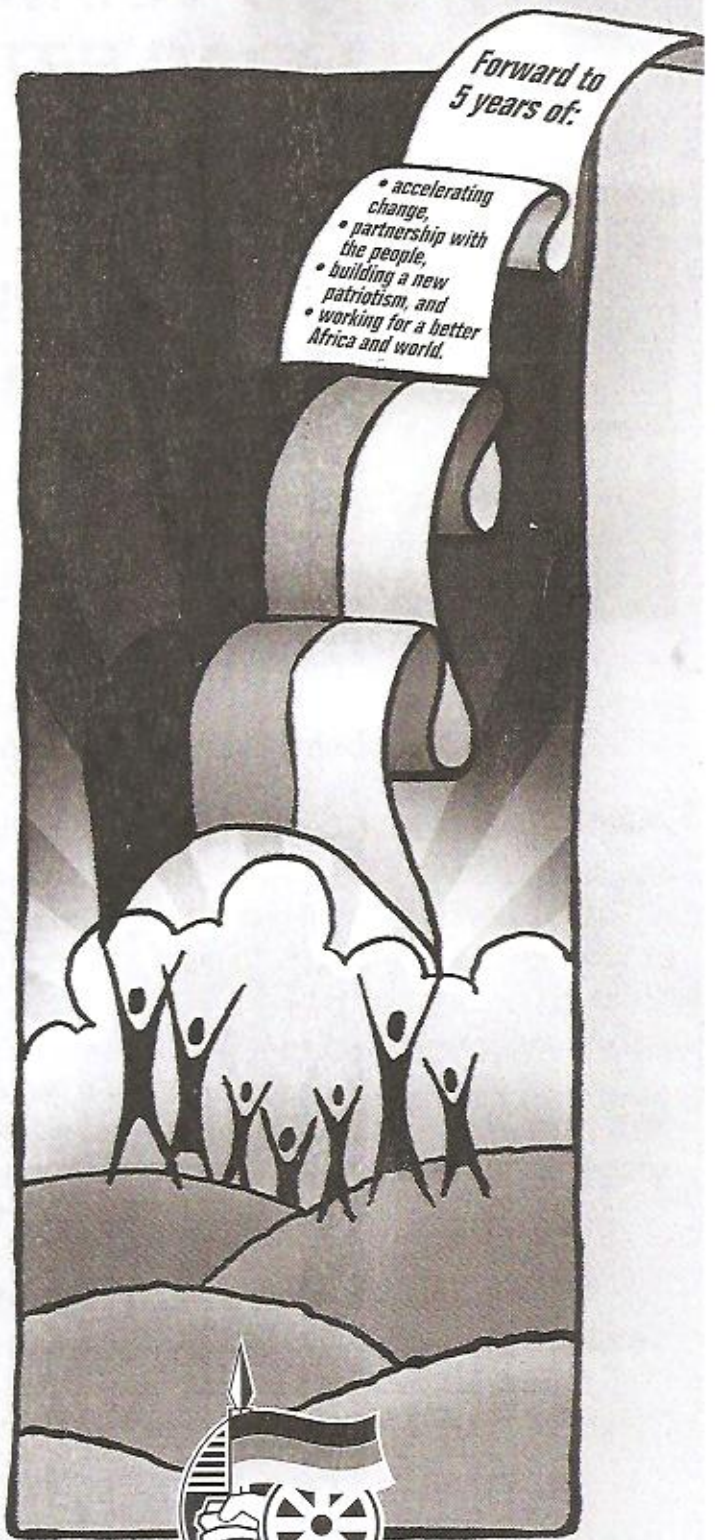


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*Forward to
5 years of:*

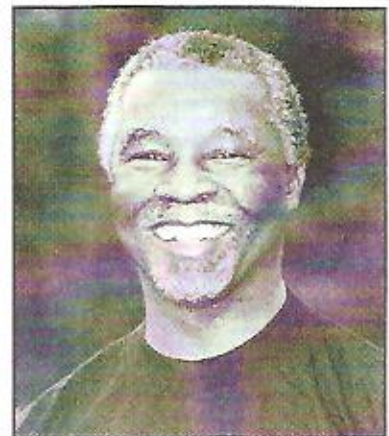
- accelerating change,
- partnership with the people,
- building a new patriotism, and
- working for a better Africa and world.



**TOGETHER,
FIGHTING FOR CHANGE
A better life for all**

CHANGE MUST GO ON AT A FASTER PACE!

Message from the President



Fellow South Africans,

Together, through struggle we won our **freedom**.

The **days of darkness** are over: together we have ended apartheid minority rule. The rays of dawn have begun to light up our horizon: the light of freedom is challenging the departing darkness of apartheid. The dark days of despair have given way to the **season of hope**.

Five years ago, you elected a government of the people to begin **removing the terrible system of apartheid**. In these short five years, your Government led by the ANC has created a new legacy of freedom and democracy.

Our central challenge for the next five years is to **use the experience we have gained**, the policies we have put in place and the institutions of democracy we have created, to **bring about even greater change** than we have achieved in the first five years of democratic government.

We must act together, in conditions of **social discipline**, further to give birth to a South Africa of freedom, prosperity and security for all, committed to act together to solve the national problems that confront all of us, including the **advancement of national unity and reconciliation**.

TODAY:

South Africans enjoy better conditions of **peace and dignity**. We have started to build a united nation: joining hands without regard to race, colour and gender. Each of our communities is free at last to express its **linguistic and cultural identity** in conditions of diversity, with each free to assume its equal place within our new nation, without discrimination. Inspired by a new patriotism, we can truly say: **South Africa belongs to all** who live in it.

The majority of South Africans who were victims of apartheid neglect enjoy a **better quality of life**. Women, workers, rural communities and people with disabilities are for the first time receiving focused attention in government programmes.

Every South African enjoys the right to **speak freely, to organise freely**, to criticise without fear of arrest, prosecution or torture.

Our country enjoys the respect of **all nations of the world**. We have, as a country, built relations of friendship with the international community, in search of a better world.

Should these changes go on? Should the efforts to build a country of our dreams on the southern tip of Africa continue?

This is the central question that each one of us will have to answer on the 2nd June 1999. We are certain that you will answer YES! We urge you to do so, and thus **join the national partnership to build a winning nation** through an intensified offensive for transformation, reconstruction and development.

Change must go on at a faster pace! Vote ANC so together we can speed up the journey to a better life!



Thabo Mbeki
President

Because...

...the ANC, together with the people, brought freedom

The ANC led the fight for freedom, acting together with its alliance partners and the great majority of South Africans. With the overwhelming support of the people, the ANC defeated apartheid in April 1994, so together we could build a better life for all. A nation of equals, of proud citizens with a restored dignity, is emerging.

...the ANC has led five years of struggle for change

Since 1994, the ANC has been leading a vast process of change. Against the odds, faced with challenges and resistance, the ANC has remained resolute in the struggle to remove the apartheid system and what remains of its practices. Guided by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), we have brought water, electricity and telephone lines to millions of South Africans. Houses are being built. Health and education are being made available to all.

...there is more to be done

It is not enough for us to have the vote. It is not enough for equality to be written in the constitution and laws. The fight for change has to continue, and it must be speeded up to ensure a better life for all. There are huge difficulties that we must address: inequality, lack of jobs, crime and corruption, poverty and the HIV/AIDS problem. Only the ANC has the vision and determination to attack the root causes of these and other problems.

**Only the ANC, working together with the people,
can unite the nation in the joint effort to
improve the lives of all South Africans.**



PROTECT YOUR FUTURE VOTE ANC

BUILDING THE FOUNDATION

Over the past five years the ANC has laid the foundation for a better future. Together with the people of South Africa, the ANC has:

Put in place one of the best constitutions in the world

the rights of all citizens are enshrined in the constitution which guides us in building a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

Swept away racist and oppressive laws

Today, nobody is legally discriminated against because of race, or because they are women, or disabled, or because of some other difference.

Introduced laws which provide for change

Since 1994 more than 100 laws have been passed each year to ensure equality and to improve the lives of all.

Brought equality in the treatment of all

The ANC has changed the structures of the public service and championed the cause of affirmative action in all important social areas.

Entrenched worker rights

Through the Constitution and many laws, we have ensured rights for all workers, including farm-workers and domestic workers.

Today, South Africa is seen, in many respects, as an example to the world. Our country is respected on all continents; and we have built relations with almost all nations.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE

Guided by the RDP, we are steadily but surely starting to dent the massive inequalities and poverty created by apartheid. Since 1994, the ANC has:

Brought water to 3 million people

Housed nearly 3 million people

with 750 000 houses built or under construction.

Connected 2 million households to electricity

Improved health-care for the poor

with over 500 new clinics built or upgraded, and free medical care for children under six and pregnant women.

Transferred land to communities

with 220 000 hectares of land transferred to 68 000 households.

Implemented non-racial education

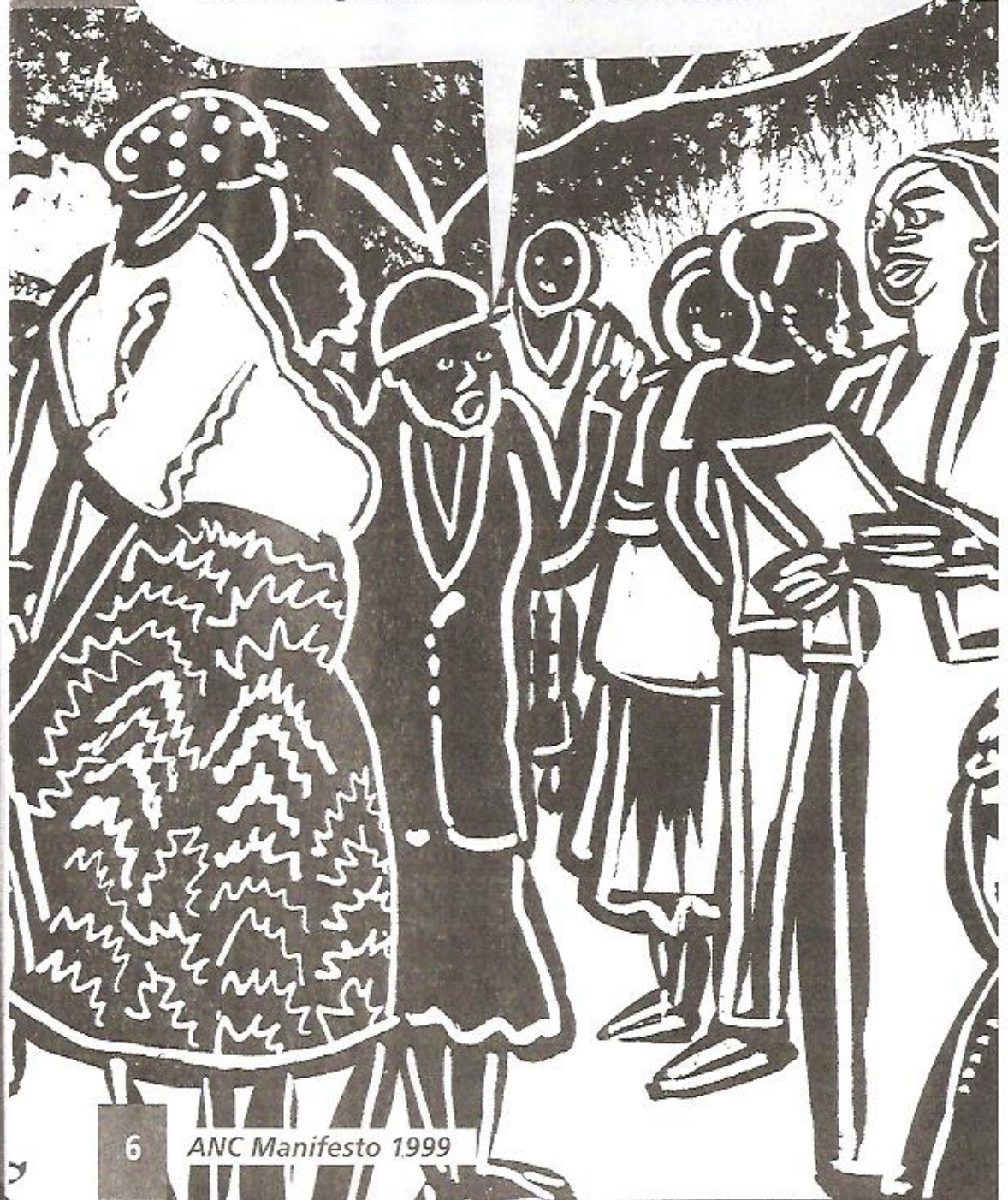
with the majority of children enjoying better access to education; 10 000 new classrooms built or upgraded, and 1.5-million more children brought into the education system.

Connected telephone lines for 3 million people.

These are just some of the massive changes the ANC has brought about, in partnership with the people. In all these efforts, we have targeted the poor and the most vulnerable: those who suffer the most from the ravages of apartheid. It is only by overcoming the huge inequalities in our society that we shall be able to build a truly non-racial democracy.

**Yes, all these things
have been done,
but is it enough?...**

**There's unemployment, communities
are still plagued by crime, many of us still
live in poverty, and Local Government still
has to improve service to the people.**



The ANC agrees:

We are not complacent as a result of the changes that have taken place.

We share your impatience to overcome the decades-old crisis of unemployment, crime and poverty.

Why are things still like this?

- **Because we inherited a budget that cannot be increased overnight, and which must now be shared by all our people instead of a small minority during the days of apartheid**
- **Because the apartheid system left us with a legacy of massive poverty and underdevelopment for the majority of our people which will take time to overcome**
- **Because we required time to change all the apartheid policies we inherited, introduce the necessary legislation and establish a new public administration to implement the new policies**
- **Because there are still powerful forces blocking change**
- **And, yes, we have required time to inspire the public service to accept the new value system of batho pele and act in a more determined manner to serve the people of South Africa.**

We will build on the foundations that have been laid, which were not there when we took over, to achieve faster progress towards a better life for all.

The ANC will be decisive in dealing with those who fail the people.

We must also continue to learn together from our advances, problems and mistakes, and together, to find the right solutions.

TOGETHER, IN EVERY SECTOR, FIGHTING FOR CHANGE

Five years of freedom have brought new rights, new possibilities and new opportunities for every sector of our society - for the young and the aged, for professionals and rural people, for workers and employers. The ANC has the policies in place for us to build a better life together. We remain committed to the policies which are contained in the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The next 5 years will therefore reflect continuity in our policy direction.

But the Government and each sector of our population have to do more and do it better so that we can all quicken the pace of change. How do we consolidate these policies, and what challenges face each of the sectors?

A Better Life For Women

For the first time ever, the rights of women have been guaranteed by law. Government institutions such as the Gender Commission have been established to continue the fight for the all-round emancipation of women. Our programmes have resulted in a sharp increase in the numbers of women who occupy decision-making positions in all spheres of society.

- Pregnant mothers have been given access to free health services
- **Rural infrastructure** is being improved to free women from back-breaking chores
- The **public housing** programme and the **transformation of hostels** into family dwellings are beginning to foster safe environments in which to bring up families.

Increasingly, women themselves are playing a leading role in their own liberation as part of the overall transformation of our country.

A Better Life For The Youth

- Government institutions such as the Youth Commission have been established for advancing youth interests, with youth themselves serving on them
- The transformation of **education** includes: youth participation in the governance of educational institutions, and funding programmes to ensure opportunities for youth disadvantaged by poverty
- **Job creation** programmes, including public works initiatives and the Umsobomvu Fund, focus on youth
- Special measures have been introduced to rescue young offenders, **caught up in crime** in early years, from becoming habitual criminals
- More than any other sector, the youth of our country are threatened by the spread of **HIV/AIDS**. We have introduced a major campaign focused on youth to increase awareness and to foster responsible and informed life-styles among the young people of our country.

Together, let us advance the National Youth Service programme, and let us build a vibrant youth culture of solidarity, service and patriotism.

A Better Life For Workers

The ANC believes workers are entitled to a fair share of the wealth they produce. No longer should they be treated as objects of exploitation, to be discarded when years of labour have sapped their strength.

Over the last 5 years, in the face of opposition, the ANC has among other things ensured:

- Through the Constitution and such laws as the Labour Relations, Basic Conditions of Employment, Employment Equity and Skills Development Acts, that workers have been guaranteed **constitutional and legal rights** to organise and defend their interests; to strike; to acquire skills and to take part in decision-making at the work-place
- Organised workers are able to take part in the **formulation of national policy** through the National Economic, Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) and other forums
- New laws have been introduced to guarantee **decent working conditions**, the prohibition of child labour, and an end to all kinds of discrimination at the workplace
- Measures have been introduced to assist workers when they lose their jobs and to protect them against exploitation as casual or temporary workers; and, even more critically, new programmes have been put in place to urgently and radically **reduce unemployment and retrenchments**
- Steps have been taken to put in place greater **control by workers over their savings** accumulated in pension and provident funds
- In the public sector, radical measures have been adopted to **reduce the apartheid wage gap**.

To strengthen their voice, workers need to join and consolidate their trade unions, and unite across race and other barriers. Their organisations must improve the capacity to formulate and influence policy. More of the savings that workers command should be invested in job-creation projects and in the improvement of social services. In their mobilising activity, workers should maintain the tradition of disciplined struggle.

The ANC recognises that South Africa's business people are critical partners in the development of our country. Over the last 5 years we have, amongst many things:

- **Removed apartheid barriers** hampering economic growth and development, and introduced **better conditions for investment**
- Given organised business the possibility to **co-determine socio-economic policies**, by participating in the National Economic Development and Labour Council, and numerous other sectoral forums
- Reduced conflict in the work-place by implementing an **effective labour relations system**
- Increased government assistance to business people to **participate in the African and world economy**
- Created conditions for the **participation of black people** and women in the economy as entrepreneurs and owners of wealth, and encouraged the growth of small and medium business.

But sustained economic growth and opportunity require commitment from the business community as well. They need to **invest more in productive and job-creating enterprises**; and the financial sector should extend **more credit to small and medium enterprises**. This requires a **commitment to the RDP vision** that sustainable growth, productivity and competitiveness are inextricably linked to infrastructural development, job creation and the advance of skills and training. Business-people also need to actively **counter negative tendencies** – corruption, tax evasion, and anti-South African pessimism.

The ANC has ended the practice of using the countryside as a dumping ground where rural people are subjected to poverty and abuse, denied their citizenship and dignity.

- The ANC has made great strides in providing clean **water, electricity, telephones, better rural roads, new classrooms and sports and recreation facilities**. In this process, **thousands of jobs** were created, including for women and young people
- We have changed radically the **legal conditions of farm-workers**, including working conditions and security of tenure
- Progress has been made in changing the imbalance in the **ownership of land**, through land restitution and redistribution, schemes of co-ownership of farms, right of ownership of communal land, and opening doors for black commercial farmers
- Opportunities have been increased for white **commercial farmers** to become more efficient and to enter international markets.

The challenge is to speed up these programmes. And this requires, among others, that rural communities **work together to utilise new opportunities**, to protect projects and new facilities, to call their Councillors and other representatives to account, and to join local government in identifying priorities in our communities.

A Better life for Traditional Leaders

- Liberation has established the possibility to **restore the dignity** of traditional leaders, to give meaning to the principle that they are **leaders because of the people**
- New **national and provincial houses of traditional leaders** make it possible for traditional leaders to help **determine provincial and national policy**.

The challenge before all of us is to continue redefining the role of traditional leaders in a democratic and developing society, to ensure that they play their role in **partnership with elected institutions**, for the development of communities. We call on traditional leaders, our indigenous symbols of continuity, to be **active participants** in the fostering of the progressive and humanist elements of African culture and traditions.

A Better Life For Children

- For the first time, the **rights of all our children** have been guaranteed by law
- **Free access to health facilities** for the very young have been provided, and infant mortality has been reduced
- A comprehensive **immunisation programme**, and a **feeding scheme** to counter malnutrition in schools have been introduced
- The **child grant** has been extended to African children
- **Special attention** is being given to the problem of **street children**.

Today, all of our children can grow up together, no longer separated by apartheid's walls. Together, let us ensure that these advances are consolidated.

A Better Life For The Aged

Freedom has restored the dignity of senior citizens, and accorded them the respect they deserve. No longer should they be humiliated in the land of their birth. The ANC is implementing programmes which address the plight of the aged, particularly in poor communities:

- The extension of **equal old aged pension** grants to all old people, removing the racial discrimination of the past, and improvements in the **system of payment** have been introduced
- **Public health care** has massively improved the lives of the aged - through the building of clinics in remote areas and special health care projects like free cataract operations and distribution of wheelchairs.
- Programmes have been introduced to **de-racialise old age homes**, and to **reintegrate care of old people into communities**.

With the special focus in this **International Year of the Aged** and into the future, we all need to pay increased attention to how the aged can play an even greater role in the life of the nation. It is critical that the aged themselves form, and improve the operations of, their organisations to **give guidance** on this and other matters.

A. SPEEDING-UP DELIVERY OF BASIC NEEDS

The ANC will speed up the programme to improve the quality of life of the people. The fight against poverty requires a co-ordinated strategy that cuts across all sectors and pays particular attention to rural and disadvantaged areas. The ANC will ensure all government programmes work together.

HOUSING

In the next 5 years we will:

- Seek an honest agreement with the private sector and work with trade unions to channel investments into people's housing
- Focus on developing housing on well-located land, with access to amenities, and overcoming the apartheid human settlement patterns based on Group Areas and isolation of the majority from centres of economic activity
- Improve and speed up the subsidy programme, including comprehensive programmes to uplift conditions of the urban poor in informal settlements
- Use other affordable ways of financing houses – like micro loans
- Build rental stock
- Support the People's Housing Process, setting up Housing Support Centres to help poor people build their own houses, share resources, and purchase affordable materials

Reduction of the number of homeless poor must become a practical measure of our success.

A Better Life for Professionals

Freedom has opened up many opportunities for South Africa's professionals, NGO's, cultural workers and sports-people. Through policies of empowerment and consistent non-racialism, the ANC has:

- Made it possible for every professionally qualified person to **rise to higher levels**, to exercise their creativity, and to contribute to the development of the country; **access to universities and technikons** has improved, and a **new qualification framework** has been introduced
- Ensured that all professionals without discrimination are able to participate in the **formulation of government policy**, and in working with their peers to **build a better world**
- Made sure that **sports-people have access to improved amenities** and to opportunities previously denied the majority. Today they can compete with the best in the world
- **Opened up the world to our artists**, and broadened access to opportunities which allow creativity free reign
- **Opened up the airwaves** and created conditions for **media workers** to undertake their work without restrictions.

But it is critical for professionals to **continually improve their work**, to systematically contribute to the programmes aimed at uplifting conditions of the poor, and to join hands with their **peers in Africa to assist in the continent's renewal**. Students face the challenge to use the new opportunities with responsibility. In the professions, in sport, in the arts and music, we should **improve our organisations**, ensure better management of resources; and ensure that we reflect, in its rich diversity, our nation's effort to build a better life.

A Better Life for the Disabled

- For the first time ever, the **rights of the disabled** have been guaranteed by law
- A comprehensive government programme has been adopted for the empowerment of the disabled; and legislation now **prohibits discrimination** at the workplace
- Today, the disabled themselves **serve actively on government bodies** to promote the interests of the disabled. The ANC has made provision on our **election candidates** lists for representation of the disabled in our country's legislative bodies.

Together, let us continue to fight for a life of dignity and fulfilment for all.

With Communities Of Faith - For A Better Life For All

- For the first time ever, all faiths receive **equal recognition and treatment**. The new South Africa that we are building together is founded upon the **moral principles** of equality, solidarity and the right to dignity for all
- The ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme represents a fundamental policy **choice for the poor** and historically downtrodden, a choice that most communities of faith have themselves made.

The struggle to build a better future for all requires, not just material transformation, but an **RDP of the Soul**. The ANC calls upon all communities of faith, to be active **partners in shaping our moral vision**, and in fostering the moral renewal of our society.

To protect the freedoms that we have won, and to make progress in the fight for a better life requires that all sectors join hands behind a common national vision for the coming years.

What is this vision?

SOCIAL SECURITY

The ANC remains committed to ensuring that everyone in our country is able to live above the minimum living standard. Our social security net must target the most vulnerable – the poor, the aged, the landless, the disabled, the young. In the next 5 years we will:

- Continue to improve the management of social grants
- Put systems in place to eliminate fraud and corruption
- Improve access to grants through, among others, using the post office infrastructure.

As part of a comprehensive social security system we will introduce a new **Social Health Insurance** programme.

TRANSPORT

- The ANC will develop and promote an integrated public transport system, which will include special assistance to the disabled
- We will build and rehabilitate public transport infrastructure
- Our programme includes empowering historically disadvantaged operators and ensuring order in this sector.

HEALTH CARE

Over the next 5 years the ANC will develop a comprehensive, affordable and accessible **National Public Health System**, financed in part by a Social Health Insurance programme.

We will improve health care by:

- Improving the availability of doctors and nurses, especially in clinics and the rural areas
- Ensuring availability of affordable medicines in line with our national drugs policy
- Improving the management of hospitals and clinics – with community participation

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS - OUR VISION

The goal of the ANC remains the building of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. This goal guides our day-to-day actions. We are ready and determined to move with greater speed towards this goal.

The next 5 years will be:

5 Years of Accelerated Change

Now is the time to speed up provision of services; to build on what we have achieved; to make a bigger impact on the daily lives of the people.

Where there are blockages to change, we shall remove them. Where there is laziness, wastage and lack of focus, we will intervene with determination.

Building on 5 years of experience, the ANC will ensure that government becomes more effective, more focused on spearheading development and delivery, and more user-friendly.

5 Years of Partnership with the People

But we cannot meet the challenges of our country with the resources of government alone. Our country needs the mobilised energies and experience of millions of South Africans.

To fight crime, we need to stand together. We must build partnerships to create more jobs. Parents, teachers and students together must help to improve our schools.

5 Years of building a New Patriotism

The partnership between government and the people must be based on a common commitment to building a better life for all. Today, it is not just the old racial divisions of the past that pose a danger. Selfishness, the weakening of social discipline among some who want rights without responsibility, and disregard for the interests of the broader community are threatening our hard-won freedom.

The spirit of Masakhane and an RDP of the Soul are an essential part of the struggle for change. Together with all who share this vision, including communities of faith, the ANC will foster the moral renewal of our society.

5 Years of Working for a Better Africa and a Better World

Our success in SA depends on the success of our neighbours and progress on our continent. Today, a new generation of leaders is emerging across the continent, which recognises the need to unite our efforts for rapid development.

The ANC will work together with nations of Africa to realise democracy and rapid social and economic development. We shall work with forces across the globe who share this vision, who seek a better world of solidarity and caring.

- The next 5 years - Our programme
- Act decisively to attack preventable illnesses through, amongst others, our immunisation programme, and measures to combat TB
 - Developing campaigns against drug, tobacco and alcohol abuse.

In partnership with all sectors of society, we will continue to give absolute priority to HIV/AIDS programmes. The ANC will:

- Increase efforts to mobilise popular awareness of the seriousness of the epidemic
- Continue to fund research to find a cure for AIDS
- Review existing laws to ensure people who are HIV positive are not discriminated against.

EDUCATION

Education is not a privilege – it is a right. The ANC is committed to moving as rapidly as possible to free, dynamic and compulsory education. As we move towards this vision, the ANC will continue to ensure:

- That we foster a culture of learning, teaching and service
- No learner is excluded from a public school because a family cannot afford to pay
- Public schools remain viable, and that resources for learning are more equitably spread
- National standards increasingly lower class sizes to more manageable levels
- We press ahead with the National Schools Building Programme, with specific focus on improving infrastructure in rural areas and townships.

Our objective is to ensure that all schools have adequate buildings, electricity, water and sewerage

The ANC's programme to accelerate change focuses on five main areas:

A. Speeding up delivery of basic needs and developing human resources

B. Building the economy and creating jobs

C. Combating crime and corruption

D. Transforming the state

E. Building a better Africa and a better world

BASIC NEEDS

The next 5 years - our programme

To improve the **quality of education**, the ANC will focus on:

- Raising the quality of school leadership teams, strengthening administrative capacity, and ensuring parental involvement
- Integrating Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) with skills development to improve access to educational and employment opportunities, within the National Qualifications Framework
- Prioritising the development of a national plan and funding system for higher education and eliminating wastage in this sector.

In speeding up the delivery of basic needs, the ANC will accelerate and improve the delivery of many other programmes, including water and electricity, rural development, youth development, and rolling out telecommunications infrastructure and postal services.

B. BUILDING THE ECONOMY AND CREATING JOBS

The ANC remains staunchly committed to the RDP vision that growth and development are thoroughly inter-connected. Without development (meeting basic needs, creating jobs, overcoming poverty) growth will mean nothing for the majority of our people. But without growth, development will not be sustainable.

To ensure both growth and development, and to weave them together the ANC is committed to:

Achieving growth with equity

The ANC will continue to expand economic opportunities by speeding up job creation, increasing possibilities for self-employment, entrenching worker rights, advancing work-place equity programmes, and developing skills training.

We seek to broaden the base of our economy, and distribute economic power more widely, including through building a co-operative and social sector. Regulation of the financial sector will ensure greater access to affordable finance, together with the extension of public sector financial institutions. The public sector will play a key developmental and enabling role.

Advancing Worker Rights

We will continue to take forward the programme of labour market transformation to protect the rights of working people. We shall also expand opportunities for the unemployed, within an economy characterised by growth and development. This includes consolidation of legislation to protect worker rights, and measures to ensure effective implementation. Special attention will be given to the position of farm and domestic workers, as well as workers in small towns and small enterprises. Legislative amendments will be introduced to ensure negotiation in cases of intended retrenchment.

But all of this needs your help

The ANC is committed to accelerating the pace of change, to dealing decisively with crime, but this also requires popular support. The ANC will, therefore:

- Strengthen community-police partnerships, encouraging Community Policing Forums, and volunteers to assist in police stations
- Develop laws allowing for community courts to administer court sentences

What about victims of crime?

Dealing with violent crimes against women and children is priority number one. The ANC will establish more Special Courts where cases of abuse against children and women will be heard. As much as possible, victims will receive shelter and counselling from trained personnel.

Through the Victim Empowerment Programme, the rights of survivors of crime, traumatic incidents, abuse and disasters will be safeguarded and support provided through a range of special programmes.

What about corruption?

We will enforce strict measures, without fear or favour, to root out corruption in the public and private sectors, in our own organisation, and in society as a whole.

We have introduced special measures, including:

- The setting up of dedicated anti-corruption units
- The office of the Public Protector
- Increased effectiveness of the South African Revenue Service in combating tax evasion and fraud,
- Measures to expedite disciplinary action against those guilty of corruption in the public sector
- More effective policing of international ports of entry to prevent smuggling of goods and people
- Other legal measures to combat corruption in the private sector.

We will strengthen all of these programmes.

Improving The Tax System

The ANC will build on our success in broadening the tax base, cutting down on tax evasion. At the same time we are committed to progressive taxation, that lightens the tax burden on most middle income and poor families. There will be special tax exemption on those basic goods which poor families rely upon for survival. Productive, job-creating investment will be encouraged and speculative investment discouraged.

Budgeting

We will ensure transparent budgeting through detailed medium term budget planning. We will continue to give priority to social spending and ensure the resources reach those they are aimed at. At the same time we will continue to improve revenue collection, manage national debt at an appropriate level and ensure that we increase investment in social and economic infrastructure. We will make sure elected representatives in national, provincial and local spheres have the appropriate powers to shape budgets and are accountable for using public money as intended.

Monetary Policy – Interest Rates And Inflation

Monetary policy must advance our development objectives, and promote productive investment by both large and small enterprises. We will discuss and adopt options for the setting of realistic inflation targets, work towards reducing interest rates to stimulate economic activity, and help create conditions for a competitive exchange rate. In this regard, consultation and co-ordination between government and monetary authorities will continue.

Promoting Investment

The ANC will speed up public sector investment through increased capital expenditure and through co-ordinated investment plans of parastatals (like Eskom). The main aims of such investment will be:

- Job creation
- Increasing the rate of growth of our economy
- Meeting basic infrastructure needs
- Promoting development in regions where it is most needed.

Effective **private sector investment** will be promoted through:

- Working together with the private sector to mobilise greater volumes of investment by this sector
- Measures to mobilise investment from the private sector
- Improved education standards for the work-force, skills promotion and better telecommunications, transport and other infrastructure
- Incentives to encourage increased foreign and domestic investment in real, job-creating activities
- Measures to discourage over-dependence on short-term capital flows and speculative investment.

At the same time we will boost certain key sectors and industries to promote South Africa's competitive advantage world-wide. Exports will be promoted, at the same time as ensuring the development of our domestic market, to maintain a sound balance of payments.

Because of the seriousness with which we view corruption, we have initiated a major campaign against this scourge in line with government's call for an RDP of the Soul. We are also working together with the religious communities and other sectors to strengthen the moral fibre of our society.

**Together, let us root out
corruption, nepotism
and bribery – regardless of who is
involved.**

Can we really make a dent in the unemployment crisis?



**It won't be easy. This is a very, very serious problem!
What are the roots of the problem?**

- We inherited a stagnant and mismanaged economy which has been destroying jobs for over 25 years.
- Economic development has been too capital intensive - machinery and technologies replace people.
- Insufficient investment in new factories, plant, equipment and people, and too much investment in financial speculation, instead of productive investment.
- High interest rates and global economic problems deter investment.

In this environment, even while creating new jobs, our economy cannot create enough jobs for the 350 000 new work-seekers each year, let alone absorbing the current unemployed.

Both public sector investment and private sector expansion have in certain sectors begun to show results. In the past 5 years we have been able to create many new jobs - including in tourism and in infrastructure development. Investment by the parastatals, and the creation of employment through public works programmes have also made an important contribution.

What can we learn from this? At least two things:

- We need to support labour intensive investment throughout our economy, as well as promoting sectors which have large employment potential such as tourism, manufacturing, small and large-scale agriculture and labour intensive beneficiation of raw materials.
- Infrastructure development programmes (like housing) meet basic needs but they can also create jobs and teach skills. Our public sector and parastatals need to continue to play a key role in this regard.

How do we go forward?

The ANC realises that much more must be done. A major national offensive will be launched against the scourge of unemployment, poverty, and inequality. We are determined to align all government policies and programmes to achieve our objective of sustainable jobs for all at a living wage.

An important key to unlocking the jobs crisis lies in implementing the resolutions of the Presidential Jobs Summit, including:

- Measures to stem retrenchments
- Summits in all sectors of industry to develop jobs strategies
- Mass public works programmes and Youth Brigades
- Tax incentives, procurement, and monetary policy for job creation
- Integrated regional development
- Active labour market measures - including training and retraining
- Increased opportunities for self-employment, co-operatives and small businesses.

D. TRANSFORMING THE STATE

The apartheid state was oppressive, unrepresentative, fragmented and unaccountable. Over the past 5 years we have grappled with transforming the state. We have made progress, but there is still a long way to go.

Our aim is to build a state that plays an active role in the development and transformation of our society. The state must play a leading role in addressing the huge backlogs left by apartheid. It must harness the resources of the public sector and work in partnership with all sectors of our society.

The ANC will:

- Develop efficient, user-friendly and accountable governance at national, provincial and local level
- Use the next 5 years to transform local government. All municipalities must become centres of local democracy and participation, economic development, and service delivery
- Reorganise the public service to more effectively meet the priorities of social delivery. We will foster within the public service the ethic of *Batho Pele*
- Support the ongoing transformation of public institutions like the Land Bank, Industrial Development Corporation and the Development Bank of SA, to ensure their resources and skills contribute to accelerated change
- Ensure the viability and independence of the SABC as a public broadcaster, playing its part in reconstruction and development
- Rigorously root out corruption, nepotism and bribery in all state institutions (and broader society as a whole). We will remove those who seek to enrich themselves by corrupt means, at the expense of the people.

C. COMBATING CRIME AND CORRUPTION

The dark days of apartheid bestowed on us a legacy of crime and corruption. We inherited a criminal justice system which itself was pervaded with the lawlessness and criminality of that era.

The ANC's approach to combating crime and corruption is in line with our overall vision for our country. We must be

- **Tough on the underlying causes of crime such as poverty and inequality**
and
- **Tough on crime and corruption themselves.**

The Keys To Dealing With Crime

In the next 5 years the ANC will:

- Drastically reduce the number of guns in circulation, and introduce tougher gun controls
- Introduce harsher sentences for serious crimes, but alternative sentences for petty crimes, including electronic monitoring systems for some categories of those on parole and probation
- Improve conditions within the police service – reviewing working conditions, ongoing training, and emphasis on upgrading investigative capacities
- Greatly improve co-operation between all elements of the criminal-justice system – the police, the courts, the prisons, and a transformed prosecution system
- Continue to take decisive action against organised gangs, both local and international
- Strengthen the role of the new Directorate of Public Prosecutions, with special integrated units to deal with serious crimes
- Pay special attention to serious and violent crimes, including abuse of women and children.

Transforming Local Government

The new transitional local governments have faced many difficulties: the backlog of municipal services and infrastructure; transforming racially divided local government; the culture of non-payment; and resistance of ratepayers in some former white areas.

The ANC will:

- Restructure local government boundaries to make them financially viable
- Continue with the RDP municipal infrastructure programme
- Establish statutory ward committees so that councillors are more responsive to their constituencies
- Ensure that with fresh elections for local government in the year 2 000 democratic majority rule also becomes a local reality
- Ensure that our ANC candidates for local government are empowered and responsive to their constituencies.

E. BUILDING A BETTER AFRICA AND A BETTER WORLD

The time has come for Africa's Renaissance. Our challenge as Africans is to promote peace and development, to foster democratic systems of government, respect for human rights, and an end to corruption throughout our continent.

In the last 5 years SA has become active in a wide range of leading international forums and initiatives. We have taken a lead in nuclear disarmament, outlawing land-mines, and in the struggle for a more just world economic order.

In the next 5 years we will:

- Act more decisively to promote peace in the sub-continent and Africa as a whole
- Campaign for a better managed global economy, including the restructuring of international financial and trade institutions - to make them more sensitive to the needs of developing countries, especially those in Africa
- Advocate strongly for the relieving of the debt burden on the poorest countries of the world - many of them within our own sub-region
- Promote equitable trade, investment and development plans for the Southern African region - at the same time promoting a common set of democratic values, including fair labour and environmental standards.

In pursuing these goals we will strengthen our ties with all those who strive for peace, development and equity. We will strengthen our ties with our own continent, we will build stronger relations with Latin America and Asia, and we will consolidate our relations with the developed countries.

That's a whole long time
- but is that all?

You're right - there is much, much more.

This Manifesto covers many things the ANC will do in the next 5 years.

But there are many more things that do not appear here. Why?

- because the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) outlines our broad programme for changing South African society. It remains the only relevant detailed programme to carry SA to freedom and social justice.
- because the South African Constitution provides the broad framework within which we will carry out this programme of change. There is no need to change this basic framework. If improvements are needed, we shall co-operate with others to make them.
- because at this very moment, each aspect of this Manifesto is being elaborated into concrete steps. We are consulting with our allies, communities, social movements, role-players and experts to ensure we begin to implement our programme from Day One of the new government.



The great progress we have made in the last 5 years gives us the base from which, together, we will be able to change our society and improve the lives of our people faster than ever before.

The ANC is the principal political force in South Africa with experience of democratic government and detailed plans for the transformation of our country into a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous democracy. These plans have been spelt out in detail and tested in practice.

MANY THINGS TO DO

To carry out all these measures requires a committed ANC and a determined government. But our programme also requires millions of South Africans mobilised and united in our common resolve to deal with even the most difficult problems.

We need a new patriotism. This requires communities that unite, forging partnerships to address their problems, without waiting for orders or hand-outs from elsewhere. It requires citizens who love their country and are determined to see it succeed. A commitment to invest in our people and in our country.

It demands discipline and a better work ethic from all of us; morality in the handling of public resources; humanity in relating with one another even in the private domain; responsibility in exercising our freedoms.

The ANC, led by a new generation of leaders, will strive with all its strength to ensure that these programmes are realised. We will ensure that all of us enjoy the freedoms for which many generations sacrificed so much. But we will, in these 5 years, also seek to provide the kind of firm leadership that is necessary for us to meet our objectives as a nation.

**Together with you, we shall continue
the fight for change.**

**Together with you, we shall ensure that the
journey to a better South Africa is carried out
with speed.**

**Our guiding light remains:
A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL**

