

ANC BRIEFING NOTES

KEY ANC
POLICIES AND
GOVERNMENT
PROGRAMMES



A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

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ANC BRIEFING NOTES

KEY ANC POLICIES AND GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMES

**Each chapter covers our goals, progress made, plans, background facts,
focus areas and important questions and their answers.**

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1. POVERTY AND GRANTS



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- Over half of our people live in poverty (under R992 per month). Our goal is to provide a better life for all. In the long term, we are building a society where all, who can and want to work, have access to a decent job.
- To get there, we need to increase the skills of our people and the number of jobs available in the country. In the short term, we must make sure that poor and vulnerable families have access to social grants and basic services so that they can provide for their families' basic needs.
- Pensioners, children and disabled people are special targets of ANC government support and we must do everything we can to support and care for vulnerable people.



PROGRESS MADE

- We have spent a large part of our budget on tackling poverty, building houses for the poor, electrifying houses, providing water to millions of additional households, redistributing land, improving education and health, and providing more than 17.5 million social grants in 2017. This is a massive increase from 2.6 million in 1994. Almost half of all households in SA get at least one social grant (45.5% Stats SA, 2017).
- We spend more than half our national budget on directly improving the lives of poor people. Most poor households get some free water and electricity, sanitation and refuse removal, RDP houses or land, free education and health. Seventy percent of learners in government schools are at no-fee schools and most of those learners get one meal a day at school. Government heavily subsidises public transport. These services cost more than R4 000 on average per poor household per month. This is the best way for government to directly improve people's lives.
- Women on maternity leave who paid into the UIF for 13 weeks or more will now be entitled to receive benefits for between 17 and 32 weeks and receive a flat rate of 66% of their salary (instead of 38% to 60%). These benefits also extend to the LGBTQI community.
- We are introducing a minimum wage of R20 per hour so that the worst-paid workers, especially casual and part-time workers, are guaranteed a better starting wage. This will benefit 6 million workers who currently earn less than R20 per hour.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- The NDP aims to bring about a more equal society where most people are employed, and to dramatically increase the income of the poorest 20%.
- Economic development and a growth in work opportunities are the only ways that we can provide more people with decent work and a better future. Our youth are our future and the key to a better life lies in giving young people a chance to work and make a decent living.

- Government is hard at work to increase investment in the country so that we have more factories, mines, farms and businesses that employ people. We support small business development, better access to land and small loan finance, higher education that delivers people with skills needed by our economy, and the creation of work opportunities for youth.
- Education is the best path out of poverty and we will increase Grade R to two years and improve Early Childhood Development (ECD) so that all children get a good start to schooling. We have massively increased access to tertiary education for poor and middle-class students.
- In the next 10 years, we will implement a National Health Insurance to bring affordable health care to all.
- The Community Work, Expanded Public Works and Youth Employment Service programmes will give work opportunities and experience to hundreds of thousands of youth every year.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- More than half of SA households still live on less than R992 per person per month (Stats SA, 2016) and one-third live on less than R800 per month. Over half of government's budget directly targets poor households and goes to social spending like education, health, housing and grants, free services and food support. This directly helps poor households.
- Disabled people are among the most vulnerable – more needs to be done to ensure employers take on more disabled people and meet the agreed targets.
- Rural people and people living in informal settlements are much more likely to live in poverty. Among these groups, women have the highest levels of poverty and most poor children live in single-parent, women-headed households.
- We can only fully develop our country and lift people out of poverty if we build an economy that can create decent jobs for all. We also need an education system that can produce skilled people to fill those jobs. Until then, we have to make sure that the vulnerable, the poor, those with disabilities, the young and the elderly are cared for.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Increasing the educational and employment for youth, women and people with disabilities remains a priority. Our focus is on including the rural and urban poor in economic development and employment.
- Effective use and redistribution of available land is key to rural agricultural development and urban housing development close to work opportunities. The need for national food security and effective use of our arable farmland means that we must provide support and training to help small-scale farmers farm successfully.
- Buildings and schools should be more accessible for people with disabilities.
- Early learning is key to mental development and progress in education. We must aim for access to four years of ECD and pre-school for all children and encourage workplace ECD centres.

- Through NSFAS and partnerships with business and tertiary institutions, we must ensure the provision of full funding assistance covering tuition, books, and accommodation and living allowances to students from poor families and increased subsidies for middle-class students.
- To deliver a better life now, the state must increase its capacity to provide free basic services for the poor, quality free education and health care, nutritional support, and improved public transport. We must spend money more effectively and avoid waste and corruption.
- We must improve access to food and health care for pregnant women, and family planning for youth.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

How sustainable is it to have so many people on grants?

- It is not sustainable and we cannot afford to spend much more. There are now more people on grants than there are adults working in formal jobs. We need as many people as possible to be employed, earn a living wage and look after the needs of their families. Government will always have to care for the most vulnerable.
- As a country, we have to grow our economy and the number of jobs – this means we need investment in factories, mines and businesses. For us to compete with the rest of the world, we need our people to be educated.

2. JOB CREATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- We want all adults who want to work to have access to decent jobs. Of the 35 million people of working age, only about 14 million are working in formal jobs. The rest are unemployed, in casual or informal jobs, or studying. Half our people live in poverty and we need economic growth to change this so that many more are employed in decent jobs.
- We have not made enough progress in reducing unemployment and inequality, nor in increasing black ownership of the economy. Government must push hard to transform the economy, which is still mostly owned by white people. To build a more equal society, we need much higher levels of ownership and participation by black South Africans.
- Our economy must grow much faster than our population if we want to take our people out of poverty. Economic growth needs more factories, mines and businesses – and that needs money from investors, and more people with skills.
- We must also combat uncompetitive behaviour and practices of companies that have a monopoly on the production and pricing of goods so that our economy becomes competitive and more accessible for new black businesses.



PROGRESS MADE

- We grew the value of our economy at 3.2% a year on average from 1994 until 2012. The size of the economy has tripled since 1994. However, no real growth in jobs happened in this period. Economic growth has slowed a lot since the 2008 financial crisis as the world economy slowed and used less of our resources and minerals.
- We improved the efficient collection of taxes and dramatically increased the budget for social spending that impacts on poor people – especially health, education, housing and social grants.
- Millions of people have been shifted out of poverty – mostly because of 17.5 million social grants that directly assist poor families, free RDP houses and basic services, free health and education.
- A vibrant and successful black middle class has emerged because of access to education and opportunities – in 1994 it was 500 000 people and now it has grown from just 500,000 in 1994 to over 3.5 million today.
- There are now five times as many black students at tertiary institutions as there were in 1994 and government pays most of their fees and other costs.
- Access to housing and basic services has improved and we have built 3.2 million new houses since 1994, and connected more than 84% of households to electricity and 88,7% to water.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- The NDP focuses on developing every sector of our economy and creating jobs. Government has a plan to develop industries, mining, energy, steel, agriculture, fishing, tourism, and more.
- Free higher education for poor students has been implemented since 2018 to grow our skills base and create a more equal society.
- Since the beginning of 2018, the President is rolling out:
 - A programme to attract R1.2 trillion of new investments in the next 5 years. In October last year, he held a job and investment summit with business, workers and communities to work together on jobs and economic growth. Major local and international investors pledged R290 billion towards investment in South Africa. We are on track to reach the R1.2 trillion target. According to a recent United Nations report, foreign direct investment into South Africa increased by more than 440% between 2017 and 2018, from \$1.3 billion to \$7.1 billion. This is a clear sign that confidence is growing in our economy.
 - The YES programme that will place one million unemployed young people as interns.
 - Summits and consultations with all key sectors of business, workers and communities to work together on job creation, economic growth, mining and land redistribution.

- At our last Conference we adopted a programme of radical economic transformation with clear goals to:
 - Increase employment (especially for youth), and build a more inclusive economy.
 - Redistribute and return land to black people and provide state support to help new farmers.
 - Increase black ownership and participation in all sectors of the economy.
 - Raise investment and savings rates to stimulate growth.
 - Improve social justice for poor people and conditions for workers.
 - Improve the employment impact of infrastructure projects and projects by SOCs.
 - Break down monopoly practices and structures that exclude new small and/or black businesses, and make better use of the Competition Commission to limit profiteering.
 - Make finance for small business more accessible and use state spending to buy mostly from South African business and much more from small and back-owned business.
 - Introduce a minimum wage and worker empowerment to increase black-ownership and profit-share schemes among workers.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- Our overall economic growth has been far behind the NDP average target of 5% growth per year. At the moment, we are growing only as fast as our population which means that we stay where we are in terms of poverty and inequality. We need much faster economic growth and many more jobs to get more of our people out of poverty.
- The mining and agriculture sectors as well as factories and construction are employing fewer unskilled people and jobs in those sectors are shrinking. Job growth has mainly happened in finance, IT and government services – providing new jobs for more skilled people only.
- New investment in industry – mines, factories and production – is very low, with few new jobs.
- Slow economic growth means less tax income, while government spending rises. We borrow money to make up the difference between income and expenses and will spend more than 11% of our budget this year servicing debt – that means R160 billion that we cannot spend on services.
- The gap between what we collected and what we spent (budget deficit) was R48 billion during 2017–2018. In the last three budgets, we cut government spending, but we are committed to increasing grants, education and health spending, especially for poorer people. To do this, we have to cut jobs across government, mainly through not replacing people who leave or retire.

- A few very large state-owned companies (Eskom, Transnet, SAA) have been badly managed and run, and they are heavily subsidised from the government budget. We have to ensure they improve their viability while guaranteeing cost-effective service delivery for our people.
- Government often borrows money for new infrastructure like dams and power stations that will increase government income if they help grow the economy. We should not borrow more money to pay our operating costs (like salaries), which do not provide income for government. It simply means that future generations will inherit vast debt and will not be able to meet their own basic needs.
- If current economic trends continue, government will not have the money needed to implement its programme and achieve the NDP goals. We will face a bad choice between borrowing more than we can afford, or making big cuts in government services and jobs.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- We need more skilled professionals and technicians to drive industrialisation and to modernise our economy – especially IT, finance, engineering and science. Workers must be trained and skilled to compete with other countries and earn better wages.
- Economic development needs money (investment). To provide the jobs we need requires massive investment in new businesses by companies from SA and elsewhere.
- The state and business must improve investment in research, innovation and development so that we can invent and produce new things, and compete well against other economies.
- The economy cannot remain in the hands of a few, mostly white, wealthy people. For us to tackle inequality and poverty, as many people as possible must share ownership in business. Government must try to spread ownership and participation in the economy.
- Farm land must be redistributed in a way that helps new farmers to be productive and successful. Land on its own will not bring prosperity – it needs access to training, water rights, seeds, fertiliser, markets and other support.
- To make South Africa attractive to investors and easy to do business in, regulations must be kept as simple as possible for small businesses and new investors.
- Policy certainty is needed to attract investors. Businesses are motivated by profit and need to know what will affect their ability to make profit. They want to know what regulations we will impose on issues like the minimum wage, BBBEE, and sector charters, what taxes they will pay, and what guarantees there are that their investments are safe.
- We also need to invest more in infrastructure needed for economic growth such as energy, water, roads, rail, pipelines and harbours, as well as broadband and communication.

- Small businesses need simple regulations and support to get ahead and are often hamstrung by government and municipal processes and regulations for things like licences, permits, fire and health certificates, tax and VAT, employing people, etc. There is a strong need for one-stop shops in government to assist the development of small businesses.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why has job creation fallen below our targets?

- The target we set in 2010 of creating 5 million jobs over 10 years needed 500 000 jobs to be created per year. The global economic crisis stopped our economy from growing at the rate needed. The world used far less resources and mineral prices dropped dramatically.
- We have a youthful population with about 1.2 million young people turning 18 each year and joining the labour market. That is why, despite our successes in job creation, the overall level of unemployment remains high. And that is why the NDP establishes a more ambitious target over a longer time period, calling for the creation of 11 million new jobs by 2030.
- It will take the hard work, commitment and cooperation of all large and small businesses, trade unions, government and our communities to create more jobs for our young people.

Why does government not force business to employ more young people?

- The ANC government is encouraging business to employ young people as workers, managers and interns. We believe the youth are our future and will do everything possible to provide youth with skills and work opportunities.
- It is important to get business to do things without scaring them away – for example, if we do not engage business and seek their cooperation in implementing the minimum wage, or force them to employ people, or to share profits, or pay much higher taxes, they will take their money and invest in countries where they do not face these “obstacles”.
- We have to work with business and persuade them that they too will benefit from a more equal and prosperous society. We have to attract them to invest here and then try to partner with them to transform our economy.

Why should people invest in our economy when government may expropriate their assets without compensation?

- There is no ANC or government policy to expropriate assets of investors in SA. We have a strong legal system that protects all contracts, assets and investments. The debate on expropriation deals only with land redistribution and arises from the fact that until the 1980s black people were forcibly removed from their land and homes, and the vast majority of our people were excluded from owning land under apartheid, and still do not have access to land.

- Government and privately owned land that is not productively used will first be targeted for redistribution – in cities for housing and in rural areas for small-scale farming.

Why are you not nationalising the mines when the government claims that it does not have enough money to meet all its goals?

- The mineral wealth of our country belongs to the state that manages it on behalf of the people of South Africa. But we do not have the billions of rands needed to build mines and get the minerals out of the ground. The mining companies pay the state licence fees to explore or mine the country's minerals. They spend around R50 billion a year to build, maintain and expand their mines. They also pay tax to government on all their profits, and VAT on all their spending. The hundreds of thousands of workers they employ also pay tax on their income. In this way, government gets about half the money mines make back in some form of tax.
- Mining is a complex industry that can make good profits when prices are high, but also make big losses when prices are low (for example, in the last ten years iron, coal and cement prices dropped by half and most mining companies made big losses).
- Government is not a company with the skills needed to run mines and we also cannot gamble with people's taxes and make huge losses in bad times. Many mines are now closing or laying off workers because it is almost impossible to make a profit when the prices of minerals are low.
- The role of the state is to use our mineral wealth for the benefit of all. At the moment we benefit from mining by getting taxes, licence fees and jobs for our people. We must develop other industries to provide services to the mines and to add value to minerals before we export them. We must work to transform the mining industry so that more black people, workers and local communities benefit.

Do BEE deals only benefit a small political elite?

- Many people are benefiting from Black Economic Empowerment as the ANC has made it possible for all to benefit who are in business. No one is excluded from benefiting or from starting a business. BEE is our policy to overcome the unequal system we inherited from apartheid where black people were not allowed to start or own businesses outside the Bantustans.
- BEE and affirmative action together try to address the fact that white people today still earn on average 6 times more than African people earn, and more than 4 times what coloured people earn. Under apartheid whites earned 10 times what Africans earned. So we are making some progress, but it is still too slow. If we don't take these steps, economic apartheid and racial inequality will be with us forever.
- At the same time, some politicians and public servants have been corruptly using their power in government to give government contracts to their families and friends. We have now changed the laws and regulations to make sure politicians and public servants cannot have any connections to companies that do business with government.

3. EDUCATION



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- We want to improve the skills of our people so that all can participate in decent work and contribute to growing our economy. Education is the key to overcoming poverty, unemployment and inequality. We have to improve from a country where less than half the population has matric, and only 6% have a degree, to one where everyone has an equal opportunity to further their education and improve the welfare of their families. Since 2007, the ANC has made improving education our top priority.



PROGRESS MADE

- The apartheid education system has been replaced by one standard education system for all.
- Today, 94.3% of South Africans can read and write – in 1994, it was just 61%.
- The grade 12 pass rate increased to 78.2% in 2018.
- We have added a year of schooling to prepare children for school (Grade R) .
- Over 70% of the 14 million learners at school attend free schools – 90% of state schools are no-fee schools. This has contributed to an increase in attendance from 51% in 1994 to 99% today.
- Nine million children get fed at school every day.
- We are targeting schools with poor infrastructure and about 200 out of 500 schools have been replaced. We are making progress with upgrading schools without water and sanitation and about half of those identified in this government term have been fixed.
- This year we will spend R6.8 billion on feeding learners (the National School Nutrition Programme - NSNP), which is six times more than the R1.2 billion allocated in 2007/08.
- We will spend R185.5 million on learners with intellectual disabilities this year – almost three times the R72 million from last year.
- This year we will appoint unemployed young matriculants as Education Assistants in six rural districts in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo.
- We have awarded over 15 000 Funza Lushaka bursaries to student teachers for a Teacher Education programme. We have placed 89% of Funza Lushaka graduates in our schools.
- The school principal appointment process now works on merit and ensures that principals are qualified. Principals are held accountable for poor management, discipline and outcomes.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- Ensure that teachers are in class on time, teaching for at least 6.5 hours a day and that all schools have textbooks for all subjects.
- Eradicate all inadequate and mud schools and improve toilets, electricity and water.
- Evaluate all teachers' skills and qualification levels
- Train more teachers, and use bursaries to get qualified teachers to rural areas.
- Double the number of people in technical education (TVET) and colleges.
- Phase out multi-grade classrooms by 2020.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- Poor education outcomes remain a big challenge even though we spend about 20% of our national budget on basic and higher education. There are still big differences in the quality of education between the rich and poor. We spend up to five times as much per child as many of our neighbouring countries, but we get worse results. The main causes of failure to deliver better education are poor management, teacher skills and teaching time, textbook availability, finance, procurement and infrastructure planning. Many schools still lack electricity, running water, libraries and laboratories.
- In rural areas, too many children do not matriculate. Less than half of all learners who start school go on to matriculate, and less than 3% matriculate with the mathematics grades need to study sciences or finance. Much more must be done to promote maths and science and ensure we have teachers to teach these subjects.
- The struggle continues to get teachers and students in class, on time, teaching and learning for at least 6.5 hours per day, especially in poor and rural schools.
- There is still some corruption in school procurement and employment.
- The Annual National Assessments (ANA) used to measure progress of Grade 3 and 6 learners has not been implemented because of union opposition.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- By the end of this term, conduct a comprehensive review of the education and training system to ensure that it is relevant and prepares young people for life, higher education and training programmes; technical, vocational and occupational skills; and the world of work.
- Prioritise policies and strategies to achieve quality teaching and learning outcomes; improve the skills and competencies of educators, including the school management team; and enhance accountability systems to ensure the achievement of quality outcomes.
- Implement the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in schools.

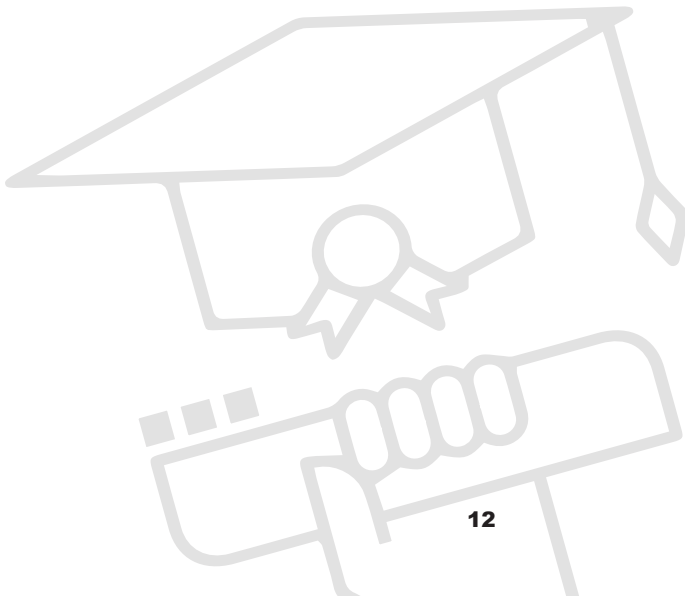
- Ensure that Early Childhood Development (ECD) is moved from the Department of Social Development to the Department of Basic Education. We are increasing Grade R to two years.
- The Departments of Social Development, Basic Education, and Health should coordinate efforts to optimise Early Childhood Development – attention should be given to children with special needs, like those with autism.
- Use incentives to attract and retain teachers in rural and farm communities.
- Work with SADTU to resolve conflicts that may lead to labour unrest, loss of teaching and learning time, and damage to property and educational resources.
- Develop more recreational sports, arts and culture programmes.
- Establish more boarding schools for rural and farm-dweller children.
- Make technical schools places of excellence and develop public schools for talented or specially gifted learners.
- Provide laboratories and libraries in village and township schools.
- Ensure all Provincial Departments of Education adopt and implement the Second Chance Opportunity Programme to assist matriculants who fail to pass all subjects.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why are there still so many schools without basic facilities?

We spend billions on building new schools and upgrading existing ones. We are closing and replacing hundreds of schools, but it will take many years to fix all schools. Textbooks and teachers come first in our spending, but we still upgrade hundreds of schools every year and thousands get maintenance and improvements.



4. HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- We want to improve the skills of our people so that all can participate in decent work and contribute to growing our economy. Education is the key to overcoming poverty, unemployment and inequality. We have to improve from a country where less than half the population has matric, and only 6% have a degree, to one where everyone has an equal opportunity to further their education and improve the welfare of their families.
- Higher education must meet the skills needs of our country and provide opportunities for university, technical and vocational job training, especially for young people.



PROGRESS MADE

- We have built two new universities in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape. This is in line with the National Development Plan aim to increase higher education enrolments from 17.9% in 2012 to 25% by 2030.
- Government expanded the National Student Financial Aid Scheme from R21 million in 1996 to R15.3 billion in 2017 (70 times as much as in 1996). This support is one of the main reasons why five times the number of African students are now at university compared to 1994.
- In 2018, government allocated another R57 billion to providing free higher education for an estimated 1.1 million students from low-income households over the next three years. Bursary expenditure is expected to rise from R15.4 billion in 2017/18 to R38 billion in 2020/21.
- Post-school education and training has been allocated more than R81 billion for just the one financial year of 2017/18.
- Government will phase in fee-free higher education and training to students from poor and working-class families – this year it will start funding new first-year students attending universities and TVET colleges from households with a combined income below R350 000.
- In addition to the 1.7 million young people in universities and colleges (private and public), SETAs offer over 290 000 learnerships, apprenticeships and internships.
- The number of African students attending university has increased from 150 000 in 1994 to over 700 000 in 2017. One million students enrolled in universities in 2017 compared to 347 000 in 1994.
- In 2016, public higher education institutions produced 203 076 graduates. The majority were in Science, Engineering and Technology (29.1% or 59 125), then Business and Management (27.8% or 56 364), all other Humanities (22.4% or 45 480) and Education (20.7% or 42 107).

- We have made significant progress in meeting the NDP goal of graduating at least 5 000 doctoral graduates annually by 2030. In 2017, 2 450 students graduated with doctorates from our universities and we will continue expanding our investments in graduate education
- Spending will grow at a rate of 13.7% per year over the next few years – much higher growth than inflation.
- NSFAS has been placed under administration and we are already seeing improvements. For the first time ever, student registration and NSFAS eligibility are working together and many students have already received allowances. This is truly historic, given the delays in paying allowances in the past, and the extreme delays and problems of the last two years in particular.
- Prior to the December 2017 announcement on free education for poor and working-class students, funding of the system had not kept up with enrolments – university fees had become increasingly unaffordable, especially at the large urban universities that have high costs. Insufficient funding to support all NSFAS students under the previous rules resulted in a capping of the awards. NSFAS students at high-cost universities were not fully funded for the actual cost of study at their institutions, and were often unable to pay for food and accommodation. That situation has now changed with our new full cost of subsidy NSFAS bursary, a scheme of targeted free education for the poor and working class. The recent appointment of an Administrator at NSFAS has vastly improved the performance of this important institution.
- At universities the current average full cost of study is about R90 000 a year: R50 000 for registration and tuition fees, and R40 000 for books, meals, and accommodation or transport. The government transfers R40 000 per year to university students and R50,000 to universities to cover their tuition fees.
- At colleges the current average full cost of study is now about R50,000 a year: R10 000 for registration and tuition fees, and R40 000 for books, meals, and accommodation or transport. The government transfers R40 000 per year to college students and R10 000 to TVET colleges to cover the tuition fees for each student receiving financial support.
- This year government is providing R30.8 billion in grants to 750 000 students. This is a huge increase in a very short time. In 2016, government provided R12.4 billion in loans and bursaries to 450 000 students.
- A central applications process to register for studies and access financial aid has been implemented across the university and TVET college systems.
- A full review of the NSFAS Act and regulations has started.
- We will review the whole TVET sector to make sure it meets the needs of our economy.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- South Africa needs more graduates to develop our economy and deliver government services. We especially need people with technical, scientific, managerial and financial skills.
- We must progressively introduce free education up to undergraduate level, especially for students from poor and middle-class backgrounds.
- We must increase the percentage of students who complete degrees within the minimum years allowed so that we save resources and enrol more students. This means students must get more support for food, accommodation, text books, etc.
- We will introduce incentives and bursaries (some with community service) to attract students to scarce-skill degrees and diplomas.
- We must double the number of technical and vocational training graduates from TVET colleges.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- Our higher education system is under strain as we have large numbers of students who want tertiary education, and we lack the finances to pay for them.
- We are increasing spending every year, but up to half of first-year students never graduate. Many drop out or cannot access higher education due to a lack of finances to cover their full cost of accommodation, fees, books, food and living. Others drop out or fail because their basic education did not prepare them sufficiently to cope with university.
- The vast majority of students still want to attend university and get a degree, rather than a college or TVET college where they get a national certificate or diploma. TVET is important for skills development and jobs. In most developing economies, many more students get technical education than university education, but this is not the case in SA, it is the other way around. We should implement programmes to inform learners of the benefits of receiving post-school education in the technical disciplines available at TVET colleges.
- The TVET sector has a very low successful graduation rate and has to be improved and strengthened to meet the needs of our economy and provide real skills that will create employment – we will conduct an assessment of capacity, courses and needs.
- Disagreements and protests over fees and curriculum at universities have led to costly vandalism and destruction of property and acts of intimidation.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Education remains the priority of the ANC government's pro-poor policies. We must especially strengthen maths and science teaching.
- We need a financial support model to ensure that academically capable students from poor, working class and middle-class backgrounds are supported to access and receive fully subsidised free higher education and training, subject to the availability of funds.

- Fully subsidised cost of study will include tuition fees, accommodation, meals, transport and essential study materials or learning resources, and a stipend to cover meals and other essential living needs.
- We must expand the TVET and Community College sector and ensure that it is adequately funded and has skilled lecturers and proper equipment.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

When will higher education be free for all students?

- South Africa is not a rich country and we must spend government money carefully. We target our higher education spending to make sure everyone with qualifying marks, has a chance to get educated. We cannot afford to pay for everyone, so families that earn more than R600 000 per year will have to pay fees. Remember that government subsidises all students by paying more than half the cost of universities – this allows universities to keep the fees as low as possible.

5. ENERGY



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- We have brought electricity to about 10 million new households in 24 years. This is more than 1 200 new connections every working day since we took over government. To grow our economy, we need reliable power. The NDP says we must double the amount we generate by 2030. Energy from coal creates more than half the carbon that causes climate change in SA. The second biggest cause is petrol and diesel vehicles. We will mix the ways we generate electricity and move from mainly coal and nuclear to using more gas, solar, wind and hydro to create cleaner energy. We also have to modernise transport, and move towards more public transport and support the use of cleaner fuel-cell or electric vehicles.



PROGRESS MADE

- Just 5 million households had access to electricity in 1994.
- About 15 million out of approximately 17 million households now have access to electricity in their homes, so we have brought electricity to about 10 million households.
- More than half a million poor households have solar geysers.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- By 2030, we aim to produce twice as much energy as we do today.
- Parts of three big new coal power stations have come online in the last two years. Because of the carbon emissions from coal, we are also investing massively in renewable energy and the private sector is paying for most of it – about R200 billion in the last 5 years, with another R50 billion by 2019. Solar power plants have started generation in the Northern Cape. Solar water heaters have been put in half a million households and wind farms are operating in coastal provinces like the Eastern Cape.
- Gas is being pursued as a cleaner fossil fuel, as gas-fired plants can provide power quickly when the wind doesn't blow and the sun doesn't shine. In the short and medium term, liquefied natural gas (LNG) will be imported into South Africa; in the longer term, we may be able to access the natural gas found in the massive fields in Mozambique and in the Karoo. We are exploring our gas fields to see if they are viable and can be used without negative environmental impact.
- In the longer term, we are planning to link to hydropower from the Grand Inga Project in the Democratic Republic of the Congo for a clean supply of hydroelectricity, and expanding hydro power in Lesotho is a possibility.
- Investment in new renewable energy generation is around R50 billion per year.
- All energy programmes must contribute to jobs, energy security and reducing carbon emissions. Nuclear remains an option in the long term, but at the moment is not affordable.
- We must move to an energy-efficient economy that creates jobs and develop a green jobs programme.
- We must mobilise the public, business and other players to act responsibly and save energy, including through a national energy efficiency programme. Industrial and commercial buildings have potential for efficiency improvements. The government, as a huge consumer of electricity, has a special responsibility. Government buildings and installations must become energy efficient.
- We must encourage the public to save energy. If we save a lot of energy, it reduces both greenhouse gases and the need to build new power plants.
- We must encourage efficiency in the consumption of energy, through energy-saving technologies and by leading campaigns to encourage environmental and energy-conscious consumer behaviour.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- We are committed to lowering our carbon emissions due to climate change, and electricity production and transport emissions (from trucks, buses and cars) together produce most of the carbon.

- We produce about 40% of all power in sub-Saharan Africa, and use most of it ourselves.
- Load-shedding happens when all available power in the country is used. If we have no reserves, it only takes one of our power stations to shut down unexpectedly to cause a power outage. Many of our coal power stations are old and are becoming more expensive and difficult to run and maintain.
- For our economy to grow and provide more jobs by 2030, we will need twice the power we use today – we are committed to getting a lot of that from renewable sources like solar and wind, together with natural gas. The ANC government is currently reviewing our Integrated Resource Plan and the Integrated Energy Plan to make sure that our energy mix speaks to our developmental and industrial needs.
- We need to save power, especially in winter when demand is high. Our government has subsidised solar water heaters and distributed millions of energy-saving light bulbs. In suburbs, we encourage people to install solar water heaters and in South Africa and this has now become compulsory in new houses. All of us must help and use less power. Already all government buildings have become more energy efficient.
- The world is moving towards renewable energy sources. We must ensure our economy benefits from the growth in the renewable energy sector, including through the provision of incentives for investment in renewable energy infrastructure as well as human resources to ensure that institutions and companies are ready to take full advantage of renewable energy opportunities.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Strengthening Eskom management to improve governance and performance, and improve its capacity to borrow money cheaply.
- Ensuring that energy is affordable for the poor and guaranteeing a basic amount of free electricity to poor households every month.
- Upscaling of the renewable energy programme so that more “green” energy (including solar, wind, hydro and biomass) is added to the electricity grid. Make sure that local job creation is supported.
- Importing of liquefied natural gas and exploring for indigenous gas (in the Karoo), so that gas-fired power can supplement renewable energy and a cleaner fuel (natural gas) can be used in industry.
- Promoting public transport and supporting the electrification of cars, buses and taxis (electric vehicles and hydrogen fuel-cell vehicles) to reduce transport emissions.
- Improving the efficiency of our power system, for example by separating the transmission and generation functions of Eskom into separate companies.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why can't we use more wind and solar power for the sake of the environment?

- In the last three years, solar and wind power have become cheaper than newly built coal – which used to be our cheapest source of energy. Solar power is a real alternative for household use, especially solar water heaters. Unfortunately, wind and solar cannot yet provide a constant supply of reliable energy for industry, which is why we are looking at gas-fired power to supplement it. For large-scale and industrial use, gas, coal or nuclear are currently used to generate constant power. At the moment, large storage batteries for solar and wind energy are improving every year and this may soon be able to provide reliable and constant energy.

Why does government want to buy nuclear when we cannot afford it?

- We have no immediate plans to build another nuclear power station. Nuclear is very expensive and at the moment we cannot afford it. We explored possibilities with France, Russia, China, Japan and the USA but have not signed any nuclear deals – any such deal would have to be approved by Parliament. We will always have to look at all options to make sure we have a secure energy future. But for now, our main focus is on getting the private sector to invest in solar and wind power as it has become cheaper for Eskom to buy that power than to build new nuclear or coal-fired power stations. This programme – the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme – has been one of the most successful investment programmes in South Africa. Not only has it generated over R250 billion in investment, but developers are also meeting very strict conditions that benefit local communities and SMMEs, and meet stringent BBBEE requirements. It has helped us to achieve better energy security and a more transformed energy sector, without putting a greater burden on taxpayers.

Why is government going to allow fracking for gas in the environmentally sensitive Karoo?

- “Fracking” is when natural gas or petroleum is extracted from layers of shale rock through pumping water and chemicals into the ground. At the moment, government has approved the exploration of parts of the Karoo to confirm the gas reserves and to comprehensively assess the environmental impact, especially on water. Fossil fuels, like coal and gas, cause pollution, but coal is three times as “dirty” as gas. At the moment, we use mostly coal as it is cheaper and we have a lot of it. If we have sufficient gas, it would mean that we can have cleaner energy without importing gas from elsewhere. The Karoo environment is important, but so is that of Mpumalanga, where most of our coal-fired power is generated. Coal causes much more carbon and pollution than gas, and there are already severe environmental and health consequences.

6. ROADS AND TRANSPORT



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- We need good roads and railways to grow our economy and get more export goods to our harbours. We have 750 000 kilometres of roads in SA. We spend about R10 billion to service and re-tar roads each year. To build one kilometre of single-lane tarred road can cost about R25 million. Only 2 500 km of our roads are tolled – the rest are paid for out of taxes.
- Rail for goods and freight must be developed so that fewer big trucks use our roads. Rail is cheaper and causes less pollution.



PROGRESS MADE

- In 1994 our harbours handled 127 000 tonnes a year, by 2014 this had grown to over 19 million tonnes .
- Airports handle around 500 000 flights.
- Buses and trains are subsidised by government to make public transport more affordable.
- While taxis are not subsidised, we supported the industry through the recapitalisation programme that helped owners buy 85 000 new, safe 16-seater taxis.
- Government maintains over 750 000km of roads and 21 000 km of rail.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- Deepen harbours and build more container ports to increase our ability to export.
- Increase ability to import gas and fuels through harbour upgrades and pipelines from the sea to industrial hubs.
- Make massive investment to improve railway lines and the number of carriages and locomotives so that more goods move by rail and our roads last longer.
- Build railways to major power-generating areas (like mines in Limpopo) to get coal trucks off the roads.
- Increase bus and train public transport in cities and integrate ticketing systems, where possible, so that the same tickets can be used for taxis, buses and trains.
- Continue to research road-surfacing materials that will last longer and be cheaper to maintain.
- Fix urban and rural potholes through public works employment programmes.
- Improve access roads to remote rural areas.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- Roads need billions of rands for repair, maintenance and resurfacing. Tar roads must be resurfaced every ten years or so, and gravel roads have to be scraped monthly or more, often depending on the weather and traffic volumes. The transport budget covers only a part of this work. National roads (N roads) are maintained by the National Roads Agency (SANRAL), R roads by the province and gravel roads by the District Municipality. Local Municipalities maintain urban roads.
- Big national multi-lane roads that cost millions of rands per kilometre have to be financed through loans that are paid back by charging tolls to road users. Our principle is that users should pay for any extras beyond what government can provide to everyone. If we did not apply this principle, the fantastic freeways we have to Maputo and Durban that carry huge volumes of economic and holiday traffic would still be congested, one-lane roads.
- Road, rail and harbours are vital to our economy – without reliable transport, goods cannot be moved to markets. Any transport delays add to the cost of goods and make us less competitive.
- Passenger transport is heavily subsidised by government but is experiencing many problems, especially in urban areas. Passenger trains in some cities have become unreliable, dangerous, and overcrowded. Long delays often frustrate passengers who need to get to work, and cause harm to the economy.
- Safety issues are mainly due to cable theft that interrupts power or signals that the train system needs to run safely. Overcrowded trains that stand still for long periods have become easy places for criminals to rob people. Frustrated passengers have even burnt trains.
- Buses and taxis have also been caught up in strikes, community and taxi-war conflicts and are not as safe as they should be.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

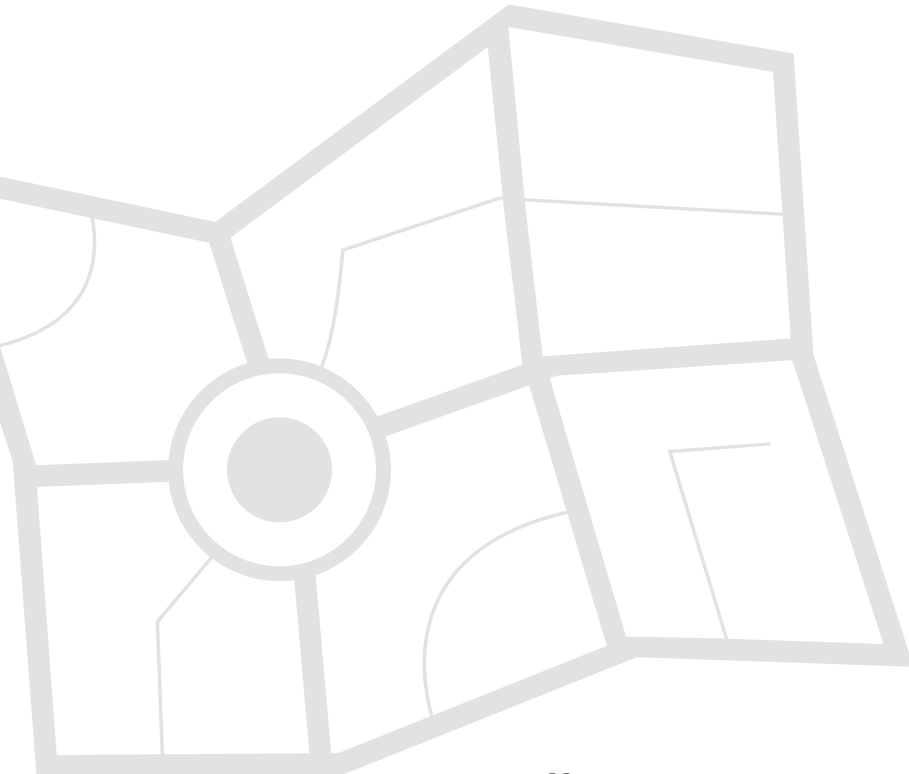
- Improve passenger transport, with better safety, more policing, reliability and integration between forms so you can use the same ticket for a bus, taxi or a train.
- Move more liquids and fuels to pipelines rather than rail or road transport.
- Move freight from road to rail wherever possible to protect road surfaces and avoid congestion.
- Transport is a major contributor to climate change and we must move towards greener forms such as electric or fuel cell, rather than diesel or petrol engines as well as more effective passenger transport and lift and car sharing. All cities should have more efficient and integrated bus and taxi services.
- Improve road safety and traffic policing to lower road deaths and accidents.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why must Gauteng pay e-tolls?

- Gauteng has hundreds of kilometres of new multi-lane freeways built at a cost of about R20 billion before the Soccer World Cup. This is more than our national roads budget for one year. The roads were originally tolled to pay back the money we borrowed to build the freeways.
- Government policy is that users should pay for extra government expenses above what we can give to everyone. So if you use more than the basic free amount of water you pay more. If you use a lot because you have a pool or large garden, you will pay a lot more for your water. Toll roads exist in most provinces and work on that principle everywhere.
- We have agreed that tolls in major urban areas like Gauteng are not viable as it adds too much to the cost of living for commuters. We are committed to finding a better funding solution and are looking at all possible ways of improving funding of roads and other infrastructure.



7. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, CLIMATE CHANGE AND ENVIRONMENT



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- The ANC has supported sustainable development since before we became government. We believe that we should use the Earth's resources wisely, fairly and in a way that will provide for future generations. We need economic development, which means using more energy, more natural resources and more water. We aim to protect the environment and to use it responsibly for development – this includes water, land, the oceans and the air, as well as our animal and plant life. Our vision of the future includes a sustainable economy where all South Africans, including present and future generations, realise their right to a better life and an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being.



PROGRESS MADE

- We have entrenched environmental rights of individuals and communities in the Constitution and in more than 20 laws made by Parliament.
- As government, we signed the Kyoto and Paris protocols to limit our own carbon emissions and to fight climate change.
- All major new developments like power stations, settlements, dams and waste sites have to complete an environmental impact study, before government gives permission.
- We have banned certain types of plastic bags and supported major recycling programmes for waste, plastic, glass, rubber tyres and metal. We have rolled out proper waste management in most communities to make sure that household and industrial waste is properly managed. We have made strict laws and regulations for how medical and chemical waste should be managed.
- The Environmental Police, or Green Scorpions, investigate crimes like the pollution of rivers and air, dumping of medical waste and poaching.
- The Department of Environmental Affairs has also played a huge role in nature conservation, getting rid of alien plants and trees, keeping water clean and protecting our environment. The Department manages 20 national parks and seven trans-frontier parks of over 4 million hectares (with neighbouring countries). These bring millions of tourists to our country, create thousands of jobs and protect our natural heritage. The Department also looks after 22 marine protected areas that are important for marine resources and fish breeding grounds, and hundreds of wetlands.
- The Department has a 24-hour hotline to **report environmental crimes** – 0800 205 005



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- As our economy grows, we need more energy and we have to find replacements for coal as it is the dirtiest source of energy. We are already seeing a dramatic increase in the number of cars on our roads, and the effects on traffic congestion and pollution are obvious.
- South Africa has huge untapped potential for renewable energy. A shift towards renewable energy will reduce our emissions and pollution, and develop sustainable livelihoods, small businesses and job creation opportunities.
- Electric and fuel-cell trucks, buses, taxis and cars also have to be developed to reduce petrol and diesel emissions.
- We must achieve energy efficiency in industry, in households and by setting higher vehicle fuel-efficiency standards.
- We must build affordable public transport, expand rail and limit trucks on the roads, and build more housing close to cities and work.
- We must further integrate climate change considerations with sustainable development strategies, the science and technology agenda, integrated energy planning, transport policy and industrial policy. We must work out the environmental cost of products by calculating the cost of resources, production, disposal and waste management, as well as pursuing the goal of zero-waste production and maximum recycling.
- We must continue building our capacity, and develop a comprehensive strategy, to adapt to the inevitable impacts of climate change, including in the roll-out of basic services, infrastructure planning, agriculture, biodiversity, water resource management and in the health sector.
- We must Introduce environmental studies and the appreciation of nature in the school curriculum.
- We must build partnerships between state institutions, business, trade unions, civil society and communities to address these challenges together.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- South Africa has fantastic riches in biodiversity (animal and plant life) and we are committed to protecting and developing this – millions of tourists come to SA because of our game parks and natural beauty. We are one of the best countries in the world in terms of protecting and conserving our natural animal and plant resources.
- Since the industrial revolution, average global temperatures have risen significantly. The cause is the increase of greenhouse gases (mostly carbon and methane) in our atmosphere, generated by the burning of coal, wood and oil for energy, deforestation, industrialisation, inefficient road transportation, and farming beef and lamb (methane). We must act together to save tomorrow by what we do today.

- The world is moving towards a point where rising temperatures will result in dramatic and irreversible climate impacts that will have dramatic effects on human society and on our natural environment. The polar ice caps are melting; changes are taking place in sea currents and sea temperatures and levels are rising. The hottest temperatures in recorded history have been measured in the last decade, as have the most intense storms, the most destructive floods and the longest-lasting droughts.
- A 2-degree increase in global temperature will probably mean a 4-degree increase in our region. We are already seeing an increase in droughts and this will become much worse.
- Climate change will increase floods and droughts and is a real danger to agriculture and food production as well as housing and jobs – especially in low-lying coastal areas. Changes in climate will affect plants and animals and this will fundamentally change what we can farm and how much water we can use.
- Poor communities will bear the brunt of the costs resulting from climate change – even though they contribute least to global warming. Many African regions and countries are poor and the majority of households depend on small-scale agriculture for food. These countries will struggle to adapt to climate change.
- In South Africa itself, the impacts of climate change will increase droughts in the western side of the country. This will have potentially devastating effects on agricultural production. Global warming is also likely to result in wetter and hotter temperatures in the eastern side of the country, resulting in the spread of diseases such as malaria. Rises in sea levels and the increase in destructive weather events like floods and wind storm, will threaten our coastal cities and the eastern side of the country.
- Climate change is warming the oceans, and this affects fish breeding and our fishing industry on the Atlantic coast.
- The bulk of the world's greenhouse gas emissions is generated by the developed world. However, as the pace of development increases, developing countries, including China, India and South Africa, are contributing an increasing amount to the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.
- South Africa is responsible for about 1% of the world's greenhouse gas emissions and we are the world's 14th largest, and Africa's largest, producer of greenhouse gases. The reason for this is our country's heavy reliance on coal as the main source of our energy.
- South Africa is a signatory of the Kyoto Protocol, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Paris Agreement, which set targets for reducing our emissions.

8. LAND REFORM AND AGRICULTURE



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

We want to use land reform as a tool for both economic development and land redistribution. A very small part of our population own the houses they live in or the land they work on. Land reform will drive an agricultural revolution that gives many black people a stake in our economy. Land restitution to those who lost land under apartheid and colonialism aims to overcome the injustices of the past and give all South Africans a stake in this country. We believe in mixed land ownership (private, state, communal and cooperative) and not in state ownership or nationalisation of land.

There are many different tools we will use for land reform: releasing state land for urban and rural development, settling outstanding land claims for people who lost land under apartheid, giving people title to land and houses they already occupy, and expropriating land that is not being used productively – without compensation where necessary. All this must take place in an orderly and legal way and we will not tolerate land invasions or land grabs. We also want to make sure South Africa produces enough food for ourselves (food security) and for export.

In **urban areas**, we need to accommodate new arrivals and people stuck in poorly planned and distant informal housing. To do this, we will make big portions of state or private land available closer to work opportunities and plan orderly developments for new arrivals who have nowhere to settle legally. We want to give title to all those who presently occupy houses or land legally so that people can use their land and housing as an asset against which they can borrow money or build their family's wealth.

In **rural areas**, we aim to give farm dwellers and workers a bigger economic stake in agriculture. Many farm dwellers are labour tenants who historically farm a piece of a larger farm in return for their labour. This land should be prioritised for expropriation (without compensation) as it is productively used by farm dwellers rather than owners. State land and farms that are not productively used, or are owned by absentee owners, will be another target. This land should be redistributed to people who want to farm and have the skills to do so productively. The state should also give support to new farmers – loans, training, seeds, fertiliser and equipment, and water rights.

In areas with **communal ownership**, we are committed to consultation and dialogue with all stakeholders to solve the complex issues around communal ownership, the power of traditional leaders and trusts that administer land on behalf of the people, as well as the lack of security and title for those who farm and occupy land. Ultimately, we want the best possible solution for lifting people out of poverty and empowering them through transforming land ownership.

We will amend the Constitution and/or any existing laws to make it clearer when and how land can be expropriated. Whatever we do must be within the law.



PROGRESS MADE

- For people who lost land under apartheid, we have settled more than 80 000 claims for more than 3.4 million hectares of land, and paid more than R9 billion in compensation. This has benefited 1.8 million people.
- Over 5,000 farms, comprising 4.2 million hectares, have been transferred to black people, benefiting over 200,000 families.
- More than 4 million families have received ownership of RDP houses and the land they are built on, but not all have title deeds.
- We have just passed a new law to make it easier for government to expropriate land needed for housing or redistribution.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

The ANC government's policies and strategy focus on:

- Giving title deeds to all owners of urban houses or land – especially in townships.
- Continuing to build as many RDP houses as we can afford to deal with migration to the cities.
- Making more land available for serviced sites for people who live in informal settlements or backyards. We will bring together government, stakeholders and owners to fast-track land releases.
- In rural areas, better land administration, spatial planning, funding and implementation to achieve sustainable land reform and improved food security.
- Smallholder farmer development, training and support, as well as training more young people in agricultural colleges.
- Access to improved roads, water and power, markets and agricultural services like coops, seeds, vets, loans and equipment.
- Improving democracy and participation by people living in traditional areas where land is communally owned and administered by traditional structures or leaders.
- Speeding up expropriation for land reform purposes, in line with Section 25 of the Constitution. We will undertake a few test cases immediately to see if the Constitution can be used as is, or needs to be amended to allow expropriation without compensation.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- Black people lost their land under colonialism and apartheid. This was formalised by the 1913 Land Act that prohibited most black people from owning land in “white” areas (87% of the country). From 1960 to 1982, further 3.5 million African, Indian and coloured people were forcibly removed from their homes or their land and the areas they occupied were declared “white areas”. This left us with the situation today, where over 80% of privately owned rural and urban land is in the hands of white people who make up 8% of the population. About 75% of all land is in private hands. Another 14% is owned by government and about 10% is owned communally by people living in traditional rural areas.
- Since 1994, we have implemented a policy of land claims and land reform to reverse the injustice of apartheid. There has been very slow progress and the ownership patterns of the past have not really changed. Land has been very expensive to buy and we have spent more than R50 billion on land reform. New farmers who benefited from land claims or land reform find it difficult to farm profitably without access to water rights, loans, training and technical support. Very few of these farmers have been successful. In many cases, land lies unused or has been sold back to white or commercial farmers.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Effective use and redistribution of available land is key to rural agricultural development and urban housing development close to work opportunities. The need for national food security and effective use of our arable farm land means that we must provide support and training to help small-scale farmers farm successfully.
- In urban areas, we need to urgently identify land owned by the state, SOEs, and other available urban land that can be released for housing or site and service developments. Intergovernmental national, provincial and local cooperation must be used to identify and release land.
- Laws and regulations that deal with expropriation and land-use management must be urgently reviewed to cut red tape and delays, and fast-track land releases.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why is the government’s land redistribution programme taking so long?

- The process has been slow and very expensive, but we have achieved quite a lot. We have spent over R50 billion. Unfortunately, much of the land we have redistributed is not being used productively or has been sold back to established farmers. We are now speeding up land reform, but we must make sure that we do it with the right support so that land is productively used. As a country, we need to continue to feed ourselves and export food – this is called food security.

How will you avoid land grabs and chaos that will drive away investors?

- We have had a democracy for 24 years. On land ownership, we are still divided into those who benefited from our history and those who suffered because of it. This is not sustainable if we want to build a more just and equal society.

It is time to deal with the land issue and to make sure that we overcome the past and restore ownership, economic opportunity and dignity to people robbed by apartheid. The ANC has agreed to use the law and the Constitution to expropriate land, without compensation if needed.

- It will be done in a legal, responsible and consultative manner and we will ensure that the economy and food security are not damaged by the programme. We will first target state-owned land, land owned by absent owners, and land not used productively. We need to target both rural and urban land and make sure that we open up ownership and land use to all our people.
- We are not doing this as an act of revenge but as an act of economic development and of building a more prosperous and equal nation. We will not tolerate illegal land invasions or any disrespect for the rule of law. We will put South Africa first and work in partnership with all who want to build a better life for the people of our country. Investors in business, factories and agriculture have nothing to fear. All government action is guided by the rule of law. We are talking about an orderly, well-consulted and legal land reform programme – not about seizing assets of investors in an arbitrary or reckless way. The ANC conference resolution specifically says that our approach should not damage any other sector of the economy, or our ability to produce enough food for our people. Work with us to find the best way forward.

Why does the ANC government stop people from occupying empty land in the cities and towns?

- Our cities and towns are growing very fast as thousands of people move from rural areas every month. Even though we have provided more than 4 million free RDP houses and informal settlement upgrades, many people still do not have a proper place to stay.
- Government has housing waiting lists and proper plans. Proper development of land to build decent communities takes time and money. When people invade land illegally and set up a new community in a place that is not planned and prepared, there will be no plans for water pipes, no power and no sewage or storm water systems, no schools or clinics, and no roads. The land may also have been set aside for future roads or schools or factories.
- Some people invade private farms where government cannot provide services, because it is on private property and will belong to the land owner. Others build on land that is unsafe for them to live on – under big power lines or next to rivers, railway lines or busy freeways.
- Government has to act when people invade land. It is the only way we can have orderly and decent development in our cities. Anyone who encourages people to invade land is breaking the law and hurting the people they claim to fight for. Others who have waited for years for housing are also hurt when government has to spend unbudgeted money for emergency housing, or fight court cases to deal with invasions.

Why are you adopting EFF land policies – is it because it is election time?

- We have always been committed to land redistribution. The SA Constitution and Bill of Rights mandate government to implement progressive and just land reform and we have made many laws and policies to achieve that. Our conference identified that the pace of transforming ownership of land is much too slow and we decided that we must find better ways of doing it. The EFF would like all land to be nationalised and to belong to the state. They believe all land should be expropriated without compensation and government should decide who to give it to. There are other parties that would like things to stay as they are and for over 80% of land to remain in the hands of white owners.
- The ANC wants change but we want most of our land to belong to the people, not to the state. We believe in a mix of private land ownership and communal or state ownership, where it makes more sense to go that route. We have not adopted the EFFs policies – and are opposed to their reckless and anarchistic approach to land redistribution. We will not tolerate illegal land invasions or land grabs. Everyone who needs access to land must abide by the law and follow the proper process. If we adopt a ‘Wild West’ approach to land allocation, we will soon be dominated by war lords and crime syndicates and the most vulnerable will remain landless.

9. HOUSING AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- Our long-term goal is that all South Africans should have decent housing. Since 1994 we have focused on those who cannot afford to provide for themselves, building basic free homes (RDP), upgrading housing and services in informal settlements, and delivering water, sanitation and power to all households. We aim to help households be self-reliant and our priorities are to provide for those most in need.



PROGRESS MADE

- We have subsidised the building of over 4 million houses (that means completing the building of about 600 houses every working day since 1994.) About a quarter of households live in state-subsidised housing. About 13.5% of South African households were living in ‘RDP’ or state-subsidised dwellings in 2018 compared to 5% in 2002 (General Household Survey, 2016)
- As millions continue moving from rural areas to towns and cities, the need increases and housing remains a priority. Fourteen percent of people still live in informal settlements.
- We also need to increase the supply of affordable urban rental housing and support low-income earners (who do not qualify for RDP houses) to access housing loans.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- By 2019, we aim to have provided almost 5 million housing opportunities and to have speeded up services and upgrades to informal settlements.
- We will subsidise houses for people who do not qualify for RDP houses and earn under R10 000 per month, but still cannot afford to buy a house. We will also encourage employer support for housing – public servants and private-sector employees (including farm workers).
- We will fix defective RDP houses where they were poorly built.
- We will transfer ownership of state rental houses to people who live in them and roll out title deeds to all homeowners to prove their legal ownership.
- We will densify and integrate our cities and build more flats and housing schemes close to cities, so that we do away with apartheid planning and workers can travel to work quickly and cheaply.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- Since 1994, the population of Gauteng has almost doubled, while Cape Town and Durban have also seen massive increases in people moving there for work and education. We spend more than R140 000 per RDP house for building, land and infrastructure – to build a million houses would cost almost a tenth of our whole national budget for one year.
- Households have gotten smaller: in 1994, 5 people lived in each house on average; that number now stands at 3.4 – so we need more houses for the same number of people. At the same time, millions have moved to cities. At the moment, around 3 million households out of more than 16 million households still live in informal settlements or backyard shacks.
- Government cannot give free houses to all who need them – we simply cannot afford it. People over 40 suffered under apartheid and we prioritise them and the most vulnerable. We help younger people with access to loans, subsidies and upgrades.
- National, provincial and municipal government all work on housing, but the legal framework makes decision-making difficult and slows down delivery.
- There is a shortage of suitable land for development in many cities, and poor people are forced to live in informal areas far from work opportunities. Land invasions of unsuitable land undermine proper development planning and this often leads to conflict. People who come to town often have no other options as most cities do not provide land for informal settlements to be set up in an orderly way.
- Massive obstacles in terms of red tape and bureaucratic regulations slow down land release and permission for new housing developments.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Implement spatial development plan that builds transformed cities. Identify suitable land to densify, and ensure access to housing, sites and services for new arrivals.
- Implement land release programme of state-owned land for human settlement development. Expropriate land where needed for urban development. Create areas where new arrivals to cities can build structures in an orderly manner.
- Eradicate sanitation backlog and provide household access to water, refuse removal, security of tenure, area lighting and transport access.
- Support black-owned developers, women and youth empowerment as contractors and suppliers, and increase black ownership within the current large developers.
- Implement measures to provide affordable housing finance for low-income earners and unleash large-scale employer-assisted housing schemes – including the Government Employees Housing Scheme, and other employer support for employees' housing. Set up Human Settlements Development Bank.
- Develop and implement a developmental voucher programme, which will help households and communities to develop housing and sustainable livelihoods.
- Emergency housing and disaster relief to deal with natural disasters, fire and climate change and make sure impact is minimised.
- Support for rural settlements and decent farm-worker housing.
- Urban development projects to ensure large-scale delivery of accessible and affordable rental housing and student accommodation.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why are RDP houses so small and often of poor quality?

- We have chosen to build small RDP houses for about 16 million people, rather than big, more expensive houses for only a few million. RDP houses are for people who will never be able to afford to buy land and build a house. Hopefully with our help they will get a small decent house that they can add to when they can afford to. Each RDP house costs government about R140 000 (R70 000 for the building and R70 000 for the land and infrastructure like power, water, sewage and roads). Where houses are badly built, we are committed to help them fix it.

Why are people allowed to rent or sell RDP houses to others?

- RDP houses are assets that belong to the people who receive them from government. After 8 years, people are allowed to sell these homes and any owners may also rent out their homes. Unfortunately, many people sell their homes for far less than they cost to build. No family will get a second RDP house.

10. HEALTH



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- The ANC wants to ensure that all South Africans can access quality health care so that our people can enjoy longer, healthier and more productive lives.
- Our main focus is providing free clinic services close to every poor community and advanced care at hospitals. We have to deal decisively with preventing and treating AIDS and TB, and other diseases affecting many of our people, such as malnutrition, diabetes and high blood pressure. All children need to be immunised.
- We want to work towards a National Health Insurance system that combines state and private health care and is used by all people to spread the medical services more equally among rich and poor.
- South Africa spends more than 8% of its GDP on health. More than half of this goes to private care and is spent on less than 13% of the population who have lesser health needs. The rest goes to public care for more than 87% of the population who have greater health needs.



PROGRESS MADE

- At the height of the AIDS epidemic, life expectancy went down dramatically to below 50 years but increased to 64 years in 2018. We have the biggest free antiretroviral treatment programme in the world, with more than 4.5 million people on treatment.
- We have made dramatic progress in the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV. In 2004, over 70 000 babies born to HIV-positive mothers became infected. By 2018 this figure had dropped to 4 500, saving tens of thousands of newborn babies per year.
- In 2009, there were 69 000 TB-related deaths, and by 2016 these had dropped to 29 000.
- Access to free primary health care has been expanded from pregnant women and children under six years of age in 1994, to free primary health care of all who need it, today.
- We have massively extended primary health care and clinic services, and most children now receive immunisation.
- NHI has been piloted in 10 health districts and we have learned valuable lessons and made good progress:
 - We have established District Specialist Teams to supervise doctors in each district and further contracted GPs to work in public clinics.
 - We are contracting health professionals – physiotherapists, speech therapists, oral hygienists, occupational therapists, psychologists, optometrists, and more.
 - We have also finalised the infrastructural needs for all 700 health facilities, as well as refurbishment and dealing with backlog maintenance.

- We have completed the building of 34 new and replacement clinics and we are busy with 48 others. This will be a total of 82 new and replacement clinics.
- Outside the 10 pilot districts, we have just completed 96 other clinics and are still busy with 132 others, to give a total of 228 new and replacement clinics.
- Within the pilot districts we have completed the refurbishment of 154 clinics and are still busy with refurbishing 192 others. This will give a total of 346 refurbished clinics in the 10 pilot districts.
- Outside the pilot districts, we have completed refurbishing 135 clinics and are busy with 220 others. This will give a total of 355 refurbished clinics.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- Improve testing and treatment access for people living with HIV and AIDS, TB, diabetes, high blood pressure and other chronic diseases to achieve at least 90% coverage.
- Roll out of the National Health Insurance (NHI) by 2026 to make best use of the private and public health sectors so that all South Africans can receive affordable, quality health care close to where they live.
- Promote of healthy lifestyles – healthy nutrition and exercise, avoiding risky behaviour, ending abuse of alcohol and drugs.
- The NDP has plans to increase the life expectancy of South Africans to at least 70 years by 2030.



BACKGROUND FACTS

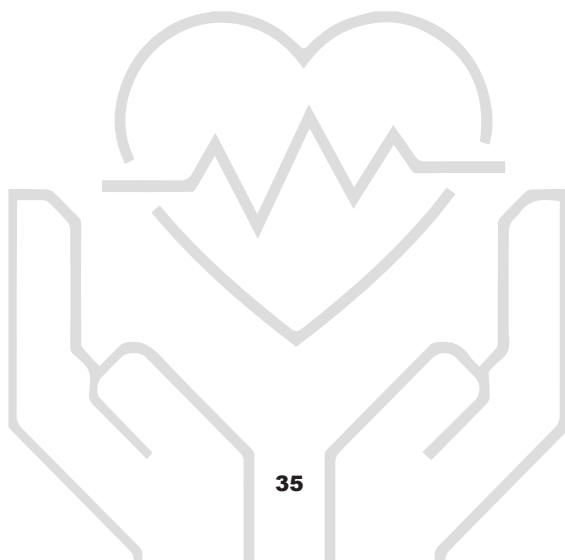
- The ANC government inherited a fragmented, unequal and racially segregated health system, with world-class private and teaching hospitals in cities and poor access to any health care for the majority of people in rural areas and Bantustans. The African and coloured population carried the heaviest burden of disease.
- HIV and AIDS from the late 90s had a devastating effect on health and health services, resulting in a huge decrease in life expectancy and increases in infant mortality. The massive treatment campaign from 2004 onwards has reversed these trends but the disease remains a big challenge, with 15-20% of adults affected and about 270 000 new infections each year.
- TB has 450 000 new infections each year and remains one of our biggest causes of death, especially for mine workers and people living in informal settlements or in poor and overcrowded conditions. Drug-resistant TB has developed and is more costly and difficult to treat.
- Most of the medicines used are imported and expensive. Storage and distribution systems are often weak, corruption and stealing of stock, or spoiling due to expiry date or lack of refrigeration, are common. All of these factors add to the cost of medicines.

- Many medical doctors and skilled nurses leave to work in other countries, and those who remain often prefer to work in big cities and the private sector. This leads to a huge skills shortage in the state health sector, especially in rural areas.
- Basic services such as laundry, cleaning, catering and security are outsourced in most hospitals and this adds to cost and inefficiency.
- There is still a great divide between private and public health care, with 80% of all health spending in the private sector, which serves less than 20% of our people.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- National Health Insurance remains a priority of government and it must be expanded to include other areas.
- We must fix key issues facing the public health system: human resources, procurement and supply chain systems, financial management and infrastructure maintenance.
- We must encourage healthy lifestyles, exercise and community facilities and improve the quality of health of the people.
- We must strengthen school health services and deploy nurses to schools to implement health plans.
- We must establish a state-owned pharmaceutical company and improve medicine storage, distribution and controls.
- We must recruit and keep sufficient specialists, doctors and nurses in our public health system.



11. WATER



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- Access to water is a basic right and our goal is to get clean and safe water to every household in SA by 2030. More than 88% of households now have access to clean water – it was less than half that under apartheid. We also aim to give better access to water rights for new farmers. Billions are spent on dams and pipes every year and we maintain existing water pipes, dams and purification plants and build new infrastructure to meet the needs of our people and our economy. We must make better use of water since we are a water-scarce country. We must improve re-using or recycling water, capturing and storing roof and grey water, and fix all leaks in taps and pipes that waste water.



PROGRESS MADE

- Today, 9 out of 10 households have access to water, up from 6 out of 10 (just 5 million households) in 1994. By 2016, this number grew to 15.2 million so we connected 10 million more households in that time – about 1 300 per working day. More work has to be done, especially in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape.
- Since 1994, 13 major dams have been built, and we have made massive investments in Lesotho dams to supply Gauteng. We upgraded and raised many dam walls to increase our capacity to store water.
- Continuing droughts from 2015 in most provinces taught us a lot about using water wisely, recycling, using water tanks, desalination and other options.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- The ANC remains committed to achieve the NDP target to get water to every household by 2030 – even in rural areas.
- We have built two massive new dams in the last five years and are building two more. Many smaller dams are being built or upgraded. Phase 2 of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project will secure water for Gauteng for 2030 and beyond. Pipelines are being built to bring water to where it is needed in Limpopo. An acid mine drainage cleanup plant was built in Gauteng in 2014. Bigger treatment plants are planned in Witwatersrand's eastern, central and western basins. Together with the Lesotho Highlands Project, these will secure clean water in Gauteng until 2050.
- We are reviewing all municipal water storage and distribution to make sure that water is safe for all to use. Municipalities are getting grants to upgrade their water and sewage plants.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- South Africa is one of only 12 countries where tap water is safe to drink throughout the country. This is because we spend so much on capturing, storing and distributing water in a safe and clean way.
- We are a water-scarce country so we have to manage our water resources carefully. Most water is used for growing food. Mining and industry, followed by households, are the next biggest users.
- In 2015/16, we had a drought throughout the country, but thanks to rainfalls during the beginning of 2017, water resources have improved significantly in the northern parts of the country. However, water remains very limited in Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Northern Cape, where the 2016-2018 rainfall has been the worst in hundreds of years.
- Drought and decreased rainfall is predicted for most of South Africa due to climate change and increased temperatures in the next 30 years. This means we will have to change the way we use water and recycle, re-use and save water everywhere. Clean pure water is needed for human use, but for agriculture and some industry, grey (roof or dirty) water can be used.
- As we roll out more water services, put more land under irrigation and get more factories and mines working, we will face more water shortages. We have to deal with waste of water and make sure that we make every drop count.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Ensure there is legislation that makes water public and not private property. Water rights may not be transferred or traded. Small farmers must get better access to water rights
- Planning for water distribution needs to be improved to account for all different water uses – households need water but we cannot lose jobs because farms and businesses run out of water. This needs increased capacity of municipalities to recycle, store and distribute water, and price it so that high users pay more and all are guaranteed a basic amount of water.
- Further investments are needed in water infrastructure, especially in rural and new urban areas.
- Massive water campaigns are needed to educate all users on being water-wise.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

How do you get access to the free basic amount of water?

- Every household that cannot afford to pay for water gets 6 000 litres of water free every month. Municipalities have to provide this amount before charging for water. Some municipalities do this for everyone and others have a system where only poorer households get access. Once the basic amount is used the household has to pay for water. If the system is not working properly in your area, contact your ANC councillor to help you get access.

Why are we still not getting our free water?

- We are moving as fast as we can afford to provide a basic amount of free services to all who need it. But we can only spend money that government gets from taxes and from selling services like water and electricity to people and businesses.
- Dams and power stations are costly and we will never be able to provide unlimited free services. We have to borrow money to build dams and power stations and then pay it back with the money we make from selling water and electricity. Those who use more have to pay more for the water and power they use.
- We will not stop until everyone has electricity and water in their houses and access to decent toilets. Wherever these services do not exist, we have a plan to bring them as soon as possible.

Why are we having so many droughts and running out of water?

- South Africa is a water-scarce country. In the last four years, we have had serious drought in most provinces. Climate change will probably cause drought more often in future and we will have to learn to live with it. We need water to grow food and water for industry and households. Water cannot be created – we have to use all the water on earth again and again, and that means we must treat it as a valuable and scarce resource.
- We have to start catching as much of the rain that falls as we can in dams and water tanks. We have to recycle our sewage water and re-use it. Even in our own homes, we have to learn to make every drop count and use our dirty washing water for flushing toilets or watering gardens. We have to stop polluting water with chemicals and oil so that it is fit for human use. We must make sure all of us protect and share this most important of all resources.

12. TOILETS AND SANITATION



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- The ANC sees access to decent sanitation as a basic human right, important for the dignity and health of our people. Everyone should access decent sanitation by 2030



PROGRESS MADE

- In 1995, half of households had no access to decent toilets and now it is only 2.4%. Households with access to improved sanitation increased from 62,3 per cent in 2002 to 80,9 per cent in 2016
- We have managed to get decent toilets to 5m more households. We are working hard to get basic toilets to all - especially in informal settlements and rural areas.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- Our goal is still to reach 100% decent sanitation, and we are upgrading and assessing all municipal sewage works to make sure they can safely treat sewage.
- We have almost eliminated bucket toilets in formal settlements and they will be used only where proper toilets have not yet been installed or cannot be installed.
- In some remote or dry areas, it is not possible to connect to water for flushing, or to sewage pipes to take the sewage away to sewage plants to treat it. There we build other safe, decent toilets – like ventilated pit toilets. Schools with poor sanitation will be prioritised.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- We need to upgrade sewage plants and pipes in many municipalities to handle the increased sewage caused by urbanisation and the roll-out of flush toilets to millions. Current infrastructure needs to be maintained and upgraded in order to ensure quality. In some areas, untreated sewage runs off into rivers and affects our clean water supply.
- The NDP aims to decrease water use by 15% – we have to find green solutions to sanitation problems, like flush toilets that use less water. In areas with no water and infrastructure, we need to use technology like composting toilets, ventilated improved pit toilets and septic tanks.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Fast track efforts towards the eradication of the remaining bucket toilets.
- Roll out basic sanitation infrastructure in rural areas and informal settlements.
- Build extra sewage treatment plants and maintain and upgrade existing ones.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Will all houses ever have flush toilets?

- Flush toilets are safe and clean but need a lot of water and infrastructure like water pipes, sewage pipes and sewage plants for treating sewage. Some households are in places where infrastructure is not available, or water is scarce, or pipes cannot be built. There we have to use other safe options like improved pit toilets, or composting toilets that turn the human waste into safe compost.

Why is there so much dirty sewage water flowing into our rivers?

- Sewage must be treated and made safe before the water used can go back into the water system. We spend billions doing this and have to fix problems where they exist, but SA is one of only 12 countries in the world where tap water is safe to drink throughout the country – we rank 4th in the world when it comes to the quality of our water. But we have to work hard to keep it like that. Government checks the quality of all water regularly to keep our water safe. We are upgrading or building more sewage treatment plants and rolling out proper toilets so that untreated sewage does not get into the water system.

13. INNOVATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- We need economic growth to increase our nation's wealth and end poverty. The world is very competitive and without research, development and innovation, we will not be able to grow our economy. We need to build skills and research capacity to find solutions to problems, invent new technology, and to develop our industries. We should spend at least 1.5% of our gross domestic product on research and development. We have to find local solutions to problems that are environmentally sustainable and help to create jobs and overcome poverty and inequality. Government, business support, and university training and research programmes must cooperate to build scientific and technological capacity and new inventions.



PROGRESS MADE

- Since 1994, we have improved science and technology capacity to support innovation for the needs of our country. We set up a National System of Innovation to bring together government, business and academics to develop new technology and add value to our economy.
- We support 19 000 science students to do PhD and MSc research to invent new technologies, and find solutions for challenges around water use, energy production, and the economy.
- We have invested massively in internet access for schools and poor communities – broadband is the key to young people being part of the 4th Industrial Revolution.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- We need to add value to our minerals and food products before export – science and technological innovation must be supported strongly to achieve this
- We have to grow industry and production in factories to provide more decent jobs
- We must invent new solutions to African problems, and new technology that we can patent, manufacture and sell to the world. We also need better access to broadband.
- We have to produce more basic products in SA to avoid imports and grow jobs
- We have to increase the number of science and technology graduates. This year the Department of Science and Technology will invest R1.4 billion to support at least 10 800 Honours and masters students, 3 100 PhD students, 4 500 researchers and 690 interns.



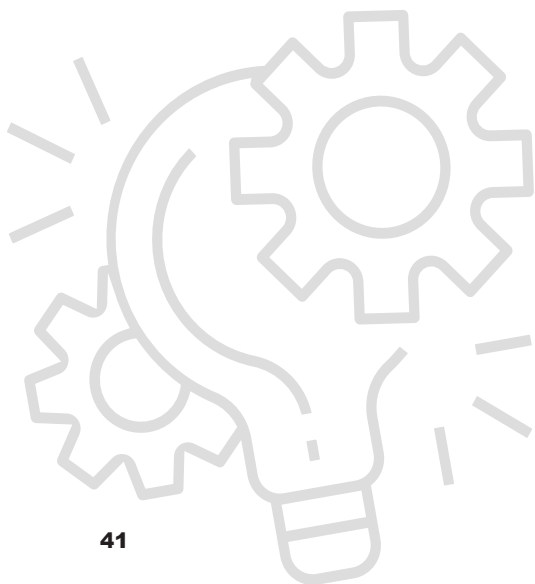
BACKGROUND FACTS

- Under apartheid SA had research and scientific capacity but it was mostly geared to serving the needs of the military and the minority white community.
- We are spending half of what we should be spending (0.75% of GDP) and need to invest more.
- Our education system produces few matrics with high science and math marks and too few science or technology graduates. We do not produce the numbers of technicians we need.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Increase investment in Research and Development (R&D) to 1.5% of GDP by 2019
- Encourage grassroots and social innovation to develop products, services and technologies. Science literacy programmes should include villages and townships and Wi-Fi spots
- All sectors must account on progress in using science, technology and innovation, working with institutions such as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).
- Invest in the potential of the digital economy to create new jobs – increased access to cheap data.
- Link innovation and entrepreneurship with higher education to assist innovative students.
- Accelerate the beneficiation of minerals so that we add value to resources before export.
- Encourage and direct government, labour and business to use locally produced products and technologies.



14. WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EQUALITY



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

The ANC has done a lot to fulfil the commitment to end discrimination against women and to make sure women play an equal role in government. All laws that discriminate have been scrapped and women have equal access in law to education, jobs and opportunities. We must now focus on making sure that these rights are applied in practice and on changing the sexist attitudes that lead to women abuse, lower wages and discrimination.



PROGRESS MADE

- In 1994, the representation of women in Parliament stood at 28% – it is now 43%. Provincial Legislatures were 25% - now 42%. For provincial legislatures, the figure is 42% (up from 25%), and in local government it stands at 41%, up from 28% in 2000.
- In the public service, 41% of managers are now women. Our target is to get to 50%.
- More girls than boys used to drop out of school. Now more girls than boys get matric.
- In 1994 fewer than 300 000 children got state support; now about 14 million children get support – paid to mothers or grandmothers
- We changed laws that discriminate against women in terms of jobs, property ownership, divorce, maintenance, traditional marriage, etc. We have also made employment equity laws for government and companies to set targets to achieve greater representation of women.
- The termination of pregnancy laws have saved many young women from dying at the hands of unqualified practitioners.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- Build a society where women live as full equals, with no fear of violence, and all have opportunities to reach their potential.
- Improve women's representation in management in companies and government, through Employment Equity, sector charters, and supporting education and opportunities for women
- Ensure that women make up at least half of all beneficiaries of government programmes aimed at training or creating work or small business opportunities.
- Challenge and change sexist attitudes and make it easier for women to report abuse by setting up more sexual offences courts and support at police stations.
- Prosecute and fine men who do not pay maintenance.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- Although we have made great progress in achieving equality for women and ending discrimination, there is much more to do. Women earn less than men for the same work and female-headed households are more likely to be poor. Women do most of the unpaid work in the home and in caring for children and the elderly.

- Violence against women is still a problem and some people still see women as inferior to men. African women especially are poorly represented in management in business. In government, we are working towards 50% women in management but have only achieved 41%.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why do some men feel that women are now getting privileges that men do not get?

- Women are not being put above men. We want to make sure that women are not treated as second-class citizens or as servants to men. Because women are still far behind men in good jobs and equal and decent pay, there has to be some affirmative action for women to bring about equality. Far more women than men are poor, and in many families, the children are looked after by a single mother on her own. Women have to be targeted for education, support, employment and empowerment.
- Women are also the main victims of violence from partners and we must focus on changing our culture and our attitudes so that we all work together to change the behaviour of men who rape or beat women.

15. HUMAN RIGHTS, DISCRIMINATION, SOCIAL COHESION AND NATION-BUILDING



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- The ANC vision is to build a more equal, just and humane society where all human beings are treated with respect and dignity, where all enjoy the rights and protections enshrined in our Bill of Rights, and no one exploits or discriminates against another.



PROGRESS MADE

- From a society based on racism and exploitation, we have built a new democratic rights-based society with a Constitution and laws that are admired everywhere.
- The Constitution and Bill of Rights protect individuals from discrimination on the basis of race, religion, gender, sexual preference, etc. They guarantee freedom of speech and the media, freedom to join any organisation, the rights to fair trial, freedom of religion, and the right to vote. They ensure socio-economic rights to housing, education and health care – within the limits of what government can afford.
- We have made massive progress in ending discrimination and providing more opportunities for black people and women, but economic inequality remains.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- Government must work with civil society and employers and all institutions to ensure that rights of individuals are respected in practice and through the courts, and to bring to justice those who deny the rights of others. This includes racism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia and anything else that undermines the rights and dignity of others.
- The NDP as a whole is aimed at eradicating poverty and reducing inequality to build a fairer, more equal and just society.
- The Commission on Gender Equality and the Ministry for Women, Children and People with Disabilities must set targets for the advancement of women's rights and report on progress.
- Public employment programs must target women, youth and the disabled.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- The Bill of Rights says no one can be unfairly discriminated against on the basis of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language or birth. These rights are not always respected in practice and people may face discrimination, and even violence, from their communities, employers or others. The ANC and government must ensure that all people's rights are respected
- Many groups still face discrimination, marginalisation and social rejection – especially youth, elderly, women, people afflicted with albinism, people living with HIV/AIDs, people with disabilities, LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and intersex persons), and foreign nationals living in SA.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Promote education around human rights and the Constitution.
- Train officials in the police and justice system to ensure they are sensitive to people's rights and provide the protection intended by the law.
- South Africa has signed various international conventions that protect human rights and the ANC government has given those commitments legal force.
- The rights and access of persons with disabilities must be strengthened through campaigns and making all public buildings accessible for persons with disabilities.
- Work with private sector to ensure women are part of economy and decision-making structures.
- Create new cities and towns that promote the de-racialisation of society.
- Support youth to complete school and study and campaign against drugs, alcohol abuse and crime.
- Improve sex education and services for people of all sexual and gender orientations.
- Make sanitary products available free to poor learners.

- Customary, cultural and religious practices are subject to the protection given to individuals by the Constitution and Bill of Rights, and may not be enforced against the will of an individual.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

How can the ANC allow practices that are against our culture or religion?

- Our society has a majority of Christians and a substantial number of Muslims, Hindus and Jews, among others. Some rights in our Bill of Rights and Constitution may be difficult for some religious or cultural groups to accept, such as the right of women to make decisions about their bodies, the right to choose sexual preference or gender identity, and others' cultural practices.
- The Bill of Rights binds us together as a nation, protecting all of us. We support the Bill of Rights that says there may be no discrimination. People are free to follow the faith or culture of their choice, and neither government nor any one religious group can impose particular religious beliefs or practices on anyone. There are many differing views about what religions and cultures say on these issues, and government cannot rule on your own personal choice. But if you want your rights protected, government and the courts must help you to do so.
- All beliefs are protected by the Constitution and no one can force anyone else to act against their own beliefs. At the same time, no one has the right to harm another or discriminate against someone for what they believe in. Our laws protect everyone.

What is the ANC doing to stop racism and other forms of discrimination in South Africa?

- The ANC believes that all people should have equal rights and should live without fear of discrimination or oppression. Our most important values are non-racialism, non-sexism, unity and democracy. We sacrificed for decades to defeat apartheid and to win democracy and equality for all our people. In government we have made a Constitution and laws that will ensure that no one ever again becomes a second-class citizen.
- We come from a divided past and some still try to turn us against each other. There is still a small minority of people who cling to the apartheid idea that they are racially superior and this causes anger and conflict in our communities.
- However, acting alone will not change things. We have to teach everyone to be tolerant and respectful of differences, but at the same time to treat all people as members of one human race – no matter where they come from, their colour, religion, education, culture or sexuality. The real wealth of this country is its people. South Africans are famous for our humanity and our victory over evil. Together we will achieve great things and build a much better world.
- In the society the ANC is building there is no place for a super race or class. There can be no xenophobia or homophobia. Women and men must live and work as equals. Each of us must know that we have the same rights and freedoms and that there is place for all of us.

Why are Indian and coloured people being discriminated against?

- We are all South Africans and the ANC is committed to equality and justice for all. Affirmative action is supposed to benefit all black people (African, Indian and coloured people), so that we can give extra support to those who were discriminated against in the past. Everyone now has equal rights and as government we must try hard to make sure that everyone has equal access to education and jobs. However, statistics show that we still have great inequalities between different groups, with Africans still being the poorest, with least access to jobs and education. Affirmative action and employment equity mean that our targets for all groups are equal to the percentage each group makes up within the larger population. So if 80% are African, we should try to have 80% Africans in every job sector and about 10% coloureds and 9% whites.
- It may feel like discrimination to some who now have a hard time getting jobs or university places, but we should remember that apartheid was a vicious system of affirmative action for whites. The apartheid government spent ten times as much on white children's education than on African children. Now everyone has an equal chance and no group should be favoured.
- The law on Employment Equity states that provincial government should use provincial population figures to decide how many of each group to employ (so in the Western Cape provincial government, coloured people should have more than half the jobs at managerial and all other levels). National government departments can use national or regional figures.
- We are trying our best to overcome the discrimination of the past without treating anyone unfairly. If the system we are using to fix discrimination hurts or excludes anyone, let us know how we can still improve. We are open to any ideas that will help overcome past injustice.
- We are all saddened by the deaths of thousands of desperate Africans who drown while crossing from Africa to Europe – and we demand that they be treated like human beings by Europe and be rescued and protected. In the same way, we must protect the vulnerable and desperate people who come to South Africa to look for work or safety. Some have the right papers and are refugees from wars, or migrants with job offers. Others come without papers, driven by conflict or poverty, and the desperate need to feed their families.
- In most countries, migrants do not cause job losses for locals. They come with skills and help with economic development – they work hard and start small businesses. Even in South Africa, migrants often employ local people, buy from SA businesses and factories, and provide us with cheaper goods. Others come here because they have skills we need – like accountants, engineers, maths teachers and nurses. We need to make sure we benefit from the skills immigrants bring.
- At the same time, we need to tighten our borders so that people cannot cross them illegally and so that we know who is here. Where people come to commit crimes or sell drugs, we need to use the law to deal with them in the same way that we deal with all criminals. Those who undermine the law will be arrested and/or deported. Where there is competition and bad feelings in a community we have to sit and talk and find a positive way forward.

- We should never forget that most immigrants are our neighbours and fellow Africans. In the past they helped us and housed us when we were the refugees and migrants – they stood with us even when the apartheid defence force attacked them or funded civil wars in their countries (Angola and Mozambique).

16. CRIME



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

The ANC aims to build a society where all are treated with respect and dignity, where no one is exploited or abused, and everyone feels safe in their homes and on the streets. We are committed to the fight against crime and will do everything possible to protect our people – especially against violent crime. Crime is unacceptably high and far too many people are assaulted, raped, murdered and robbed. We are working hard to build an effective police service that can investigate and catch criminals, a justice system that can prosecute and convict them, and a prison system that can securely keep them in prison and rehabilitate them before reintegration in society.

Most violent crimes are committed by people who have themselves been victims of violence in their family, community or at school. The fight against crime is not just the responsibility of the state – every community and every one of us has to share the responsibility to build a safer country. We must unite against those in our midst who commit violence and crimes, protect each other, and work together to address all the causes of crime.



PROGRESS MADE

- Before 1994 policing mainly focused on keeping white areas safe and enforcing apartheid and defeating resistance in black areas. Since then, we have refocussed policing to deal with crime and community safety. The police service dealing with crime has almost doubled in size and police stations have been opened in every part of South Africa. We have dramatically increased police on the streets and the number of stations and satellite stations to bring police closer to the people.
- Our approach to policing has been to involve the community in every way possible – through partnership, education and police station accountability. Community Police Forums play a major role in this.
- Many laws have been passed to protect women and children from abuse and to make it easier to prosecute offenders. For these crimes in the financial year 2017/18, 692 life sentences were handed out, and sentences of 30 521 years were given to offenders.
- Special units have been set up to investigate crimes, and abuse and victim support centres have been set up at many police stations.

- Laws have been changed to make it compulsory to give longer sentences to criminals convicted of violent crime and in most cases they are not allowed bail.
- We have tightened gun control and the issuing of gun licences. In all areas plagued by violent gangs or taxi or political violence, we are starting to systematically search to uncover illegal firearms.
- Security in prisons and courts has been tightened to prevent escapes.
- The backlog of criminal cases has been greatly reduced to ensure that offenders are brought to trial as quickly as possible.
- Special units have been set up to investigate and prosecute sophisticated crimes like rhino poaching, commercial crimes and corruption, and we are seeing a big increase in prosecutions.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- To build a safe society where individuals, communities and businesses can thrive, we need to dramatically lower the rate of robberies, hijackings, murder, rape, and drug and human trafficking. These crimes are usually driven by organised crime syndicates.
- This requires a highly professional and sophisticated police service. Specialised crime intelligence units and operations have been set up and will be strengthened to deal with crimes like smuggling, poaching, cash heists, shopping mall robberies, gangsterism and drugs.
- Community and police cooperation will be strengthened and supported so that everyone becomes part of the fight against crime and the programmes to prevent crime.
- We will develop educational and support programmes to stop woman and child abuse, and femicide, and support women and children who are abused or raped. Shelters, victim support programmes and protection from the police must be accessible.
- Whenever new threats present themselves, rapid and coordinated strategies and responses will be developed to bring together all arms of law enforcement – for example, in response to police or political killings, taxi or gang wars, violent protests, etc.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- South Africa in 1994 had one of the highest rates of murder, assault and rape in the world. In general, violent crime statistics are slowly going down. The rate of murder and violent assault has gone down since 1994, but started rising again after 2012. The rate of rapes reported to the police went up at first and then declined. We need to continue building an environment where people feel safe to report incidences of sexual assault.
- Crime is often driven by gang bosses and crime syndicates who use poor youth as foot soldiers to turn crime into profitable business. House and business robberies, the drug trade, prostitution, human trafficking, rhino horn poaching and car hijacking are all good examples of this crime business model.
- More sophisticated violent crime is often carried out by professionals who have military or police training – for example cash-in-transit heists, shopping mall robberies and kidnappings.

- Contact crimes such as assault, rape and robbery are enabled when society turns a blind eye to their occurrence. There is too much tolerance for lawlessness in our communities in that people buy stolen goods, tolerate drug dealers (or live in fear and silence of these drug dealers) hide behind cultural norms so as not to interfere in family disputes, especially in domestic violence and domestic abuse.
- Crime between individuals (such as assault, rape, battery and assault) is fed by our general acceptance of violent, anti-social and immoral behaviour. One in five women are regularly beaten by their partners and children grow up witnessing this. Abused children often develop emotional and learning problems, and feel unprotected and unvalued. Many people who become substance abusers or violent adults, were themselves victims of abuse.
- Some crimes like rape, battering and murder of women are rooted in the power relations between men and women, we have to change attitudes that view women as only serving the needs of men. We also have to provide security and support for women and children who are abused, make sure that every perpetrator knows that it is socially unacceptable to rape or abuse anyone, and prosecute those who do it.
- Many crimes are fuelled by alcohol or drug abuse. Criminals driven by alcohol or drug addiction need serious intervention, as the only way to break the cycle of addiction and abuse is proper psychological and medical support and rehabilitation.
- Countries that have turned crime around have done so mainly by effective rehabilitation of offenders and by enforcing the law so that offenders know that they will probably be caught and found guilty, and will pay a heavy price for their crime. This cannot be done without community support and participation. It also requires an effective police service, a strong prosecution service, efficient courts and a secure prison system that keeps criminals off the street and rehabilitates offenders before release back into society.



KEY FOCUS AREAS

- Community participation must be strengthened and zero tolerance for crime and interpersonal violence must be promoted.
- The development of a professional police service with the specialised units needed to combat crime. This includes beefing up intelligence, forensic capacity and the use of IT. The top management of the police, Hawks, crime intelligence and the NPA must be skilled professionals who have the commitment and capacity needed to effectively lead the fight against crime. Allegations of corruption, poor performance and ill-discipline must be speedily dealt with.
- We must build a more integrated justice system so that there is close cooperation between police, prosecutors, the court and prison systems.
- We must rehabilitate those convicted so that prisons do not become “universities of crime” but are changed into places where offenders deal with their own problems, and learn new skills and attitudes that will turn them into valued members of their communities and families.
- We must improve morale and working conditions of, especially among police officers who work under difficult and dangerous conditions, and recognise the many who do very good work.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why is crime just getting worse?

- Crime was on the increase for several years before 1994. This was the result of the disastrous economic and social consequences of apartheid – unemployment, social dislocation, broken families and marginalisation of many communities. Taken together with the high levels of violence in society, the easy availability of weapons, and the involvement of some in the apartheid police in criminal activities, the early years of democracy saw this trend continue.
- But the ANC has, together with the people, worked hard to fight crime and to fight the causes of crime. The police service has been restructured and largely transformed. It is better resourced and better trained. Specialist units like the Hawks have been set up to tackle organised crime, corruption and other major criminal activity. Special interventions have been made at police stations in the areas worst hit by crime. Community Policing Forums (CPFs) have been set up around the country to involve communities in tackling crime.
- The result of all these efforts is that many categories of serious crimes have stabilised, or started to decline. But levels of violent crime like robberies, hijackings, rape and femicide are still far too high, and are rising in some areas. The challenge now is for all South Africans to work together to bring these crime levels down permanently.

Why does it seem as if crimes like rape, child abuse and the murder of women are getting worse?

- Violence against women and children, including sexual violence, is a major problem facing our country. While there is no excuse for these kinds of crimes, many abusers were themselves victims of abuse as children. Drug and alcohol abuse, and the status of women in society, also play a role in the high levels of violence against women and children. Fighting violence against women and children must therefore include efforts to tackle attitudes by some men towards women, to empower women, and to deal with issues like drug and alcohol abuse.
- As South Africans have worked hard to expose the abuse of women and children, and to encourage people to report these crimes. It is difficult to tell whether these crimes are happening more often, or whether we are simply being more open and talking more about them.
- Whatever the case, violence against women and children is a problem that we all have a responsibility to address. The ANC has made progress in dealing with woman and child abuse through ensuring more courts are “child-friendly”, making stronger laws against domestic abuse and sexual assault, providing support to victims, introducing education for children in schools about avoiding and reporting abuse, running massive campaigns every year, and establishing special police units.

17. CORRUPTION AND STATE CAPTURE



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- Corruption undermines government's ability to deliver to the people. It is totally unacceptable that parts of the state have been used to serve personal interests. The ANC has put strict laws in place to prosecute corruption and safeguard state money. We set up powerful institutions like the Public Protector, the Special Investigating Unit and the Hawks to combat corruption. In spite of these efforts, powerful individuals managed to loot government resources for their own benefit. This goes against every value and principle for which the ANC fought. The past year has revealed many new cases of corruption and, like all South Africans we are shocked by the scale of corruption and the allegations of state capture and we are determined to root it out.
- We will use Parliament, commissions, investigators and courts to get to the bottom of the problem and deal with the offenders. As the ANC, we will take strong action against any of our leaders found guilty of corruption. In government, public servants and politicians will be held to account for any wrong deeds.



PROGRESS MADE

- We have strong laws against corruption, money laundering, politicians and public servants doing business with state, and tender fraud.
- We set up the Special Investigation Unit, the Public Protector, the Asset Forfeiture Unit, and the Hawks and they investigate and prosecute thousands of cases per year.
- We dramatically improved the capacity of financial officers and managers in government through better recruitment, assessment and on-going training – for example all senior managers in municipalities now have to pass a two year course in financial management.
- We developed laws that regulate all contracts, tenders and procurement by government, and enforce and monitor these through Treasury. All departments are audited every year by the independent Auditor-General.
- In spite of all these measures, there was a sharp increase in allegations of corruption in the state in the last few years. The ANC takes these seriously and has taken action to expose those who steal from the people. Our last conference took a very strong stand against corruption and since then we have taken big steps. This includes the recall of top leaders and ministers in government, and board members, CEOs and CFOs who did not prevent or deal with corruption.
- The corruption and state capture inquiries in Parliament in 2017 and 2018 addressed the mispending and looting of money from state-owned companies and departments. In the first few months of 2018, many members of the boards and top management were replaced in Eskom, Transnet, SAA and Prasa to start the clean-up. Many of the offenders will be prosecuted. Some ministers responsible for departments involved were also replaced.

- There are enquiries, court cases, disciplinary processes or investigations into the conduct of many of those who were meant to protect us from corruption – among them senior prosecutors, police and investigators, SARS, intelligence agencies and politicians.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- The NDP aims for a professional public service where managers deal properly with contracts, tenders and procurement and are less vulnerable to political or other pressure.
- We must strengthen the key anti-corruption body, the Special Investigating Unit (SIU), which investigates corruption in the public service.
- We must improve the capacity of financial officers and managers in government through better recruitment, assessment and on-going training – for example, all senior managers in municipalities now have to pass a two-year course in financial management.
- We have made it impossible for public servants and politicians to do business with government and will subject all senior public servants and politicians to lifestyle audits when deemed necessary.



BACKGROUND FACTS

- Need to strengthen our capacity to deal with private sector corruption.
- We are making laws that make it more difficult for public servants to be corrupt.
- The Financial Intelligence Centre checks that no one is receiving money under the table and together with SARS they look at any undeclared income.
- The anti-corruption units all work together to investigate and prosecute offenders.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why does it take so many years for anyone to be convicted in big corruption cases?

- There are close links between corrupt people in government, wealthy business people and sometimes even organised crime syndicates. Many accused are very wealthy and can delay justice for years with expensive court cases and applications fought by the best advocates they can afford. Our justice system presumes innocence until someone is convicted. We use asset forfeiture laws to freeze their bank accounts and confiscate their assets until the case is completed to prevent criminals taking money out of the country. It may take years, but we will not give up and will use the full might of the law, the police, the NPA and the courts to bring them to justice and to take back any ill-gotten wealth.

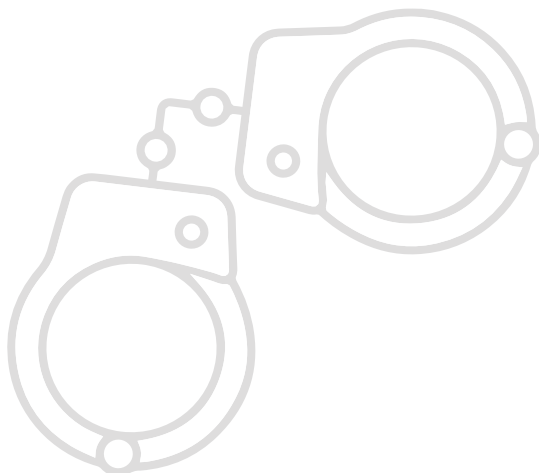
What will the ANC do to stop corruption in its ranks and to stop protecting people who break the law?

- The ANC has a code of conduct with clear rules about the ethics and morals we expect from our leaders and members. Anyone found guilty of corruption will be disciplined

by our disciplinary committees. We set up an Integrity Commission made up of elders who can advise our structures on how to deal with someone accused of corruption before they are found guilty by courts. The NEC is making new rules for how this will take place. At Nasrec, we passed tough new resolutions that force ANC leaders and public representatives to subject themselves to lifestyle audits, to report corruption they become aware of, and to declare all their assets. All accused of corruption immediately have to explain themselves to the Integrity Commission, and can be suspended if there is no adequate explanation given.

Are some businesses running government by buying politicians?

- We have made laws that no politicians may run businesses that work with the state. No politician may serve on structures that decide tenders, or make any decisions about tenders or award contracts. Politicians should not accept money or favours from anyone who is doing business with their departments. Where politicians break these rules they must be investigated by the SAPS or the Public Protector, charged and put before a court. If found guilty, they must go to jail.
- All over the world, business people try to buy influence from politicians. We are determined that our movement and our government are not for sale. All parties accept donations from business – but no one should expect tenders for their donations. If you know of this happening report it to the **corruption hotline at 080 11 11 660**.



18. GOVERNMENT AND OVERSIGHT



SUMMARY: ANC GOALS

- The ANC fought hard to bring democracy to South Africa. The Constitution states how government works and the powers and functions of national, provincial and local government. The three spheres of government are autonomous and not hierarchical, where, for example, provincial could tell local what to do. The Constitution also sets out the powers of Parliament, the provincial legislature or the local council to oversee the work of government, to make policies and to pass laws.
- We want government to deliver effectively to the people, to develop our country's economy and human resources, and to build a more equal and just society.
- We aim to build a capable state with a government that accounts to the people and responds to their needs.



PROGRESS MADE AND BACKGROUND FACTS

- We have a peaceful and well-functioning democracy with free and fair elections.
- At national, provincial and local level the government machinery is made up of:
 - **Legislatures:** Elected members of Parliament, provincial legislatures or local councils represent the people, approve policies and laws and monitor the work of the government executive and departments. MPs/MPLs/Councillors act on behalf of the people when they oversee and approve departments' plans and budgets.
 - **Executive:** Co-ordinates government's work and act as political heads of departments. The Executive is Cabinet in national, the Provincial Executive Committee in provincial, and the Mayoral Committee in local government.
 - **Administration or Public Service:** Departments and public servants who are responsible for doing the work of government and account to the Executive.
- **Ministers, MECs or Mayoral Committee Members** are executive members of government with the political role to oversee implementation. As political heads of government programmes, they account to voters and legislatures for government's work. They present departmental plans and budgets and annual reports to the legislature for approval. Public service managers may not do anything illegal even if a political head orders it. Political heads have a close relationship with heads of departments and give overall direction to a department's work. They account for the department's performance and get implementation plans, progress reports and briefings on problems. It is important to understand the difference between the role of political head and the managerial role of department heads who are legally accountable for things like spending, procurement, contracts, employment, etc. Politicians should not micro-manage work or get involved in awarding contracts or employing staff.

- **The Judiciary** is part of the state. Judges are independent so that courts can protect citizens without being influenced or pressurised by government. Our courts are very independent and help all of us to obey the laws and the Constitution. Court cases are often between citizens and the state, or between powerful and powerless people, or between different arms of the state. The judiciary has to be neutral and decide cases fairly. Courts do not make law, but they do interpret the Constitution and laws made by Parliament. The independence of the judiciary is a cornerstone of constitutional democracy. It guarantees that the Constitution remains the supreme law and that no laws can be made that undermine its principles.
- **Local government:** Municipalities deliver most basic services like electricity, water, roads, streetlights, local roads, sewage, rubbish removal, and so on. Many municipalities do not have enough money to deliver all the services people need or want. The quality of services is often inadequate.
- More than half of municipalities do not have enough skilled staff like engineers and finance managers to deal with infrastructure and finance efficiently. This means some money is wasted and some infrastructure not maintained or upgraded in time. Councillors don't always have all the skills needed to deal with complex laws, finances and technical reports.
- After 24 years in government, we have confronted many of the weaknesses that have stopped us from achieving all our goals (as outlined in other chapters of this booklet). Among the most important are:
 - Corruption around contracts and employment is found in some municipalities, government departments and SOEs.
 - Lack of planning and effective coordination between departments and between national, provincial and local government.
 - Lack of state capacity to lead and drive our programmes in government in a cost-effective and efficient way with proper monitoring and evaluation – among political heads and managers.
 - Lack of accountability among some in the executive and SOE and public service managers, for failings in departments and misspending or wasting resources.
 - Many areas have poor service delivery and poor maintenance of key infrastructure such as roads, water treatment, sewage and power plants.



PLANS: OUR VISION FOR 2030

- Government has adopted a Back to Basics programme to help municipalities deliver better services, become financially viable and work more closely with communities. Minimum standards have been regulated for senior managers and the Department of Cooperative Government now monitors the appointment of all municipal managers and finance officers.
- Provincial Government and National Treasury monitor municipal plans and budgets, and give support and advice if plans and budgets are inadequate.

- The Department works with the private sector and has a dedicated programme to get engineers and accountants to every municipality.
- The Auditor-General audits the finances of every municipality and every department each year to detect and limit misspending and waste.
- The ANC requires all its councillors to meet with communities and report back and consult on council plans and programmes. We encourage public participation in municipal decisions as well as in making national and provincial policies and laws.
- We have passed laws to stop all politicians and public servants doing business with government and to do lifestyle audits on those who may be tempted to be corrupt.
- We are implementing the NDP that calls for a professional and capable public service to drive the work of the state towards the development of all our people.



IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Why does national government not just take over when municipalities perform badly?

- The Constitution defines the powers of national, provincial and local government. Local is autonomous, so it is difficult for national to just take over. Remember, voters elected councillors and no one should just be able to disband a council. If a council cannot pass a budget or perform its duties, provincial government can take over administration of the municipality, but it is a long process and can only be done for a short time.

Why are so many public service managers on suspension with pay when they are facing investigation for wrongdoing?

- Investigating corruption or any wrongdoing in terms of contracts or money takes a long time. Accountants and senior investigators have to follow procedures to uncover evidence that has been hidden by the culprits. Our legal system gives everyone the right to be treated as innocent until found guilty and it can take years for a court to finally convict someone. Even then, they can appeal and drag out the case for a long time. We suspend people on pay because it would be illegal to just fire them. At the same time, we do not want people suspected of crimes to continue working in their posts where they can do more damage.

19. KEY LOCAL ISSUES





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