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ANC POLICY GUIDELINES FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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A. INTRODUCTION

A1. THE ANC'S VISION FOR THE FUTURE

A1.1 The basic objectives of ANC policy are fourfold:

a) To strive for the achievement of the right of all South Africans, as a whole, to political and economic self-determination in a united South Africa;

b) To overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid, in a swift, progressive and principled way;

c) To develop an economy and state infrastructure that will progressively improve the quality of life of all South Africans; and,

d) 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.

A1.2 These are not mutually exclusive goals. On the contrary, the future of our country depends on the harmonious and simultaneous realisation of all four. 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.

A1.3 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.

A1.4 We have to develop a truly South African vision of our country, one which is not distorted 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.

A1.5 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.

A2. OUR PROBLEMS RUN DEEP

A2.1 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.

A2.2 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.

A2.3 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.

A2.4 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.

A2.5 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.

A2.6 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 petro-chemicals. 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.

A2.7 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.

A2.8 These problems have led to rapidly increasing unemployment and a serious decline in living standards.

A2.9 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.

A3. POLICIES FOR TRANSFORMATION

A3.1 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.

A3.2 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.

A3.3 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.

A3.4 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.

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B. A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

B1. BASIC PRINCIPLES

B1.1 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.

B1.2 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.

B1.3 Our constitution shall not only guarantee an accountable non-racial, non-sexist and democratic structure of government, but shall also empower all citizens to shape and share in the many aspects of life outside government. Our constitution shall guarantee the space for civics, trade unions and the myriad of organisations which people create to deal with their every day problems and aspirations. These are the institutions of civil society which are crucial if we are to have a deep and thorough democratic order.

B1.4 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.

B1.5 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.

B1.6 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.

B2. THE VOTE

B2.1 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.

B2.2 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.

B2.3 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.

B2.4 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.

B3. STRUCTURES OF GOVERNMENT

B3.1 There shall be government at local, regional and national levels. The Bill of Rights and principles of non-racialism, non-sexism and democratic accountability shall apply at all three levels of government.

B3.2 The ANC favours a Parliament consisting of the national assembly and senate. The national assembly will be elected by universal suffrage on a common voters role according to proportional representation. It will control the national budget and have primary responsibility for the preparation and adoption of the country's main laws. The senate will be representative of regions, and have the power to review, refer 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. It will not have these powers, however, in regard to legislation dealing with the budget.

B4. THE EXECUTIVE

B4.1 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.

B5. A BILL OF RIGHTS

B5.1 Introduction

B5.1.1 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.

B5.1.2 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.

B5.1.3 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.

B5.1.4 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.

B5.1.5 The Bill of Rights must guarantee freedom from discrimination, in particular language, religion and cultural rights must be protected. The language rights of all South Africans must be protected.

B5.1.6 It must pay attention to:

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

B5.1.7 The ANC is against capital punishment and will seek to have it outlawed in the Bill of Rights.

B5.2 Worker's rights

B5.2.1 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. The Bill of Rights will commit the state to be a signatory to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions. The Bill of Rights will also prohibit slave labour the exploitation of children and discrimination in the work place.

B5.3 Human rights for women

B5.3.1 Special emphasis will have to be given to the realisation of women's emancipation.

B5.3.2 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.

B5.3.3 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.

B5.3.4 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.

B5.3.5 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.

B5.3.6 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.

B5.4 The family

B5.4.1 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.

B5.5 Property Rights

B5.5.1 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.

B5.5.2 People should have undisturbed enjoyment of their personal possessions.

B5.5.3 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.

B5.5.4 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.

B5.5.5 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:

a) To promote conservation and environmental protection;

b) To prevent the formation of monopolies or cartels which restrict free competition;

c) To impose taxes;

d) To regulate the use of property.

B5.6 Social, educational, health and welfare rights

B5.6.1 The ANC's Bill of Rights will affirm the right of all persons to have access to basic educational, health and welfare services. It will 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 will commit the courts to take into account the need to reduce malnutrition, unemployment and homelessness when making any decisions.

B5.6.2 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.

B5.6.3 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.

B6. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

B6.1 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 persons discriminated against on grounds of colour, gender and disability to break into fields from which they have been excluded by past discrimination. The ANC proposes affirmative action 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. The issue has to be handled with both firmness and sensitivity.

B6.2 The Constitution will 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.

B6.3 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.

B6.4 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.

B6.5 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 de-racialised 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.

B6.6 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 will be redressed through efforts to recognise unpaid work. 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.

B6.7 ANC policies favour affirmative action for disadvantaged sections of our country. This policy will apply with equal vigour to the marginalised youth in South Africa. Special attention should be given to young women, who are affected by both apartheid and patriarchy.

B6.8 Affirmative action policies will be aimed at the full integration of youth into our society, in a meaningful and progressive way.

B7. THE PUBLIC SERVICE, DEFENCE AND POLICE

B7.1 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.

B7.2 There will be an independent Ombud with powers to investigate complaints against members of the public service and other holders of public and private office and to investigate allegations of corruption and abuse of their powers. 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.

B8. THE RULE OF LAW

B8.1 All South Africans will be free to participate fully either directly or through their representatives in the law making

bodies without discrimination based on race, colour creed or religion.

B8.2 The laws of the country will 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.

B8.3 People will not give up their constitutional rights when they enter their home, or go on to premises of their employer.

B8.4 All South Africans shall have recourse to independent courts of law and/or other tribunals.

B8.5 Without interfering with its independence and with a view to ensuring that justice is manifestly seen to be done in a non-racial way and that the wisdom, experience and judicial skills of all South Africans are represented on the bench, the judiciary shall be transformed in such a way as to consist of men and women drawn from all sections of South African society.

B8.6 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.

B8.7 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.

B8.8 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.

B9. A FREE AND OPEN SOCIETY

B9.1 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.

B9.2 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.

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C. ECONOMIC POLICY

C1. A GROWTH PATH FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

C1.1 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) Democratise the economy and empower the historically oppressed;

(c) Create productive employment opportunities at a living wage for all South Africans;

(d) Initiate growth and development to improve the quality of life for all South Africans, but especially for the poor;

(e) The development of a prosperous and balanced regional economy in Southern Africa based on the principles of equity and mutual benefit.

C1.2 In order to achieve these objectives the ANC proposes a national economic strategy with two principal components:

(a) Redistribution programmes to meet the basic needs of our people. A priority in this regard will be the provision of basic services, housing and infrastructure. In addition, legal, practical and psychological barriers created by apartheid and patriarchy will be broken down, so as to open up the economy.

(b) The restructuring of the South African economy on the basis of new, comprehensive and sustainable policies for all sectors of the economy.

C1.3 Such a Mixed Economy will foster a new and constructive relationship between the people, the state, the trade union movement, the private sector and the market.

C1.4 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. The policy environment will be characterised by the principles of transparency and accountability.

C1.5 We envisage that such a developmental 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.

C1.6 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, cooperatives, family and village economic activity and generally to the encouragement of development in poor and depressed areas.

C1.7 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, when deciding for or against various economic policy measures. Such flexibility means assessing the balance of evidence when deciding on the merit of:

a) 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,

b) establishing new public corporations or joint ventures between the state and the private sector; or,

c) Reducing the role of the public sector, for example, through privatisation with adequate measures to protect the rights of workers, especially employment.

C1.8 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 and stimulate economic growth and competitiveness.

C1.9 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.

C2. ANTI-TRUST, ANTI-MONOPOLY AND MERGERS POLICY

C2.1 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, the ANC will introduce anti-monopoly, anti-trust 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.

C3. FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY

C3.1 The ANC will redirect government expenditure on housing infrastructure education, health and social welfare, to ensure equality for all South Africans. To this end we will coordinate fiscal, monetary and exchange rate policy so as to provide a stable macroeconomic framework and foster sustainable growth.

C3.2 A democratically constituted fiscal commission will investigate the necessary changes in the whole fiscal regime. The ANC supports a progressive tax system. To this end we will seek ways to reduce tax avoidance and evasion. We will also end indirect taxation on basic foodstuffs, health care and basic household services.

C3.3 The democratic state will avoid inflationary deficit financing. In order to avoid unsustainable increases in the public debt, the ANC will finance the deficit through responsible borrowing on the capital market rather than through money creation.

C3.4 The ANC will introduce strict mechanisms to monitor and regulate the foreign debt of both the public and private sectors. Further, we will introduce mechanisms to manage development aid to ensure that it supports the national development strategy.

C4. FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

C4.1 The ANC recognises the central role of financial institutions in the South African economy. Steps will be taken to ensure that these institutions are integrated fully into the proposed new growth path. Mechanisms will be introduced to encourage financial institutions to channel financial resources into productive investment, the development of the basic needs sector, and to end racial and gender discrimination in lending policies.

C4.2 Relationships with international finance institutions such as the African Development Bank, World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will be conducted in such a way as to protect the integrity of domestic policy formulation and promote the interests of the South African population and the economy.

C5. INDUSTRIAL POLICY

C5.1 Industrial policy will be aimed, in the first instance, at meeting the basic needs of and creating jobs for millions of our people who are unemployed and living in poverty and squalor. It will further aim at the enhancement of our technological capacity, and in the medium to long term ensure that South Africa emerges as a significant exporter of manufactured goods.

C5.2 Industrial restructuring will be promoted in accordance with the needs of our economy and international demands and patterns. The ANC will pursue a balanced policy of industrialisation capable of overcoming the regional inequalities and imbalances of the apartheid period, including the unmanageable concentration of economic activities and population, in a few metropolitan areas.

C5.3 The detail of our industrial policy will emerge from in depth research and the broadest possible consultation, especially with those communities and organisations most directly affected, within the context of the overall economic policy.

C6. TRADE AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT

C6.1 As part of the overall industrial policy, trade policy will aim at raising the level of productivity and improving the competitiveness of domestic and regional producers. In this context, we will take a differentiated approach towards trade barriers. In particular, tariffs may, in conjunction with performance requirements, enable domestic and regional producers to develop new branches of production. Trade barriers will be adjusted, within an agreed framework, to prevent the destruction of domestic and regional producers, jobs, and the exploitation of Southern African consumers.

C6.2 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 support development programmes initiated by developing countries within the framework of the Group of 77 and in particular initiatives of our region.

C6.3 Foreign investment will be promoted within the context of an Investment Code. 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.

C6.4 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.

C6.5 The ANC will ensure that investments abroad by South African companies function, not as capital flight, but to boost our competitiveness and benefit the entire economy.

C7. MINING AND ENERGY POLICY

C7.1 The mineral wealth beneath the soil is the national heritage of all South Africans, including future generations. As a diminishing resource it should be used with due regard to socio-economic needs and environmental conservation. The ANC will introduce a mining strategy which will involve the introduction of a new system of taxation, financing, mineral rights and leasing. The strategy will require the normalisation of miners' living and working conditions, with full trade union rights and an end to private security forces on the mines. In addition, the strategy will, where appropriate, involve public ownership and joint ventures.

C7.2 Policies 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.

C7.3 To improve the quality of life of our people, stimulate the economy and reduce pollution levels, the ANC will launch a national electrification programme. We 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 that are protective of the environment.

C8. FISHING

C8.1 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, particularly by foreign fleets.

C8.2 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.

C9. REGIONAL COOPERATION IN AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

C9.1 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 Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Area for Southern and Eastern Africa (PTA) in achieving the economic integration of the continent.

C9.2 Trends in the world economy make it essential for countries located outside of the major trading blocks of the advanced industrialised to forge greater cooperation. 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.

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D. THE LAND

D1. LAND AND AGRICULTURAL POLICY

D1.1 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.

D1.2 It is the ANC's 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 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.

D1.3 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 ensure its enrichment and protection.

D2. LAND REFORM AND REDISTRIBUTION

D2.1 Our approach to land issues must be placed in the context of our 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:

a) Redressing the injustices caused by apartheid's policy of dispossession;

b) Addressing demands and grievances concerning land restoration and ownership by the creation of a land claims court through which competing claims to land can be resolved;

c) Creating institutions to which the homeless and landless will have access in order to obtain land, shelter, and necessary services;

d) The recognition and protection of the diversity of tenure forms in our country, including tenancy rights;

e) 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.

D2.2 Redistribution of agricultural land

D2.2.1 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.

D2.2.2 The state will play a key role in the acquisition and allocation of land and should therefore have the power to acquire land in a variety of ways, including expropriation in the public interest, where necessary with appropriate/just compensation. In addition, the state will use policy instruments, eg, land taxes, the removal of subsidies currently enjoyed by white farmers which, if correctly applied, could have the effect of land being freed for redistribution. Other instruments of control interfering with the market mechanism, such as the 1970 Subdivision of Agricultural Land Act, will be reviewed.

D2.3 Access to land and ownership

D2.3.1 All South Africans are entitled to equitable access to land and shelter. 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.

D2.3.2 The ownership of land carries with it both rights and duties. Land holders will 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. In short, the ANC affirms that land holders rights will be subject to the residual interest of the South African people, present and future, in the proper use of this precious and finite asset.

D2.4 *Restructuring Agriculture*

D2.4.1 The agricultural sector is characterised by gross maldistribution of land and other resources in favour of white farmers. This has led to inappropriate agricultural practices, inefficiency and dependence on state subsidies. The agricultural sector will be restructured so as to serve the majority of South Africa's people and to contribute effectively to economic growth.

D2.4.2 The extension of credit, appropriate infrastructure and other services to black and women farmers previously denied access to these resources, is necessary.

D2.4.3 The present system of regulatory mechanisms and agricultural control boards will be reviewed and amended.

D2.5 Orderly procedures

D2.5.1 We envisage the creation of a Land Claims Court to preside over and make the necessary adjudications with regard to claims to land. The law will lay down clear criteria for land claims. 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 will be evicted from land or have his or her home destroyed, unless a tribunal or another court has considered the availability of alternative accommodation.

D2.5.2 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.

D2.5.3 The Land Claims Court will focus on the question of land rights. Other agencies will coordinate and implement land reform, and with regard to agricultural land, ensure that new farmers receive appropriate credit, training, extension and marketing facilities in order to enhance agricultural production.

D2.6 Compensation

D2.6.1 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 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.

D2.6.2 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 and appropriate compensation for those title-holders who lose out economically because of redistribution. We believe

that the criteria for calculating compensation and its terms should be equitable and appropriate in the circumstances including the means of the state and the Land Fund, and they should be laid down in advance in legislation. In the case of any dispute, the courts should have the last word, but without delaying the land reform programme.

D2.6.3 The question of how the Land Fund should be financed and what criteria for allocation should be used, is part of a wider question of finding resources to finance urgently needed social development and advancement. The ANC supports the idea 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.

D2.7 Rural local government and development institutions

D2.7.1 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 democracy, transparency and accountability as established in the national constitution. Women shall have full and equal rights of participation in these processes. Governmental, non-governmental and community based organisations will have a key role to play in the process of land reform and rural development.

D2.8 Protection of worker rights

D2.8.1 Recognising that those who work and dwell in the rural areas, especially farm workers and women, are particularly vulnerable in our society. They and their families will be guaranteed full rights and protection under relevant labour legislation. The state will actively promote the protection of human rights for all rural dwellers and shall ensure effective enforcement of legislation protecting rural workers. The state shall take the necessary steps to accommodate and encourage the independent organisation of rural workers.

D2.9 The position of women

D2.9.1 The patriarchal system of law and land rights has 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. The land claims court should be empowered to consider the claims of women who are or were excluded from land ownership and

entitlement by law, custom or practice.

D2.10 Urban land policy

D2.10.1 The existing shortage of housing and serviced residential land in urban areas is a product of apartheid policies, and will be addressed. The spatial geography of apartheid will be fundamentally changed. Serviced land for housing will be made available to those who need it, close to cities and to places of work. Urban resources and services will be shared amongst all who live and work in the cities.

D2.11 Land and the environment

D2.11.1 Land is a natural and national resource to be used in an appropriate and sustainable manner. Declared nature conservation areas will be respected as part of the nation's common wealth. Wild life management and exploitation should constitutes an important component of rural development. Emphasis will eb placed on integrated conservation and development of these resources. Communities will be assisted to achieve rational management and exploitation of wild life resources, particularly in those areas where sustainable utilization is viable. Communities will be consulted before nature conservation programmes are introduced, and people must benefit directly from the economic activities and income generated.

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E. A NEW SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

E1. BASIC PRINCIPLES

E1.1 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.

E1.2 Within this framework, local government will:

a) Play a critical role in building democracy in a future South Africa. Local government will bring government closer to the people and actively involve them in decision-making and planning

processes that affect them;

b) Play a key role in development and in the equitable redistribution and re-allocation of local authority services. It will 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 will therefore become the major focus of local government activities.

E2. RESTRUCTURING LOCAL GOVERNMENT

E2.1 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.

E2.2 The restructuring of local government is part and parcel of the dismantling of the apartheid system. No meaningful restructuring can take place at the local level unless it is part of a process of national transformation.

E3. A POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

E3.1 The ANC envisages a new system of local government in South Africa which will operate within the context of the national constitutional framework. At the same time, local government will have the scope to take local initiatives, provided these do not conflict with national interest.

E3.2 Non-racial, non-sexist and democratic local government

E3.2.1 A future system of local government must not only assert non-racialism and non-sexism, but will need to actively build non-racialism and non-sexism in processes designed to counter decades of discriminatory government. The ANC is committed to ensuring that mechanisms are built into the system to enable women to participate in decision making structures at all levels of regional and local government.

E3.2.2 All racially-based local government structures will be abolished. De-racialising local government must mean more than an equal opportunity to vote. The fragmented nature of South African cities needs to be addressed and each city and town will be unified under a single municipality, with a single non-racial voters' roll and a single tax base.

E3.3 Democratic and accountable local government

E3.3.1 Representation at the local level will 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, for example, through property-based franchise mechanisms.

E3.3.2 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, transparency and the right to participate in decision making processes which affect communities between elections.

E3.3.3 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 in principle be open to any local resident.

E3.3.4 The office of Ombud will be created to investigate allegations of partisanship in the allocation of resources, maladministration and corruption.

E3.4 Redressing the legacies of apartheid and redistributing resources

E3.4.1 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.

E3.4.2 The ANC believes that local government should 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.

E3.4.3 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 local government within the context of the national framework.

E3.4.4 The ANC is opposed to privatisation of municipal services where this will lead to a lower level of service to the residents, or unreasonable cost increases.

E3.5 Effective and efficient local government

E3.5.1 Apartheid has left a legacy of fragmented local authorities and bureaucracies characterised by corruption, nepotism and inefficiencies. The ANC is committed to an accountable and mandated system of representative local government.

E3.5.2 Local government must have access to sufficient resources to carry out its stated functions. Local government should operate so as to ensure that resources are used efficiently.

E4. POLICY ISSUES

E4.1 Boundaries

E4.1.1 The boundaries of local authorities will be re-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, boundaries will be re-drawn by a national delimitation commission, after taking into consideration local submissions. The national legislature shall have the final say over the demarcation of local authority boundaries.

E4.2 Powers and functions of local government

E4.2.1 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 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.

E4.2.2 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, education, roads and public transport, parks, community facilities (including recreation and sport) and environmental protection. However, it is essential that future local government has a specific responsibility for encouraging local commercial, industrial and agricultural economic development.

E4.3 Finance

E4.3.1 Local government should be able to raise revenue for the implementation of its policies and secure central government funding, but should not raise any finance which makes its residents dependent on foreign institutions. The ANC believes that national government has a duty to ensure that conditions are created to meet the basic needs of the population. This will be achieved partly by a fairer, progressive, and more efficient system of taxation and government spending.

E4.3.2 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.

E4.3.3 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 those areas. To combat poverty, subsidisation of essential services for the poor, but not for those who can afford to pay, will be necessary. It will be the responsibility of local government to ensure the provision and maintenance of all services according to high standards.

E4.3.4 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.

E4.3.5 New institutions will be developed to improve efficiency, transparency and accountability in government spending.

E4.4 Local government structures

E4.4.1 <u>" One city, one municipality "</u>
To overcome the legacy of apartheid, the ANC envisages that each city and town will be unified under a single municipality. Where commuter suburbs are far removed from the city, consideration will be given to a two-tier system of local government. This will ensure that local needs are addressed, without excluding these areas from the benefits of being part of the city.

E4.4.2 <u>Strong metropolitan government</u>

i) 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.

ii) The ANC believes that the metropolitan tier would be an appropriate tier to address these issues. This tier will control the primary sources of urban finance, and be responsible for allocating funds for development and services. It will co-ordinate the provision of city- wide services and allow democratic control over broader development

decisions. It will set the policy framework for that metropolitan area, within which the lower tier(s) would operate.

E4.4.3 Effective rural local government

The provision of services to rural areas will 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 large to require it.

E4.5 Civil society

E4.5.1 The ANC believes that all legislative and executive power at the local level must be constitutionally vested in elected structures. Nevertheless, in order to overcome past mistrust and build confidence between local government structures and the community, organs of civil society, such as civic/residents associations, trade unions, traditional leaders and cultural organisations, need to be given the scope to influence the process of government.

E4.5.2 This can be achieved firstly by creating advisory and consultative mechanisms such as:

a) People's assemblies to debate issues of major significance to that town, city or rural area;

b) Local government sub-committees with outside representation to consult on specific policy areas;

c) Local government commissions to conduct public hearings and to consider submissions from outside interests on proposed local government activities; and,

d) Appeal boards to allow groups that are affected by a particular decision to appeal against it.

E4.5.3 For certain kinds of decision-making, such as the annual budget or planning decisions, these consultation procedures will be made mandatory.

E4.5.4 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.

E4.5.5 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.

E4.6 Staffing and training

E4.6.1 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.

E4.6.2 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. In addition, training should include capacity building in communities to enable them to effectively participate in local structures policy development processes.

E4.6.3 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.

E4.6.4 Local government structures will adopt progressive employment practices.

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F. HOUSING

F1. HOUSING GOALS AND POINTS OF DEPARTURE

The principles underlying the ANC's housing policy are:

a) Housing is a right;
b) Housing should contribute to social equity;
c) Housing is a critical component of development;
d) Community control over and participation in the housing delivery process is

of the utmost importance

F1.1 The Right to Housing

F1.1.1 The ANC believes that all citizens of South Africa have a right to essential services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity and to affordable housing. The democratic state will, subject to the resource and macroeconomic constraint, undertake appropriate legislative and executive action to ensure that these basic needs are met in a progressive manner. It is recognised that this objective will not be easy to fulfil in the short term but one towards which we should strive.

F1.2 Housing should contribute to social equity

F1.2.1 Given the pervasive poverty and the unequal distribution of wealth and land, the ANC's housing policy will promote non-racism, non-sexism and cater for disadvantaged groups such as the very poor, old and disabled.

F1.2.2 All racially based housing institutions will be replaced by institutions which are non-racial, legitimate and accountable to the people. A uniform housing policy must be introduced as a matter of urgency. Hostels should be transformed into family units, after wide and appropriate compensation.

F1.2.3 Equity considerations will also be addressed through the redistribution of income and assets. Examples of these forms of redistribution are, service charges and rating systems which favour the poor and not the rich, the diversion of military expenditure to housing production and the prioritization of investment in inner city housing and the upgrading of the townships and informal settlements over investments in middle income housing areas.

F1.3 Housing and development

F1.3.1 The provision of housing will be placed within a total developmental framework. These could include economic, transport, health, amenity, recreational, religious and education policies, or policies which facilitate access to jobs and the restructuring of the apartheid cities and towns. As such, an integrated approach which links housing to transport networks, industry, schools, creches, community halls, play grounds and so forth will be adopted. In addition, our housing strategy is based on sustainability in the short-medium-to-long term.

F1.4 Community participation and control

F1.4.1 Community participation in and control over the housing delivery process is critical to the successful implementation of our housing strategies.

F1.4.2 The ANC believes that community groups should be able to participate in the design, implementation and management of their housing. We therefore advocate the introduction of a housing policy which encourages and supports community controlled development initiatives. Furthermore the ANC believes that organs of civil society must play a major role in housing policy formation.

F1.4.3 Communities will have the right to organise themselves around housing issues and strong community based organisations will be encouraged.

F2. A NEW HOUSING POLICY FOR SOUTH AFRICA

F2.1 The ANC believes that a single national housing policy is needed to address the provision of housing and services. Within this single framework different, but complementary policies, may have to be formulated for urban and rural areas.

F2.2 Our housing policy is more than the delivery of a product. It is a process which contributes to the cultural, economic and social development of the entire society and is therefore part of our strategy to improve people's total living conditions.

F3. THE LEGACY OF APARTHEID

F3.1 The housing problems created by apartheid are many and varied. They include the racial fragmentation of our cities and the high correlation between housing poverty and race. A high proportion of the population has poor access to basic services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity and there is a severe shortage of decent, safe and affordable housing. Much of the housing available to the poor is located in monotonous townships and under serviced informal settlements far from places of work, and poorly provided with community facilities, shops, affordable public transport and recreational facilities.

F3.2 The migrant labour system and the single sex hostels have further contributed to the disruption of family life and social cohesion. The apartheid housing policy has focused on the housing needs of middle income households at the expense of the majority.

F3.3 Apartheid's complex and racially fragmented system of administration and housing delivery has made it difficult to introduce a coherent national housing policy and created gross inequalities between and within race groups with respect to the subsidisation and provision of housing.

F3.4 To ensure that women's housing needs are addressed, their participation in, and influence over the institutions controlling housing needs to be expanded. Gender

sensitivity will be a component part of the design and implementation of housing policy, the design of allocative systems and the criteria used to measure affordability.

F4. POLICY ISSUES

F4.1 Housing and Economic development

F4.1.1 The ANC recognizes that housing (inclusive of land and ancillary services) is a significant part of our economic development strategy and that the resources devoted to the provision of housing will be consistent with the need to maintain macroeconomic balances.

F4.1.2 Housing investment will be implemented in such a way as to promote labour based delivery and enhance the role of small-and-medium sized builders. The possibility of developing innovative technologies and methodologies which can be exported and hence contribute to our foreign exchange earnings will also be explored.

F4.1.3 The concentration of ownership in the building materials sector is a matter of great concern to the ANC. The ANC is committed to exploring the use of anti-trust and anti-monopoly legislation in this regard as well as introducing mechanisms which will cheapen building materials.

F4.2 Housing Finance

F4.2.1 As the state acting alone will not have sufficient resources to meet people's housing needs the ANC recognises the importance of mobilising private sector resources and it will attempt to devise innovative strategies for doing so. The ANC is also committed to ensuring that the poor have favourable access to credit facilities.

F4.2.2 The state should play a significant role in the provision of finance for low income housing. While market relations are an essential component of a mixed economy, the ANC does not believe that the market is able to adequately address the housing needs of all South Africans. The ANC therefore supports the provision of subsidies to facilitate access to basic and essential services. We advocate the restructuring of the housing finance and subsidy system so as to target those in most need of assistance.

F4.3 Land and Tenure

F4.3.1 The ANC rejects the privatisation of land supply for low income housing and believes that it is the state's responsibility to ensure that low income households have easy access to well located, affordable land. The state or state organs will play an active role in land

acquisition and in curbing land speculation. Some of the measures we will consider using to curb land speculation are the application of high municipal rates on well located undeveloped land, a capital gain tax on land transactions and the use of legal arrangements and tenure forms which take land (and housing) transactions out of the market and guard against downward raiding by more affluent groups. The allocation of land should not discriminate against people on the basis of race or gender, foster nepotism and/or corruption and should not involve lengthy time delays.

F4.3.2 The ANC believes that people should have security of tenure which does not necessarily mean individual ownership of both land and the dwelling unit. We intend to make provision for different forms of tenure.

F4.4 Housing Form and Delivery

F4.4.1 The ANC believes that a uni-focused delivery system cannot adequately cater for people's diverse housing needs and intends to encourage housing delivery mechanisms which promote different forms of partnership between the state, private sector, non-governmental organisations and the community. It envisages that the range of actors to be used will, by and large, be arrived at through consultation with the community concerned.

F4.4.2 The private sector will be encouraged to move into lower cost housing, revise its product mix and increase the level of community participation in its projects.

F4.4.3 More effective use will be made of the knowledge and housing expertise which will exist in restructured government agencies.

F4.4.4 In line with our view that housing delivery is a process and not simply a product the provision of completed dwelling units is seen as the ideal towards which we are striving. The form of housing provided will, in the final instance, be influenced by community preference and affordability.

F4.4.5 To overcome the economic problems and inequities created by low density urban sprawl more effective use will be made of land within urban areas. Housing densities will be increased in appropriate locations. Environmental consideration will also inform the form and nature of housing provision in both rural and urban areas.

F4.4.6 Finally, the ANC believes that low income housing should not be equated or confused with poor quality housing and that mechanisms, which guard against exploitation and malpractices will be introduced.

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G. HEALTH

G1. WHAT DO PEOPLE NEED TO BE HEALTHY?

G1.1 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 APPROPRIATE and effective waste disposal: this includes getting rid of rubbish and of industrial and human waste in ways that will not damage the environment. Health is also improved where people have a reasonable standard of education, and opportunities for rest and recreation.

G1.2 To improve and protect the health of our people, we need a health service that promotes good health, prevents illness, provides care and services to the ill and to people with disabilities.

G2. WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATE OF THE HEALTH SERVICES IN SA?

G2.1 The health services in South Africa reflects all the injustice and irrationality of Apartheid. The health service is controlled by a great many departments - one in each of the bantustans and separate ones for general affairs and 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.

G2.2 The government's policy of privatisation and reduction in spending on health has meant that insufficient resources are being channelled into health services. As a result the quality of health and health care has deteriorated.

G2.3 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. Socio-economic circumstances are more important than medical services in ensuring good health.

G3. PRINCIPLES OF ANC HEALTH POLICY

G3.1 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. The primary health care approach is essentially that of community development. It aims to reduce inequalities in access to health services, promotes equitable distribution based on appropriate technology and integrates the many

sectors of modern life such as education and housing. Further, it is based on full community participation.

G3.2 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.

G3.3 *A National Health Service (NHS)*

G3.3.1 The ANC proposes the creation of a comprehensive, and integrated National Health Service.

G3.3.2 There will be a single governmental structure dealing with health for the whole country. It will coordinate all aspects of both public and private health care delivery. It will be accountable to the people of South Africa through democratic structures.

G3.3.3 It will actively promote community participation in the planning, provision, control and monitoring of services. Fundamental to this approach will be accountability to local communities and decentralization of decision making.

G3.3.4 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.

G3.3.5 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. Authority over, responsibility for, and control over funds will be as decentralised as is compatible with rational planning and the maintenance of good quality care.

G3.3.6 Rural health services will be improved with particular attention given to improving transport (including ambulance services) and services to communities in small towns and rural areas.

G3.3.7 The health service should give priority to children, mothers, the elderly, mentally ill, the unemployed, workers in hazardous occupations and the disabled. Appropriate services to adolescents and young adults will also be provided. In addition, there will be a focus on the eradication and control of the major diseases, including AIDS, tuberculosis, measles, polio and others. Attention will also be given to sex education, sexual hygiene and family planning.

G3.3.8 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 will be able to participate in the process of formulating and implementing health policy.

G3.3.9 Appropriate and efficient data collection will be an essential part of the NHS. It will allow for rational management and planning and also relevant research. The private sector will also be required to collect and submit both financial and clinical data in order to facilitate planning at local, regional and national levels.

G3.3.10 The health service will 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.

G3.3.11 Health education and community involvement in hygiene will 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.

G3.4 INTER-SECTORAL COOPERATION

G3.4.1 At all levels of government the health service should promote inter-sectoral co-operation to promote the health of communities. The health service will play a role in coordinating government authorities responsible for sanitation, water supply, fuel supply, housing, and other social services. To the extent that a threat to public health is identified, the health service will ensure that the necessary steps are taken to remove such a threat.

G3.5 FINANCING HEALTH CARE

G3.5.1 The democratic government will 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.

G3.5.2 Since, however, government resources are limited, those who can afford to, and will 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 cost of medical care will be kept down by careful accounting and the rational use of resources.

G3.5.3 Basic or essential health care available at public health facilities will be free at the point of service.

G3.6 THE PRIVATE SECTOR

G3.6.1 In the longer term, most health care should be provided by the public health service. The public service will 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.

G3.6.2 Public subsidies to the private sector such as tax concessions for medical aid contributions will be removed.

G3.6.3 Both public and private sector health care will be carefully monitored through mechanisms such as peer review and audit review, and in the private sector tighter regulations will be applied on the licensing of facilities and on share holdings in private clinics and hospitals.

G3.7 A NATIONAL PHARMACEUTICAL POLICY

G3.7.1 At present there are many parts of the health service where there is not enough medicine in store. In the private sector too much money is spent on medicine. The ANC will implement a national drug policy to deal with these problems. This policy will include sections on essential drug lists and continued strict control of the quality of drugs.

G3.8 PERSONNEL AND TRAINING

G3.8.1 The term health worker includes all those working in the health sector whether engaged in clinical or in non-clinical duties.

G3.8.2 Training programmes will be implemented to upgrade the skills of existing health workers. This training will include the reorientation of health workers with regard to the rights of patients and respect for their privacy and dignity at all times.

G3.8.3 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.

G3.9 WOMEN'S HEALTH

G3.9.1 The NHS will provide sensitive and supportive care to victims of sexual violence. Special counselling and support for rape victims will be provided. Procedures for reporting, investigating and prosecuting for rape will be reviewed and changed.

G3.9.2 Women will have the right to control their own bodies. Contraceptive services will be based on informed choice, will be free and accessible, and will protect fertility. They will also be gender sensitive and will engage both men and women.

G3.10 OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH

G3.10.1 The health of workers will be protected by law and adequate services for workers will be available in all industrial areas including developing areas.

G3.11 AIDS

G3.11.1 The spread of HIV infection, which will result in AIDS and a huge increase in tuberculosis is a great threat to the health of all South Africans. The ANC will therefore give very high priority at all levels of society to measures aimed at preventing and containing these infections, and will also support appropriate research.

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H. SOCIAL WELFARE

H1. BROAD PRINCIPLES

H1.1 The ANC's Social Welfare Policy is critical 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.

H2. THE PROVISION OF SOCIAL SERVICES

H2.1 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.

H2.2 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.

H2.3 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. The democratic state and local government structures will be partners both for consultation about and the implementation of delivery systems.

H2.4 The ANC is committed to a single Social Welfare or Social Development Ministry which will:

H2.4.1 Distribute welfare service across the country in an equitable manner irrespective of race, colour or sex.

H2.4.2 Seek to redress past imbalances via a deliberate process of affirmative action in respect of blacks (especially Africans), women and rural communities.

H2.4.3 Recognise the role of organs of civil society in the welfare system such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), civic associations, the private sector, churches, trade unions, individual initiatives, and will establish guidelines for mutual co-operation.

H2.5 As far as the private sector is concerned we believe that employers 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.

H2.6 The fundamental element of the ANC social security policy will be based on the following principles:

H2.6.1 Equity;

H2.6.2 Accessibility of services (not only in terms of physical proximity but also in terms of language, elimination of bureaucratic red tape etc.);

H2.6.3 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;

H2.6.4 Democracy and community Participation.

H2.7 Within the overall policy framework a future social welfare dispensation will incorporate certain specific propositions. These include:

H2.7.1 *Old age and disability grants* - these services will 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.

H2.7.2 *Child rights* - a Child Welfare Policy will be fashioned along the lines of the UN Charter of Children's Rights. In accordance with these provisions the rights of the child must take precedence when dealing with issues such as adoption and foster care.

H2.7.3 *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.

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IA. HUMAN RESOURCES AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT

IA1 OUR OBJECTIVES

IA1.1 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 - will must both address the consequences of the past and lay the basis for a different future.

IA1.2 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.

IA1.3 Science and technology will be used for the benefit of the whole of society, and not just the minority.

IA1.4 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 our environment in which they live.

IA2. INTEGRATED POLICIES AND DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

IA2.1 The ANC is committed to the evolution of a coherent and nationally integrated strategy for the development of our country's human resources. Education and training policies will be integrated within the framework for economic transformation and with the strategy for the conservation of our natural resources.

IA2.2 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 market as has been the case in the past,especially in relation to industrial training.

IA2.3 However, organs of civil society have an important role to play in the provision of education and training. Employers have the prime responsibility for the provision of adult basic education for those in their employ. Where non-governmental agencies provide education and training, the state will ensure that this is undertaken within the framework of national education policies and principles.

IA2.4 It is essential that problems be looked at 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.

IA2.5 The ANC believes in democratic participation, not only in the development of policy in these fields but in the administration and management of institutions. We are committed to the establishment of relevant structures for such participation.

I. EDUCATION

I1. PROVISION

I1.1 The ANC is committed to:

I1.1.1 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).

I1.1.2 Progressively expanding the provision of free and compulsory education to the senior secondary and tertiary levels pending the availability of funds.

I1.1.3 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. The democratic state will launch a Mass Literacy Campaign (MLC).

I2. CONTROL

I2.1 The administration and management of education and the development of educational policy will be governed by the principle of democracy, within a unified national education and training system. The active participation of organs of civil society and especially that of teachers, students, parents and workers, will be promoted.

I2.2 The democratisation of the education and training 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 and training system.

I3. A CORE CURRICULUM AND NATIONAL STANDARDS

I3.1 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 are committed to a curriculum which is based on the principles of co-operation, critical thinking and social responsibility, and which empowers individuals to participate in all aspects of society. We believe that this can best be achieved by a national curriculum which provides a general education based on integrating academic and vocational skills.

I3.2 This emphasis on the development of general education is based on two considerations. Firstly, international evidence suggests that a general 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.

I3.3 We believe that a national core curriculum should allow for cultural and regional diversity as long as this is not in conflict with national goals.

I3.4 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 different levels of the education and training system, both formal and informal.

I3.5 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.

I4. UNIVERSITIES

I4.1 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.

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J. THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES

J1. BASIC PRINCIPLES

J1.1 The ANC's goal for Human Resources Development is full employment with a rising standard of living and quality of social and working life for all South Africans, regardless of race, sex, class, religion or creed.

J1.2 To ensure democratic participation, the ANC is committed to the establishment of structures in which the state, employers, trade unions and other organs of civil society are equally represented, and which will have a determining role in the setting of policies and practices for employment, training and skills development.

J2. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND PRODUCTIVITY

J2.1 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 achieve the economic development and growth that we need to ensure a productive economy.

J2.2 There will be a vigorous upgrading of skills, especially for the most disadvantaged sectors of our society, in particular women, youth and rural people. This upgrading will be fundamentally integrated into the restructuring of industry.

J2.3 The ANC is committed to the creation and development of productive employment opportunities with a living wage for all South Africans.

J2.4 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 includes putting in place mechanisms which identify areas of falling labour needs. It will include the creation of 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, basic infrastructure.

J3. LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

J3.1 We propose the establishment of a National Labour Commission, which will be composed of representatives from government, trade unions, employer organisations and other relevant 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.

J3.2 The commission would deal with all matters relating to labour rights and employment practices, including: rights to strike; code of employment and labour practice; study and training leave; maternity leave; worker's compensation; unemployment insurance fund; health and safety; and policies for education and training.

J3.3 For the short- to medium-term, the ANC is committed to the implementation of affirmative action strategies as part of a code of employment practice.

J4. RIGHTS OF WOMEN WORKERS

J4.1 Our policy proposals with regard to the training, education and employment of women will address the special problems of women workers, including:

J4.1.1 The recognition of women's skills through equitable remuneration based on the principle of "equal pay for work of equal value";

J4.1.2 The training of women for skilled jobs normally performed by men;

J4.1.3 Career paths for areas of "traditional" women's work;

J4.1.4 The provision of child-care facilities for women in training and at work;

J4.1.5 The provision of equal facilities for men and women in training and at work, including non- sexist training materials and documentation.

J5. A CODE OF PRACTICE

J5.1 A code of practice in relation to training, education and adult basic education, as determined by the state, together with employers, trade unions and other organs of civil society, will promote the achievement of our policy objectives. It should encompass at least the following:

J5.1.1 The integration of training, education and adult basic education into a national system of qualifications and accreditation which allow people to transfer credits between the different systems, and which is recognised and accredited by employers and also allows people full employment mobility;

J5.1.2 On-going employment advice and counselling from basic schooling through to retirement;

J5.1.3 The training of trainers and educators in an integrated national strategy to meet the needs of all sectors of the society;

J5.1.4 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;

J5.1.5 To investigate and ratify the standards of the International Labour Organisation with respect to labour and employment policies and practices;

J5.1.6 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;

J5.1.7 To prioritise strategies for employment creation and employment security.

J6. TRAINING AND SKILLS FORMATION

J6.1 Training will be linked to economic policy and form an integral part of the restructuring of the economy. It will be developed within the following framework:

J6.1.1 The state together with trade unions, employers and other organs of civil society will play a central role in planning, implementing and monitoring training, with agreed procedures for selection and testing, which accord with national standards.

J6.1.2 The effects of apartheid discriminatory policies will be redressed.

J6.1.3 All workers will 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.

J6.1.4 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.

J6.1.5 Training must be linked to grading, pay and the person's potential. 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.

J6.1.6 Provision will be made for the recognition of skills which people already have. Such recognition will be linked to and integrated with the national accreditation system.

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K. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

K1. BASIC PRINCIPLES

K1.1 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-economic and political goals of a democratic South Africa. 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 imbalance, using science and technology for the benefit of all.

K1.2 A sound science and technology policy is based on the 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 especially important that women be encouraged to develop technological and scientific skills.

K2. AN INDIGENOUS TECHNOLOGICAL BASE

K2.1 To achieve these ends South Africa requires a healthy indigenous technological base, which is founded upon:

K2.1.1 The widest possible access to programmes of education and training in scientific and technical fields at all levels;

K2.1.2 Relevant and efficient research and development;

K2.1.3 The selective application of new technologies, especially in the areas of micro-electronics, information technology, biotechnology, new materials and medical technologies;

K2.1.4 Industrial re-orientation and restructuring, to strengthen the manufacturing base;

K2.1.5 The integration of trade unions and other relevant organs of civil society into the decision-making process;

K2.2 To achieve these ends 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 be part of the broader socio-economic and political goals of the ANC.

K3. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

K3.1 A broad and multi-faceted programme of education and training will be promoted to foster the development of our indigenous technological base. Its aims will be:

K3.1.1 To foster a climate for the growth and development of a scientifically literate and technically able society;

K3.1.2 To provide high-quality, appropriate and flexible programmes in science, mathematics and technical education at secondary and tertiary levels;

K3.1.3 To provide ongoing adult science and technology education programmes, including worker training and education, especially as regards the retraining of workers whose jobs were replaced by machines;

K3.1.4 To implement affirmative action programmes to increase the numbers of scientists and engineers from amongst all our people;

K3.1.5 To include an environmental perspective in science and technology training and education;

K4. TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

K4.1 Ensuring that scientific and technological knowledge are both developed and effectively applied in ways which help achieve our economic, social and developmental goals, will require concerted action along a number of paths, with these objectives:

K4.1.1 To support innovation and the growth of indigenous technologies, especially by encouraging increased spending on research and development by the private sector;

K4.1.2 To foster collaboration in science and technology between industry, education and research institutions, and state organisations;

K4.1.3 To retain a basis of fundamental research which is internationally recognised and relevant to the long term needs of the country;

K4.1.4 To identify opportunities for local expertise and locally manufactured goods in overseas markets;

K4.1.5 To foster regional co-operation in science and technology; and

K4.1.6 To assess technology priorities in sectoral needs and to advise on policy development in those sectors.

K5. A KEY ROLE IN GOVERNMENT

K5.1 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.

K5.2 What they require is the political will to review and restructure the science and technology system, in consultation with the organisations affected. The ANC will accord technology a key role in government, through the establishment of powerful and appropriate governmental structures through which policy will be formulated. The ANC will also establish an independent Office of Technology Assessment.

K5.3 The results of the macro-science and technology policy will be integrated 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 will be used directly to support the economic and social development necessary to satisfy basic needs and improve quality of life for all.

K5.4 In the economic sectors, predominantly in 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. The degree of protection accorded to intellectual property rights shall be consistent with the optimum requirements of our economic policy.

K5.5 In the socio-economic sectors technology choice will 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 low-level) technology and technical training should be essential components of integrated rural development programmes.

K5.6 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 equitable allocation of these resources between industry, agriculture and domestic consumers; and the democratisation of the utility control authorities who provide these services.

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L. THE ENVIRONMENT

L1. BASIC OBJECTIVES

L1.1 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.

L1.2 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.

L1.3 Essential prerequisites for sustainable growth and development are:

a) Equitable access to environmental resources;
b) Public participation in all planning decisions which affect the development and management of natural resources.

L1.4 The ANC is committed to bringing about these conditions through appropriate policy measures in all growth and development sectors.

L2. FULFILMENT OF OBJECTIVES

L2.1 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.

L2.2 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.

L2.3 Policies and programmes to ensure adequate protection, conservation and restoration of the environment will be adopted. These will include:

L2.3.1 The integration of environmental principles into planning and development (using Integrated Environmental Management procedures);

L2.3.2 The rehabilitation and maintenance of essential ecological processes and life support systems;

L2.3.3 The sustainable utilisation of renewable resources and rational exploitation of non-renewable resources;

L2.3.4 The conservation of biological diversity and protection of endangered species;

L2.3.5 The establishment of mechanisms to ensure safe and healthy living and working environments;

L2.3.6 The alignment with international and regional initiatives aimed at protecting the global environment;

L2.3.7 The prohibition of the import and export of all forms of hazardous waste;

L2.3.8 The monitoring of and countering of any covert land uses that are a threat to the environment and the safety of citizens;

L2.3.9 The introduction of measures and campaigns to curb the pollution generated by agriculture, mining, industry and any other activities;

L2.3.10 The introduction of measures to counter the privatisation or removal of public rights to common natural resources;

L2.3.11 The establishment of an inventory of our natural resources;

L2.3.12 The investigation of the potential of eco-tourism to make a contribution towards rural development;

L2.3.13 The support for appropriate community-based environmental initiatives;

L2.3.14 The establishment of an equitable system of support and subsidies to the agricultural sector that will encourage sustainable farming practices and will not reward practices with problematic environmental consequences;

L2.3.15 Promote the exploitation of mineral resources at a rational rate and with due regard to the environment, and the health and long-term viability of local communities;

L2.3.16 Environmental education programmes developed to increase people's love for the land, to empower communities to act on environmental issues, and to promote an environmental ethic.

L3. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT

L3.1 A future economic growth strategy will promote the development of environmentally friendly industries, and should stress South Africa's competitive advantages in the area of natural resources. Where "dirty" industries are unavoidable, they will be subject to strict controls.

L3.2 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.

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M. ARTS AND CULTURE

M1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

M1.1 A flourishing cultural life is vital to the well-being of South Africa. The ANC strives to facilitate and celebrate cultural production that captures the diversity, complexity and vibrancy of all South Africans.

M1.2 The ANC recognises that through arts and culture a sense of national identity and pride can be cultivated. Arts and

culture are thus a unifying force in a country divided along ethnic and cultural lines by apartheid. Thriving and thought-provoking artistic and cultural practices can contribute to a democratic and tolerant socio-political environment. In this context, arts and culture can assist in transforming customs and practices that discriminate against women. Further, arts and culture can enhance the quality of life of our people.

M1.3 Arts and culture are not the property of any one political party or group. Consequently the ANC believes that cultural institutions should be non-sectarian. While it is the governments duty to actively support artistic and cultural production, such support must be severed from party political interest. Public funded, non-sectarian artistic and cultural institutions that serve cultural workers and their organisations are central to ANC policy.

M1.4 ANC cultural policy will redress the imbalances inherent in our society both in terms of race, class and gender. Arts and culture in the black communities, most notably in the rural areas, have received negligible state support. Parastatal cultural institutions have almost exclusively promoted Eurocentric art in English and Afrikaans in the white communities.

M1.5 Arts education and training has been omitted from school curricula, particularly in black schools. Where arts education has been undertaken, exposure to South African and African arts has been limited. Apartheid educational policy has caused an alarmingly high level of illiteracy among the black population. Harsh censorship laws has severely restricted the free cultural expression of South Africans.

M1.6 ANC policy will strive to increase the participation of women in all spheres of arts and culture.

M2. LANGUAGE

M2.1 South Africa is a multilingual society with a large number of languages. ANC policy will accord to all languages recognition of their status and protection of their rights, and ensure that all citizens, whatever their knowledge of languages and their degree of literacy, have unimpeded access to all spheres of the nation's life.

M2.2 To overcome the practical problems of multi-lingualism, it will be possible to designate a single language or group of languages to be used for record purposes or for other special use, either at the national level or in the regions. All the major languages spoken in our country should be equally available for such purposes (in alphabetical order - Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu). Other languages spoken by South Africans - such as

Portuguese, Tamil, Gujerati, Hebrew and Arabic - will be respected.

M2.3 All South African will be free to use any South African language of their choice in dealings with the state. Within the limitations of reasonableness steps will be taken to ensure that no citizens who are illiterate or whose knowledge of a particular language is limited, will thereby be impeded in their access to public services, or in the realisation of their rights as citizens.

M2.4 In order to ensure the removal of linguistic barriers to understanding and participation from all spheres of the nation's life.

M2.4.1 It would be necessary to develop language services, such as the provision of interpreting and translation.

M2.4.2 All South Africans will have the right of educational access to skills in the languages which they need to participate fully in national and regional life.

M2.5 Our policy will further the development of all our languages, especially in education, literature and the media, to engender respect for different languages and to prevent the use of any language or languages for the purpose of domination or division. A programme of affirmative action will be implemented in respect of languages whose status was reduced under apartheid. In addition multilingualism will be promoted.

M3. LITERATURE

M3.1 ANC policy will recognise that:

M3.1.1 It is necessary to create and improve educational facilities for the training of writers. These should include extensive literacy programmes since literacy is a precondition for many forms of literary creation;

M3.1.2 It is necessary to promote writers associations that explore and encompass the diverse cultural values within South African society;

M3.1.3 Well-stocked libraries should be established throughout the country, in both rural and urban centres, to encourage a reading culture among all our people;

M3.1.4 It is necessary to educate the general population in particular cultural workers about copyright law and how it operates in practice in order to protect cultural workers from the exploitation and plagiarism of their works;

M3.1.5 A standing body is needed to monitor copy right violations. Such a body should have the powers to institute court actions;

M3.1.6 A diverse multi-lingual national literature must be consciously encouraged and promoted. Literature in the various african languages require special attention and support.

M4. THE PERFORMING ARTS

M4.1 ANC policy will recognise that:

M4.1.1 All types and forms of performing arts should be encouraged and supported in all our communities, especially those that have been deprived in the past. Indigenous and local performing art require special attention and support;

M4.1.2 The existing performing arts councils must be transformed into organisations that represent and serve all of South Africa's communities. The council should subsidise both professional artists, semi-professional artists and amateur groups;

M4.1.3 Progressive labour and copy right laws that protect the rights of performing arts workers should be adopted;

M4.1.4 The arts should be included in school curricula as a choice;

M5. FINE ARTS

M5.1 ANC policy will recognise that:

M5.1.1 Arts and crafts should be preserved as part of our national heritage;

M5.1.2 The exhibition of arts and crafts in all our communities should be supported;

M5.1.3 At the point of sale, origins of art works should be clearly indicated;

M5.1.4 Art exhibitions will form part of school programmes;

M5.1.5 Arts and cultural centres with facilities for the production of fine arts should be established in all communities;

M5.1.6 More teachers' training colleges providing fine art education should be established;

M5.1.7 Fine arts will be included in school curricula as a choice.

M6. MUSIC

M6.1 ANC policy will recognise:

M6.1.1 The rich diversity of traditions in South Africa's musical culture and the musical forms of a free, non-racial society should be fostered;

M6.1.2 A dynamic music education policy needs top be developed for all levels of schooling and within communities. Such education should aim to develop an appreciation for all South Africa's musical traditions and to develop new musical talent;

M6.1.3 Access to resources and infrastructure needs to be broadened, particularly for new and developing talent, and alternative and under-represented musical traditions;

M6.1.4 Access to the broadcast media needs to be broadened. In this regard, investigations into the feasibility of local content requirements on television and radio are required;

M6.1.5 All of South Africa's musical traditions need to be researched and documented, with a view to providing important sources for musical development;

M6.1.6 Attempts will be made to eliminate record piracy as this seriously affects the livelihood of musicians. Education and advice on all aspects of music's complex legal and copyright areas must be made available to musicians. Concomitant to this, record pricing policies should be fair.

M7. PHOTOGRAPHY

M7.1 The ANC will recognise that:

M7.1.1 The democratic state and interested cultural bodies should ensure that a broad spectrum of South Africans have the opportunity to pursue the craft of photography and to appreciate photography as an artform. In this regard training itself should be promoted and coordinated;

M7.1.2 A comprehensive and accessible archive of South African photographic material, both past and present, should be created.

M8. MEDIA AND THE ARTS

M8.1 In addition to what is contained in Section N. (MEDIA), the following policies will be pursued:

M8.1.1 The public broadcasting service must broadcast South African drama and documentary programmes that the SABC

has hitherto excluded from their programming;

M8.1.2 The public broadcasting services must commission and broadcast a substantial quota of local drama and documentary programmes.

M9. MUSEUMS, MONUMENTS AND HERALDRY

M9.1 The ANC will recognise that:

M9.1.1 Heritage resources and facilities should be popularised, democratised and be open and belong to all South Africans irrespective of age, sex, race, colour or creed. Those that have been neglected should be developed and protected;

M9.1.2 Heritage resources and facilities should serve as community resource centres. That is, community identified needs should be integrated in the overall management of heritage resources and facilities. The heritage management system must be restructured;

M9.1.3 With regard to heraldry, symbols and names, the present monopolistic representation of one section of the population must be replaced by an appropriately diverse and balanced range.

M10. FUNDING OF THE ARTS

M10.1.1 State policy should ensure that a proportion of the national budget is allocated for the funding of arts and culture;

M10.1.2 The motive for funding arts and culture should not be profit;

M10.1.3 State policy should aim at ensuring that the new structures that are created are responsible for the fair and wide distribution of funds, with particular attention to the rural areas which have been neglected in the past;

M10.1.4 Artists and cultural workers must be represented in the structures of state-funded institutions and be involved in the implementation of policy as well as the distribution of funds.

M11. INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

M11.1 State policy should encourage cultural exchange between the people of South Africa and those of the rest of the world. This exchange must, where appropriate, aim to:

M11.1.1 Foster a spirit of tolerance, co-operation and international understanding between our people and the rest of the world;

M11.1.2 Promote developmental programmes initiated by South African cultural workers;

M11.1.4 Take into account the views of the cultural workers' associations and/or unions;

M11.1.5 Ensure that international exchange does not exploit the local arts and culture industries.

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N. SPORT

N1. INSTITUTING NON-RACIAL SPORT

N1.1 The ANC sports policy is closely linked to the development of the non-racial sports movement in South Africa, which we have supported. We encourage unity amongst the various non-racial codes and the establishment of umbrella sporting organisations.

N1.2 Successive governments in South Africa have systematically promoted sport in and ensured the provision of sporting and recreational facilities for the white community, to the exclusion of the majority of black people in the country. The ANC will be guided by policies of affirmative action in our overall sports policy for the benefit of our people as a whole, with particular emphasis on race and gender.

N2. BASIC PRINCIPLES

N2.1 Participation in sport and recreation is a right of each and every person and not a privilege. Participation in sport must be opened up and accessible to all South Africans. Sport must be open to the old, disabled and poor.

N2.2 These principles can only be realized through programmes which are expressly aimed at facilitating increased participation in sport in the black communities and villages across the country. This requires programmes aimed at the development of grassroots sport in a multiplicity of codes.

N2.3 The development of sport in our communities will contribute to the health (physical, mental and moral) and productivity of the population as a whole.

N2.4 Sport will be an important part of a well rounded education and facilitates the promotion of national unity (through developing a united national pride and transcending cultural, linguistic and racial barriers), as well as international relations and friendship. Sport is also an

effective means through which to redress gender inequalities and discrimination against the disabled.

N3. THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

N3.1 The democratic state will be responsible for the promotion of sport and recreation through the provision of facilities at educational and community centres as well as institutions for the disabled. The autonomy of the sports movement will be guaranteed and legislation protecting individual sports persons, codes and organisations from political manipulation, will be established.

N4. ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SPORTS

N4.1 The state and the relevant organs of civil society will set up sports academies for the training of sportsmen and women, administrators, coaches and other officials.

N4.2 All educational institutions will be provided with qualified teachers responsible for physical education and recreation.

N4.3 Clear guidelines and incentives will be drawn up regarding the sponsorship of sports development, aimed at correcting the imbalances within underprivileged communities.

N4.4 Provision be made by management to encourage full worker participation in sport; arrangements for those who excel in specific competitive codes be made with the unions concerned that his/her performance is not impaired by work conditions.

N4.5 A National Sports Commission, representative of sports organisations and other relevant organs of civil society, will be entrusted with funds allocated for sporting activities.

N5. SHORT TERM/TRANSITIONAL POLICY PROPOSALS:

N5.1 As a result of apartheid legacy, most sports codes are non existent or weak within the Black community. This has a retarding effect on the unification process. In the immediate term (or transitional period) the ANC's attitude towards sport is guided by the following:

N5.1.1 Continued facilitation and encouragement of the unity process as well as concrete affirmative action developmental programmes as a prerequisite for readmission to the world sports family.

N5.1.2 Ensuring the democratisation and de-racialisation of the sports movement in line with the Olympic Charter and principles of international federations.

N5.1.3 Regular and consistent consultation with the various sports bodies to enable us to develop acceptable policy.

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O. MEDIA

O1. ESTABLISHING A DEMOCRATIC MEDIA

O1.1 South Africa has been a closed society, with many restrictions on the flow of information. Legislation, the structure of ownership of media resources, skills, language policy, and social deprivation have undermined access to information for the majority of the population.

O1.2 The ANC believes the transition to democracy in South Africa entails a movement from a closed society into one based on the free flow of information and a culture of open debate.

O1.3 At the core of democracy lies the recognition of the right of all citizens to take part in society's decision-making process. This requires that individuals are armed with the necessary information and have access to contesting options to make informed choices. An ignorant society cannot be democratic.

O1.4 The ANC asserts that mere declarations of media freedoms on their own are not enough. These freedoms must be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender the culture of open debate. This requires policies of affirmative action to redress the inequalities in our society.

O1.5 The ANC is committed to media freedom and various mechanisms to bring it about. A Media Charter which sets out broad principles to promote these freedoms will contribute immensely to the democratic process. Elements of such a Charter would find expression in a Constitution and Bill of Rights; while others would be realised through relevant legislation. Yet others would serve as social guidelines.

O1.6 The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights. It is crucial, therefore, to strive for these freedoms way ahead of the advent of democracy. An open negotiations process - in which the public is informed about developments and itself participates in the debates - is a necessary prerequisite for a democratic transition.

O2. BASIC RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

O2.1 The basic principle around which our Media Charter should revolve is maximum openness within the context of a

democratic constitution and Bill of Rights. Thus, for instance, it would be erroneous to advocate the setting up of bodies which determine what society should and should not read, hear or watch. Rather, judicial procedures should be effected if and when civil rights are threatened or violated. Media freedoms should be understood in the context of other citizens rights such as the right to privacy and dignity.

O2.2 The citizens' right to privacy, dignity and any other freedoms entrenched in the Bill of Rights shall not be violated on account of the free flow of information.

O2.3 The media shall strive to interact with society as a whole; and organisations, institutions and citizens shall have the right (and mechanisms) of reply regarding information and opinion published about them.

O2.4 All people shall have the right of access to information held or collected by the state or other social institutions subject to any limitations provided for in the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

O2.5 All institutional and legislative measures which restrict the free flow of information or which impose censorship over the media and other information agencies shall be opposed.

O2.6 All the people shall have the right to freely publish, broadcast and otherwise disseminate information and opinion, and shall have the right of free access to information and opinion.

O2.7 All media should subscribe to a Standard of Practice (or Code of Conduct) agreed upon among the producers and distributers of public information and communications.

O2.8 There shall be no restrictions on private broadcasting initiatives beyond the accepted constitutional constraints and technical regulations arising out of legislation governing media.

O3. DEMOCRATISATION OF THE MEDIA

O3.1 The forms and mediums of mass communication will take account of the diversity of communities in respect of geography, language, gender, interests and prevailing levels of literacy.

O3.2 Measures will be taken to ensure that all communities have access to the technical means for the receipt and dissemination of information, including electricity, telecommunications and other facilities.

O3.3 All communities will have access to the skills required to

receive and disseminate information, including the skills of reading and writing.

O3.4 Diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities shall be ensured.

O3.5 Affirmative action will be implemented to provide financial, technical and other resources to those sectors of society deprived of such means.

O3.6 Affirmative action, in terms of race and gender, will be applied to allow access to and control of the media institutions, this includes ensuring the participation of women in managerial positions on these media bodies.

O4. PUBLIC MEDIA

O4.1 Media resources in the hands of the state shall be used to promote and strengthen democracy, which would include monitoring the media for gender and race biases.

O4.2 The state shall maintain a public broadcasting service which shall serve society as a whole and give a voice to all sectors of the population.

O4.3 Such a public broadcasting service shall be independent of the ruling party. The structure(s) responsible for public media should be broad-based and should act as facilitators to ensure fair access to air time and resources.

O5. MEDIA WORKERS

O5.1 Society and the state shall strive to create the necessary environment in which the gathering, processing and dissemination of information can be conducted without restrictions.

O5.2 Media-workers shall be protected against intimidation and other forms of pressure which inhibit their work.

O5.3 Media-workers shall be protected by law from disclosing their sources of information.

O5.4 Media-workers shall have the right to form or join trade unions, political and other organisations of their choice, and they shall enjoy the rights accorded to all other workers.

O6. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

O6.1 The state and media institutions shall provide facilities for the training and upgrading of media-workers.

O6.2 In the provision of skills, account shall be taken of the need for affirmative action in favour of those who, because of racial, gender and other discriminatory practices, are

disadvantaged.

O6.3 Training programmes shall include mechanisms aimed at empowering communities in their endeavours to publish and to broadcast.

O6.4 As part of civic education programmes, the state and media institutions shall strive to inform citizens and media workers about their media rights and duties.

O7. PROMOTIONAL MECHANISMS

O7.1 In order to promote and monitor the realisation of these freedoms, independent structures shall be set up for defined sectors of the media.

O7.2 These structures shall be representative of media-owners, workers, political parties, civil society, relevant experts and others.

O7.3 Standard of Practice or Codes of Conduct are necessary to ensure the implementation of the above principles, these shall be drawn up in a democratic process involving the major media parties.

O7.4 An ombudsperson shall be appointed to receive and act on complaints relating to the infringement of the above principles; and such an appointment shall also take place through a democratic process.

O7.5 Society shall have the right to challenge decisions of all these structures and persons in a court of law or the Constitutional Court.

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P. YOUTH

P1. THE BASIS OF OUR YOUTH POLICY

P1.1 South Africa has a large youth population. ANC policies will fully recognise this important section of our society, with specific emphasis on the marginalised youth.

P2. OBJECTIVES OF OUR YOUTH POLICY

P2.1 The ANC believes that society has a responsibility to develop and nurture its youth, to allow them to reach their full potential in order to make a meaningful contribution as individuals and as members of society. Their resourcefulness, energy and enthusiasm must be harnessed to allow them to play their meaningful role in our in our country.

P2.2 The basic values for our youth policy are democracy, non-racialism, respect for human dignity, non-sexism, tolerance and all those encompassed in the general ANC policies.

P2.3 The objectives of our youth policy are to:

P2.3.1 Address the problems faced by youth who have been directly marginalised by apartheid, including young exiles and political prisoners;

P2.3.2 Promote the development of all South Africa's youth and implement policies which will prevent the recurrence of the marginalisation of our young people in the future;

P2.3.3 Focus ANC programmes on the socio-economic development of the youth;

P2.3.4 Develop guiding principles for all governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) consistent with the above values in our society;

P2.3.5 Set in place n autonomous, broad and representative structure of youth to coordinate and develop youth activities.

P2.3.6 Entrench and promote the rights of young people in all spheres of our society, in particular:

P2.3.6.1 The right to be represented in relevant decision-making structures;
P2.3.6.2 The right to learn and seek answers;
P2.3.6.3 Protection against violence and abuse;
P2.3.6.4 The right to health;
P2.3.6.5 The right to recreation and leisure;
P2.3.6.6 To a stable family life and good care;
P2.3.6.7 Develop to their full potential;
P2.3.6.8 Promote youth employment;
P2.3.6.9 The full social integration of young disabled persons;
P2.3.6.10 The right to work within a safe and healthy environment;
P2.3.6.11 The right to live in peace and friendship.

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Q. PEACE AND SECURITY

Q1. THE CREATION OF LEGITIMATE SECURITY INSTITUTIONS

Q1.1 For several decades the regime has relied on its formidable police, defence and intelligence structures to maintain the system of apartheid and minority rule, and suppress popular resistance to that system. As a result of Total Strategy, the whole of South African state and society became

militarized.

Q1.2 National security was pursued primarily through military and paramilitary means. The effects of this approach security are evident: high levels of violence and crime; economic decline; regional arms races; destabilization and perpetual insecurity throughout the subcontinent.

Q1.3 The South African security institutions themselves developed a racist, closed, secretive, undemocratic structure, lacking legitimacy in the eyes of the people. The process of democratization underway in our country will not be complete without addressing this problem.

Q1.4 On the other hand, Umkhonto we Sizwe - the People's Army - represented the cutting edge in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic society. Viewed by the majority of South Africans as a liberating force, its popular support was demonstrated at countless rallies, marches and demonstrations.

Q1.5 The challenge is to address not only the security institutions and their composition, but also to go deeper and address the very nature of security policy itself. The basic principles underpinning such a policy should be based on cover a realistic assessment of threats to: peace; territorial integrity; and personal security.

Q2. A NEW APPROACH TO SECURITY

Q2.1 The ANC believes that national and regional security should not be restricted to military, police and intelligence matters, but as having political, economic, social and environmental dimensions.

Q2.2 Underdevelopment, poverty, lack of democratic participation, the abuse of human rights, etc. are regarded as grave threats to the security of people. Since they invariably give rise to conflict between individuals, communities and countries, they threaten the security of states as well.

Q2.3 The ANC is committed to the following principles which underpin a new approach to security in a democratic South Africa:

Q2.3.1 South Africa shall be committed to resolving internal and external conflict, primarily through non-violent means.

Q2.3.2 National security and personal security shall be sought primarily through efforts to meet the social, political, economic and cultural needs of the people.

Q2.3.3 South Africa shall pursue peaceful and co-operative relations with neighbouring states.

Q2.3.4 The security institutions shall be bound by the principle of civil supremacy and subject to public scrutiny and open debate.

Q2.3.5 The security institutions shall reflect the national composition of South African society. In this regard, a programme of affirmative action shall be implemented.

Q2.3.6 The security institutions shall be accountable and answerable to the public through a democratically elected parliament.

Q2.3.7 The security institutions shall respect human rights, non-racialism and democracy, and act in a non-discriminatory manner towards the citizenry.

Q2.3.8 The security institutions shall be politically non-partisan.

Q3. A NEW APPROACH TO DEFENCE:

Q3.1 The ANC is committed to the formation of a new Defence Force incorporating personnel from all armed forces committed to the new constitution. The primary role of the Defence Force shall be the defence of the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity; to act in support of the civilian authority in the case of emergencies; to act in support of the neighbouring states in fulfilling requests and agreements, and fulfil their obligations in accordance with international agreements. The principles of this new approach to defence include:

Q3.1.1 South Africa shall have one Defence Force in which all South Africans shall be entitled to serve.

Q3.1.2 The Defence Force shall at all times uphold and adhere to the constitution.

Q3.1.3 There will be civil supremacy over the armed forces and be accountable to the public through parliament.

Q3.1.4 The defence force shall respect the ideals of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism, national unity and national reconciliation.

Q3.1.5 The Defence Force shall endeavour to reflect the national composition of South African society. In this regard, a programme of affirmative action shall be implemented.

Q3.1.6 The Defence Force shall be politically non-partisan.

Q3.1.7 The Defence Force shall respect and uphold the Bill of Rights.

Q3.1.8 The Defence Force shall respect the rights of the soldier as citizen.

Q3.1.9 The core of the Defence Force shall be a permanent volunteer force.

Q3.1.10 The Defence Force shall be bound by international law treaties and conventions governing the use of force and the conduct of war.

Q3.1.11 The Defence Force shall be defensive in its orientation and its strategy.

Q4. A NEW APPROACH TO POLICING

Q4.1 The ANC is committed to the creation of a single police service. The primary function of policing will be the prevention of crime and to guarantee the personal security of citizens and the free and peaceful exercise of their rights as defined in the constitution. The principles governing the new police service shall be:

Q4.1.1 The police service shall respect the ideals of democracy, non-racialism, national unity and reconciliation and act in a non-discriminatory nature.

Q4.1.2 Policing shall be based on community support and participation.

Q4.1.3 Police shall be accountable to society and the community it serves.

Q4.1.4 There shall be a professional code to which the police shall adhere.

Q4.1.5 Policing priorities and methods shall be determined in consultation with local communities.

Q4.1.6 Policing shall be structured as a civilian service function and the police shall demilitarize their structures and operations.

Q4.1.7 Police shall adhere to the doctrine of minimum force.

Q4.1.8 Policing shall be subject to public scrutiny and open debate.

Q4.1.9 Allegations of police misconduct shall be dealt with by independent complaints and investigations mechanisms.

Q5. A NEW APPROACH TO INTELLIGENCE

Q5.1 The ANC believes that the role of intelligence service shall be to gather, collate and evaluate information that pertains to the security of the state and its citizenry. The role of the intelligence service shall be to act in the interests of the country as a whole. The principles of intelligence shall be:

Q5.1.1 A civilian agency will be responsible for strategic research and intelligence. The police and military will be responsible for tactical and operational intelligence.

Q5.1.2 The national intelligence service shall not engage in monitoring the lawful activities of legal political organizations or individuals without due authorization from democratic authorities.

Q5.1.3 Intelligence activities shall be regulated by relevant legislation, the Bill of Rights, the constitution and an appropriate Code of Conduct.

Q5.1.4 All intelligence institutions will be accountable to parliament and subject to multi-party parliamentary oversight.

Q5.1.5 The public shall have the right to information gathered by any intelligence agency subject to the limitations consistent with an open and democratic South Africa.

Q5.1.6 Intelligence will be balanced against the rights and privacy of the individual.

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R. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The ANC's policy on international relations is as adopted at the July 1991 national conference.