

Nationalist Party (PN) Manifesto, 1996

Source: <http://www.vol.net/nazzjon/pnman1e.htm>
Original graphics omitted; typography simplified

Introduction: Dialogue, Solidarity, Commitment

01. A Marriage of Minds

02. A New Way of Governing

03. Culture, Family and Values

04. Reaching the Fringes of Society

05. Lifelong Education

06. Comfort, Company and Support: The Welfare Society

07. Cooperatives and partnership

08. Commitment in the Economic Sector

09. The Tie of the Knot: Integrated Resource Management

10. A New Sense of Security

Epilogue: A Sense of Responsibility and Commitment

DIALOGUE, SOLIDARITY, COMMITMENT

Introduction

It is sometimes said that we Maltese love novelty for its own sake. Yet it is this very characteristic that has given us the ability to grasp new concepts, to dream, to create wealth. It is our well-spring of riches, our fount of creativity.

Love of the new has spurred the world forward, and Malta has been no exception. Ten years ago, we were becalmed in stagnant waters, cut off from the general trend of European progress. But we have long since developed a winning streak, and used it to our best advantage.

The employment situation best symbolises the changes of the past few years. We have moved from rampant unemployment to full employment, and our challenge is the reverse of what it once was: finding enough people for the jobs created by technological progress.

The Socialist ideas of 10 and 20 years ago are defunct. No government, the world over, embraces them any longer. But slips of the tongue frequently give the game away. Today's Maltese Socialists appear to deeply cherish their outmoded ideas, although this does not stop them donning the garb of changed men, so as to

impress those who have not had the time to get to know them well. They seem unaware that a few dabs of the PR cosmetic brush, hastily applied to twisted, irrelevant and dried-out ideas, are no substitute for a political programme which is tailor-made to the needs of the country. Equally useless is their empty rhetoric, which vanishes like smoke in a whirlwind.

In this manifesto, the Nationalist Party sets out the parameters for moving towards the third millennium and beyond. These complement the social and economic conditions which are the result of responsible government, of consistent development, and of the initiative and diligence of the population. We are experiencing the fruit of progress that, the world over, has been the trend since the jettisoning of state systems based on the theories of Marx and Lenin.

The politics of intelligent renewal require the consolidation of past successes and achievements. They are the foundation on which we will build, while keeping our unwavering sight on a future replete with potential for invention and innovation. Without the continued spark of the new, we cannot move forward.

Renewal does not occur spontaneously, nor by order of the government. It occurs when the spirit of enthusiasm is awakened within us all, bringing us together to create the projects of the future. Bitter experience has taught us that this will not happen without an environment that rewards both individual initiative and communal effort.

Renewal has become an absolute necessity. The turn of the millennium will reveal a world much removed from that in which we now live. Before us lies the cybernetic world, an electronic civilization. We want to enter this world up and running, and not with bound limbs. We must find our niche - of necessity a little place - but one that is wholly worthwhile.

Our history and geography have thrust upon us our vocational link between nations and cultures. For centuries, we have reaped the inherent rewards of facilitating exchange and communication between states and peoples, and have traded upon the intelligence and sharp-wittedness of our own. The key to our future lies in adapting this state of affairs, in moulding it to fit with the needs of tomorrow.

Dialogue was the road to reconciliation, to the healing of the deep-scored wounds of an artificially riven society. It drew us towards the ultimate aim of becoming one nation, one people, with a strong sense of solidarity towards one another - the solidarity instilled in us by our Christian faith and tradition.

With these foundations laid, it is timely now to concentrate on bettering our quality of life. Dialogue has served its purpose of opening our hearts and our minds, of teaching us to respect and to listen to one another, and not, as happened in the past, to direct our attention only to those who sat, in solitary splendour, on a cracked pedestal. Dialogue now has a wider scope: active and constructive, creative and critical, as indeed it should be between men and women of fully-realised maturity.

Today, the simple expression of solidarity is no longer enough. We have to move beyond sympathy and compassion, beyond the realm of the emotions, and into the sphere of practical action.

Commitment is the third keyword, and we take it to mean a commitment of mind and of heart. We want a well-briefed, up-to-the-minute society with the latest information at its fingertips; information that it can and will use to come to the assistance of those who need it. The government's commitment, to problem-solving and to the creation of opportunity, is not enough. We need the commitment of each and every one of us, from all strata and sectors of society.

Like previous manifestos, this one is divided into 10 parts. The first three give an overview of the direction in which we intend to move: the first - in the new world of electronic civilization, we are to become an 'intelligent

island' and an oasis of calm and consistency in otherwise turbulent times; the second - each individual should be helped to realise his or her full potential, through new forms of cooperation and partnership; the third - we are to work for the renewal of sound values, and for the buttressing of family life, on the eve of the third millenium.

The subsequent seven chapters deal with the sectors where these principles will be put into practice: justice, education, the social services, employment, the economy, the environment, and foreign policy.

0.1 A Marriage of Minds

The politics of the Nationalist Party have always been embedded in the conviction that the Maltese are one nation - a group of people bound together through shared experience, communal memory, and a common heritage. But the ties that bind are not only those of the past; they are also those of the future. We all have a strong vested interest in making sure that the future works, that the projects we take up are those which will yield the best dividends.

We have come to acknowledge the reality of the global village. Nations that are great in terms of size, population and wealth no longer have the unrestrained and unrestrainable power to do as they please. And small nations like ours have succeeded in gouging out for themselves the space in which to move freely, within realistic limits. We believe that we can choose what we want to be today, and what we feel we should be tomorrow. From time to time, we have the power to decide what it means to be Maltese.

Might is no longer vested in the ownership of land, or in the control of energy production. Today, autonomy and authority lie in learning, in access to information, and in the ability to communicate. They are bred of the spark of new ideas, and of technological innovation.

We are convinced that real renewal cannot be had without giving everybody the opportunity to lead a satisfactory and rewarding life. This includes those who do not find it easy to keep up with the rapid changes of our times, who are bewildered and estranged by the vast array of equipment entering the market and the workplace, who feel cut off from the electronic civilization of our times.

In today's Malta, there is one computer for every 10 persons. This is a clear sign of progress - but if care is not taken, this progress can bring about new social divisions.

Through dialogue, the Nationalist Party strove for years to build bridges, and to close the chasms in our society. It has never viewed with complacency the existence of conspicuous social differences rooted in wealth and property. It is now committed to avoiding the cracking open of another gulf: that between the haves and have-nots in the world of computer literacy. If allowed to grow, it threatens to be more far-reaching in its effects than the difference between those who can read and write, and those who cannot.

Over the past few years, we have succeeded in wearing away what were monumental differences between rich and poor. Now, the most significant task ahead of us is ensuring that people do not fall through the net; that they do not give up and drop out, despairing of ever keeping up with the relentless march of technology. The best means of achieving this goal lie with the spread of learning across the board, and with the teaching of thinking skills. People have to be taught how to use their minds to full effect - and this not just in schools, but in every area of our lives.

Our chief aim today is a society united through reason and rational thought; a society aware that cooperation is mutually beneficial, and that no talent or skill should be ignored or frittered away. Together, we will go further. The future lies in a marriage of minds.

02. New Methods of Governing

There is worldwide realisation that politics cannot solve all of humanity's problems. One cannot, and should not, turn to the government for an answer to each and every ill. Our daily life can be bettered by other means, and a great many organizations and institutions are there to help us along the way. Together, they make up our 'civil society'.

We use this phrase to describe those sectors of society which are free from government control or interference. A civil society is made up of individuals who come together voluntarily in groups and associations, abiding, of their own free will, by the regulations they themselves drew up. It is a public space, in which individuals cooperate to further their own interests and, hence, the interests of the country as a whole. There cannot be a civil society without recognition of the link between the rights of the individual, and respect for the common good.

In our minds, there has been a clear gulf between the state and the private sector. Today, we acknowledge the possibility of cooperation between the government and private enterprise, and between groups of individuals and social institutions. We realise that such cooperation makes for success.

Cooperation must supplement competition. World industrial leaders are coming to terms with the fact that competition alone is not enough to maximise market potential on a global scale. Cooperation is essential now that science and technology are singularly important factors in the development of companies and nations.

Cooperation between public enterprises and the private sector is highly desirable. The university, for example, can cooperate with private companies in various fields of research. State corporations can link up with private enterprise for the development of the communications and transport infrastructure. And in the social sector, the government can cooperate with voluntary organizations for the betterment of the social services. A central government agency could monitor these state-private sector partnerships.

Today, we are faced with the possibility of new methods of government. The changes have not been brought about by information technology alone, but also through new ways of looking at the involvement of men and women in the running of their country. Instead of standing around waiting to receive, we now want to participate, to give. Greater cooperation with the private sector and with voluntary organizations does not mean an abdication of governmental responsibilities, but vastly improved means of catering to people's needs.

It is essential to keep to the principle of subsidiarity. Decisions should be taken at the lowest level possible. That which can be looked after by a local council should not be tackled by the central government. The government should recede, and not loom large. It should keep its fingers out of the pie wherever possible.

03. Culture, Family and Values

We have said that it is essential to formulate new ways of governing. But it is also necessary to look at new ways of running the other institutions which make up our civil society. Institutions like the family have to adapt to survive in these changed and changing times.

The family has to be reconsidered in the light of new attitudes towards the roles of husband and wife. This means complete reorganization, and a re-evaluation of what we once took for granted. If this period of transition is to come through with success, the government has to play its part, not only with a declaration of its belief in the equality of men and women, with laws to back up this belief, but also by creating the right conditions for the care of children, including adjustments in school hours and working hours.

The support of the state is not enough. The old mores are shored up by tradition, and changing them will have

to be a process of slow erosion, without sudden shocks. Child care facilities can be organized by parents together with schools and/or local councils. There is full awareness of the fact that, while the government can help put the facilitating structures in place, it cannot force socio-cultural change.

This does not mean a decimation of the values we cherish, but quite the opposite: it means the growth of a new tolerance of the differences between us.

If there is to be an efflorescence of cultural renewal, the government must leave the field clear for the growth of creativity. There should be no hindering or hampering, no shackling of the spirit.

There is scope for rethinking the way we look at housing. Spatial requirements change as the family goes through its natural cycle of growth and shrinkage. A house large enough to raise children in becomes a burden to a couple left alone in their late middle years or old age. We should not, therefore, be surprised if intelligent men and women choose not to spend the sum total of their married years in the same house, opting instead to fit their residence to their familial circumstances and lifestyle. Words alone will not help: practical action is needed to make this choice possible. It is the government's duty to take measures - without imposition of any sort - to ensure that there is a constant supply of houses and apartments to suit all needs, and at favourable terms.

We cannot ignore the communications revolution. Even those who never leave Malta's shores are continually bombarded with new ideas and visions. The electronic civilization is pluralistic, and this means that no government can force acceptance of its opinions. Rather, it should lend support to non-governmental organizations, including those of the young, which serve as a forum for discussion, and for the exploration of ideas. This is one way of combatting the threat of rampant consumerism, and of the mercurial fashions which are constantly pushed at us by the mass media.

04. Reaching the Fringes of Society

There is the ever-present threat that some individuals may lose their place in society, fall through the safety net, or find themselves pushed to the fringes. We must guard against this. We must be fully aware of the fact that each and every one of us has a special part to play, a place in this society that belongs to him or her alone.

Serious thought must be given to countering the problems of delinquency, particularly among the young, and to translating this into practical action. Much of this jaded outlook on life is linked with drug use, the scourge of our times.

The police force is being given the tools and the backing it needs for its ongoing battle against drug-trafficking, and new laws envisage harsh penalties for drug-related crime.

In the field of justice, there are two new developments which merit encouragement. The first is that more consideration is being given to the victims of crime. The second is that there is increased emphasis on mediation, with the aim of achieving results that are satisfactory to all parties. Intelligence solutions to real problems are the essence of an intelligent society, made up of people who know how to use their minds.

Renewal is needed in this field, too, because several laws, regulations and institutions have been rendered wholly or partially redundant by the quick rhythm of change. They were set up to fulfil their functions at a time when change was a long-drawn-out process, when it was hardly felt at all. We need laws, regulations and institutions which are of the 'smart card' genre, which adapt themselves to circumstances, without changing the fundamental principles which inspired them. This will drastically cut down on wasted time and effort in the search for solutions to repeated crises. The government will then be able to concentrate on programmes

designed to avoid such crises. Prevention is better than cure. When damage is done, it cannot always be smoothed away.

It goes without saying that the government cannot be satisfied with the simple preaching of renewal. It must start by spring-cleaning its own house, and where better to begin than the Law Courts and the Corradino Correctional Facilities.

05. Lifelong Education

In a society where advancement is tied in with merit, and not with land ownership or material resources, education is the fundamental starting-point, and our schools are the seed-beds of the future. Over the past decade, the government has given financial assistance to those who want to continue their education past the age of 16. This measure has flung open the doors of our sixth form and university to all those who are able and willing.

Education must come to be regarded as a lifelong process, and not something that ceases when adolescence and early youth are left behind. We have to find the means of ensuring that people keep abreast of science and technology throughout their lives, that they are not trapped in a time-capsule.

Education must be democratic, which means equal access to all those who are able to make the grade.

At the earliest educational levels, information technology gives children the chance to develop their creativity. Experience has shown that even those deemed educationally subnormal are able to get on well with normal children, if they are given the attention and assistance they require.

In developed countries today, around one out of every four 15-year-olds attends university. In some countries, the figure reaches one out of two. Without this level of education, no country can strive for a better standard of living in today's world.

Tertiary education does not only mean the university. There is need of development of the post-secondary vocational sector, mainly in the field of technology. Also, these institutions, and the university, must liaise more closely with the industrial sector.

The most worthwhile investment today is in education. It is teaching and training which render a person capable of living the life which best suits him or her, and which maximises skills and potential. The development of education is a prerequisite for the development of democracy. Better, and more widespread, education means more active participation in, and more constructive criticism of, the country's politics.

06. Comfort, Company and Support: The Welfare Society

One of the signs of an intelligent society is that each and every person feels a sense of engagement in his or her surroundings, and of concern with, and interest in, the way they work.

An intelligent society does not abandon the needy to their own devices. It does not consider the elderly, the disabled, and the mentally or physically ill to be a burden that is best shed. On the contrary, it rates the full value of each individual, and that value is sacred. Each person has something special to offer society, and society must draw out this good.

An intelligent society guards against the wastage of natural gifts and talents. It is committed to ensuring that no scrap of intelligence, no shred of ability, is wasted. The germ of potential that is within us all should not be allowed to wither and die. It should be helped to flourish.

The interests of people in need should not be left in the hands of the state alone. There should be cooperation with the rest of society, with voluntary organizations and with private enterprise, so that nobody may say: 'I couldn't care less about others'. An intelligent society is an unselfish and altruistic society.

The difference between a welfare state and a welfare society is that the latter provides social services in a more intelligent fashion than the former. Our society is bolting ahead, and it is not only those who cannot keep up with information technology who will be left behind, if the government does not set up a safety net.

In a situation of economic growth, with increased demand for material comforts and services, price increases are inevitable. These increases are compensated for by better earnings. Yet there will always be those who need help, and it is better to give them a rod to fish with than fish to eat.

When this is not an option, and when outside help is all that is left, then it is the government's duty to provide it. When the sick cannot be looked after in their own homes, they should have access to hospitals with state-of-the-art equipment and facilities, with top-level healthcare. The Nationalist Party believes that hospital patients are not bodies with damaged parts, but thinking, feeling persons who mean much to those who care for them. These factors should not be overlooked.

The healthcare sector should allow as much scope as is possible for the development of private initiative, while making sure that nobody goes without. Patients should not be cut off from their daily routine for longer than is absolutely necessary for treatment purposes.

It is in this spirit that the government must renew the entire social services sector. The welfare state has to become a welfare society, where intelligence is demonstrated in caring for our own.

People's needs have changed dramatically. They are not remotely comparable to those of the past, and they are conspicuously different even to those of 10 years ago. Our needs, in the great majority of cases at least, cannot be classed as financial - although this does not mean that we do not experience financial pressures at all. It is inevitable that some will need financial assistance. And a government with a social conscience will make sure that they get it. Yet dire need and the struggle to keep our heads above water are more typical of the times when material poverty was the normal way of life.

Progress, which treads in consumerism and other problems, exerts new pressures on the social assistance system. Most are linked with the need for advice, and for simple, human communication. Perhaps the greatest need is that of vanquishing the twin horrors of solitude and emargination.

The answer to this is a greater number of well-trained social assistants. We need people who have both emotional and intellectual skills, who can cope successfully with the psychological abyss which the relentless march of progress can leave in its wake. In the Information Age, our needs and illnesses are mainly those of the mind and the spirit, and not of the body or the material world.

07. Cooperatives and Partnership

In the world of work, full backing must be given to cooperatives, and to individual initiative and entrepreneurship. The government should assist in their development, because they are a means towards a truly free market and fair competition.

A free market economy does not mean the total absence of control. Some form of control is essential with monopoly situations, or where one company is large enough to dominate the market.

In Malta, efforts to protect, inform and educate the consumer are still in their infancy, after the major steps of

1996. The real change will take place when consumers themselves realise that the power is in their hands; that they are able to take steps against over-pricing, which leads to artificial inflation, and against the sale of poor-quality goods. Easy access to information has made fair commerce possible.

Because of our size and limited natural resources, we must concentrate our production efforts on goods with a high value added content. This renders highly developed mental and manual skills an absolute necessity, and is another reason why there should be so much practical emphasis on the formation of the complete individual.

The idea that we are all partners working in Malta Ltd is not new. But we should take this a step beyond, and ensure that this nation-company is run along the most efficient lines, like the real companies operating in today's market. And there is no doubt that the most successful companies are those which have put into practice the concept of participation.

These changes will not be simple and straightforward. The road is strewn with potential pitfalls. Yet they are the key to the future, to the development of the whole person, and of those characteristics which mark us out as different from the rest of the animal kingdom.

There was a time when people were driven by the search for job security. A sense of permanence was highly prized. The fear of redundancy loomed large and real. Today, the job market reflects the rapid changes of the world we live in. Job mobility and job-sharing have become the rule, and not the exception. 'Flexibility' has become a much-used word. If society is to be capable of renewal, working people must be able to adapt themselves quickly to new conditions of work, and to keep abreast of the latest developments.

New attitudes are slowly taking root. Those who would once have hunted through the job vacancy lists for an employer to take them on will now rethink their situation, and look for clients instead. The government is not obliged to provide work for everyone, but it is in duty bound to ensure that there are work opportunities for all - intelligent work.

08. Commitment in the Economic Sector

From the economic point of view, a hubbing role suits Malta best. It appears that in the years to come, the tertiary sector (services like banking, tourism, transport, telecommunications) will outstrip the secondary sector (industry and related activities) in importance - just as the secondary sector grew to become more important than the primary sector (agriculture, farming, and animal husbandry). Because of this, it seems that the brightest future for Malta lies in developing our ability to serve as a communications link between countries in our part of the world.

The development of the Freeport backs this up, but there is greater scope for the exploitation of this principle. A suggestion is the setting up in Malta of an International Arbitration Court, which would also be in keeping with something we spoke of earlier - new ways of looking at the administration of justice. Mediation skills are the near-natural consequence of our geographical position, at the centre of a sea which is itself sandwiched between three continents. We live by bringing together the people of different nations.

Information technology is now the fastest growing economic sector. It offers us many opportunities for finding niche markets for Malta, so that our skills can be used to best advantage. Yet information technology is not just big business. It can be the pivot of the nation's economy. It permits the development of better, more efficient ways of organizing almost every sphere of human work and play. It enhances the powers of the mind and allows for the making of more intelligent choices and decisions.

All this cannot come about without a government which believes in the potential of information technology.

Lip service is useless - more than useless if the importance of information technology has not been fully understood.

Voluntary organizations, the importance of which has already been underscored, have a special part to play in the development of the tertiary sector. There is a bright future, too, for small and medium-sized companies in the new economic systems of today and tomorrow. There is increased scope for small, specialized production outlets, and for running businesses from home. The age of the machine favoured large factories, but the new climate suits the growth of small businesses.

The tax burden of those without a large income has been reduced, and removed altogether for those with a low income. A new balance is being negotiated between direct and indirect taxation. Experience has shown that the former is not necessarily more fair than the latter. Direct taxation clamps down harder on those who are paid wages and salaries, than on people who provide services and receive payment for each job they do. The ideal solution is a good mix of the two, so that the tax burden is spread justly and fairly.

The twin driving forces behind economic progress are intelligence and innovation.

09. The Tie of the Knot: Integrated Resource Management

The development of the whole person, even with the intensive use of advanced technology, should not use up and wear away the world's natural resources, leaving less or nothing for our descendants. Development should be sustainable.

The socialist belief in progress through centralized planning and bureaucracy has been discredited. Yet it is clear that progress is not the outcome of market forces left to their own devices, nor of a complete lack of strategic planning.

We are fortunate in that science affords us the possibility of planning without stifling private initiative and individual creativity, and at the same time avoiding total anarchy and chaos.

It is possible now to foresee with accuracy the effects of decisions, taken in one sector of the economy, on another sector. The implications of our decisions - and their long-term effect on the economy as a whole - are known to us beforehand.

Development must be the fruit of intelligent choices, and full use must be made of the new tools of information and communication technology. This will put information at the fingertips of decision-makers and problem-solvers - and there will be no authoritarianism involved.

It is in this way that national strategies should be drawn up and laid out where they are needed - in the energy sector, for example. It is in this way, too, that we must improve upon what we have already achieved - as with the optimum use of land. As time moves on, it will become increasingly clear that government decisions are not spurred by corruption or favouritism, but are the result of enlightened and careful consideration.

We should not simply import information technology ready-made, but should seek ways of contributing to its development, through partnerships with foreign companies.

Integrated resource management will reduce environmental damage: care must be taken to allow the renewal of natural resources, and to reduce wastage.

[SECTION 10 "A NEW SENSE OF SECURITY" WAS AVAILABLE ON THE WEB SITE ONLY IN THE MALTESE VERSION.]

10. Sens gdid ta' sigurta

L-idea li introduciet Malta fil-ligi internazzjonali li hemm certi rizorsi fid-dinja li min-natura taghom m'ghandhom ikunu proprjeta ta' hadd u m'ghandhomx jaqghu taht il-hakma ta' ebda pajjiz hi idea li, jekk tithaddem ahjar milli thaddmet s'issa, kapaci ggib il-bidliet fir-relazzjonijiet internazzjonali li huma xierqa fi zmienna, wara li l-gwerra bierda ndifnet fl-ilmijiet ta' madwar Malta (kif qal persunagg li hu wkoll kellu parti sewwa f'din id-difna).

Fuq kollox, it-tishib shih ta' Malta fl-Unjoni Ewropea ghandu jkun il-mezz li jassigura lil artna dik is-sigurta li altrimenti ma tantx jista' jkollna. Il-prezenza minn gewwa fi hdan l-Unjoni Ewropea mhux biss ma thallix li jinghalqu f'wiccna hafna bibien ghall-izvilupp u x-xoghol, izda tippermettilna nisvolgu wisq ahjar il-parti taghna ta' holqa bejn l-Ewropa u n-nahat l-ohra tal-Mediterran li ahna ninsabu f'nofsu. It-tishib shih fl-Unjoni Ewropea biex jippermettilna partecipazzjoni fi skala gdida fil-hajja socjali kulturali u intellettuali tal-kontinent storiku li ninsabu fuq il-fruntiera tieghu, u fix-xjenza u t-teknologija li huma parti mill-glorja tieghu.

Il-futur ta' Malta jkun sabih daqskemm jirnexxielna nsiru tassew holqa ta' komunikazzjoni bejn it-tliet kontinenti ta' madwar il-Mediterran, pern fil-kummerc bl-ajru u bil-bahar bejniethom, post imfittex min-nies tad-dinja kollha mhux biss ghax-xemx u x-xtajtiet, li dawn m'humiex mill-ikbar tad-dinja, izda wkoll u aktar ghall-kultura taghna, mibnija fuq il-valuri tal-familja u tar-religjon. Fil-kultura taghna l-barranin isibu l-espressjoni tal-ghozza taghna l-Maltin tal-wirt ta' missirijietna, imgedda bil-herqa ghat-tagħlim u t-thaddim ta' l-intelligenza.

Epilogue: A Sense of Responsibility and Commitment

There are some people who are perennially and determinedly negative. Others believe that new ideas are their sole preserve, and that nobody else can have them. Neither trait does anything for the positive renewal of society.

There are those whose creativity has shrivelled and dried up, and who are unable to come up with new concepts and bright ideas. They continue to serve us meals of reheated food, put together from yesterday's left-overs. Then they try to convince us of their freshness.

Renewal which erodes away the fundamental basis of society - our sound values - is no renewal at all. Real renewal means striking the right balance between the exigencies of economic efficiency and those of simple human need. As was once famously written, man cannot live by bread alone.

Real renewal is achieved through increased knowledge, bettered powers of perception, information, intelligence - all these as an inherent part of the products and services we seek to deliver. We must cultivate minds as well as fields. With both, there is no renewal without fertile earth and a favourable climate.

Renewal will flourish only with a reliable and trustworthy government. If the government says one thing and does another, speaks in ambiguous terms, or attempts to stifle all dissent, then people will not be prepared to take risks or to embrace the new. We need a government that inspires trust.

There will be no social renewal without a government that leaves the field open to experimentation, to the search for solutions to the pressing problems of our times - even if this means trial and error. Yet it should do this without abdicating its responsibility for seeking out the root cause of these problems, and for monitoring the situation so as to gear policy towards long-term improvement.

Above all, this government should have faith in the people it governs, and belief in the country's potential. Our minds are our most valuable possessions, our most vital assets. We must be prepared to listen and to learn, to

develop a heightened sense of perception, and to be open to the changes that are taking place all around us. Only then will renewal be possible.

Together we can create an intelligent society..