Traditionally, legislatures have been described as law-making bodies and executives as the bodies with the responsibility to implement laws. However, modern government is much more complex than this approach acknowledges. Areas of public policy making have expanded dramatically in past decades. A government in modern societies regulates many aspects of lives of their citizens. This requires more advanced systems of governance and more closed working relationship of the Chief Whip and the Executive to implement the organization’s policies.

Nowadays, the initiative in public policy making lies with the executive. This is important in the relatively young democracy of South Africa with its powerful imperative for social and economic transformation. At the same time, the emphasis in the work of legislatures is extended from primarily law-making activity, to also include monitoring and oversight of the executive and the implementation of its policies.

South African Constitution expressly gives the provincial legislatures, committees and individual members of these institutions the power to initiate legislation. All these issues mentioned here are subject to be discussed at the Strategy meeting.

By Chief Whip
1. Introduction

The ANC come into power in 1994 after the first democratic elections in South Africa. This provided the ANC an opportunity to establish democratic institutions that are critical to our transformation agenda, of building a united, nonracial, non sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa. In the past fourteen years, the ANC has been informed by an understanding that state power is not for its own sake but it is about taking forward our transformation agenda.

The establishment of institutions that are critical to realizing our vision is also influenced by what has broadly happened in the world. Progressive parties in the world have established Caucuses and ensured that they remain central in providing broad strategic leadership to society.
2. A brief historical background of the Whippery

A Whip is a political office that is assigned to an elected Members of Parliament or Legislature whose task is to administer the Whippery system of a Legislature and oversee its political and administrative functioning, as well as ensure that MPL's attend and vote in the House, and undertake their Parliamentary duties, as the elected representatives of the people.

Although the first usage of the title “Whip” in Parliamentary discourse cannot be dated exactly, it originates from the British Parliamentary system and has long been part of the Parliamentary discourse from as early as in the nineteenth century.

The “Whippers-in” as they were called, were already well established in 1815, but their activities attracted little attention until the 1860's, which is said to be because the late nineteenth-century practice which gave government nearly 85% of parliamentary time had not yet come to be recognized for what it was—a permanent feature of Commons life.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the activities of whips were becoming more important to the work of Parliaments and were increasingly been recognized as key for ensuring both the political and administrative functionality of Legislature business. Thereafter, MPL's became increasingly aware of the extent to which they own comfort depended on the quality of the management of Parliamentary schedule by the Whippery, particularly Chief Whip. It was the Chief Whip that arranged the timetable of the House gave MPL's permission to go to home or go to sick leave and arrange the order of speakers in debate, among other issues.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, many of the current features of the Whippery were already well established i.e. the arrangement of the business of
the House, ensuring the organization of MPL’s committees, the distribution of political offices, count votes, communicate majority position, arranging transport and accommodation for MPL’s through his Support Staff.
3. The Whippery

Whips Duties and Responsibilities

1. Chief Whip - Office
2. Whip

3.1 Role and Responsibilities of the Chief Whip

The Chief Whip is the most senior party Whip, upon whom rests the ultimate responsibility for the actions of all party’s MPL’s. Secondly he is the most senior party Parliamentary office bearer, political manager and strategist and act as a communication links between Parliamentary party and the Executive. The Chief Whip’s authority over MPL’s comes from the leadership, and the authority of ordinary Whip comes from the acting of the Chief Whip’s delegated authority and in the Chief Whip’s name.

Current practice is that the Chief Whip of the majority party is the Chief Whip of the Legislature. This makes it possible for the majority party to assume its political responsibility which is to lead the implementation of government’s (the majority party) programmes and policies.

The Chief Whip must maintain the dignity of Legislature.

Two distinct roles can be identified, namely:

- **Institutional role**: ensuring the effective development and implementation of the legislative programme.
  - Overall coordination and management of all whippery activities;
  - Chair of Programming;
  - Liaison with the Executive through the Leader of the House;
o Facilitates the appointment of special delegates to the NCOP;
o Act as an administrative officer to the Legislature parties;
o Arrange the number and order of Members who wish to speak in debate.
o Manages and oversees air tickets
o Approves leave of absence.
o Accounting officer- Caucus Fund and Constituency Fund
o He shall allocate office to his Members including in the House
o Co-operating with whips of other parties in arranging the Legislature functioning

- Party Role: the political management of members and their participation in the Legislature.

- Accounting officer for caucus and constituency fund;

- Management of party caucus meetings and consultations, party study groups, arranging party membership of Legislature committees and organizing any party balloting that may be required.

- Chief Whip as the most senior party office bearer he is bound to honour the party decisions and he is the sole bearer who have the authority to report to the organization on party’s Members discipline, he will reprimand the Members as it is his prerogative to do so and ultimately he must report the matter to the organization.

Outside the legislative process, the Chief Whip is responsible for party organization, including the activities of Caucus, Study Groups and individual
Members, and is ultimately responsible for the Parliamentary party’s public and media relations.

The Chief Whip has considerable influence and powers over MPLs to ensure their proper conduct is always portrays good image of the Legislature and the party. For those who step out of line. Chief Whip has an array of disciplinary powers. He may for instance, choose to reprimand a Member privately, to censure the Member in Caucus or exercise powers such as to withdrawing of privileges (flights), the refusal of leave of absence, the refusal of permission to participate in overseas study trip, or suspend any member from Caucus.

3.2 Chief Whip and the Organization

From time to time the Chief shall be in contact with the ANC provincial office. In matters which need political direction the Chief Whip shall invite the Provincial Secretary to address Members of the Caucus.

The Political Committee Forum is chaired by the Chief Whip and the Provincial Secretary he is a full member of the committee. The Chief Whip liaises with the office of the ANC when conducting the political schools or where there are events needing the Provincial office for the MPL’s.

The ANC Provincial Office is the custodian of all political mandates or other matter which are relevant which need to be processed at the party Caucus. The Chief Whip is responsible for programming the work of the ANC. The Chief Whip shall be the spokesperson in all matters affecting Members of the Caucus or Members of the Legislature.
3.3 Role of the Chief Whip and the Speaker’s Office

The Chief Whip shall liaise with the office of the Speaker, Chair of Chairs and Government Business Leader on the legislative programming. In conjunction with the office of the Speaker, Chair of Chairs and Government Business Leader they shall co-ordinate and determine the legislative programme.

The Chief Whip and the Office of the Speaker they shall lead the delegation or delegate any other Members of the Legislature during the state of nation address by the President of the country or any delegation that might need their presents.

Both offices must carry out their functions impartially.

3.4 Co-ordination Role of Chief Whip with National Assembly and NCOP

The Chief Whip shall be responsible for the deployment of MP’s to the Parliamentary Constituency Office. He shall be responsible for attending the Chief Whip’s Forum at the National Parliament. Provincial Chief Whip shall from time to time interact, liaise and communicate with the National Chief Whip.

3.5 Relationship of Chief Whip and Opposition Party Whips

The Chief of the Majority assumes all the responsibilities of whippery in the Legislature including those of opposition party’s. He is the intermediaries between his party and the opposition party’s. He is responsible for allocation of time for opposition parties in debates. In the event there is internal Chief Whips Forum the Chief of Majority will chair such forum. Chief Whip must secure Members’ attendance register in meetings and sittings.
4. Roles and Responsibilities of the Whip

While the Chief Whip is the senior office bearer responsible for devising Legislature strategy, representing the party in strategic Legislature Committees and for ensuring that the legislative programme is carried out, it is the Whip who actually does the work on the ground. And while the Chief Whip is the primary two-way communicator between MPL’s and the Executive, it is the Whip who conveys the MPL’s views to the Chief Whip. Whip is a political manager and he or she plays a crucial role in the Legislature and party system.

Role of the Whip

- Assists Chief Whip in performance of his/her duties.
- Manages Caucus inputs and debates.
- Manages and coordinate study tours
- Liaises and monitors performance of Chair of Chairs
- Coordinates and receives reports from all committees regarding their particular areas of deployment
- Monitors and report on performance of departmental Legislature liaison officers within their legislature roles and responsibilities.
Within the Whippery, there are currently five sub-committees which work on behalf of Caucus in all areas of the ANC's operations in the Legislature. These committees are as follows:-

- ANC Caucus
- Caucus Parliamentary Management Committee
- Strategy Meeting
- Study Groups
- Working Committee

5.1 ANC Caucus

In terms of Rule 5 of the ANC Constitution, it is the duty of ANC members who hold elective office in any sphere of government to be of the appropriate caucus, to function within its rules and to abide by its decisions under the general provision of the Constitution and the constitutional structures of the ANC.

The Members of the ANC Caucus at all levels of their deployment, derive their broad mandates from Caucus. At all material such mandates will be consistent with resolutions of the ANC constitutional structures. The Caucus is very important structure and its attendance is compulsory to all ANC public representatives.

Caucus also serves as the point of contact between the MPL’s and the leadership of the organization. The chairs of the Study Groups must report to the Caucus through the Chief Whip.

The Caucus plays an important role in coordinating legislative approaches to ANC policy, and the oversight and monitoring of policy implementation.
• Caucus means the closed-door strategy or decision-making meeting by party members, headed by the majority leader.

• ANC uses caucuses to gather fellow lawmakers from legislature to devise agenda for legislation and realize common goals.

• Caucus is important for our course in the legislature without it the legislative process would be a political bedlam.

• The primary goal of leadership is to maintain solidarity and obtain the minimum of votes necessary to pass legislation.

• Chief Whip is the Chair of the caucus as he informs the members of important issues and is responsible for delivery vote to maintain the party position agreed upon.

• Strengthen links between government and movement across all sectors.

• It further builds members through their debates and discussions so that they could carry out their political work.

5.2 Political Management Committee

This committee is chaired by the official who is also a public representative—this makes a nexus (link) between the elected leadership organs of the movement and caucus.

• It develops a greater coordination between work of the ANC structures and governance work.

• Gives strategic leadership to Members of ANC deployed in Government and in Parliament and Legislature.
• It has capacity to hold ANC members deployed in government accountable.

• The management of this committee is led by the Chief Whip.

• Composition of the committee is as follows:-
  o Chief Whip
  o Provincial Secretary
  o Chair of Chair (of Legislature)
  o Leader of Government Business

• It also table its report to the ANC Caucuses

5.3 Strategy Meeting

Operational Guidelines for Strategy Meeting

The office of the Chief Whip is responsible for ensuring that the strategic framework contained in the principles, policies and directives of the organization finds expression in the day work of the ANC Caucus in parliament.

In discharging this responsibility the OCW has established and will directly convene a Strategy Team to ensure that the ANC Caucus makes interventions in debates, statements, questions and motions. That is accurate, well prepared, coordinated and delivered with maximum political effect.

The Strategy Meeting is primary a coordinating and facilitating mechanism to ensure that the necessary preparatory work is done at the level of Legislature, Caucus and study groups.

5.3.1 The Strategy Meeting is responsible for the following tasks:

• To lead Clusters of study groups in discussions on matters of strategy. The aim being to ensure that the cluster meets on quarterly basis and develops abroad framework to guide its work in relation to the key ANC messages all
committees would be sending out in their work, approach to debates, questions, motions and statements.

- To ensure that the Legislature Caucus Study Groups discuss and formulate questions, statements and issues for discussions at their weekly meetings and that these are fed into the work of the strategy team.

- To facilitate preparations of Legislature, Caucus and study groups for debates by meeting with the relevant departments and/or speakers and discussing their approach to debates.

- It sits every time before the sitting of the Legislature

It will be the Chairperson of the Study Group and the MEC of the concern Department who will report to the Strategy Meeting on the state of preparedness of the Department in delivering the ANC Manifesto, policies and programmes. Unless otherwise stated individual speakers would not be required to attend and report to the strategy meeting but would like to interact with the strategy meeting.

5.3.2 Composition of Strategy Meeting

Management team:
Chief Whip
Deputy Chief Whip
Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee
Head of research Unit
Political Administrator and
Any Government departments called for presentation
5.4 Study Group

- Eradicate any grey areas regarding policy or implementation that may seem to occur between the Executive and the Legislature

- Provide an opportunity for strategizing on matters of committees, departments, in order to ensure that always project the position of the organization

- The Study Group guides the approach of ANC members to deal with debates in the legislature such as in the form of Questions and Interpellations, Motions, Statements and Budgets Votes

- Ensures that issues are processed properly and there is sufficient coherence and conceptions before such matters are dealt with at Portfolio Committee level

- The main function of the study group is to advance the ANC policies and principles in Portfolio Committees, or in Standing Committees of the Legislature

5.4.1 Guidelines on the role of the Study Group

An ANC Legislature Study group can be defined as platform available for members to ensure that ANC policy finds expression in all-round work of the legislature. Study Groups are a resource center of political ideas, policy implementation and assessment. It encourages the members to participate on every subject matter of their committee work, and to work as a collective on policy matters. Develops cadres who can specialize in various fields, this be in both private and public policy particularly in relation to their Portfolio Committees.
5.4.2. Key objective of the Study Group

- To develop in depth understanding and party position with regard to the policy, principles and specific legislation that needs to serve before the Portfolio Committee.

- Serves as platform to ensure that Members develop the necessary cohesion regarding matters that need processing by Caucus, Portfolio Committee and the Legislature.

5.4.3. Functions of the Study Group

- The main function of the study group is to advance the ANC policies and principles in the Portfolio Committees and standing committees of the Provincial Legislature.

- It must ensure that issues are processed properly and there is sufficient coherence and conceptions before such matters are dealt with at Portfolio Committee or Department level.

- Eradicate of any grey areas regarding policy or implementation that may seem to occur between the Executive and the Legislature.

- Provide an opportunity for strategizing on matter of the committees, departments, in order to ensure that they always project the position of the organization.

- The study group guides the approach of ANC members to deal with debates in the legislature such as in the form of questions to Members of the Executive Council, Statements, Budget Votes, Interpellations, Notices of Motions and other Debates.
5.4.4. Composition of the Study Group

The study groups should consist of the following:

1. Chairperson
2. MPL’s
3. Government Departments make presentations on issues requested by Study Group
4. ANC Researcher who does research for the study group
5. Political Administrator as the secretary

5.4.5 Role of the Chairperson

- The Chairperson shall determine the agenda of each meeting of a Study Group in consultation with study group members.

- Ensure that the agenda covers all pertinent issues in order to prepare comrades adequately for Portfolio Committee and sitting;

- Presides over all meetings of the Study Group and should work closely with the administration in order to prepare for meetings.

- In the absence of the Chairperson one member of the study group will act as chairperson,

- To ensure that there is sufficient research material for members to execute their duties;

- To ensure that on all matters of policy comrades attempted to speak on one voice;

- To take responsibility in ensuring that the study groups prepares, motions and questions for legislature Sitting;
• To report developments from the study groups, track legislations and submit proposed speaker’s list to the Chief Whip or Whip in absence of the Chief Whip;

• Ensure that order and political discipline is kept and maintained in the study groups; and

• Must ensure that there are clear linkages between the study group work and the ANC PEC sub-committee.

5.4.6 Role of the Researchers

• Report on findings of research commissioned;
• Identify issues within the study groups and develop discussion documents;
• Summarize Bills and advise members accordingly and also check policy implications for such Bills;
• Scrutinize Departmental reports (both annual and quarterly) and isolate issues for discussions;
• Work closely with the Portfolio Committee Chairperson and report to the chairperson.

5.4.7 Role of Political Administrators

• Make logistical arrangements for all the study group meetings;
• Make production of all necessary documents for all study group meeting.
• Keep apologies for all meetings and submit them to the Chairperson before each meeting;

• Fax all communication to members on behalf of the Chairperson and keep all correspondences;

• Keep all records of all meetings, including draft minutes for adoption at each meeting;

• After each meeting, matters arising and decisions of the study group the Administrator will process the minutes with the Chairperson for the next meeting of the study group;

• Prepare draft reports for submission and finalization of such reports and send to the Chairperson for finalization of the report; and

• Work closely with the researcher to prepare a comprehensive report for the study group

5.5 Working Committee

The Chief Whip shall be the Chairperson of the Working Committee and where the Chief Whip is not available, the members of the Committee shall elect one of the Member’s as the chairperson of a sitting of the committee (Rule 51 (2)).

Take decisions and issue directives and guidelines to prioritize or postpone any business of the Legislature, but whenever the Committee prioritizes or postpones any Government business in the Legislature it shall do so with the concurrence of the Leader of Government Business. (Rule 51(d).
5.5.1 Powers and Functions of the Working Committee

Rule 51(2) states that the Chief Whip shall be the chairperson of the Working Committee and where he or she is not available the Members of the Committee shall elect the one of the Members as the Chairperson of that Sitting of the Committee

- Be responsible for the Programme of the Legislature (Rule 51(a))
- Monitor and oversee the implementation of the Legislature’s annual programming, including the legislative programming (Rule 51(b))
- Implement the Rules regarding the scheduling or programming of the business of the Legislature, and the functioning of its Committee and Sub-committees (Rule 51(c)).
- Take decision and issue directives and guidelines to prioritize or postpone any business of the Legislature.

5.6 Portfolio Committees

Rule 46A provides that there shall be Committees in the Legislature appointed by the Resolution of the House. Each Committee shall be known by name determined by the Speaker. These Committees will be able to deal with the Bills or other matters which are referred to it by the Speaker or by Resolution of the Legislature. The Committees does not exclude the Standing Committees namely:

a) Quality of Life and Status of Women Committee- was amended to be known as the Quality of Life Status of Women Youth, Children People with Disability
b) Public Accounts Committee known as the SCOPA
The Standing Rules of the Legislature provides that there must be committees and the number of its Members. Duration of its existence is determined by the Legislature, unless the Speaker rules otherwise (Rule 64).

5.5.1 Committees and Public Participation

Rule 118 does provide for Public Participation. There is a need for Legislature to access people who have something to say.

It has been noted that committees in the legislatures offer the most important platform for public participation. Public hearings seek to obtain the views of civil society on draft legislation and policy. Members of the public may also be invited to make written or oral submissions to a committee.

5.7 Role of Oversight by Committees

At present, the concept of ‘oversight’ is generally conceived in terms of the implicitly proactive ‘watch-dog’ role to be played by an elected legislative assembly (Portfolio Committees) and functions of the executive and administrative arms of government. A series of dedicated prescriptions for oversight are also found in South Africa’s constitutional provisions.

The Constitution demands as follows:

“A provincial legislature must provide mechanisms-

(b) to maintain oversight of -

(i) the exercise of provincial executive authority in the province, including the implementation of legislation; and

(ii) any provincial organ of state.”
The ‘exercise of provincial executive authority’ over which a legislature is to maintain oversight is determined by Section 125 of the Constitution:

A working definition of oversight emerges out of the above:

Oversight in the South African provincial context is the proactive interaction initiated by a legislature with the executive and administrative organs of a province that encourages compliance with the constitutional obligation on the executive and administration to account to the public’s elected representatives, and which advances the ideals of good government, development and co-operative governance.

Oversight is exercised through the various committees in the legislatures and is essential to the fulfillment of the values of accountability, responsiveness and openness enshrined in the Constitution.

The Constitution and the Rules of the Legislature grants certain powers to summon people to give evidence or produce documents; require any institution or person to report to it, and receive petitions representations or submissions.

Committees are likely to be assisted in their oversight role by the Public Finance Management Act, which requires that government departments set performance targets for delivery and for individual managers. By providing a framework for assessment, committees will find it easier to exercise their oversight function.
6. 52\textsuperscript{nd} ANC Conference Resolutions (Polokwane 2007)

6.1 Relations between Caucuses and Constitutional Structures

The recent ANC Conference has placed more responsibilities to the Chief Whip that he or she has to strengthen the Caucus and use it as an instrument for the following:

- For robust oversight
- Mutual accountability
- Collective leadership and
- Discipline

These responsibilities apply to all comrades deployed to Government, Parliament, Legislatures and Municipalities. The Chief Whip should give directives on how the ANC structures should interface with the Caucuses and Executives. While we are awaiting the NEC’s guidelines on how ANC structures should interface with Caucuses and Executives following will be included:

- Clarifying the role of Caucus as the structures responsible for maintaining party discipline, unity and cohesion among ANC public representatives
- That there must be regular, mandatory meetings and communication between the Secretaries and the Chief Whip
- Reports of caucus should be made to the organization through the Office of the Provincial Secretary
- Their role in overseeing the implementation of the Manifesto in a particular sphere of government
- Kind of issues to be referred to the organization before final decisions are made.
7. Conclusion

In all things we have done in short period of time since we were all deployed in the Legislature I am confident that we all can see the light through the dark tunnel. We must continue to seek more ways of improving our effectiveness and coordination of our programmes, we reassert out position that the Whippery has an instrumental role to play in the functioning of the Legislature.

The Chief Whip Office is an important structure that facilitates our effective and links us with the ANC and the Government. This handbook is produced with aim of making people understand the roles, function and responsibilities of the Whippery. This office is very instrumental in organizing official parliamentary business and fostering co-operation between Members of Legislature from different parties.

We are pleased that all our committees in the Legislature continue to seek ways to improve their effectiveness in ensuring that our office discharges its mandate in an effective and coordinated manner. We hope that this handbook serves as an important tool and a key foundation, as we continue to improve our collective responsibility to discharge the Constitutional mandate given to us by our communities.
The Freedom Charter Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, on 26 June 1955

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter;

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The People Shall Govern!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All National Groups Shall have Equal Rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime; all apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.
The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The Land Shall be Shared Among Those Who Work It!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All Shall be Equal Before the Law!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial; No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;
Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

*There Shall be Work and Security!*

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognize the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

*The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!*

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

*There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!*

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered; food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;
Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social centre’s;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all:

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There Shall be Peace and Friendship!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognized, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all people who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY