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**AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS**

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TO: ALL MEMBERS OF THE EXTENDED NWC

Please receive herewith a revised draft document on the "Reconstruction Programme". Comments on the document would be appreciated. Please send same to the DEP.

Thank you

Trevor Manuel
Head - DEP


The People Shall Govern!

SECOND DRAFT

ALLIANCE WORKING DOCUMENT ON THE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME

NB The intention of this document is to synthesise the various documents of the Alliance as a basis for developing an agreed reconstruction programme.

WHY DO WE NEED A RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME

The starting point of a Reconstruction Programme is that we have to fundamentally restructure and rebuild our economy, society and political structures if we are to eradicate the legacy of apartheid.

A wide range of activities have to be undertaken simultaneously. The state will have to play an active and developmental role. It is necessary to construct an economic policy package that will both facilitate the above objectives and ensure that they are attained with a high degree of macro-economic balance.

However, a key purpose of a Reconstruction Programme is to ensure that the role of the State is supported and supplemented in this massive reconstruction endeavour by the mass based formations and institutions of civil society. The intention is to mobilise and give content to institutions in civil society so as to co-ordinate their efforts within a wider Reconstruction Programme.

This has a very important democratising effect because it involves people and institutions in making and implementing policy. As a result the Reconstruction Programme is not some detailed blue print covering everything that has to be done because actual work will be done by many organisations and institutions.

The Reconstruction Programme is also not separate from the current political processes aimed at creating conditions for peace, security and democracy. This political process is vital to the success of a Reconstruction Programme, but it is equally the case that the success of the Reconstruction Programme is necessary to underpin the new democratic constitutional structures.

A Reconstruction Programme is designed to:-

- * establish priority objectives.
- * provide a framework of a coherent, quantified and achievable programme to reach these objectives.
- * mobilise other forces in civil society toward achieving these objectives.

Seen in this way the Reconstruction Programme is a dynamic process in which democratic forces will have to interact with other forces, including both domestic and international capital. These interactions may result in various negotiated agreements. However, such agreements would be guided and strengthened by the institutional and policy framework of the Reconstruction Programme.

For the Alliance it is also vital to take account of the fact that part of the Alliance will be in Government and part will remain in civil society. The reconstruction programme provides us with a common basis to continue the struggle together to achieve the goals for which we have fought for so long and with so much sacrifice. Where differences may emerge between ourselves, the Reconstruction Programme will provide the framework of a common programme.

This outline has been given so that we can begin to establish a common understanding of various terms used. The Reconstruction Programme can as indicated include within it an Accord within the Alliance. It could include various other agreements between and within civil society and government.

The main effect of the Reconstruction Programme would be to achieve a wide ranging restructuring process within the economy, institutions and the State in order to break the apartheid moulds and make it possible to democratically achieve new objectives.

What follows is an initial draft of a Reconstruction Programme to form the basis for discussion. It attempts to integrate the policy positions taken by members of the Alliance.

The Draft Reconstruction Programme

What is set out hereunder is in a very summary form.

1 Preamble

The long and costly struggle for freedom and democracy for all South Africa's peoples is about to enter a new phase with the advent of a democratically elected interim government of national unity. The success of our transition from the repressive evil of apartheid to democracy, peace and prosperity now depends on the efforts of all our peoples.

We must mobilise our people on the basis of a truly South Africa vision of our country. This vision must not be distorted by the prejudices and sectarianism of the past. There can be no "apartheid" in finding solutions to the problems created by apartheid. We must now rely on the wisdom, life experiences, talents and know-how of all South Africans, women and men.

The ANC, COSATU and SACP are calling for a political and constitutional transition based on free and fair elections on a one person one vote basis for a Constituent Assembly which will draw up a new democratic constitution, and form a Government of National Unity.

To achieve this we need to move rapidly and mobilise our society against violence and reactionary racism. People must be allowed to vote without fear for the political party of their choice.

This political transition is urgently needed and must happen at the earliest date. However, no democracy can survive if the mass of our peoples remain in poverty, unemployment and without all the reasonable necessities of life.

The challenge now facing us is to restructure our economy and its institutions to pull us out of this apartheid legacy and move to democracy, justice and prosperity.

To do this we are proposing a Reconstruction Programme that will address a wide range of priorities. An even more important aim will be to activate the energies of our people so that it is they who will implement this reconstruction. The new democratic State will give leadership to this process but requires the active support and participation of the formations of the mass democratic movement in order to succeed.

This programme will involve negotiation, discussion and action as we restructure institutions, industries and the State structures to more effectively meet the needs of the new democratic South Africa. The Reconstruction

programme offers the opportunity to build and strengthen the formations of the mass democratic movement.

The Reconstruction Programme is to be implemented within a context of enormous needs which have been suppressed and ignored by apartheid for generations. These needs are not capable of being met overnight. The Reconstruction Programme must aim at addressing these needs within a realistic and practical time frame. We must acknowledge the economic realities and constraints that face our country.

In our struggle we have overcome many, many obstacles by involving our people, planning carefully and being determined to remove oppression and poverty. The Reconstruction Programme must mobilise our people in the same way in order to overcome the painful socio-economic legacy of apartheid.

The Reconstruction Programme must serve as the vehicle for rebuilding the mass democratic movement as an instrument for reconstruction.

With the support of all democratic forces we can succeed and succeed before more starve, die or sink into poverty.

2. Restructuring the State

The apartheid State has been structured on racism and repression enforced by a militarised and well resourced security force establishment. On this base institutions were built that embodied and reinforced these fundamental injustices. The state machinery, institutions and bureaucracy have been unaccountable to the majority, unanswerable to even the minority which they were intended to represent, inefficient in delivery and largely corrupt.

The goals of creating democracy, justice and economic well-being require a total and fundamental restructuring of the State, its institutions and bureaucracy.

- * **State Institutions** - these will have to be restructured from divided apartheid institutions into unitary structures at national, regional and local level providing effective services to all of South Africa's people. State structures must be elected and organised on the basis of direct democracy with a close and consistent accountability to the people. The composition of state institutions with regard to race, gender, and class must reflect the make up of South African society.
- * **Civil Service** - The civil service has been structured and staffed to serve the needs and ideology of apartheid. A fundamental and unambiguous change to

both the structure and the staffing is required if the state bureaucracy is to be able to serve the needs of democracy. the civil service must be provided fair remuneration with regard to a living wage, job security, training, etc. However, the enormous perks and grossly disproportionate rewards which the senior level of the civil service currently receive cannot be sustained and must be addressed.

Codes of conduct which spell out what is required for a democratic civil service must be enforced.

Public policy making and civil society - The Reconstruction Programme compels the state to involve labour, the civics and other constituencies in civil society in formulating and implementing policy to ensure effective delivery directed to agreed needs and priorities, acceptance of and satisfaction with what has been delivered and the time frame in which delivery is occurring.

Consensus seeking or advisory institutions formed to facilitate such a consultative process will not remove the sovereign right of government to govern but will create a high degree of democratisation in all aspects of public life. Bodies such as the NEF, the ETNF, and others will be strengthened, while others which have developed under apartheid will be restructured. Public funding will be made available to these institutions and to enhance the capacity of constituency based organisations to participate democratically and effectively in these processes.

In particular, the institutions of the labour market have to be restructured and new ones established so that they become active in the Reconstruction Programme by: ensuring equity and transparency of rights in the labour market, developing our human resource potential to its fullest, facilitating smooth and effective changes in employment patterns as the economy develops and providing employment security.

- * **Security Forces** - these forces will have to be changed from agents of suppression of our people to effective servants of the community. A single police service needs to be established. A leaner defence force is required under the supreme authority of the parliament. The structures of command, training, and accountability must be restructured to ensure that the operational leadership of the security forces is competent to address the task of creating a service which meets the needs of a democratic society.

3. Socio Economic Reconstruction - attacking Poverty and Deprivation

Apartheid has left deep structural scars within our society. For the majority of our people the basic social infrastructure needed for a human existence is absent or inadequate. The result is excessive poverty, underdevelopment of our human resources and economic stagnation.

Redistribution programmes to meet the basic needs of our people in the following areas must be a priority:

(Note: This section will be rewritten to describe the needs in each area, and a programme to address these needs.)

- * **Housing** - All citizens of South Africa have a right to decent housing appropriate to family and individual needs and with tenancy or property rights that are transparent and protected in law. Housing must be provided in an overall development context which links housing to transport networks, industry, schools, creches, community halls, playgrounds, etc.

The state should play a significant role in the provision of finance for low income housing. Housing investment should be implemented in such a way as to promote labour based delivery, with community participation in and control over the housing delivery process being critical to its successful implementation.

- * **Urban infrastructure** - every household, be it urban or rural should have access to affordable electricity. Small scale production and commercial activities in urban and rural areas should also have such access.

All households, social services and productive activities should have access to running water from a clean and environmentally viable source.

Households must have access to an effective telecommunications system

The transport system must be restructured so as to alleviate the effects of apartheid and to ensure access by all to cheap, effective and safe transport.

Sports and recreation facilities and opportunities must be open to all irrespective of age, physical condition, class or gender

- * **Health Care** - all persons should have access to health care as a basic human right and be part of a primary health care system. A programme to ensure basic nutrition as a key component of a preventative health care system must be implemented. A comprehensive, equitable and integrated National health service should be created.

The provision of health care by the private sector will continue to be acknowledged and regulated. Rural services will be given priority and made accessible. No-one will be excluded from any public health facility because they cannot afford such services.

- * **Social Welfare** - our communities are entitled to a basic social welfare system. Provision should be made for an adequate social security net for the unemployed, disabled, aged, etc

A national Social security system will be established providing for social insurance and social assistance.

- * **Environment** - the deprivation of apartheid and the secrecy of the society has led to environmental degradation. These trends must be reversed and effective legislation and policing mechanisms established so that we can create the conditions conducive to sustainable development.
- * **Rural development** - Apartheid distorted South Africa's rural areas in ways that seriously disadvantage black communities. It is therefore vital that a rural development policy redress these distortions and create opportunities for rural people through balanced and sustainable development. Rural development must address provision of water and sanitation, electricity, telecommunications, industrial development, and the conditions of farmworkers.
- * **Land reform:** a substantial land reform is necessary in South Africa in order to:
 - redress the legacy of dispossession and apartheid removals.
 - effectively provide social infrastructure in urban and rural areas.
 - to facilitate small-scale production in industry, commerce and agriculture.
 - establish a transparent system of land rights.
- * **Food and consumer prices** - access to food and basic goods at affordable prices is essential to address the impact of poverty on the vast majority of the people. Our people cannot be held in poverty by the protected interests of farmers, manufacturers and retailers. A major restructuring of the agriculture and the system of delivering food and basic goods is necessary.

It is essential that we address these basic needs. In the apartheid era economic growth denied these needs. The objective of the Reconstruction Programme is to ensure that a more equitable distribution of economic and social resources is integral to the growth process.

4 **Job Creation and Sustainable Economic Growth**

South Africa needs a new and sustainable growth and development path which locates it firmly in the world economy and constructs a mutually beneficial set of relationships within Southern Africa.

The poverty and deprivation that have resulted from the apartheid era are part of a wider structural problem facing the South African economy. Our economy has not grown, employment is falling and our ability to trade successfully in world markets is generally poor.

The causes of these problems are many: high protection levels, underdevelopment of human resources, poor management practices, land distortions, political uncertainty and excessive wealth inequalities are among the most important.

There is a tendency to see industry and the attack on poverty as two separate issues. The Reconstruction Programme must change this and ensure that industrial restructuring is part of the attack on poverty.

We have to correct these structural problems if we are to achieve a successful reconstruction. The following areas must be addressed:

- * **Job creation and infrastructure** - the attack on poverty and deprivation is heavily based on redressing the apartheid created infrastructural disparities. The provision of housing, water, electricity, education, health etc. requires the construction of accessible, affordable and effective infrastructure. Roads, water pipes, sewage, schools etc have to be built.

This is essentially a programme of co-ordinated, labour based public works. This programme must achieve the following:

- provide physical infrastructure.
- involve communities through consultation, training, employment and lead to their empowerment so that they can effectively continue their own governance.

- link back into, expand and contribute to the restructuring of our industrial base.
- * **Job creation in the rest of the economy** - a public works programme linked to infrastructure cannot survive if the rest of the economy - manufacturing, commerce, mining, agriculture and services - is not also expanding. Job creation in the rest of the economy is faced with additional structural problems in our situation.

We must carry out a process of negotiated restructuring through industry bargaining forums:

- In industry to address the challenge of less protection, changing technology and the need for productivity growth.
- In mining to downscale gold mining to stable and viable employment levels and to stabilise and expand employment in their mining sectors.
- In basic food and other wage good industries to ensure low cost and better quality supplies.
- In agriculture there needs to be a substantial reform to address land and producer concentrations so as to lower prices and improve quality and distribution of output.
- In commerce and services to improve quality, accessibility and provision and to reduce the price level.

A central component to achieve such a comprehensive programme is the requirement to follow a living wage policy, linked to skill, education and training and effective work organisation rather than short-sighted and ineffective cheap labour policies.

5. **Education, training and empowerment**

The Reconstruction Programme will have to be built on the capacities of all our people. To do this we have to address the inequalities of apartheid, the structural problems facing our communities and to see human resource development as the key to our future.

- * **Education and Training for all** - in addition to providing basic education for all we must upgrade and restructure secondary, tertiary, vocational and adult basic education. These measures must be designed to redress past inequalities and create a capacity for the development of science and technology in our

society. Training must be for all skill levels and lead to portable skills and career paths.

- * Priority must be given to the urgent tasks of ensuring proper teacher-student ratios for effective teaching, provision of sufficient classrooms and facilities, textbooks and the upgrading of teachers training.
- * Training and retraining programmes aimed at the youth, and workers, must be supported by the state and capacity must be developed at schools and tertiary institutions for this.
- * Affirmative action programmes must be developed.
- * Measures that lead to the empowerment of women and their full equality in law must be effected.
- * The effects of apartheid have been particularly severe on our youth. It is now our responsibility to develop and nurture this youth to allow it to reach its full potential and to make meaningful contributions as individuals and members of society
- * Basic literacy and numeracy training must be developed and built into all programmes.

6.

Building the Reconstruction Programme

The Reconstruction Programme must not become just words on paper. A clear process must be agreed for developing and implementing it. It is vital that the Reconstruction Programme have a broad based and mass character so that we have the support and collective will to implement it. In this context, the Alliance must seek to mobilise the mass democratic movement as a whole in support of a Reconstruction programme and all MDM formations must be involved in the process of giving detailed context to the frame work spelt out in this document.

The following steps are necessary to take the process forward:

- 6.1. It is crucial to mobilise and integrate the large amounts of work being done in structures such as the National Economic Forum, National Housing Forum, and the National Negotiating Forum on Local Government into the Reconstruction Programme.

- 6.2 The framework provided in this document must be further elaborated and the needs identified here must be quantified. In addition, the Reconstruction Programme must prioritise and provide a time frame for the achievement of specific goals and targets.
- 6.3 The Alliance must engage with institutions holding sources of finance and investment -both domestic and international - on the basis of the Reconstruction programme to begin the process of mobilisation of resources necessary for reconstruction.
- 6.4 A Reconstruction Conference that would adopt a Programme should be convened before the end of 1993.

7 July 1993