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**AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS**

SECRETARY GENERAL
ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL REGIONS

20 February 1992

Dear comrade

The Women's League has just set up a new division for Policy Development. The overall objective of this division will be to address the needs of women in South Africa in the areas of policy analysis and formulation.

I am enclosing a document that will further explain the objectives, the work and the structuring of this division. I intend to keep you informed by sending you reports on a fairly regular basis of the work this department is doing and planning.

We would appreciate if you could help us by identifying people and organisations, in your regions and more broadly, with whom we could link up. Further if you could also send us any resources which would be of help to us both in terms of policy development and as resources for our library. If some regions have little educational booklets on specific issues eg. Health, environment, etc. please forward us a copy of this also. Lastly, we would appreciate if you would on an ongoing basis keep us informed of any events, any new publications, any new resource people and any funding opportunities etc. that may be useful to us in policy formulation.

It would be most useful to us to have your participation in this process and we would like to ensure that policy is discussed by all ANCWL regions, both internally and externally. We therefore hope to establish a dynamic interaction between the division and the regions. Please forward any ideas or suggestions you may have on how we could further link up.

Yours in Struggle

ANNE VINCENT
POLICY DEVELOPMENT CO-ORDINATOR
ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE

cc. Nosiviwe Maphisa - National Organiser
cc. Kgopotso Sindelo - International Co-ordinator

The People Shall Govern!

POLICY DEVELOPMENT DIVISION OF THE ANCWL

FEBRUARY 1992

Introduction

In South Africa, we are in a period of transition to a democratic non-racial and non-sexist post apartheid society. In this context, it is essential that women ensure that the structural imbalances inherent in our society, both racial and gender imbalances, are redressed. Women must participate in the process of drawing up a new constitution which would ensure the elimination of all forms of discrimination and oppression.

In order to fulfil the above task, it is essential that women examine all aspects of their political, economic, social, domestic, cultural and civil lives and ensure that they will hold equal status in law and practise within a new democratic society.

Aims and Objectives

The overall objective of this division is to determine the needs of women in this country in the area of policy analysis and formulation as we enter this transitional era to a new constitutional dispensation. The division aims to lay the ground work for the empowerment of women in this country. It further aims to educate and build awareness of the "gender question" in all the communities, amongst men and women, and at all levels of organisation. In this context, the division will also target the movement and our political leadership as well as all the political leaders and parties involved in the transitional process so as to ensure that the affirmative action the movement has committed itself to occurs and that the CODESA I Declaration of Intent lives up to its commitment to non-sexism.

Further Aims

- a. To identify and prioritise areas/issues which may have a direct or indirect bearing on gender relations within a new constitution.
- b. Formulate policy on labour, health, education, local government, economic development, social services, housing, environment etc. within the next two years.
- c. Ensure that gender issues are raised in the transitional process.

Programme/activities

The task of this division is to include the following six areas in its brief:

1. CODESA
2. POLICY RESEARCH FOR ANC WL
3. POLICY FORMULATION FOR ANC WL
4. ANC POLICY
5. CHARTER FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS
6. DATA BANK/RESOURCE CENTRE

(1) CODESA

Description:

This division will monitor, analyse, and strategise gender issues around CODESA, the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly.

Structures:

The division has formed an ANC WL strategising group to act as an advisory body to the ANC WL. It will be seen as a sub-committee of the ANC WL Policy Development Division, which falls under the Secretary General's office. The group is accountable to the ANC WL National Executive Committee. The members of this group include specialists in areas such as law, women, health, military etc. as well as ANC WL activists. The work of this group will feed into the research team of the ANC working groups to CODESA. The ANC WL will ensure that one person out of the six ANC task force members in each working group will look specifically at gender issues. The strategising group will then also liaise with this person.

Activities:

In order to fulfil the above tasks this group will

- (a) monitor all processes and decisions in CODESA
- (b) undertake and co-ordinate research around identified priority issues
- (c) produce papers on these issues
- (d) hold seminars on the priority issues
- (e) work out mechanisms for ensuring the gender question is addressed
- (f) strategise on written and oral representations to CODESA by the ANC WL and
- (g) lobby with women in other political parties and organisations on gender issues of communality.

(2) POLICY RESEARCH FOR THE ANC WL

Description:

To initiate and co-ordinate research on key policy areas that have specific implications on women and gender relations. This research will facilitate and inform the ANC WL on policy options.

Structures:

- (a) An ANCWL research planning core group will be formed.
- (b) A pool/network of resource people, within the democratic movement, doing research on gender issues will be established. Researchers and experts will be pooled from unions, academic institutions, and universities as well as from service, women, and other organisations.
- (c) From the above pool, a broad core will be established which is issue-orientated. Each person serving in this core will have a specialised area of work.
- (d) Each person will then establish their own networks from the broad resource pool. This means that the resource pool will be divided into subject-orientated networks which will co-ordinate and do research on priority areas.

Activities:

- (a) Identify a pool of resource people presently doing research on gender issues;
- (b) Establish what research has already been done;
- (c) Identify gaps in research and commission research where necessary;
- (d) Co-ordinate and produce discussion documents on particular issues for debate and discussion in the ANCWL branches;
- (d) Evaluate and critique research;
- (e) Establish where we need to make interventions
- (f) Inform and be informed by the Charter of Women's Rights Campaign.
- (g) Establish links and work with other projects and programmes doing research into gender issues eg. The University of the Western Cape's Gender Programme.
- (h) Research that is commissioned will be done in stages to ensure a democratic production of policy research. This means that branches will be able to input into the research as it progresses. Initial research objectives will be planned on a two yearly basis by which time it will be concluded or its objectives reassessed.

(3) POLICY FORMULATION FOR THE ANC WL

Description:

Formulating and adopting policy for the ANC WL

Structures:

The Policy Division will work with the Organising Department of the ANC WL to disseminate information to the regions and branches

Activities:

The research done by the resource pool mentioned above will be done in stages. The motivation, for this, is to be able to achieve an element of participatory research and grass root input. The stages will enable discussion and input from the women's league branches during the research process. This will be facilitated by the production of discussion papers and the organising of workshops. Once policy options have been established, with the help of the researchers, these will be discussed at branch level. The policy division will then correlate regional responses and formulate draft policy options which will be taken to the ANCWL NEC or to Conference for adoption.

(4) ANC POLICY

Description:

The policy division needs to respond to the pressure and responsibility of giving direction in this transitional period for a future non-racial and non-gendered society. We need to ensure that we input into ANC policy to ensure gender sensitivity and to ensure that mechanisms of affirmative action are being investigated to redress gender imbalances.

Structures:

The Policy Division will have formal links with other policy departments of the ANC eg. Education dept, Constitutional dept etc. through

- (a) the interdepartmental research Committee and
- (b) bilateral meetings

Activities:

The policy division intends to input into ANC policy on issues such as education, health, culture, economics, local government etc. This will be done by analysing and critiquing policy documents that already exist and submitting policy options to the relevant departments on ways forward for the establishment of a non-gendered society. Further, if we are to effectively input into ANC policy, we need to be involved in the very evolution of whatever policies are being formulated in the future by the ANC policy departments. The ANC WL will begin this process by inputting into the ANC Policy conference planned for the first half of this year. A national workshop of the ANCWL is being planned for the end of march.

(5) CHARTER FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Policy development will also be informed by the campaign for the charter of women's rights. The campaign taking place this year will involve collecting demands from women all over South Africa for the compilation of a charter on women's rights. This would be one of the crucial ways to determine the needs of women in this country in the area of policy development.

(6) RESOURCE/DATA BANK

Description:

Collection of data and resource papers

Structure:

A resource centre will be set up at the national offices of the ANC Women's League.

Activities:

A resource bank will be established to achieve co-ordination and to ensure continuity in relation to all monitoring and research. Data will be collected from local as well as international scholars.

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**AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS**

TO : GENERAL SECRETARY - ANCWL REGIONS
FROM : POLICY DEVELOPMENT DEPT - ANCWL NATIONAL OFFICE
DATE : 20 FEBRUARY

The ANC is having a policy conference to adopt all constitutional documents and a manifesto of socio-economic objectives. The ANC is holding this conference on 28-31 May 1992.

It is important that as the ANCWL we discuss these documents and that we input into them from a gender perspective. I will therefore be sending you these documents as they become available. Please ensure that the documents are discussed by your branches. The Policy Department will be holding a national policy workshop on the 28/29 March 1992 to discuss your regions inputs.

This will be a very small workshop and will be held in Johannesburg. Each internal region is asked to submit the name of the ONE delegate who will represent you by the 16th of March 1992.

The People Shall Govern!

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
DEPARTMENT OF ARTS & CULTURE



Draft
Policy Document

for the
Arts & Culture

In a Future
Democratic
South Africa

DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE
SHALL BE OPENED TO ALL!

DRAFT POLICY DOCUMENT ON ARTS AND CULTURE FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

The broad policy principle and guidelines for a future democratic South Africa contained in this document are the result of the ANC-DAC-Inhouse Cultural Conference held at Broederstroom at the end of November, 1991. Participating in it were delegates (Cultural Workers) from the 14 ANC regions and branches, Representatives of ANC Departments, members of the NEC, resource persons from various cultural bodies and institutions around the country and of course members of the DAC at HQ who were responsible for the organisation of the conference.

Already during the preparatory stage, it was recognised within the DAC that the task facing us i.e. that of working out a policy document on the Arts and culture for a future South Africa was neither an easy one nor one that could be exhausted over a few days in conference. It was recognised that policy formulation is an ongoing exercise which, depending on circumstances and situations, can go on for month and even for years.

Important mention must be made that the conference deliberations were guided by the ANC's basic documents namely: The Freedom Charter, The ANC Constitutional Guidelines and The Bill of Rights. Thus, the essence of our arts and cultural perspective are informed by democratic, non-racist, non-sexist principles which learn from international experience.

However the conference went further and noted that for a truly National Culture to be nurtured requires commitment to non-sectarian position. This has great importance for future state vs Arts relations which should, of necessity, be founded on democratic principles.

The conference realised that in the present political climate in

South Africa this policy will have both short term and long term objectives, with the former aimed at addressing issues relating to the transitional period while the latter address issues relating to the new South Africa that we are all striving for.

Proceeding from these, conference therefore sought to isolate pertinent issues that needed examination and also sought to work out broad policy principles and guidelines for both the interim phase and the future democratic government.

The following issues in particular were examined with a view to working out [olicy guidelines regardingf them.

- Language
- Media
- Theatre, Dance and the Performing Arts
- Literature
- Museums, Monuments and National Symbols
- Fine Arts
- Funding of the Arts.

Needless to mention that discussions on all these issues proceeded on the basis of an analysis of the present situation and in some cases, even an examination of present government policy.

Noted:

The following was noted in relation to all the subjects which were in front of the conference and also in relation to all the disciplines

Democratic relationship

- a) That the present regime does not fund the arts and culture in the country especially in black areas.
- b) That, art curriculum is not part of the education system in South Africa below University and tertiary institution. This is especially true for black education.
- c) That rural areas are the worst victims of government neglect when it comes to the provision of cultural facilities.

- d) That even in those few areas where art is being taught, the values inculcated tend to be biased in favour of eurocentricism at the expense of African or even South African Art.
- e) That whereas there is in existence legislation which protects the rights e.g. Copy right regulations cultural workers are been kept ignorant of them.
- f) That over the years the regime has come to dominate cultural institution which are otherwise public institutions/property and reduced them into its propaganda objects like media institution especially the SABC.
- g) That though South Africa has "the biggest number of Education institutions and Universities on the continent", the level of illiteracy especially among the black population, is still very high.
- h) That censorship laws have caused incalculable damage on literature and on cultural expressions in South Africa.
- i) That there is deliberate exclusion by existing publishing and distribution houses of actual and potential Authors in African Languages since the publishing houses prefer so-called best selling books of Afrikaans and English, thereby promoting European Culture at the expense of African Culture.

The Conference therefore recommended that the following should be the basic principle upon which a future cultural policy should be based.

A. LANGUAGE

- (i) That the language planning process in a future South Africa should be democratic and equitable.
- (ii) That all the languages of South Africa should be given equal status.
- (iii) That there should be affirmative action to empower African Languages which have been down played and suppressed in the past.
- (iv) That a standing ombuds- person be instituted to monitor language use in the media during the interim period.
- (v) That the policy should aim at empowering people to be able to communicate in the language of their choice.
- (vi) That, since South Africa is a multi language country, the objective of policy should be to give real expression to this fact.

B. LITERATURE

- (i) That it should be state policy and responsibility to create and improve education facilities for the training of writers and the promotion of Writers Associations that will embrace the cultural values of society.
- (ii) That it should be state policy and responsibility to establish Libraries throughout the country in both rural and urban centres in order to inculcate a reading culture among all our people.
- (iii) That it should be a deliberate state policy to educate the general population and, in particular, the cultural workers about copy right law and how it operates in practice in order to protect these from exploitation and the plagiarisation of their works.
- (iv) That the state should, in addition, encourage the emergence of a standing body to monitor copyright violations with powers to institute court actions against would- be violaters and or pirates.
- (v) A multilingual national literature must be consciously encouraged and promoted.

C. THEATRE AND THE PERFORMING ARTS

- (i) That it should be state policy to encourage the promotion of indigenous art forms of all oppressed communities.
- (ii) It should also be state policy to encourage the deliberate promotion of indigenous languages in theatre and the rest of the performing arts:
- (iii) State policy should move away from the present practice whereby only professional artists are subsidised and instead support semi professional and amateur groups as well with particular attention paid to rural areas.
- (iv) It should be state policy to transform and discourage all aspects of performing art that are oppressive to women and instead increase the participation of women through affirmative action which should include the imparting of skills to women.
- (v) It should be state policy to work out, in conjunction with relevant unions and equities, progressive labour and copy right laws which

protects the rights of performing art workers.

D. FINE ARTS

- (i) It should be state policy to develop and preserve arts and craft as part of our national heritage.
- (ii) State policy should aim at ensuring that the point of sale, origin of the work on sale is clearly indicated.
- (iii) It should be state policy to ensure that art exhibitions form part and parcel of school programmes.
- (iv) It should be state policy to ensure that parastatals are representative in composition and address the needs of marginalised communities.
- (v) It should also be state policy to guarantee the accessibility of multi-purpose community centres by the community.
- (vi) State policy should aim at ensuring the establishment of more teachers training colleges.
- (vii) State policy should aim at introducing more favourable tax-measures that will make art material more accessible and encourage sponsorship of art event and institutions.

E. MEDIA

- (i) The conference adopted, with the following additions, the resolutions of the DIP- Inhouse Seminar (Annexure 1)
 - 1 That not only the public broadcasting services but the commercial services be obliged to broadcast a substantial number of existing drama and documentary programmes on South Africa which have never been distributed before.
 - 2. That not only the public broadcasting services but also the commercial broadcasting services commission and broadcast drama documentary programmes including documentaries on the interim period, to be made by local independent producers.

F. FUNDING OF THE ARTS.

- (i) It should be state policy to fund the promotion and development of the arts and culture.

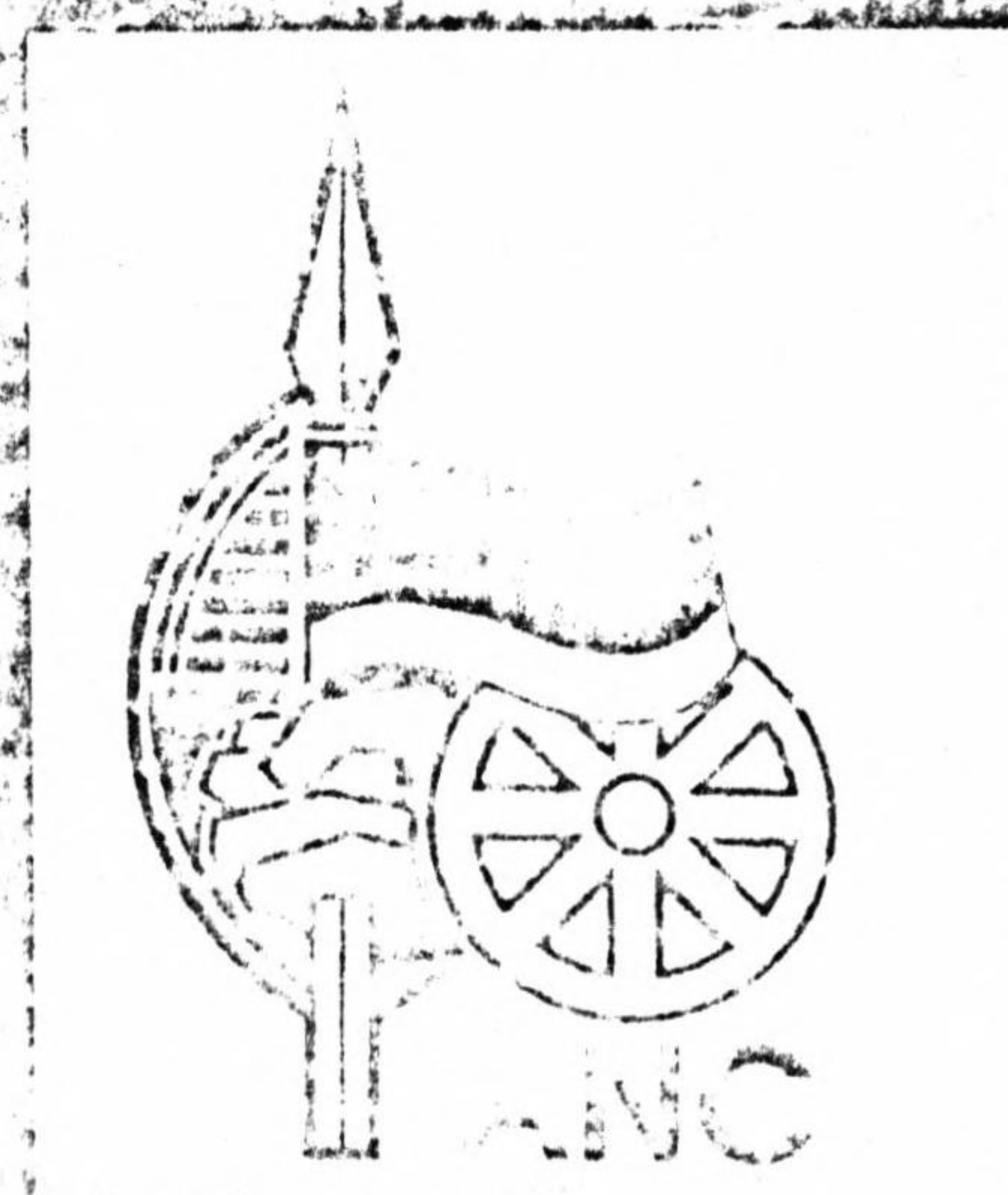
- (ii) The criteria for funding the Arts and Culture should not be profit.
- (iii) State policy should aim at ensuring that the new structures that would be created are responsible for the fair and wide distribution of funds with particular attention given to the rural areas.
- (vi) Artists and Cultural Workers at large must be represented on the structures of state funded institutions and be involved in implementing policy and also in the distribution of funds.
- (v) State policy should ensure that part of the tax that accrues from business is used for the funding of the arts and culture.
- (vi) State policy should encourage the emergence of a developmental fund for the arts which should be financed partly by funds accruing from overseas sales.

INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL EXCHANGE

State policy must encourage cultural exchange between the people of South Africa and those of the rest of the world. This exchange must aim at the following amongst other things:

- (i) Assist in redressing the apartheid historical imbalances.
- (ii) Support developmental programmes initiated by South African Cultural Workers both in rural and urban areas.
- (iii) Foster a spirit of tolerance, co-operation and international understanding between our people and the rest of the world.
- (iv) Exchange and interaction must be on the basis put forward by the cultural workers Associations and/or Unions as agreed upon by the Association and/or Unions and the state.

Draft Resolution
ON
ANC Economic Policy
For
National Conference



This document was adopted at
National Workshop held by the Department
of Economic Policy on 11 - 12 Nov 1994

Draft for discussion within the ANC

Draft ANC Economic Manifesto

For National Conference

1. Preamble

The South African economy is in need of fundamental restructuring. For decades forces within 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. Black people have been systematically exploited and oppressed economically and South Africa now has one of the world's most unequal patterns of distribution of income and wealth. A disproportionate part of the burden of poverty and inequality has fallen on black women who have been subject to systemic gender oppression. Economic deprivation has created a fertile base for the violence and instability now engulfing our country.

Poverty and inequality are only one aspect of our current economic reality. Since the mid 1970's, the South African economy has stagnated. Economic growth has been less than the growth of the country's population. Average income has thus been falling while unemployment has risen.

Successive minority governments and business have tried to promote growth by encouraging local production of manufactured goods which were previously imported. This growth path led to the emergence of a significant manufacturing sector in our country, but it was oriented primarily towards providing luxury consumption goods for the wealthy minority. The manufacturing sector has failed to become internationally competitive. It has low productivity but has survived because of low wages. It makes little contribution to foreign exchange earnings, but depends to a very great extent on imported machinery and equipment paid for out of foreign exchange earned by mineral exports.

Strategy of
total independence
eg. ~~SA~~ Moss Gas
ISCOR
OIL

The agricultural sector and rural economy are also in crisis.

Many white-owned farms are deeply indebted and vast tracts of land designated for occupation by whites are inefficiently cultivated. Many thousands of black rural households are, meanwhile, crammed into tiny plots unable to produce or buy affordable food. Government decentralisation policies have failed to channel resources to the rural areas which remain the most deprived parts of the country.

A further unacceptable consequence of the current growth path is that the vast bulk of productive assets are concentrated in the hands of a small number of conglomerates. Anglo American, S A Mutual, Rembrandt and Sanlam, through their control over a vast network of subsidiary companies now dominate production, distribution, exchange and financial activities. Land ownership outside the 13% of the country designated as 'reserves' continues to be monopolised by white people.

The policies promoted by government and business, including privatisation and deregulation, have failed to have any significant impact on growth, let alone on poverty and inequality. The result is that South Africa has lurched into the 1990's with the crisis of the economy unresolved. This has led to a continuous deterioration of conditions in the rural areas and intensified pressures on the urban areas. The burden of this has to a very large extent fallen on women. If current trends continue, the problems confronting the majority of our people will become worse.

The ANC views it as absolutely imperative to promote economic growth along a new path. Without significant growth in a restructured economy we will not be able to address the pressing problems of poverty and inequality confronting our people. Unless we deal with these problems we will not be able to build a stable, viable democratic society. Growth in a democratic South Africa must be oriented towards satisfying the basic needs of the majority and empowering those who are disadvantaged and deprived.

2. Building a Democratic Mixed Economy

The fundamental framework of our economic policy is that of a mixed economy based on the principles of democracy, participation and development. We are convinced that neither a commandist central planning system nor an unfettered free market system can provide adequate solutions to the problems confronting us.

The ANC is committed to the creation of a democratic mixed economy which will foster cooperation between the state, private companies, financial institutions, trade unions and other organisations of civil society. Longer term developmental objectives should have priority over short term sectional interests. Such a system will best function within an environment of democracy and accountability.

We are convinced that we need a developmental state to lead, coordinate, plan and dynamise a national economic strategy. An efficient public sector will be needed to orientate production towards meeting basic needs. Public corporations operating in such areas as transport, housing, electricity supply, water provision and telecommunications will all have a central role to play in providing an infrastructural base for development.

In addition to public utility corporations, which the ANC is committed to maintaining in state hands, it is envisaged that strategic enterprises will be identified in other sectors whose role is central to the realisation of development objectives. Where the balance of evidence suggests that it would be advantageous, particular enterprises will be incorporated on a case-by-case basis into the public sector. This may take place through nationalisation, purchasing through the market or the establishment of new state enterprises. In all such cases, a future democratic government will bear in mind the need to maintain confidence and bind itself to proceeding according to constitutional principles.

The ANC's policies will encourage and support a more dynamic and efficient private sector. The private sector will be expected to make a more significant contribution to national economic development, especially in the area of employment creation. The continuing trend in South Africa in recent years towards conglomeration is not compatible with a democratic economic system. The ANC is not opposed to large firms as such, but would undertake a major inquiry into the impact of the conglomerate structure. This would be done with the objective of encouraging a more equitable and efficient ownership pattern in the private sector. Particular attention will be given to rectifying race and gender imbalances in the business sector and encouraging small business. Anti-trust and anti-monopoly legislation will be considered as mechanisms to promote greater efficiency in the private sector.

Neither the state nor a private sector should be the only forces in the economy. Organisations of civil society - including trade unions, community organisations, women and youth organisations - need to be empowered. The ANC would seek to create a climate conducive to the emergence of cooperatives, joint ventures and other community-based initiatives. Appropriate institutions will be established to assist these organisations. The ANC will seek actively to involve trade unions and other organisations of civil society in the formulation and implementation of a national development strategy. It would encourage the extension of the collective bargaining system and review industrial relations legislation and practices to remove impediments to effective worker organisation and participation in the economy.

The overall goals of economic policy can be identified as:

- * *Creating new jobs and progressively eliminating unemployment;*
- * *Raising real incomes, particularly for those who are most impoverished and deprived*

The Goals Economic Policy

- * *Increasing output and productivity and promoting a more equitable pattern of economic growth;*
- * *Correcting racial and gender imbalances in the economy through affirmative action policies;*
- * *Addressing the material base of gender oppression, especially, but not only, women's unpaid labour and the unequal distribution of domestic labour;*
- * *Implementing a land reform programme capable of simultaneously addressing a major national grievance,*
- * *responding to the acute land hunger and increasing food production;*
- * *Promoting integrated rural development and regional development to ensure a balanced distribution of economic activity across the country.*
- * *Developing major new housing, education, health and welfare programmes capable of addressing the pressing needs in these areas;*
- * *Improving the provision of infrastructure to deprived areas;*
- * *Promoting greater democratic participation in economic life;*
- * *Supporting the 'informal sector' so that it becomes both commercially viable and capable of sustaining acceptable levels of wages and working conditions;*

- * *Creating a more democratic industrial relations framework based on full rights of workers in all sectors including domestic and farm workers;*
- * *Establishing an equitable wages policy including the revaluation of wages to provide for equal pay for work of equal value;*
- * *Guaranteeing high standards of administration in economic affairs and ensuring that destabilising financial imbalances (eg. unmanageable budget and balance of payments deficits) do not occur;*
- * *Ensuring that growth takes place in ways which harness the*
- * *environment in a constructive, sustainable and responsible manner;*

It will not be possible to achieve all of the above goals in full at once. We will need to set priorities and make realistic choices.

The immediate priority of a democratic government will be to lead a major national effort to address the most pressing problems of poverty and inequality and create employment. This will involve:

the removal of obstacles to participation by all people in economic activity;

- * *the creation of a rising welfare floor capable of progressively guaranteeing freedom from hunger and preventable disease through provision of inter alia, safe drinking water, sanitation and minimum levels of nutrition;*

Immediate priorities

- * *the launching of a major housing programme to provide affordable and adequate housing for our people;*
- * *the overhaul and expansion of the education and skill base of the country;*
- * *the implementation of a land reform programme and the creation of rural infrastructure;*
- * *the application of principles of affirmative action to correct racial and gender imbalances in the economy.*

The new state must accept ultimate responsibility for the provision of welfare. State pensions will be equalised immediately. A national retirement scheme underwritten by the state and a compulsory, comprehensive unemployment scheme, involving contributions from workers and employers as well as the state, will be introduced.

All this implies a progressive redistribution of resources to the poor. Redistribution programmes need to be accompanied by measures to promote employment and make beneficiaries productive where possible and to be implemented in such a way as to stimulate growth. Redistribution needs also to take place within a framework of responsible fiscal and monetary discipline.

5.1. The ending of Apartheid can be expected to yield real material benefits for the South African economy. This will come about as a result of the ending of South Africa's international isolation, the abolition of Apartheid expenditures and the removal of restrictions and inefficiencies associated with Apartheid.

This post-Apartheid dividend will not, however, be sufficient to meet all needs. Taxation will have to become an important instrument for mobilising additional resources for redistribution and growth. Tax reforms will be essential in order to

5. Financing The Reconstruction

achieve our objectives. The incidence of the present tax burden rests disproportionately on both personal taxes and indirect taxes. The ANC supports shifting more of the tax burden towards corporations and applying principles of progressive taxation. In addition, the ANC will consider the introduction of new taxes including a capital gains tax, a capital transfer tax and progressive property and land taxes. Changes in expenditure patterns and priorities in the state budget will be a major instrument for redistribution and responding to basic needs. A further option in mobilising funds for redistribution and growth will be the introduction of prescribed asset requirements for financial institutions. Foreign investment will also make a contribution. The ANC, however, holds the view that the main emphasis in financing the reconstruction should be placed on domestic resources.

6.1. Reconstruction will require a new institutional framework for development. A ministry specialising in development will be necessary. Existing government departments and parastatal institutions will need to be democratised and transformed.

6.2. Development finance institutions and private sector banks will also have to play an important role in mobilising resources to finance the reconstruction. A democratic government will need to restructure and rationalise the financial sector in order to develop new institutional arrangements. Consideration will be given to the establishment of new state and cooperative financial institutions, as well as the transformation of existing ones, to channel domestic and international finance to the critical development needs of the country.

The immediate post-Apartheid period must see a democratic government adopting a new growth strategy capable of guaranteeing steadily rising living standards for our people. Redistribution can provide a kickstart for the growth process, eg. a new housing programme will create employment and generate income. This together with other redistributive

Institutions for construction

7. Promoting Redistribution and Growth

measures will expand demand for basic goods. A new growth path will necessarily require a strategy of industrialisation. Our future lies in becoming a manufacturing nation and in transforming the economy from its current reliance on mining exports. Laying the basis for sustainable growth will require new policies for all major sectors.

7.1. Industrial policy will be aimed, in the first instance, at meeting basic needs and increasing employment. It will further aim to enhance our technological capacity and, in the longer term, ensure that South Africa emerges as a more significant manufacturing exporter. A democratic industrial restructuring process should involve the state, business and the trade unions and other organisations of civil society. It should also aim to promote a more balanced pattern of industrialisation, capable of overcoming the current acute over-concentration of economic activity in certain urban areas.

7.2. A major element of a strategy for the mining industry will be the formulation of a plan for the optimal extraction of gold in the national interest. This will aim at promoting a plan in full consultation with the leading producers and trade unions. In conjunction with this, a new system of taxation, leasing and financing will be developed, with measures of public ownership where appropriate. This is an urgent imperative in view of the changing structure of the industry at a world level, uncertain prices and current threats of retrenchment - and the need to transform employment conditions in and around the mines. A strategy for the energy sector will also be of vital importance to create the infrastructural base to sustain the new growth path and provide environmentally acceptable energy needs to the majority.

7.3. A programme of rural development requires an approach sensitive to the differences between regions and land-types. It will include land redistribution as part of a strategy to provide both exports and, primarily food for do-

mestic consumption. Those who have suffered dispossession of land by removal will be given priority in land redistribution. The state must have the right to acquire land to enhance output and employment in the agricultural sector through land redistribution. This will be supported by extension services, marketing, credit and training, and complemented by schemes for rural development and employment. A variety of forms of land tenure will be encouraged with guarantees for wages and conditions of workers; special attention will be paid to the needs of women, the landless and the underemployed. All land characterised by heavy indebtedness, absentee ownership, or underutilisation will be considered for redistribution. And where a private market for land continues it will be subject to regulation.

7.4. A successful national development strategy depends on developing and upgrading our human resources. A comprehensive programme of education, training and skills acquisition will have to be developed. Many more opportunities will have to be created for black people, especially women, to acquire technical and managerial skills. The content of all education and training will be made more relevant. The general level of education, including basic literacy and numeracy skills need to be raised considerably.

8.1. Trade and Foreign Investment

A democratic government will seek to promote mutually beneficial trade relations with all other countries, giving special attention to co-operation among developing countries. The ANC would encourage foreign investment on terms consistent with its developmental goals. Foreign investors will be encouraged to invest in activities which lead to increased employment and the development of local technological capacity and capability. A law on foreign investment - "an investment code" - would be needed to govern the rights and obligations of foreign investors. This would oblige foreign investors:

- to follow labour practices acceptable to trade unions and compatible with the broad democratic principles of society at large;
- to cooperate with government in achieving developmental goals;
- to operate in ways which are not detrimental to the environment;
- to re-invest part of their profits to promote continuing growth.

8.2. The African Continent and the Southern African Region.

In return, foreign investors will be given certain guarantees relating to the security of their investment and the right to repatriate a part of profits. Consideration should be given to providing incentives for foreign investment to locate in designated areas.

Trends in the world economy make it essential for countries located outside the major trading blocs of the advanced industrialised countries to forge greater cooperation. An ANC government would give high priority to re-examining existing links and promoting close ties with other countries on the continent and, most especially, with our neighbours in the Southern African region. At the same time, we are aware of the need to address the acute imbalances in existing relations as a precondition for building economic unity with other African countries. The new state will be prepared to enter into negotiations with its neighbours to promote a dynamic and mutually beneficial form of cooperation and development. While all of us stand to benefit from such an arrangement, it should be recognised that creating a new non-exploitative form of regional cooperation will require tilting the balance of advantage in favour of the most impoverished of our neighbours in specific spheres.

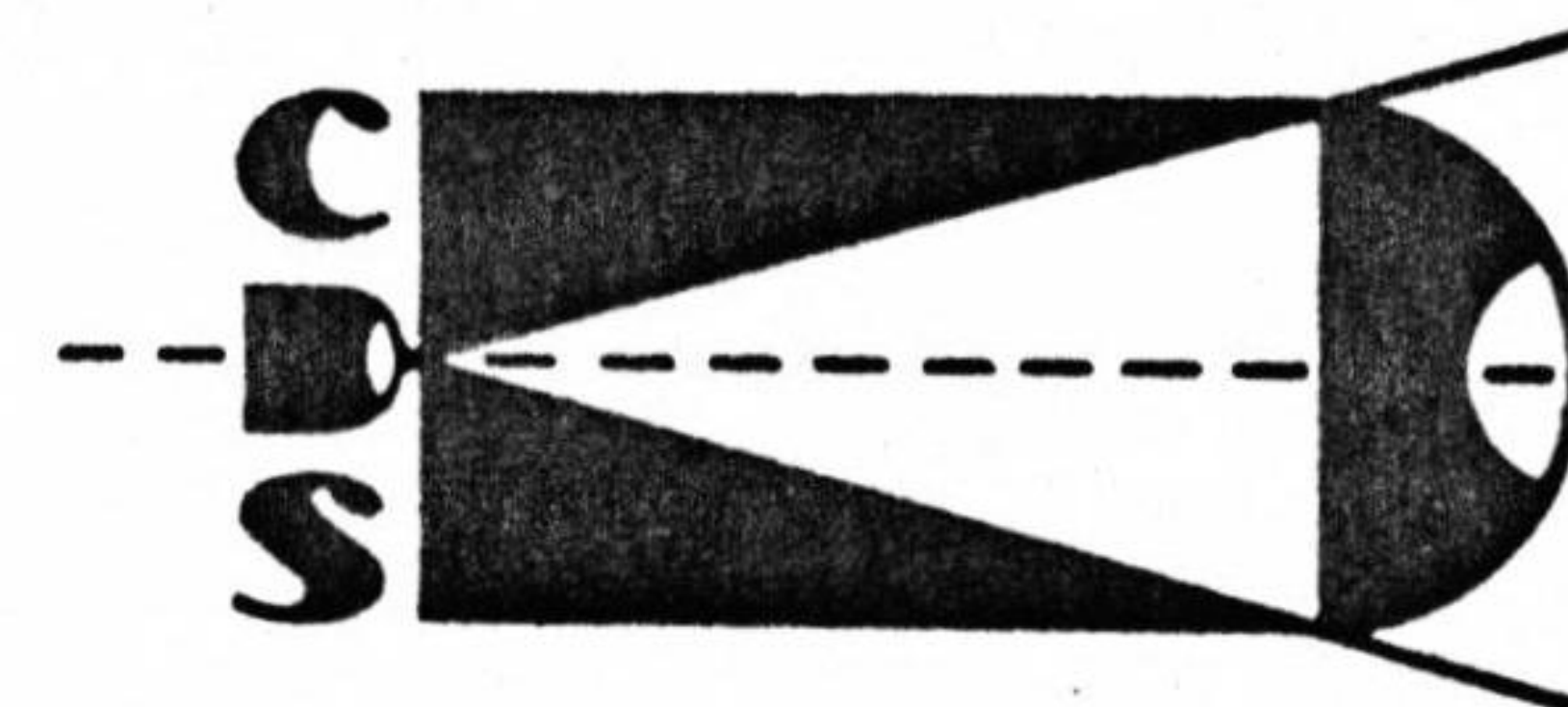
Conclusion

We who subscribe to this manifesto proclaim that our aims and policies are just and viable. They are sufficiently flexible to anticipate changing and uncertain circumstances. The basic principles outlined here are fundamental. We are committed to redress the inequities in the ownership and control of economic resources that have deprived the majority of our people of even the most basic needs. Our strategy is premised on the priority of redistribution and to achieving a stable climate of reconciliation through the fullest popular participation and representation in decision making at all levels.

Forward to a Democratic Mixed Economy!!

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