a Bill of Rights. This will set out certain basic rights and freedoms as universally understood which no future government or Parliament will be able to take away. Basically, it will enshrine principles for which we have fought all our lives. At the heart of the Bill of Rights lies the notion of the fundamental equality of all men and women, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

The Bill of Rights will guarantee that South Africa is a multi-party democracy in which people enjoy freedom of speech and assembly and the right to change their government. Furthermore, the public have a right to know what is being done in their name - we believe in a strong right to information and a firm guarantee regarding the free circulation of ideas and opinions.

The Bill of Rights will be enforced by the courts, headed by a newly created Constitutional Court, which will have the task of upholding the fundamental rights and freedoms of all citizens against the state or any body or person seeking to deny those rights. The judges will be independent, and will consist of men and women drawn from all sections of the community on the basis of their integrity, skills, life experience and wisdom.

The Bill of Rights must secure the rights of individuals to equality and protection from discrimination in all spheres of life, including housing, employment and access to facilities.

It must pay attention to:

The rights of the child; environmental rights; the rights of disabled persons; and the right not to be discriminated against or subjected to harassment because of sexual orientation.

The ANC is against capital punishment and will seek to have it outlawed in the Bill of Rights.

Worker's rights

Workers have fought long and hard for their right to set up independent trade unions, their right to engage in collective bargaining and their right to strike. These rights must be protected in the Bill of Rights, which should be supplemented by a Workers' Charter. This charter should set out all those rights that workers throughout the world have gained for themselves.

Human rights for women

Special emphasis will have to be given to the realisation of women's emancipation.

Women are discriminated against and subordinated in every area of public and private life. They have inferior access to education and employment and are shut out from decision-making at all levels of society. We in the ANC acknowledge that we still

have a long way to go in remedying this state of affairs in our own organisation.

We support the principle of equal rights for women and men in all spheres, and the creation of special agencies to ensure that equal opportunity operates in practice.

Women cannot walk in the streets freely without fear of being assaulted, and frequently they feel unsafe from violence even in their own homes. Concepts of family privacy and the nature of the marriage vow are used to deny women legal protection against abuse in the home. While strongly supporting the inviolability of the home, the Bill of Rights should make it clear that this will not in any way deprive women of their constitutional rights to physical and moral integrity. Similarly, guardianship should be shared and rape in marriage outlawed.

In providing that women should be allowed to take their rightful place in every area of South African life without impediment or discrimination, the law should take account of the reality of the lives that women lead and the contribution they make to society through maternity, parenting and household work. Much of the work that women perform goes unrecognised and unpaid; the contribution of women to national income must be acknowledged.

The Bill of Rights should include mechanisms to ensure that women as well as men are assured of the ability to exercise their constitutional rights in all fields of life. The Bill of Rights should thus be supplemented by an enforceable Charter of Human Rights for Women which spells out in detail the full range of rights to which women are entitled, highlighting the range of rights which they have been blocked from exercising, and the means whereby they will be realised.

The family

People shall be free to form families on a voluntary and equal basis. Subject to the principles of voluntarism and equality, appropriate legal recognition shall be given to all matrimonial unions, independently of the religious or other rights used for their creation. The Bill of Rights should support the provision of homes, employment and utilities such as light and water, so as to repair the damage done by apartheid and the migrant labour system, and in order to give real meaning to the right to family life.

Property Rights

The property rights of the majority have been systematically ignored and violated by apartheid. A new system of just and secure property rights must be created, one which is regarded as legitimate by the whole population.

People should have undisturbed enjoyment of their personal possessions.

4. Everyone should be protected against arbitrary and lawless interference with their property rights. If the public interest requires the taking of any property, then such taking shall be done in a manner prescribed by law and subject to the payment of just compensation. Such compensation will be calculated by means of achieving an equitable balance between the interests of those affected and the public interest, and its final determination will be in the hands of the courts.

The Bill of Rights shall establish the principles and procedures whereby land rights will be restored to those deprived of them by apartheid statutes. A Land Claims Tribunal, functioning in an equitable manner according to principles of justice laid out in legislation, will, wherever it is feasible to do so, restore such rights. In doing so, it will take into account the role of compensation to be paid by the state to those whose existing titles are affected, and also bear in mind the importance of maintaining the country's food supply.

5. The ownership of property implies obligations. The Bill of Rights should be framed in such a way as to authorise legislation affecting property in a manner which is clearly in the public interest, such as:

- * To promote conservation and environmental protection;
- * To prevent the formation of monopolies or cartels which restrict free competition;
- ⊗ * To impose taxes;
- ⊗ * To regulate the use of property.

Social, educational, health and welfare rights

The Bill of Rights should affirm the right of all persons to have access to basic educational, health and welfare services. It should establish principles and mechanisms to ensure that there is an enforceable and expanding minimum floor of entitlements for all, in the areas of education, health and welfare. It should commit the courts to take into account the need to reduce malnutrition, unemployment and homelessness when making any decisions.

Pensions should immediately be equalised in respect of race and gender, and all future governments should be constitutionally committed to embark upon programmes to ensure that every household has electricity, clean water and access to waste disposal.

Special agencies linked to Parliament and the courts should be set up so as to ensure that national, regional and local authorities apply appropriate shares of their budgets to achieving these rights, taking into account the problems of limited resources and affordability. Removing the inequalities to which the majority of the people have been subjected, both by

law and in practice, cannot be left either to paternalism or chance. We cannot have a nation if half the people live in darkness, half in light.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

There is strong support in this country for the idea of affirmative action, and equally strong resistance. While taking on a variety of forms, affirmative action means special measures to enable black people and women to break into fields from which they have been excluded by past discrimination. Affirmative action has been proposed with a view to establishing a law-governed, progressive and equitable way of ensuring advancement without on the one hand freezing present privileges or on the other going over to arbitrary compulsion and self-help. The issue has to be handled with both firmness and sensitivity.

The Constitution must make it clear that seeking to achieve real equal rights and opportunities for those discriminated against in the past should not be regarded as a violation of the principles of non-racialism and non-sexism, but rather as their fulfilment. Unless special interventions are made, the patterns of structured advantage and disadvantage created by apartheid and patriarchy replicate themselves from generation to generation.

We do not support giving positions to unqualified people simply on the grounds of race or gender. What we will insist on, however, is that the hundreds of thousands of highly merit-worthy persons who have been unjustifiably kept out of jobs, denied advancement in their careers and excluded from training, be given their due. Those who have been kept back by apartheid education and by sexist assumptions should be given special backing to catch up. The rich life experiences, knowledge of languages, and cultural adaptability of those discriminated against should count in favour of and not against applicants as part of their total profile.

We look to advancement taking place primarily through application of the principles of equal protection, good government and an expanding floor of minimum rights, that is, our Constitution will be profoundly non-racial and non-sexist, but it will not prevent taking the realities of race and gender discrimination into account in certain specified areas and in order to meet well-defined goals when trying to achieve real equality.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE, DEFENCE AND POLICE

The whole of the civil service will have to be opened up so as to make it a truly South African civil service, and not the administrative arm of a minority. It is important that the civil service be impartial in its functioning, and accountable both to parliament and to the broad community it serves.

The defence force, police and prison service should all be non-racial and non-sexist in character and composed of personnel that are well-trained, disciplined, humane and loyal to the

Constitution.

THE RULE OF LAW

The law should be there to defend the rights of everybody on an equal basis, whether black, brown or white, male or female, young or old, Christians, Muslim, Hindu or Jew, urban or rural, speaker of any language. There will be no part of South Africa from which the law and the Constitution will be excluded. People living and working on farms will be entitled to exercise their legal rights. People in prisons or in hospitals will have to be treated according to the law.

People will not give up their constitutional rights when they enter their home, or go on to premises of their employer.

Everyone should feel free to ride on a train or walk in the streets without being assaulted. People should be able to sleep securely in their beds without fear of being raided by the police, attacked by a burglar or even abused by a member of the household.

We cannot take a neutral or passive attitude towards crime. The redistribution we want in this country must take place in an orderly and law-governed way. We cannot support the idea of the strongest and most violent in the community simply helping themselves.

We look forward to the creation of a non-racial and non-sexist police force that has close links with the community and that is efficient, humane and well-disciplined. The problem of crime will have to be tackled in a global way, but the law and the police force will have a central role to play.

A FREE AND OPEN SOCIETY

The Constitution must guarantee not only that people are free to speak their minds, but that people can benefit from the free circulation of ideas and information, and be exposed to different philosophies and ways of seeing the world. The right to information must be secured, together with a free press and public media, which is controlled neither by the state nor by political parties, but by an impartial and independent broadcasting authority. There should be a commitment to the constitutional principles of non-racialism and non-sexism.

Spying, dirty tricks, the keeping of secret files and the use of disinformation by the state or any other body should be outlawed.

The Constitution is the guardian of our liberties. It should guarantee space to each and every person to live out his or her life in dignity, either alone or in association with others. Freedom of the individual, freedom of civil society and good government according to constitutional principles, go hand in hand. The struggle for freedom and justice never ends.

2. ECONOMIC POLICY

A STRATEGY FOR THE OPENING UP AND GROWTH OF THE POST-APARTHEID ECONOMY

The central goal of ANC economic policy is to create a strong, dynamic and balanced economy that will be directed towards:

- (a) The elimination of the poverty and the extreme inequalities generated by the apartheid system;
- (b) The achievement of high employment and maximum participation in economic activity by all;
- (c) The steady growth in and increasing variety of goods and services produced, so as to enable the whole population, especially the poorer section, to improve its quality of life;
- (d) The development of a prosperous regional economy in Southern Africa based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

In order to achieve these objectives it will be necessary to develop a national economic strategy based on two principal components:

- (i) The opening up of the economy so as to break-down the legal, practical and psychological barriers created by apartheid and patriarchy. This includes barriers to the acquisition of skills and to access to jobs, adequate remuneration, business opportunities, managerial positions, and share-holding by the majority of the population. In addition there will have to be a systematic redistribution of income and infrastructure in favour of our people;
- (ii) the restructuring of the South African economy on the basis of new, comprehensive and sustainable policies for industry, mining, agriculture, fisheries and rural development.

Such an economy will foster a new and constructive relationship between the people, the state, the private sector and the market.

Success will depend upon sensible and active collaboration, in working out policies, by all those involved in the economy.

We envisage that, as in most parts of the world, the state will have primary responsibility for responding to the basic needs of the population in the areas of health care, education and basic social security. In addition, it will be responsible for the provision of infrastructure in the form of roads, dams, telecommunication, transport and power stations, as well as for the furnishing of utilities such as water, electricity and waste disposal services.

We envisage a dynamic private sector, employing the skills and acumen of all South Africans, making a major contribution to the provision of good quality, attractive and competitively priced goods and services for all South Africans. Special attention will

have to be given to small-and-medium sized businesses, family and village economic activity and generally to the encouragement of development in poor and depressed areas.

The democratic state will have ultimate responsibility - in cooperation with the trade union movement, business and other organs of civil society - for coordinating, planning and guiding the development of the economy towards a sustainable economic growth pattern. Emphasis will be placed on macroeconomic balance, including price stability and balance of payments equilibrium.

In addition to the above principles, the state should respond to the needs of the national economy in a flexible way, and be guided by the balance of evidence, rather than acting according to any rigid ideological framework when deciding for or against various economic policy measures. Such flexibility means assessing the balance of evidence when deciding on the merit of:

- * Increasing public sector economic activity through, for example, nationalisation (subject to compensation) or by means of purchasing a share-holding in companies through the market process; or,
- * establishing new public corporations or joint ventures between the state and the private sector; or,
- * Reducing the role of the public sector through privatisation.

The primary question in this regard is not the legal form that state involvement in economic activity might take at any point, but whether such actions will strengthen the ability of the economy to respond to the massive inequalities in the country and relieve the material hardship of the majority of people.

FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY

The ANC is committed to a well coordinated fiscal, monetary and exchange rate policy package, which will provide a stable macroeconomic framework for sustainable growth and redistributive expenditure on housing, infrastructure, education, health and social welfare.

Redistributive expenditures will be financed largely through a broadly based and progressive tax structure which will also reflect the need to create incentives for investment and expansion. The complex details of fiscal changes which are necessary will be the subject of a fiscal commission, which the ANC will institute.

Inflationary deficit financing will be avoided by the democratic state. The ANC will avoid unsustainable increases in the public debt by financing the deficit through borrowing on the capital market rather than through money creation.

TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY

Trade policy will be aimed at raising the level of productivity and improving the competitiveness of domestic producers. Tariffs may, in conjunction with performance requirements, enable domestic producers to develop new branches of production. Trade barriers will be adjusted, within an agreed framework, to prevent the destruction of domestic producers, jobs, and the exploitation of South African consumers. The export of higher value-added goods will be encouraged in order to strengthen the balance of payments

position, improve competitiveness, and create jobs.

Trade policy will be closely linked to the overall economic policy of the ANC, including monetary and industrial policies. South Africa will in general endorse the multilateral system of trade liberalising arrangements centred around the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). However, the ANC will persuade developed countries to facilitate the development process which confronts the Southern African region.

Industrial policy will be aimed, in the first instance, at meeting the basic needs of and creating jobs for the millions of our people who are unemployed and living in poverty and squalor. It will further aim to enhance our technological capacity, and in the medium to longer term, ensure that South Africa emerges as a significant exporter of manufactured goods. Further, industrial restructuring will be promoted in accordance with the needs of our economy and international economic demands and patterns. A balanced pattern of industrialisation, capable of overcoming the geographic inequalities and imbalances of the apartheid period, will be vigorously pursued.

MINING AND ENERGY POLICY

The mineral wealth beneath the soil is the national heritage of all South Africans. A fundamental component of ANC mining policy will be the introduction of a new system of taxation, financing, mine worker safety, mineral rights and leasing, with public ownership and joint ventures being considered where appropriate. Strategies will be developed to integrate the mining industry with other sectors of the economy by encouraging mineral beneficiation and the creation of a world class mining and mineral processing capital goods industry.

The ANC will investigate the appropriate regulatory framework, structure and operation of major energy parastatals such as Eskom, the Atomic Energy Corporation, Sasol and Mossgas, with a view to re-orientating them towards national economic and development goals. The ANC also intends to launch a national electrification programme.

FISHING

Marine resources along the South African coastline form a substantial fishing industry. In the development of this

industry, however, access to the resource was removed from many traditional fishing communities. Moreover, although current management strategies - which are based on a mix of limits on catch and limits on access - have shown an improvement over past strategies, there are indications that some stocks are still being over-exploited.

Accordingly, the ANC favours restructuring the fishing industry by moving away from large fishing conglomerates to smaller, community-based fisheries. Management of stocks on a sustainable yield basis will be continued and improved. This could be done through the introduction of a more conservative, and longer-term quota allocation system which would impart a greater measure of stability to the industry. The development of additional fish stocks, and the mariculture industry - within environmental constraints - will also be encouraged.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT POLICY

Foreign investment will be promoted. This will be done, amongst other things, through guarantees on the repatriation of after-tax profits, the purchase of inputs, the sale of domestic assets, the maintenance of macroeconomic balance by the state, transparency and consistency of overall economic policy and a climate of peace and stability.

In addition, foreign firms will not be nationalised without adequate and fair compensation. Foreign investors will, however, be required to comply with domestic regulations, including those covering the environment, labour market, education and training of workers and affirmative action. Foreign investors in natural resource-based industries may be subject to additional regulations.

ANTI-TRUST, ANTI-MONOPOLY AND MERGERS POLICY

The concentration of economic power in the hands of a few conglomerates has been detrimental to balanced economic development in South Africa. The ANC is not opposed to large firms as such. However we will investigate the possibility of introducing anti-monopoly and mergers policies in accordance with international norms and practices to curb monopolies, continued domination of the economy by a minority within the white minority and promote greater efficiency in the private sector.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WITH RESPECT TO RACE, GENDER, YOUTH AND THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Racism and sexism are present in all areas of economic activity in South Africa. The ANC will ensure that all aspects of economic policy address this situation and transform it in accordance with democratic principles of non-racialism, non-sexism and the equality of all South African citizens. Accordingly, the ANC will support the implementation of affirmative action policies in all areas of the economy.

Special attention will have to be given to intensive training and the opening up of careers and advancement for those held back by past discrimination. Management in both the public and private sectors will have to be deracialised so that rapidly and progressively it comes to reflect the business skills of the entire population. Equity ownership will also have to be extended so that people from all sections of the population have a stake in the economy and the power to influence economic decisions.

In addition, the ANC will promote the active participation of civil society in all areas of economic policy through appropriate institutions, forums and processes.

Gender relations in the home have created dependency and subordination for most women in our society. The domestic division of labour has resulted in women performing a range of activities which are unrecognised for their contribution to social reproduction, stability and wealth creation. This situation needs to be redressed through efforts to value the unpaid work performed by women and through establishing a set of accounts which reflects the contribution of women to gross domestic product. The need to actively recognise such work is vital since it affects the nature of broader socio-economic policy formulation. In addition there needs to be a commitment to equal pay for work of equal value in the currently recognised sectors of the economy.

REGIONAL COOPERATION IN AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

South Africa is part and parcel of the African continent in general and Southern Africa in particular. As such, the ANC will continue to work for the aims and objectives of the OAU in achieving the economic integration of the continent. An ANC government will seek to actively promote economic cooperation in Southern Africa in ways that will correct existing imbalances and promote non-exploitative relationships.

3. THE LAND

LAND AND AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Dispossession and denial of rights to land have resulted in the present unequal division of land and landlessness, which will require legislative intervention far beyond the mere repeal of apartheid land laws. Our policies must provide access to land both as a productive resource and to ensure that all our citizens have a secure place to live. The crippling impact of past policies demands the urgent implementation of land reform measures. At the same time, we must take account of the need to maintain food supplies and to provide equitable and orderly procedures so as to ensure that the transition is as smooth as possible. Compensation will have a big role to play in dealing with competing claims.

The ANC is of the view that the legacy of forced removals and dispossession must be addressed as a fundamental point of departure to any future land policy for our country. Effective policy measures to ensure that landless people gain access to land on fair terms, and a legal process to resolve competing claims to land will be introduced by an ANC government as a matter of priority.

The development of a productive agricultural sector and a viable rural economy is necessary for economic growth and the well-being of all South Africans. The productive potential of the land and the people living on it should be effectively harnessed, for the benefit of the entire nation. Our agricultural land should be treated as a fragile and precious resource base which belongs to future generations, and our policies will be designed to ensure its enrichment and protection.

LAND REFORM AND REDISTRIBUTION

Our approach to land issues must be placed in the context of an overall developmental strategy addressing problems of poverty, malnutrition, landlessness and unemployment. The ANC believes that our country needs a comprehensive land reform programme which will include the following:

- Redressing the injustices caused by apartheid's policy of dispossession;
- Addressing demands and grievances concerning land restoration and ownership by the creation of a special land court through which competing claims to land can be resolved;
- Creating institutions to which the homeless and landless will have access in order to obtain land, shelter, and necessary services;
- The recognition and protection of the diversity of tenure forms in our country;
- The promotion of a policy of affirmative action within a viable economic development programme to ensure, among other things, access to land with secure rights for residential settlement, as well as access to good agricultural land, which will create new opportunities in this sector.

Redistribution of agricultural land

The present pattern of land ownership which is the direct result of apartheid laws must be fundamentally changed to address landlessness and land hunger. The programme of redistribution of agricultural land must be accompanied by measures which will ensure that the land will be productively used. These must include the provision of adequate infrastructure as well as training and appropriate extension work.

The state will have to play a key role in the acquisition and allocation of land and must therefore have the power to acquire land in a variety of ways, including expropriation in the public

interest where necessary, with just compensation. In addition, the state should seek to use policy instruments, eg, land taxes, which, if correctly applied, could have the effect of land being freed for redistribution through the market. Other instruments of control interfering with the market mechanism, such as the 1970 Subdivision of Land Act, will need to be reviewed.

Access to land and ownership

All South Africans are entitled to equitable access to land and shelter to meet their basic needs. In order to achieve the realisation of this entitlement, an equitable balance shall be established between the legitimate interests of the present holders of rights to land, and the legitimate needs of those without land and shelter.

The ownership of land carries with it both rights and duties. Owners of land should be required by law to respect the human rights of people living on the land, the need for productive use of the land, and the need for the protection of land as a productive asset for the country as a whole.

Orderly procedures

We envisage the creation of Land Claims Tribunals to preside over and make the necessary adjudications with regard to conflicting claims to land and the redistribution of rights to land. The law will lay down clear criteria of entitlement. Priority will be given to victims of forced removal who, wherever possible, should get land back taken from them by the apartheid state. Former labour tenants and share croppers, and their families, who have had a long association with particular pieces of land, should have protected rights of occupation and use. No one should be evicted from land or have his or her home destroyed, unless the Tribunal or another court has considered the availability of alternative accommodation.

There must be a programme of affirmative action to enable people prohibited from owning land on the basis of race and sex discrimination, to have access to land.

While the Tribunals will focus on the question of land rights, other agencies will ensure that new farmers receive appropriate credit, training, extension and marketing facilities in order to produce efficiently.

Compensation

The land question is a question that affects not just landholders and the landless, but the whole nation. All South Africans have a responsibility to share the burden of solving it. While the free market has some role to play, it will barely touch the problem. The very discrimination which forced the people off the land, has deprived them of the capacity to buy the land back. The market could even aggravate present inequalities.

In establishing an equitable balance between the legitimate interests of present title holders and the legitimate needs of those without land and shelter, compensation by the state in the national interest will have an important role to play. It will be unjust to place the whole burden of the costs of transformation on the shoulders either of the present generation of title holders or on the new generation of owners. Hence the need for a special Land Fund to ensure just compensation for those title-holders who lose out economically because of redistribution. We believe that the criteria for calculating compensation should be of a manifestly just and equitable nature; they should be laid down in advance in legislation, and in the case of any dispute, the courts should have the last word.

The question of how the Land Fund should be financed is part of a wider question of finding resources to finance urgently needed social development and advancement. The ANC supports the idea of developing a national consensus around the principle of sharing the burden of financing land reform, housing, education and training by means of a special fund. The concept of burden equalisation, through the introduction of special taxation measures has been applied successfully elsewhere and has possibilities for South Africa.

Rural local government and development institutions

The present systems of rural administration are undemocratic and ineffective creations of the apartheid state. They will be replaced by democratic forms of local government formulated in close consultation with rural communities and based on principles of election and accountability established in the national constitution. Women shall have full and equal rights of participation in these processes. Governmental, non-governmental and community based organisations all have a key role to play in the process of land reform and rural development.

Protection of worker rights

Recognising that those who work and dwell in the rural areas occupy a particularly vulnerable position in our society, they and their families should be guaranteed full rights and protection under relevant labour legislation. The state shall actively promote the protection of human rights for all rural dwellers.

The position of women

The patriarchal system of law and land rights have deprived women of independent access to land and control over the product of their labour. This must be addressed by ensuring that women have the same rights as men in regard to all land related issues and must be given special assistance to realize these rights.

Urban land policy

The existing shortage of housing and serviced residential land

in urban areas is a product of apartheid policies, and must be addressed. The spatial geography of apartheid must be fundamentally changed. Serviced land for housing must be made available to those who need it, close to cities and to places of work. Urban resources and services must be shared amongst all who live and work in the cities.

Land and the environment

Land is a natural and national resource to be used in an appropriate and sustainable manner. Declared nature conservation areas must be respected as part of the nation's common wealth. However, the ANC believes that wild life management and exploitation should constitute an important component of rural development with emphasis on integrated conservation and development of these resources. Communities should be assisted to achieve rational management and exploitation of wild life resources, particularly in those areas where its utilization on a sustainable basis is viable.

SECTION II - DELIVERING THE GOODS

1. A NEW SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The ANC believes that there is a need for strong and effective local government. As a result of the large disparities between local areas and regions, a strong central government is required to address the legacy of apartheid and to ensure more balanced forms of local development. Strong local government will be complemented by regional government whose primary tasks will be to ensure integrated and coordinated local development planning, the provision of appropriate regional services and to provide support to those local authorities which lack resources, particularly in the rural areas.

Within this framework, local government must:

- * play a central role in building democracy in a future South Africa. Local government should bring government closer to the people and actively involve them in decision-making and planning processes that affect them.
- * Play a key role in development and in the equitable distribution and allocation of local authority services. It must address as a priority the disparities in our cities which have resulted from the policies of apartheid. The promotion of the needs and interests of disadvantaged sections of communities must therefore become the major focus of local government activities.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM: A NATIONAL PROCESS

During the past decade, communities have waged intense struggles against apartheid local government - struggles over issues affecting their daily lives, such as housing, health, transport, water and electricity provision. There has been widespread rejection of the corrupt, financially unviable and undemocratic racial local government system.

This rejection has led to the collapse of over half the Black Local Authorities in South Africa, which has led to the local negotiations currently being conducted between civic associations and local and provincial authorities.

The government has responded to this crisis by passing the Interim Measures for Local Government Act, which aims to put the government in control of locally-negotiated reform of local government structures. The ANC rejects this attempt at unilateral control over the restructuring process.

Local government reform is part and parcel of dismantling the system of apartheid. No meaningful reform can take place at local level unless it is part of a process of national transformation.

The ANC believes that a uniform national framework for local government reform should be negotiated to guide the reform process. It must conform to the constitutional principles at present being negotiated at national level. The ANC supports the principle of local government reform through local negotiations within such a framework, so long as local agreements are subject to review and approval at national level.

A POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The ANC envisages a new system of local government in South Africa which operates within the context of frameworks laid down in national legislation. At the same time, local government needs to have the scope to take local initiatives, provided this does not conflict with national legislation.

Non-racial and non-sexist local government

A future system of local government must not only claim to be non-racial and non-sexist, but will need to actively build non-racialism and non-sexism in processes designed to counter decades of racist government.

All racially-based local government structures must be abolished. Deracialising local government must mean more than an equal opportunity to vote. It means that the fragmented nature of South African cities needs to be addressed and that each city and town will need to be unified under a single municipality, with a single non-racial voters' roll and a single tax base.

Democratic and accountable local government

Representation at local level must be on the basis of one-person one-vote, and votes must have equal value. The ANC rejects attempts to entrench privilege at local level and to deny the principle of majority rule, through mechanisms such as the property-based franchise.

Democratic control over local government means more than just having the right to vote in a local election. It also includes a strong, independent civil society, a high degree of accountability and the right to participate in decision making processes which affect communities between elections (e.g. through local referenda).

Participation and accountability are meaningless if people do not have access to information. The public disclosure of all information pertaining to any policy, decision or activity for which any local authority is responsible should be guaranteed. In particular, meetings of the local government council and of council sub-committees should be open to any local resident.

The office of Ombudsperson should be created to investigate allegations of partisanship in the allocation of resources, maladministration and corruption.

Redressing the legacies of apartheid and redistributing resources

Apartheid as a system of segregation in urban areas, has resulted in towns and cities where the poor live furthest from work, shops and facilities. This is inequitable, inefficient and expensive.

The ANC believes that local government must address these issues as a priority, inter alia through effective urban planning, the provision of services and facilities in accessible locations, and efficient, affordable public transport.

Severe imbalances in resources and service provision also exist between urban and rural areas and between different regions. This needs to be addressed at all levels of government within the context of a national framework.

Effective and efficient local government

Apartheid has left a legacy of fragmented local authorities. In order to ensure the effective and efficient implementation of policy, this fragmentation needs to be overcome. Furthermore, many of the local bureaucracies have been characterised by corruption, nepotism and inefficiency. Local government needs to be structured so as to prevent these kinds of practices.

Local government will need to have access to sufficient resources to carry out its stated functions. Local government should operate in such a way as to ensure that limited resources are not wasted.

POLICY ISSUES

Within the framework given above, a new local government system will have to address the following issues:

Boundaries

The boundaries of local authorities must be drawn so that the entire functional area of a city or town is incorporated, including its industrial area and artificially created bantustan and commuter towns. In order to avoid local gerrymandering, it is essential the boundaries are drawn by a national body, such as a delimitation commission, after taking into consideration submissions from local interests. The national legislature shall have the final say over the demarcation of local authority boundaries.

Powers and functions of local government

At present in South Africa local government has a relatively wide range of functions, but limited autonomy within a highly centralised government system. The ANC believes that the future powers and functions of local government cannot be determined in isolation from a consideration of the powers and functions of regional and national government. The allocation of functions and powers should be determined by national legislation, as they

should change over time.

A useful point of departure for the allocation of functions to the local tier is provided by the existing powers of local government - planning and growth management, land use control, implementation of housing projects, the provision of services (water, electricity, sewerage, refuse removal), primary health care, roads and public transport, parks, community facilities and environmental protection. However, it is essential that future local government has a specific responsibility for encouraging local economic development.

Finance

The ANC believes that the government has a duty to ensure that conditions are created such that the basic needs of everybody are adequately met. This will be achieved partly by a fairer, progressive, and more efficient system of taxation and government spending.

The existing system of local government financing, where the poorest areas are expected to pay for all their own services while the rich areas share that burden with business, must end. All areas which are functionally linked should form a single tax base. The metropolitan level should be the focus of tax collection in metropolitan areas.

Service charges should be affordable. They should not be set in such a way that the burden of extending services to areas deprived by apartheid falls mainly on these areas. To combat poverty, subsidisation of essential services for the poor, but not for those who can afford to pay, will be necessary.

Tax resources must be distributed fairly between each level of government and between different authorities on each level. Because of regional inequality and the nature of taxes collected, this will require the transfer of resources from higher to lower levels of government. New institutions will have to be developed to ensure this happens efficiently and democratically, preventing unwarranted interference in the autonomy of each level of government.

New institutions will also have to be developed to improve efficiency and accountability in government spending.

Local government structures

1. " One city, one municipality "

To overcome the legacy of apartheid, the ANC envisages that each city and town will need to be unified under a single municipality, with a single, non-racial voters' roll and a single tax base. Where commuter suburbs are far removed from the city, there may need to be a two-tier structure of local government. This will ensure that local needs are addressed, without excluding these areas from the benefits of being part of the city.

2. Strong metropolitan government

In metropolitan areas which are too large to be effectively governed by a single municipality, a two-tier structure could be created. The key issues facing our cities - disparities in services provision, rapid urban growth, the housing crisis and inefficient apartheid city structure - cannot be effectively addressed by lower-tier authorities, whose focus is too local.

The ANC believes that the metropolitan tier would be an appropriate tier to address these issues. This tier would control the primary sources of urban finance, and be responsible for allocating funds for development and services. It would co-ordinate the provision of city-wide services and allow democratic control over broader development decisions. It would set the policy framework for that metropolitan area, within which the lower tier(s) would operate.

3. Effective rural local government

The provision of services to rural areas must be the central focus of rural local government. The ANC believes that the most effective means of doing this is through the creation of rural district councils, which will include all adjacent rural communities, irrespective of race. These district councils will be responsible for coordinated development and servicing of rural areas. Below the district council, a lower tier is possible where settlements are sufficiently developed to need it.

Civil society

The ANC believes that all legislative and executive power at the local level must be constitutionally vested in elected structures. Nevertheless, institutions within civil society, such as residents associations, trade unions, traditional leaders and cultural organisations, need to be given the scope to influence the process of government.

This can be achieved firstly by creating advisory and consultative mechanisms such as:

- people's assemblies to debate issues of major significance to that town, city or rural area;
- local government sub-committees with outside representation to consult on specific policy areas;
- local government commissions to conduct public hearings and to consider submissions from outside interests on proposed local government activities; and,
- appeal boards to allow groups that are affected by a particular decision to appeal against it.

For certain kinds of decision-making, such as the annual budget or planning decisions, these consultation procedures could be made mandatory.

Secondly, local government will have the right to delegate

certain powers to particular bodies involving organs of civil society. For example, a tenant association might be given the right to administer a particular council housing scheme.

Besides giving scope to the involvement of civil society, the ANC envisages that local government will play an active role in promoting institutions of civil society, particularly associations representing the interests of disadvantaged sections of society. This could be done by giving support and resources to such organisations.

Staffing and training

Local government bureaucracies have operated as highly hierarchical, centralised structures. This has meant that enormous power and skill has been concentrated in senior bureaucrats. It has also meant that the knowledge and experience of lower level officials has not been duly taken into consideration when policies are made or implemented. The ANC is committed to running local government in a less top-down manner and to reorganise the bureaucracy accordingly.

Local government staff will have to be properly trained, if they are to deal effectively with the development and government challenges facing them. This will require a nationally coordinated training effort. Such training will also have to address the question of affirmative action within these bureaucracies.

The present system of remuneration of local government officials, which is dependent on the grading of a municipality, leads to a draining of skilled personnel away from smaller localities. It also allows for the rampant exploitation of lower level staff. The ANC is committed to a more equitable system, in which all employees are paid a living wage and which encourages skilled staff to stay in deprived areas.

Local government structures must also adopt progressive employment practices in relation to their staff, i.e. commit themselves to collective bargaining with municipal workers' unions.

2. HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES

SECTION III - IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE

1. HEALTH POLICY

What do people need to be healthy?

For people to be healthy it is necessary that families earn enough money to be able to live decent lives, and work under safe conditions. People need decent housing, clean water, and sufficient food. There must be adequate and decent toilet facilities, and effective waste disposal. Health is also improved where people have a reasonable standard of education, and opportunities for rest and recreation.

To improve and protect the health of our people, we need a health service that promotes good health, prevents illness, provides care to the ill and rehabilitation facilities for the disabled.

What is the current state of health services in South Africa ?

The health services in South Africa reflects all the injustice and irrationality of Apartheid. The health service is controlled by a multiplicity of departments - in each of the bantustans and a single, separate one for each of the coloured, white and Indian "own affairs" houses. It is impossible to effectively plan and co-ordinate health care between these different ministries.

The government's policy of privatisation and cuts in spending on health has meant that insufficient resources are being channelled into health services. As a result the quality of health has deteriorated.

The private sector focuses its efforts on those who can pay, emphasises the treatment of disease, and so neglects the promotion of good health, the prevention of disease and the rehabilitation of the disabled. The focus on individual care also conceals the Socio-economic causes of ill health. Health and lack of health are rooted in the economic and social fabric of any society.

PRINCIPLES OF ANC HEALTH POLICY

In a just society, the provision of equitable health care should be guided by principles which reflect the Primary Health Care Approach adopted by the World Health Organisation and the United Nations Children's Fund.

Access to health care is a basic human right. This right should be incorporated in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and these constitutional rights should be enforced by law.

A National Health Service (NHS)

The ANC proposes the creation of a comprehensive, national and integrated National Health Service.

There will be a single Department of Health for the whole country, which will coordinate all aspects of health care delivery, and will be accountable to the people of South Africa through democratic structures.

The homeland and own affairs departments of health will be integrated into the NHS, and segregation and racial discrimination will be eradicated from the health services. In line with the ANC commitment to a mixed economy, the provision of health care by the private sector will continue to be acknowledged and regulated.

The responsibility for health care will be divided between national, regional and district authorities. These will, as far as possible, coincide with regional and local government boundaries. Authorities, responsibility for and control over funds will be as decentralised as is compatible with rational planning and the maintenance of good quality care.

The health service should give priority to children, mothers, the elderly, mentally ill, the unemployed, workers in hazardous occupations and the disabled. In addition, there must be a focus on the eradication and control of the major diseases, including AIDS, tuberculosis, measles, polio and others. Attention should also be given to sex education, sexual hygiene as well as to family planning on a voluntary basis.

Within the National health services, health workers must respect the right of their patients to be treated as equals in all respects. Furthermore, individuals, interest groups and whole communities must be able to participate in the process of formulating and implementing health policy.

It is imperative that the health service should be planned and regulated to ensure that resources are used in the best way possible to make essential health care available to all South Africans, giving priority to the most vulnerable groups.

Health education and community involvement in hygiene should be given high priority, with clinics, nurses and community health workers on the spot to encourage healthy life styles and habits and to provide the first point of referral for medical ailments.

Inter-sectoral co-operation

At all levels of government the health service should promote inter-sectoral co-operation to promote the health of communities. The health service should take a leading role in the coordinating government authorities responsible for sanitation, water supply, housing, and other social services. To the extent that a threat to public health is identified, the health service has a

responsibility to ensure that the necessary steps are taken to remove such a threat.

Financing health care.

It is the responsibility of the government to mobilise sufficient funds to ensure a basic service of free and equal access to essential health care for all South Africans. No-one should be excluded from any public health facility because they cannot afford such services. Only when this is achieved, will it be possible to reduce the gap in access to health care between rich and poor; black and white; and urban and rural communities.

Since, however, government resources are limited, those who can afford to, will have to contribute to the cost of health care, either through general taxation, or by contributing to a national health or social insurance fund, or both. The costs of medical care should be kept down by careful accounting and the rational use of resources.

The private sector

In the longer term, most health care should be provided by the public health service. The public service must be strengthened and made accountable to the communities it serves. It will therefore be necessary to create incentives to induce many of those health workers, who have chosen private practices, to return to the public sector. At the same time, we envisage active cooperation between the two sectors with the common goal of improving the health of the nation.

A national pharmaceutical policy.

At present there are many parts of the health service where there is not enough medicine in store, or where medicine runs out from time to time. On the other hand, in the private sector, there is little doubt that too much money is spent on medicine. A national drug policy is required to deal with these and other problems.

Personnel

There are racial and gender inequalities in the training of health workers. In particular, Africans and women have historically formed a small minority of the total number of trained doctors, or persons in middle or senior management. Affirmative action needs to be undertaken to correct this imbalance.

2. SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY

The ANC's Social Welfare Policy is pivotal to the process of meeting the legitimate and realistic expectations of the poorest and most vulnerable groups of South African society - whether that vulnerability is owed to age, physical or mental disability, unemployment, homelessness or other factors. If the material well-being of the poorest 40% of South African society is not improved after a reasonable period of time under a democratic government, this is likely to have serious political implications for the country as a whole.

THE PROVISION OF SOCIAL SERVICES

The ANC believes that the State must assume the major (albeit not sole) responsibility for the provision, financing and delivery of social services. The capacity of the state to provide such services will depend on economic growth. The welfare sector therefore has a direct interest in the evolution of realistic economic policies based on a multiple strategy of growth coupled with redistribution.

We reject the hand-out, fire-fighting approach to social welfare provision and advocate a developmental approach aimed at empowering communities and individuals within a system that will increasingly project welfare spending as social investment.

The ANC believes in the importance of the family and will design delivery methods on the basis of the family being a basic unit of society. Special attention will be given to problems faced by single parent families. As for governmental institutions, the central state and local government structures will be crucial partners both for consultation about and the implementation of delivery systems.

The ANC is committed to a single Social Welfare or Social Development Ministry which will:

- (a) distribute welfare service across the country in an equitable manner irrespective of race, colour or sex.
- (b) seek to redress past imbalances via a deliberate process of affirmative action in respect of blacks (especially Africans), women and rural communities.
- (c) recognise the role of non-governmental players in the welfare system such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civic associations, companies, churches, private/individual initiatives, and work out guidelines for mutual co-operation with these structures.

As far as the private sector is concerned we believe that companies have a responsibility to society that goes beyond their immediate employees and includes the general improvement of the quality of life. In this regard a cross-sectoral approach will have to be worked out with the education, health and other sectors.

Within the overall framework mapped out above, a future social welfare dispensation must incorporate certain specific propositions.

These include:

Old age and disability grants - these services should be equalised in line with the non-racial and non-sexist principles referred to above. The present methods of delivery of these services which require elderly and weak people to queue for long hours or sleep overnight in pay-stations must be overhauled.

Child rights - a Child Welfare Policy will be fashioned along the lines of the UN Children Rights provisions. In accordance with these provisions the rights and interests of the child must take precedence when dealing with issues such as adoption and foster care.

Disabled persons - The employment and other rights of disabled persons will be protected through practical measures such as quotas and monitoring of discriminatory practices. Legislation will be drawn-up in close consultation with the disabled themselves, through their democratic structures.

Health - Whatever the specific model adopted with respect to the financing of health services, we believe that essential health services must be free at the point of delivery.

PRINCIPLES

The overall guiding principle shall be the establishment of a social safety net through which no single citizen should fall. This will be coupled with:

- * Equity
- * Accessibility of services (not only in terms of physical proximity but also in terms of language, elimination of bureaucratic red tape etc.)
- * Accountability (officials and civil servants will constantly refer to the consumers of services for feedback recommendations). The office of an Ombudsperson will have to look into the violation of predetermined codes.
- * Community Participation
- * Democracy

SECTION IV - PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE

The challenges that all countries face in realising their full potential for development, growth and democracy have been compounded in South Africa by the ravages of apartheid. Our policies for the development and conservation of our national resources - human, natural and scientific - must both address the consequences of the past and lay the basis for a different future.

The goals we have set cannot be achieved unless all people are empowered, through education and training, for active involvement as citizens in the democratic process and as workers in the economy.

Science and technology must be used for the benefit of the whole of society, and not just the minority.

Our natural resources must be treated as the heritage of all, so that the pursuit of narrow interests does not rob the majority of access to natural resources or pollute the environment in which they live.

Integrated policies and democratic participation

The ANC is committed to the evolution of a coherent and nationally integrated strategy for the development of the country's human resources. Education and training policies will be integrated within the framework for economic transformation and with a strategy for the conservation of our natural resources.

The ANC believes that the state has the central responsibility for the provision of education and training. Only the state is in a position to ensure that the present inequalities are redressed. More generally, given the importance of education for social and economic development, its provision cannot be left to the vicissitudes of the market as has been the case in particular with industrial training in the past.

However, the private sector, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the community have an important role to play in the provision of education and training. In fact, we believe that employers have the prime responsibility for the provision of adult basic education for those in their employ. Where non-state agencies do provide education and training, the state should ensure that this is undertaken within the framework of national education policies and principles.

It is essential that we develop the habit of looking at problems in an inclusive way, with a broad national vision, employing the talents and know-how of all with experience in the field. It is also important that we plan development on a step-by-step basis, concentrating our resources on realisable targets at each stage.

The ANC believes in democratic participation, not only in the development of policy in these fields but in the administration and management of institutions. It is therefore committed to the establishment of the structures which are required for such participation.

1. EDUCATION

PROVISION

The ANC is committed to:

- * the provision of free and compulsory education to all up to the junior secondary level, that is, a minimum of ten years of education (seven years of primary and three years of junior secondary education).
- * progressively expanding the provision of education to the senior secondary and tertiary levels pending the availability of funds.
- * the development and provision of Adult Basic Education (including literacy) to a level equivalent to ten years of formal schooling. This is a consequence of our commitment to redressing the inequities of the apartheid system.

CONTROL

The administration and management of education and the development of educational policy should be governed by the principle of democracy. This means the active participation of various interest groups and especially that of teachers, students and parents.

The democratisation of the education system can best be achieved by creating a balance between the role of the central state and that of regional and local authorities. While the central state should be responsible for financing education, the development of a national curriculum, and the development and maintenance of national standards, regional and local authorities should be responsible for the day-to-day administration and management of the education system.

Furthermore, we believe that teachers, students and parents through their organisations should be represented in the decision-making structures at all levels of the education system. We recognise that this requires that students and parents, in particular, receive training and support to empower them to participate meaningfully in decision-making.

A core curriculum and national standards

The ANC believes that there should be a national core curriculum which reflects the norms and values of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society and which is relevant to both the needs of the individual, as well as the social and economic needs of

society. We believe that this can best be achieved by a national curriculum which emphasises the development of general (academic) skills, but integrates and complements this general education with a limited form of vocational training.

This emphasis on the development of general skills is based on two considerations. Firstly, all the international evidence suggests that a general academic education better prepares individuals to adapt to the needs of a changing and dynamic modern economy. Secondly, by not differentiating between different types of education, it ensures equality of opportunity to all.

Furthermore, we believe that a national core curriculum should be complemented by a national accreditation and certification system for both formal and non-formal education and training. This would ensure that there is maximum flexibility for horizontal and vertical mobility between the formal and non-formal sectors of the education system. It would enable people to develop all aspects of their skills at all stages of their life.

There should also be active steps to end negative gender stereotyping in the attitude towards boys and girls at school as well as in the content of curriculum.

TEACHERS

Teacher training and the upgrading of teachers' skills will receive special attention. Teachers will have the right to establish independent associations with a view to advancing their professional interests and improving their conditions of work.

UNIVERSITIES

Universities will be expected to open their doors to those previously excluded by race and gender discrimination. Within the broad policy of educational and cultural advance, and subject to the principles of the constitution, they will function as autonomous institutions.

A CLIMATE OF LEARNING

The death-throes of the system of apartheid have had a particularly violent effect on the educational system. Our first task must be to achieve peace in the schools. There is no short cut. There is a hunger and respect for education amongst all South Africans. This eagerness to learn has been frustrated by the system of unequal education, by the ideology of racism and the practice of division. School books do not arrive on time. Unqualified persons are put in charge of huge classes with minimal facilities. The improvement of material conditions must go hand-in-hand with community involvement and improvement in teacher and pupil morale. We want education and we want liberation. We want them to unfold together, not one before the other.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES

The ANC's goal for Human Resources Development is full employment and a decent standard of social and working life for all South Africans, regardless of race, sex, religion or creed.

To ensure democratic participation, the ANC is committed to the establishment of structures in which the state, employers, trade unions and other sectors of society are equally represented, and which will have a determining role in the setting of policies and practices for training and employment opportunities.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND PRODUCTIVITY

The human resources of South Africa are our greatest asset and source of national wealth. The ANC believes that without massive and consistent investment in our human resources we will not be able to achieve the economic development and growth that we need to ensure a productive economy.

There will have to be a drastic upgrading of skills, especially for the most disadvantaged sectors of our society, particularly of women. This upgrading will need to be fundamentally integrated with the restructuring of industry to generate employment and employment security.

The ANC's Human Resources policy has the objective of active labour market policies aimed at developing and directing human resources to areas of social and economic need. This must include the putting in place of mechanisms which identify areas of falling labour needs. It must include helping to create opportunities as well as identifying existing opportunities where more people can gain useful and meaningful employment. These will ensure that workers whose employment is threatened by the introduction of new technology, new forms of work organisation or the decline of certain sectors of the economy are actively assisted and encouraged to develop the knowledge and skills needed to move to new areas. Communities will be encouraged to identify such new areas, for example, needs for basic infrastructure .

A CODE OF PRACTICE

A code of practice in relation to training, education and adult basic education, democratically determined, will promote the achievement of policy objectives. It should encompass at least the following:

- * the integration of training, education and adult basic education into a national system of qualifications and accreditation which allows people to transfer credits between the different systems, and which is recognised and accredited by employers and which allows people full employment mobility;
- * on-going employment advice and counselling from basic

schooling through to retirement;

- * the training of trainers and educators in an integrated national strategy to meet the needs of all sectors of the society;

- * the prioritisation of a technology policy and the training of technicians to ensure that our society becomes integrated into the extremely competitive world economy on the basis of higher value-added exports and the replacement of high value-added imports;

- * to adopt the ILO standards in relation to Paid Educational Leave and Vocational Education and Training;

- * to prioritise policies for youth training, and for the training of women, which will ensure that such training includes rights for the safety and protection of the youth and of women;

- * to prioritise strategies for employment creation and employment security.

A NATIONAL LABOUR COMMISSION

We propose that the current National Manpower Commission become a National Labour Commission. It would have representation from all the players in the industrial relations field, government, trade unions, employer organisations and other organs of civil society. It would act as a central coordinating body in relation to all labour matters and would make representations, by consensus, to the government with regard to legislation.

The commission would deal with all matters relating to labour rights, including: rights to withhold labour; code of employment and labour practices; study and training leave; maternity leave; worker's compensation; unemployment insurance fund; health and safety; and policies for education and training.

Consistent with the changes we would bring to the field of employment, the current government Department of Manpower would be renamed the Department of Human Resources.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN WORKERS

Policy proposals with regard to the training, education and employment of women will have to address the special problems of women workers, including:

- * the recognition of women's skills and remuneration on the basis of "equal pay for equal value";
- * the training of women for skilled jobs normally performed by men;
- * career paths for areas of "traditional" women's work;
- * the provision of child-care facilities for women in training and at work;

- * the provision of equal facilities for men and women in training and at work, including non-sexist training materials and documentation.

TRAINING AND SKILLS FORMATION

Training will be linked to economic planning and form an integral part of the restructuring of the economy. It needs to be developed within the following framework.

- * Unions and civil society will play a central role, together with the state, in planning, implementing and monitoring training, with agreed procedures for selection and testing.
- * The effects of past class, racial and sex discrimination will be redressed.
- * All workers have the right to paid education and training leave. Retrenched and unemployed workers have the right to re-training to help them secure employment or contribute, with assistance, to creating employment.
- * Education and training will continue throughout a person's life to enable him/her to keep pace with technological changes and continually develop his or her abilities.
- * Training must be linked to grading and pay. Workers must be able to advance along a career path through training. These will be determined at national level and will apply to urban and rural people, and to both formal and development linked employment.
- * Provision will be made for the recognition of skills which people already have.

3. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The use of technology can enhance human potential and improve the quality of life for all South Africans, thereby helping to achieve the broader socio-political and socio-economic goals of the ANC. However, technology can also be misused, as has been the case with the apartheid regime, under which the benefits of technology have been directed to the white minority at the expense of the majority. The ANC is committed to redressing this balance, using science and technology for the benefit of all.

A sound science and technology policy is based on recognition that technology and technical knowledge are inputs into national economic development, on the same level as capital and labour. If these inputs are to be productive then the provision of appropriate technology must be supported by a skilled workforce

which can operate that technology effectively and develop it further. It is important that women be encouraged to develop technological and scientific skills.

AN INDIGENOUS TECHNOLOGICAL BASE

To achieve these ends South Africa requires a healthy indigenous technological base, which is founded upon:

- * the widest possible access to programmes of education and training in scientific and technical fields at all levels;
- * efficient research and development;
- * the selective application of new technologies, especially in the areas of micro-electronics, information technology, biotechnology and new materials;
- * industrial re-orientation and restructuring, to strengthen the manufacturing base;
- * the integration of workers into the decision-making process.

To achieve this end there is a need, on the one hand, for the right macro science and technology policy, covering both education, research and training and, on the other hand, the application and development of technology in all economic and social spheres. It will also support the broader socio-political and socio-economic goals of the ANC.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

A broad and multi-faceted programme of education and training is needed to foster the development of our indigenous technological base. It should aim:

- * to foster a climate for the growth and development of a scientifically literate and technically able society;
- * to provide high-quality, appropriate and flexible programmes in science, mathematics and technical education at secondary and tertiary levels;
- * to provide ongoing adult science and technology education programmes, including worker training and education;
- * to take affirmative action to increase the numbers of scientists and engineers of all groups, both men and women;
- * to include an environmental perspective in science and technology training and education;

TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Ensuring that scientific and technological knowledge are both developed and effectively applied in ways that help achieve our economic and social goals, will require concerted action along a number of paths, with these objectives:

- * to support innovation and the growth of indigenous technologies, especially by encouraging increased spending on research and development by the private sector;
- * to foster collaboration in science and technology between industry, universities and state organisations;
- * to retain a basis of fundamental research which is internationally recognised and relevant to the long term needs of the country;
- * to identify opportunities for local expertise and locally manufactured goods in overseas markets;
- * to foster regional co-operation in science and technology; and
- * to assess technology priorities in sectoral needs and to advise on policy development in those sectors.

A KEY ROLE IN GOVERNMENT

These policy objectives do not require additional state funds to be directed towards science and technology in the short term, since they can be achieved through a more efficient and equitable use of the resources already allocated.

What they require is the political will to review and restructure the science and technology system, in consultation with the organisations affected. The ANC intends to give technology a key role in government, through the establishment of either a powerful inter-departmental committee or a Ministry of Research and Technology functioning at cabinet level. The ANC will also establish an independent Office of Technology Assessment.

The results of the macro science and technology policy must integrate with specific sectoral science and technology policies, to produce the right mix of skills, products, services and know-how for those sectors. Sectoral science and technology policies must be used directly to support the economic and social development necessary to satisfy basic needs and improve quality of life for all.

In the economic sectors, predominantly manufacturing, mining and agriculture, technology is a direct input into the production process. Policies for Research & Development, for incremental innovation and for the protection of intellectual property rights (e.g. patents) are necessary to enable technical change to occur. Regulatory policies to protect the health of workers and consumers are also needed.

In the socio-economic sectors technology choice should play a major role in the equitable provision of health and education, and in infrastructure development in both urban and rural areas. In rural areas, appropriate (but not necessarily low-level) technology and technical training should be essential components of integrated rural development programmes. In housing and infrastructure development the ANC supports the use of labour-based construction methods to maximise employment creation.

Telecommunications, energy and water resources are common to both the economic and socio-economic categories. Broad ANC policies for the sectors of telecommunications, electricity and water supply incorporate technology provision, social need and economic policy and aim at: providing access to these essential services for all South Africans; the democratisation of the utility control authorities who provide these services; the equitable allocation of these resources between industry, agriculture and domestic consumers; and a unified set of tariff structures for all users.

4. ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

The ANC believes that all citizens have the right to live a decent life. Accordingly, the broad objectives of environmental policy are aimed at fulfilling this right. Growth and development within South Africa must, therefore, be based on the criteria of sustainability.

The ANC's policy objective is to develop a framework aimed at reversing the present trend of the exploitation of non-renewable resources in South Africa. Production and consumption patterns need to be adjusted in order to create conditions conducive to sustainable development. It is essential to ensure that a future growth strategy is compatible with ecological and human rights principles, and that growth is geared towards the provision of basic needs for the whole community, and is not seen as an end in itself.

Essential prerequisites for sustainable growth and development are:

- * equitable access to environmental resources;
- * public participation in all planning decisions which affect the development and management of natural resources.

The ANC is committed to bringing about these conditions through appropriate policy measures in all growth and development sectors.

In order to fulfil these objectives the ANC will take a number of steps.

- * An affirmative action programme will be developed within a viable economic development programme to ensure that all South Africans have access to basic resources including shelter, energy, food and water; and where possible to restore traditional access to natural resources such as fisheries, forestry, and wildlife.

- * Current environmental legislation and administration will be revised with a view to establishing an effective system of environmental management. Such a system will embrace a holistic

approach, and will encourage trade unions, community and environmental organisations, and interested individuals to play an active role in ensuring environmental protection in the public interest. It will also make use of environmental auditing, with provision for public disclosure, to monitor the activities of industry. This should be supported by the right of the public to access to the courts.

* Policies to ensure adequate protection, conservation and restoration of the environment will be adopted. Such policies will cover:

- the integration of environmental principles into planning and development (using Integrated Environmental Management procedures);
- the rehabilitation and maintenance of essential ecological processes and life support systems;
- the sustainable utilisation of renewable resources and rational exploitation of non-renewable resources;
- the conservation of biological diversity and protection of endangered species.

* Environmental education programmes will be developed to increase people's love for the land, to empower communities to act on environmental issues, and to promote an environmental ethic.

Economic growth

A future economic growth strategy should promote the development of environmentally friendly industries, and should stress South Africa's competitive advantages in the area of natural resources. Eco-tourism is also a major growth possibility. Where "dirty" industries are unavoidable, they should be subject to strict controls. Mineral beneficiation, for example, can cause significant environmental damage, the costs of which will eventually strangle growth prospects. It should therefore be ensured that clean technology processes are installed from the outset.

South Africa should also be careful not to accumulate a debt burden which will place it in a position where it is forced to undertake projects that are environmentally unsound in order to service these debts.

The agricultural sector

The agricultural sector in South Africa is currently experiencing a deep crisis with debt levels of white farmers reaching R14 billion in the late 1980s. This is largely due to inefficient farming policies and practices, which have failed to take adequate account of the environmental constraints within which the sector operates. Subsidies to farmers have encouraged farming in marginal areas which, together with overcrowding in the "homelands", has resulted in massive soil erosion, desertification, and flooding.

The productive core of commercial farmers who constitute about 30% of white farmers and produce about 80% of the marketed output, are heavily dependent on the use of fertilizers and pesticides, and are responsible for highly inefficient use of energy and water. The forestry sector too, is associated with highly problematic environmental impacts as a result of massive afforestation programmes involving alien species in upper catchment areas.

The ANC thus believes that there is a need for an extensive restructuring of South Africa's agricultural base. The process should facilitate a move away from large-scale, single species agriculture and forestry, towards a more diversified, small-scale system, and should include a restructuring of agricultural education and extension, marketing, and credit supply.

The system of state support must be equitable, and should encourage sustainable farming practises such as agro-forestry, soil and water conservation. This should take place as part of an integrated plan of rural development which acknowledges the importance of links between the urban and rural environments.

Mining

It is also necessary to bear in mind that minerals are non-renewable and that mining is a significant cause of pollution and land degradation. In the context of sustainable development, this means that:

- * The economy should gradually be shifted away from such heavy dependence on mining;
- * Emphasis should be placed on the development of technologies which promote more efficient use of minerals, and/or the development of alternatives;
- * Rates of exploitation must be rationalised bearing in mind the needs of future generations;
- * Provision must be made out of mining profits for the development of alternatives for communities dependant on mining;
- * Decisions on mining should be made in consultation with local communities; and
- * Mining operations that are likely to cause land degradation to the extent that other land-uses are precluded should be discouraged. Where mining operations do take place, they will be subject to regulations which will require them to undertake strict pollution control to protect the health of the local community as well as conservation and rehabilitation measures to preserve the integrity of our resources.

5. ARTS AND CULTURE POLICY

South Africa is a country of many cultural traditions. Instead of this being a source of variety and mutual enrichment, it has been made into the basis of division and domination. One cultural tradition in different manifestations was regarded as superior to all others. The great cultural resources of the African people - our song, dance, tales, poems and proverbs were suppressed or marginalised. Their art is barely known.

The object of ANC cultural policy is not to downgrade the culture of any group, but to advance the status of all. Our policy is to promote free cultural expression by everyone and to encourage enjoyment by all, not of their own particular cultural patrimony, but of the culture of all groups. We have to universalise our attitude to culture. Beauty is not the property of any particular group, certainly not of any race. A truly South African culture will emerge from a multiplicity of sources, each rich in itself and all jostling with and influencing the others.

People create their own art. The greatest cultural resource that we have in South Africa is the musicality in the community and a widespread sense of beauty. We have active and spontaneous cultural activity in every sphere of life, from weddings to the workplace, from funerals to political meetings. This popular creativity has as yet neither been destroyed by neglect nor taken over and emptied of true spirit by commercialisation.

This is not to say that we are against funding of the arts or training of artists. On the contrary, we envisage a continuum between the vast spontaneously generated cultural activity in the community and high performance art.

The state does not produce culture, but it does promote culture. It has a crucial role in infusing school curricula with cultural sensibility. It gives people access to literacy. It brings electricity to homes so that people can read at night, watch television and hear broadcasts from all over the world. It supplies libraries, museums and galleries. It establishes music and dance schools, art colleges and film schools. It supports theatres and concert halls. It creates archives of precious historical materials.

What we want in South Africa is for all these facilities and activities to be opened up to all.

The state has primary responsibility for funding artistic development and production in all parts of the country. The present concentration on four performing arts councils involved with highly expensive productions focusing exclusively on a relatively small number of professional artists has to give way to a policy of diversification and promotion of the arts in all our communities. Regional arts councils should be established with state funding, but operating independently of the state. The existing opera houses, theatres and concert halls should not be closed down but rather opened up. The main problem is that they

restrict the use of state funding to one dimension of artist endeavour only.

Universities, colleges and schools should all be supported in order to train people in the sphere of culture, to provide opportunities for performance and to stimulate cultural sensibility in local communities

In addition there should be legislation which encourages the embellishment of buildings by insisting on murals, sculpture, fountains and other artwork that enhance the environment and delight the public.

Contributions to artistic activity by private donors should also be encouraged by means of appropriate systems of tax relief. Similarly, inheritance tax should be graduated in such a way as to encourage the leaving of works of art to the nation.

We have never had a real cultural policy in South Africa. At most there have been state supported cultural movements of one section of the population or another. We have to see culture in its full South African dimension.

Culture is not the property of any party. We in the ANC are proud of the contribution we have made towards developing a universalist and all-embracing attitude to culture. Yet we have no special authority to pronounce for others. What we can insist on, however, is that culture be opened up, that people who have been pushed into the backyard now have the right to come in proudly through the front door. What they produce is their business, their right to produce is the business of us all.

Special attention will have to be paid to the names, monuments and symbols of our country. It is not our goal to substitute one form of hegemony with another, but to replace the present monopolistic representation of one section of the population by an appropriately diverse and balanced range. We all have our heroes, our memorable places and historical moments. The pride of the one need not be the humiliation of the other. Crucial to finding the right balance is involving the communities themselves in the process of memorialising their past and denominating the places of their present.

Our artists, writers, dancers, musicians, film-makers, photographers and poets are entitled to proper training, adequate remuneration and protection of their rights as authors. The technicians, dressmakers, carpenters, electricians, publicity officers, those in front of the house and the thousands of hidden crafts-people who make an amental contribution to artistic performance, are equally entitled to secure and rewarding careers.

Artists and scientists should be free to follow their thoughts and their imagination. We are against censorship, and support freedom of artistic expression, subject only to the limitations generally accepted in open and democratic societies. If anyone

contravenes the law, they should be dealt with by a court, not by any board of censors.

Television, radio and film have a special role to play in South Africa. They fit into and develop oral tradition. They give us images of ourselves and of the manifold faces and personalities that make up our nation. They enable us to root our ideas in the reality of our people. They give expression to the cadences, subtleties and vigour of our different languages.

Public broadcasting must be under the control of an independent body of persons, drawn from all sections of the community and respected for their professionalism and sensibility. Although public broadcasting might be subsidised in part by advertising revenue, it should not be seen primarily as a commercial undertaking, but as a public service.

Our people are entitled to enjoy the greatest works of all humankind and also to make their contribution to the cultural wealth of the world.
