



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

EXHIBIT BBB 1

**PRESIDENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**MATAMELA CYRIL
RAMAPHOSA**

**AS PRESIDENT OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**



**JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO ALLEGATIONS OF STATE CAPTURE,
CORRUPTION AND FRAUD IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR INCLUDING ORGANS OF STATE**

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BEFORE THE JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO ALLEGATIONS OF STATE CAPTURE,
CORRUPTION AND FRAUD IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR INCLUDING ORGANS OF STATE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, MATAMELA CYRIL
RAMAPHOSA

SUBMISSION ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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I, the undersigned,

Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa

do hereby state under oath that:

INTRODUCTION

1. I make the following statement on behalf of the African National Congress ("ANC"), in my capacity as the President of the organisation having been elected to this position at the 54th National Conference of the ANC, on 18 December 2017.
2. I depose to this affidavit voluntarily, in fulfilment of my commitment to do so, made to the Chairperson of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture, Corruption and Fraud in the Public Sector including Organs of State, established in terms of Proclamation 3 of 2018, published in Government Gazette 41403 of 25 January 2018 (*"the Commission"*).
3. The facts deposed to in this affidavit are within my own personal knowledge and belief and are true and correct.
4. The African National Congress was founded on 8 January 1912 and is the oldest liberation movement on the African continent. It was first registered as a political party by the Independent Electoral Commission in 1994.



5. The ANC is the governing party at a national level and in eight provinces. It has received a majority of the national vote in six successive general elections since 1994. It currently has 230 seats in the National Assembly and 54 seats in the National Council of Provinces.

PURPOSE OF THIS STATEMENT

6. This statement follows a request from the Commission to make a submission on a number of matters relevant to the work of the Commission.
7. The ANC considers it necessary that it should make a submission on these matters given its position as the governing party with a view of assisting the Commission in its work.
8. This statement needs to be read together with statements already submitted to the Commission on behalf of the ANC, including those submitted by:

“

- 8.1. Mr Samson Gwede Mantashe, ANC National Chairperson and former Secretary General;
- 8.2. Mr Elias Sekgobelo Magashule, ANC Secretary General;
- 8.3. Ms Yasmin Duarte, ANC Deputy Secretary General;
- 8.4. Mr Jackson Mthembu, former ANC Chief Whip;
- 8.5. Mr Zwelini Lawrence Mkhize, former ANC Treasurer General.

9. This statement is structured as follows:

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- 9.1. At the outset, I will discuss the role of the ANC as a political party in South Africa's constitutional dispensation and some of the salient features of the operation of political parties in a democracy.
- 9.2. Thereafter, I will provide an overview of the relevant structures of the ANC, their composition and respective powers and responsibilities.
- 9.3. I will then outline the positions and approaches taken by the ANC over time on issues of corruption, patronage, state capture and related matters. This will include the measures the ANC has taken to combat corruption, its response to allegations of state capture, the role of the ANC in Parliament, the role of other formations, and the measures the ANC has taken since its 54th National Conference to correct the mistakes of its past and to undergo a process of renewal.
- 9.4. Based on the above, I will then offer an assessment of the suitability and adequacy of the ANC positions and actions during the period under investigation.
- 9.5. Finally, I will conclude with some reflections on some of the factors that contribute to a culture of corruption in society, and on the individual and collective responsibility of ANC members for the activities under investigation by the Commission.

ROLE OF THE POLITICAL PARTY IN SOUTH AFRICA'S CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION

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10. It is important to understand this submission within the broader role of the political party in South Africa's constitutional dispensation.
11. Multi-party democracy is a cornerstone of our post-apartheid Constitution. Apart from affirming the right to vote and to stand for office of all adult citizens, Section 19 of the Bill of Rights recognises the right to form a political party; and to participate in the activities of, or recruit members for, a political party.
12. In a society like ours with a wide variety of cultures and disputed histories, the constitutional enshrining of a multi-party, representative system gives legitimate voice to a variety of political views, interests and concerns.
13. The value of multi-party political pluralism was a major concern for the ANC during the constitutional negotiations. Many electoral dispensation models were examined, discussed and debated. These included the 'first-past-the-post' constituency system, the proportional representation system, and a combination of the two. The debate about electoral systems was closely related to the discussions about the structure of government, such as whether a presidential or prime ministerial government should be adopted, and whether the government would take a unitary or federal form.
14. In a critical survey of electoral systems published in October 1990, Prof Kader Asmal, who was then a member of the ANC Constitutional Committee, reflected on the experience of the constituency system in apartheid South Africa, where it was often the case that

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governments were elected on a minority of the vote and where there were a high number of 'wasted' votes for parties that did not win in a constituency. Prof Asmal cautioned that:

"This may result in dangers in a fragmented society where minorities might never be represented and the perceived threat to their integrity or viability would be accentuated. It is considered by many democrats that such 'wastage' is a form of disfranchisement, with dangerous implications."¹

15. On the basis of these and other considerations, and after extensive consultations within the ANC and with other social actors, the ANC came to the principled decision that a proportional representation ("PR") system for national and provincial legislatures was both the most inclusive and probably the only practical way to proceed. Coming from our divided past we found that a PR dispensation would be more inclusive as it would enable even the smallest political parties to be represented in Parliament adding up to the overall notion of voice of the people.

16. Deciding on the country-wide delineation of wall-to-wall constituencies would have likely resulted in a prolonged and dispute-driven debate. The delimitation of constituencies is not a politically neutral matter. It often leads to aberrations, such as political parties who do not win the majority of votes nonetheless winning the election as a whole. This is commonly known as the 'winner takes all' system. For example, the 1948 National Party electoral victory was achieved despite the fact that it won less votes than the United Party in that whites-only election. This was because of the imbalance in the weighting of rural

¹ Asmal, Kader, 'Electoral Systems: A Critical Survey', Centre for Development Studies, University of the Western Cape, 1990



over urban constituencies. There is a substantial literature on the gerrymandering of constituency boundaries, a practice apparently still prevalent in some of the oldest liberal democracies.²

17. It was not, however, just pragmatism and a sense of urgency that persuaded us to pursue a PR system. Even if there had been the possibility of timeously agreeing on constituency boundaries, given the ANC's predicted overwhelming electoral support, it was possible that in those first landmark elections most other political parties would not have had a presence in legislatures had there been a constituency-based system. We recognised the dangers of such an outcome for building an inclusive and pluralistic representative democracy and therefore took what was not just a practical but also a principled decision.

18. The early 1990s context is especially relevant here. It must be remembered that there were political forces, both on the white right-wing and from ethnically mobilised forces with power bases in the former bantustans, who were threatening to boycott the elections and to place themselves outside of the constitutional settlement. The fact that the rump of these various forces are now represented within legislatures has been an important basis on which we have been able to stabilise our democracy.

19. I am aware that some concerns regarding our proportional representation system and its impact on the work of the National Assembly and provincial legislatures have been raised

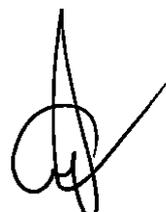
² See, inter-alia, Barasch, Emily, "The Twisted History of Gerrymandering in American Politics", The Atlantic, September 19, 2012; Dawkins, Wayne, "In America voters don't pick their politicians. Politicians pick their voters", The Guardian, October 9, 2014; "Majoritarian electoral systems are more prone to gerrymandering than proportional systems", Democratic Audit, June 1, 2016.


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in the course of this Commission's work. It is for this reason that I have sought to contextualise the decision to adopt the PR electoral approach. This should not prevent continued evaluation of this approach and the exploration of alternative electoral systems.

20. Multi-party pluralism and majority democratic rule should not be seen as necessarily mutually antagonistic. If multi-party political pluralism is an important democratic reality, political parties, not least those involved in and emerging from anti-colonial national liberation struggles, often seek to play a centrifugal role in building unity across pre-existing divisions.

21. In such circumstances, political parties do not merely represent their members, but often act as instruments to advance the needs and interests of entire sections of society, both within the arena of Parliamentary democracy and through broader social mobilisation and extra-parliamentary political activity. This is among the reasons that the ANC describes itself as a "liberation movement" first and foremost that, among things, contests elections as a registered political party.


AF

OVERVIEW OF ANC STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES

Constitutional structures

22. In terms of its Constitution (I annex to this statement the Constitution as amended and adopted at the ANC's 54th National Conference held in 2017 at Nasrec in Johannesburg, marked "ANCCR 1"), the ANC is comprised of the following structures at a national level:

22.1. **National Conference**, which is the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC and is convened at least once every five years. It decides on and determines the policies, and programmes of the ANC, and has the right and power to review, ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent structures, committees or officials of the ANC.

22.2. **National Executive Committee ["NEC"]**, is the highest organ of the ANC between National Conferences has the authority to lead the organisation, subject to the provisions of the Constitution and resolutions of Conference. It is elected by the National Conference and is constituted as follows:

22.2.1. President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and Treasurer General,

22.2.2. 80 additional members elected by National Conference,

22.2.3. The Chairperson and the Secretary of each ANC Provincial Executive Committee, who serve as ex-officio members,



22.2.4. Presidents and Secretaries General of the ANC Women's League, ANC Veterans' League and ANC Youth League respectively, who serve as ex-officio members.

22.3. **National Working Committee** ["NWC"], which is elected by the NEC and is expected to conduct the current work of the ANC, ensure ANC structures carry out the decisions of the ANC and submit a report to each NEC meeting. It is comprised of the Officials, no more than 20 directly-elected NEC members and one representative each from the ANC Leagues. As a matter of practice, the NWC meets every two weeks.

22.4. **NEC Committees**, which the NEC establishes to process specific policy or organisational matters. These committees are primarily comprised of NEC members as assigned by the NEC.

22.5. **National General Council** ("NGC"), which may be convened by the NEC from time to time, but at least midway between National Conferences. The NGC can, within the framework of resolutions of National Conference, determine and review ANC policies and programmes, and has the right to ratify, alter or rescind any decision of constituent structures.

23. Although not a structure in terms of the ANC Constitution, the President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and Treasurer General

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are collectively known as the **Officials**. As a matter of practice, the **Officials** meet on a weekly basis to process matters for the NWC, among other things.

Cadre Development and Deployment

24. The ANC's approach to cadre development and deployment is covered in detail in the statement provided to the Commission by Mr Gwede Mantashe deposed on 12 March 2021. It describes the evolution and development of the ANC's policies over time, the principles that have informed this approach and the structures and processes that the ANC has put in place to manage cadre development and deployment.

25. The policy of the ANC is aimed at ensuring that the person most fit-for-purpose is appointed whatever critical position has been identified (the policy is attached marked "ANCCR 2"). It applies to senior positions in government such as Directors-General and Deputy Directors-General as well as leadership in critical institutions including the private sector.

26. The Commission has also asked me to speak to choices of Ministers. The ANC respects the constitutional prerogative of the President of the country to appoint his or her Cabinet. While inputs and opinions may be sought by the President in making these appointments, these are not matters that would serve before a Deployment Committee.

27. The Deployment Committee essentially operates like a recommendation committee. It is headed by the Deputy President of the ANC. It includes the Deputy Secretary General



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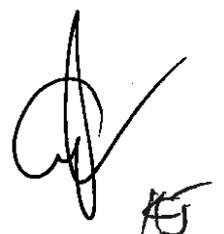
among its 15 members, who are NEC members of the ANC. The frequency of its meetings depends very much on the matters it needs to consider.

28. The Commission will appreciate that at its genesis the ANC deployment policy was aimed at ensuring that the institutions that existed in South Africa at the dawn of democracy were transformed. We sought to ensure these institutions reflected the demographics of our country, but most importantly that they included persons that embraced the new constitutional dispensation. As time went by, the need to ensure that these changes were solidified remained. It continues today. For the ANC this is a means through which we continue our work of transforming South African society in the public and private sectors.

29. As a direct result of what is commonly referred to as the 'sunset clause' – a compromise reached through our negotiated settlement that personnel occupying positions in government institutions at the time would not be forced out of these positions – the change that took place in relevant institutions was slow. It was combined with a deliberate decision to develop and train individuals the ANC felt ought to make themselves available or ought to ensure they qualified for critical positions in government especially.

30. The deployment of cadres to strategic positions is not unique to the ANC. It is practiced in various forms and through various mechanisms – even if not always acknowledged as such – by other political parties in South Africa and in other countries³.

³ For a useful comparative view of different international approaches see: "Study on the Political Involvement in Senior Staffing and on the Delineation of Responsibilities between Ministers and Senior Civil Servants", Alex Matheson, Boris Weber and Nick Manning, Emmanuelle Arnould, OECD Working Papers on Public Governance No. 6 (<https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/136274825752> and available at <https://www.oecd.org/gov/39125861.pdf>)

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31. In my view, cadre deployment has acquired the prominence that it has because there is a general view that there should be no political interference in the selection of people who work in the public sector.

32. However, there is a widely held view at the international level, as articulated by Matheson *et al* writing in an OECD Working Paper on Public Governance,⁴ that with specific reference, to appointments of senior public service staff –

“political involvement in administration is essential for the proper functioning of a democracy. Without this an incoming political administration would find itself unable to change policy direction. However public services need protection against being misused for partisan purposes, they need technical capacity which survives changes of government, and they need protection against being used to impair the capacity of future governments to govern.”

33. Here at home the application of this approach is described by former DA Western Cape leader Mr Anton Bredell in a submission made to the Public Protector quoted in her Report Number 23 of 2020/21.⁵ The report relates to correspondence from Mr Bredell to the

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ An example of this is described by former DA Western Cape leader Mr Anton Bredell in a submission made to the Public Protector quoted in her Report Number 23 of 2020/21. The report relates to correspondence from Mr Bredell to the Acting Executive Mayor, the Speaker, Chief Whip and DA Caucus Chairperson of the George Local Municipality to instruct them not to continue with the appointment of a Director: Corporate Services until it is approved by the DA Federal Executive. In justifying his instructions, Mr Bredell makes reference to a DA resolution to implement “a parallel process of vetting candidates for employment in DA-led municipalities”. In a letter to Mr Bredell of 29 January 2021, Western Cape Premier Alan Winde says that such internal rules and policies are “wide-spread [and] common”. He compares the DA rules and policies on this matter to a



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34. The ANC fully embraces the principle that all public servants should undertake their duties in a fair, balanced and non-partisan manner. One of our founding principles is selfless service to all the people of this country and we expect all ANC cadres to adhere to this principle in any deployment.

35. Democracies like South Africa need to "*balance two values that can be in some tension: fair and non-politically partisan service delivery and, subject to the law, the responsiveness of public servants to the policies of the current executive.*"⁶

36. At the same time, and in line with the OECD Study by *Matheson and others*, the ANC holds the belief that political involvement in administration is essential for the proper

memorandum from the ANC Secretary General that no appointment should be taken to Cabinet without passing through the deployment committee first.

⁶ *ibid*

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functioning of a democracy as an incoming administration would find it almost impossible to change policy direction without it.

36.1. The ANC has, since the beginning of the democratic period highlighted that in transforming the public service to reflect democratic, more humane values and the demographics of the country we must also emphasise professionalism and competence. This is reflected in our earliest policy pronouncements such as *Ready to Govern (1991)* and reconfirmed at the ANC's 54th Conference. I reflect on the pronouncements of the 54th Conference below.

36.2. We recognise that political involvement in the administration of the public service must be circumscribed by legislation, convention and practice. This is to protect both political and administrative positions and to create certainty as to the division between political and administrative responsibility.

37. The ANC's Deployment Policy is not static. It evolves as the ANC seeks to refine it, and as we identify shortcomings.

37.1. During our 53rd National Conference (the resolutions of which are annexed marked "ANCCR 3"), the ANC decided that we needed to monitor performance of those persons we had deployed to various positions. This meant making sure that people we had nurtured and trained to be able to qualify for senior positions in government were performing at the level needed of them, that recommendations

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made by the Deployment Committee, and followed by the relevant institutions, were bearing fruit.

37.2. The 54th National Conference of the ANC went further and determined that continual development would be required to ensure there was no sense of complacency among persons developed and trained to take the lead in critical institutions.

38. Between December 2012 and December 2017, when I was the Chair of this Committee, it functioned on the basis of the principles I have outlined above.

39. I furthermore make the following points for purposes of emphasis:

39.1. The ANC makes a clear distinction between the deployment, on the one hand, of public representatives to the various legislative and executive bodies in government and, on the other hand, of cadres to other strategic positions in the state and society. In the case of the former, specific selection processes are undertaken prior to an election for national, provincial or local spheres of government. Successful candidates are placed on the party list that is provided to the Independent Electoral Commission. In the case of the latter, the organisation identifies candidates who would be suitable, by virtue of their skills, experience and personal attributes, to be considered for positions in various entities in the public sector.

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- 39.2. The Deployment Committee does not decide who should take up specific positions. Rather it discusses who should be encouraged to apply for this or that position, and makes recommendations to the persons making the appointments. The Deployment Committee furthermore will give its opinion to any Minister who may seek its guidance on critical appointments that Minister must make. It gives guidance; it does not give an instruction to appoint.
- 39.3. In identifying suitable candidates for positions in public entities, the ANC does not seek to circumvent the established and often legally-mandated processes for the appointment of individuals to these positions. Candidates are still expected to submit their applications, meet the necessary requirements and be subjected to the normal processes of recruitment, selection and appointment.
40. The ANC has recognised that there are several instances where individuals appointed to positions may not have been 'fit for purpose' and may also not have performed the tasks in the way that it was envisaged.
41. The ANC 54th National Conference in December 2017 recognised this problem and resolved on capability and capacity building in the public service that *"the merit principle must apply in the deployment to senior appointments, based on legislated prescripts and in line with the minimum competency standards"*. The Report of the ANC 54th National Conference, December 2017 is annexed hereto marked "ANCCR 4".


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42. It is the ANC's view that the practice of cadre deployment should not be inconsistent with the principles of fairness, transparency and merit in the appointment of individuals to public entities. We accept, however, that 'cadre deployment' can be misused to justify appointments that do not meet these standards. It is for this reason that the ANC has sought to continually revise its cadre deployment policies and processes, and why this administration has proceeded to implement ANC resolutions on the professionalisation of the public service.

43. As is apparent from its history, the Deployment Policy of the ANC is constantly reconsidered, in order for improvements to be made where and when necessary. This improvement is ongoing and has also been effected to the identification of public representatives who would go either to national, provincial or local spheres of government, the ANC has now appointed an Electoral Commission, which is currently chaired by former President Motlanthe. The role of the Electoral Commission was decided upon at the 54th National Conference of the ANC and includes:

43.1. Ensuring that ANC public representatives undergo a transparent selection and capacitation process to assume leadership and deployment.

43.2. Improve the quality, integrity, and sustainability of the selection and election of public representatives, from local to national sphere.

43.3. Institutionalise the selection process and make it transparent in order to reduce the possibility of current leadership organs from interfering with processes.

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- 43.4. Have an independent capacity to manage these very demanding processes, but that are essential to organisational unity and legitimacy, and quality of the public representatives that are put forward by the organization for public elections.
44. The identification and selection of candidates particularly for local government includes a process of community validation, where the community expresses its views and preferences of identified persons that may have been identified and selected by ANC internal selection processes. If the community makes clear that the candidate put forward does not suit them or meet their expectations, the ANC branch will have to report as much and the list modified to ensure an alternative candidate is identified for that particular ward position. This exercise has already been undertaken in by-elections held in the last year and for the by-elections being held during the month of April in a number of wards.
45. The description of the ANC's Deployment policy in the public sphere has distorted it into being seen as 'jobs for comrades' programme. This is far from it. As evinced in government systems such as the United States, or the historical record of Margaret Thatcher, every government seeks to secure the best way to see its vision fulfilled. In South Africa no-one would begrudge the Mandela administration for actively seeking to replace those who would not embrace basic constitutional principles, service to all South Africans rather than a select few, and respect for human rights, which the new constitutional dispensation required.

Party political funding

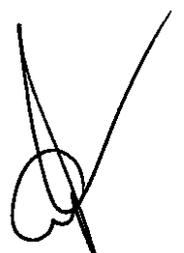


46. In its letter to my office of 12 March 2021, the Commission asked that I address the funding of political parties in general, *“including but not limited to the use of cash donations at political party conferences”*, the *“relationship between the profits of procurement and party funding”*, and what it refers to as *“possible reliance by the ruling party on funding received from the beneficiaries of public procurement”*.⁷

47. Any successful multi-party democracy requires a diversity of functioning political parties that are capable of articulating and representing the needs, interests and concerns of the electorate. It is not sufficient for political parties to be free of any undue restraint on their activities; they also need to have the means to develop policies, undertake organisational activities, implement programmes and campaign for elections. For this, political parties require funding, and, in the absence of sufficient public funds for this purpose, need to rely on donations from members, supportive individuals and businesses.

48. Until the adoption of the Political Party Funding Act, which takes effect on 1 April 2021, there were few, if any, specific restrictions on donations to political parties and no requirements on the reporting of donations, either publicly or to any particular authority. Political party donations would only be subject to the general laws relating to, among others, financial transactions, taxation and the prevention of corruption, money laundering and other financial crimes.

⁷ Letter from the Commission to then Acting DG Ms Mxenge, paras 8.5(b), 8.7 and 8.8



49. The finances of the organisation are the responsibility of the Treasurer General, and corresponding Treasurers in the sub-national structures. There is an NEC sub-committee, known as the Finance Committee, that is responsible for supporting the Treasurer General in managing the organisation's finances.
50. Like other parties, the ANC relies on several sources of funding. These include funds allocated from the Represented Political Parties' Fund (which is administered by the IEC), membership subscriptions and levies, fundraising initiatives like the Progressive Business Forum, fundraising dinners and other events, and donations from individuals and companies.
51. Despite the absence of an official policy on donations, there is an expectation – based on the ANC Constitution, its principles and its values – that the ANC would not knowingly accept monies that are the product of a criminal act, are offered in exchange for favours or are from a source known to engage in illegal or unethical activities.
52. I have heard that evidence has been presented to the Commission that suggests that the ANC may have been the recipient of donations from individuals and companies that received contracts from the state, including in instances where the awarding of those contracts are alleged to have been unlawful.
53. The lack of transparency in donations to political parties increases the potential for corruption and the exercise of improper influence on political activity and government


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processes. It was to address this problem that the ANC resolved at its 52nd National Conference in December 2007 that:

“The ANC should champion the introduction of a comprehensive system of public funding of representative political parties in the different spheres of government and civil society organisations, as part of strengthening the tenets of our new democracy. This should include putting in place an effective regulatory architecture for private funding of political parties and civil society groups to enhance accountability and transparency to the citizenry.”

The Resolutions of the ANC 52nd National Conference, December 2007, are annexed marked “ANCCR 5”.

54. However, it was not until after the next National Conference, in December 2012 (the Resolutions of which are annexed marked ANCCR 3) – which resolved that public funding of funding should be expanded and *“accompanied by full accountability and transparency, including regulation of private financing of political parties”* – that the Political Party Funding Bill was introduced into Parliament.

55. As a consequence of these, on 21 January 2019, I assented to the Political Party Funding Act, Act No. 6 of 2018. All the necessary regulations and administrative measures have been put in place by the government and the Independent Electoral Commission. The Act comes into operation on 1 April 2021.

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56. The Act ushers in far-reaching changes in the management, accountability and transparency of the finances of political parties. The Act restricts the amount of money that a party can take from a single donor and its related parties so as to prevent undue influence over parties by big donors. No party may accept more than an upper limit of R15 million from a donor in the same year. Importantly, section 8(3) of the Act says: *"A political party may not accept a donation that it knows or ought reasonably to have known, or suspected, originates from the proceeds of crime and must report that knowledge or suspicion to the Commission"*.

57. The Political Party Funding Act will have far reaching implications for the integrity and transparency of our political system. It will help to rebuild public trust in the political process. Voters will be able to more easily discern whose interests are being advanced: those of the country, a party, or private individuals or entities. Donors will be able to exercise their right to freedom of association and political conscience without having their motives constantly questioned.

58. Represented parties will benefit, as a transparent funding regime places them above suspicion of being beholden to private interests. They should also receive sufficient funds to perform their work in a fair and equitable manner. The Act also protects the State and its resources from being used for party political activities or to support the political ambitions of individuals.



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59. The Act is a victory for accountability, good governance and transparency in political activity. It marks a new era in our body politic, and is a milestone in our quest to build a capable, ethical state free of corruption and influence-peddling.
60. In addition, I have also enacted the Promotion of Access to Information Amendment Act, 31 of 2019, which will also take effect on 1 April 2019. This amendment is the result of litigation that was taken to the Constitutional Court, and will make political party finances subject to applications for information in terms of that Act.
61. As regards the Commission request that I speak to the use of cash donations at political party conferences the ANC has for many years been concerned about the role of money within the organisation, and particularly in the contestation for leadership positions. There are few campaigns for regional, provincial or national elective conferences that are not funded.
62. The ANC has identified weaknesses in its approach to the funding of internal contests. Specifically, it has noted that its guidelines on the conduct of internal leadership elections are not suited to the conditions of the time, and has initiated a process to review its policies on this matter. In particular, this issue forms part of the discussion documents published last year in preparation for the ANC's upcoming National General Council. The relevant


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document, entitled "Through the eye of a Needle",⁸ is annexed hereto for ease of reference and marked "ANCCR 6".

63. In raising this issue during the NEC meeting of 26 July 2019, I said:

"In the absence of clear, appropriate and realistic guidelines, our leadership contests will continue to play themselves out in the shadows, in conditions of secrecy and mistrust, encouraging patronage and factionalism."(my full statement is annexed marked "ANCCR 7").

⁸ 'Through the Eye of a Needle: Towards a Review', Umrabulo NGC 2020 Special Edition, also available at <https://www.anc1912.org.za/umrabulo-special-ngc2020-edition>

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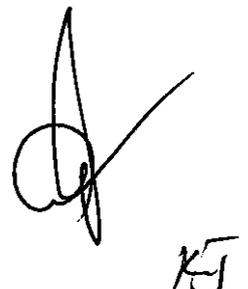
RESOLUTIONS, DECISIONS AND ACTIONS OF THE ANC ON CORRUPTION AND STATE CAPTURE

64. Corruption is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. The apartheid system was morally and systemically corrupt. Not only did its legal provisions appropriate to a small minority the assets and resources that rightfully belonged to all South Africa's people, but there was also a prevailing culture of corruption within the apartheid state, state-owned companies, private business establishment and bantustan administrations.

65. Hennie van Vuuren captures this reality effectively in the introduction to his book, 'Apartheid Guns and Money', where he writes:

"A powerful misconception, fuelled by former NP leaders and persistent racism, is that corruption in South Africa is a phenomenon that is intrinsic to majority rule. It is the subtext of some criticism of the post-apartheid state. It is made more obvious by the singular focus on contemporary corruption in government, with little reflection on the private sector where white South Africans are more prominent. As the book shows, the apartheid regime lied, bribed and broke every rule in the book to bust sanctions.... These were not piecemeal activities. Instead, state capture was systemic."⁹

⁹ Van Vuuren, Hennie (2017), 'Apartheid Guns and Money', Jacana Media

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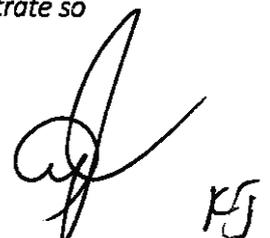
66. The advent of democracy in South Africa was an opportunity to make a decisive break with that past. Through the adoption of a new democratic constitutional dispensation, the country sought to establish a new era of transparency, accountability, ethical conduct and respect for the rule of law. The experience of the past 27 years shows that endeavour to have been, for the most part, successful. The country has a Parliament elected by universal suffrage in regular free and fair elections, a strong and independent judiciary, robust institutions supporting democracy, and a free and vibrant media.

The ANC's position on corruption

67. One of the tasks that the ANC undertook in the immediate aftermath of the first democratic election was to contribute to the building of a different society in which the institutions and resources of state were directed towards the needs and interests of the people as a whole.

68. However, even in the early days of democracy, the organisation was alive to the potential for corruption within the new democratic state and within the ranks of the ANC itself. In his closing address to the ANC's 49th National Conference in December 1994 (annexed marked "ANCCR 8"), the late President Nelson Mandela said:

"But we must never forget the saying that power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. It has happened in many countries that a liberation movement comes in to power and the freedom fighters of yesterday become members of the government. Sometimes without any idea of mischief, precisely because they are committed and hard working, they concentrate so

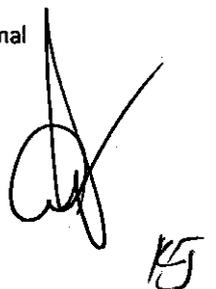
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much on their portfolios that they forget about the people who put them in power, and become a class, a separate entity unto themselves, who are not accountable to their membership, and who rely on law, that now I am a Cabinet Minister, the political organisation that put me in power can do nothing.”

69. Three years later, at the ANC’s 50th National Conference in December 1997, former President Mandela was less generous in his assessment of the motives of those in power “*who become a separate entity unto themselves*”. In his political report to the conference, annexed marked “ANCCR 9”¹⁰, he said:

“During this period, we have also been faced with various instances of corruption involving our own members, including those who occupy positions of authority by virtue of the victory of the democratic revolution. These have sought either to steal public resources or to extort financial tributes from the people in return for services to which the people are entitled and which those in authority are legally and morally obliged to provide... Clearly, we have to take all necessary measures to purge ourselves of such members and organise ourselves in a way that will make it difficult for corrupt elements to gain entry into our movement.”

¹⁰ Political Report of the President, Nelson Mandela to the 50th National Conference of the African National Congress: Mafikeng, December 16, 1997

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70. In every ANC Conference since then, the issue of corruption within the state, business and society more broadly has been raised and various resolutions adopted on the actions required to combat it.

71. An important aspect of the ANC's approach to corruption over the years is a recognition of the extent to which some ANC leaders and members were responsible for corrupt actions, and, as a consequence, the extent to which corruption contributed to practices of patronage, factionalism and the manipulation of organisational processes within the ANC.

72. This is illustrated in the following extract from the ANC's 'Strategy and Tactics' document, which was adopted at its 50th National Conference in 1997 (annexure "ANCCR 10" to this statement) and reaffirmed by its 51st National Conference in 2002:¹¹

"Positions in government also afford the movement and its leaders powerful possibilities for patronage. There is nothing untoward per se in advancing cadres who, by their selfless contribution to the cause, deserve such acknowledgement. Yet this can easily lend itself to corrupt practices, undermining good governance and destroying critical and independent thought and expression, and the vibrancy of a truly revolutionary movement."

73. The organisation took the view that as much as such corruption had a corrosive effect on the state, the economy and society, it was also deeply harmful to the ANC. The 52nd

¹¹ Strategy and Tactics. As amended at the 50th National Conference, December 1997 and reaffirmed by the 51st National Conference, December 2002

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National Conference in 2007, for example, noted that *“our accumulated weaknesses include [an] inability to effectively deal with new tendencies arising from being a ruling party, such as social distance, patronage, careerism, corruption and abuse of power”*. Its report is annexed marked “ANCCR 11”.

74. The ANC has therefore long recognised the existence of corruption within the democratic state, that some members of the ANC are complicit in this corruption and that such corruption undermines our democracy and the integrity of the ANC.

75. The recognition of these facts does not mean that the ANC is uniquely affected by corruption. There are other institutions in society, including other political parties, social formations and in the private sector, that have to confront corruption within their ranks. Nor is South Africa alone in the world. Many other countries have to deal with corruption in the political, economic and social spheres. I detail my understanding of what state capture is in the statement in my capacity as President of the Republic. In short, after studying the transition of former communist countries to market based economies, institutions such as the IMF identified a new form of corruption: state capture. This form of corruption is a means through which so-called oligarchs seek to manipulate policy formulation and change the rules of the game for their own interests. The corruption of the entire system in order to benefit a select few firms leads primarily to poor governance, and therefore to poor service delivery. A government whose decisions are focused on




advantaging a few firms will not pay due attention to the needs of the many. There lies the crux of the problem.¹²

76. It is clearly not sufficient to recognise the problem. The task of any organisation like the ANC – especially with its history of principled struggle, its values and its mission – is to address the problem.

Measures to address corruption within the ANC

77. The ANC Constitution, annexed to this statement and marked ANCCR 1, provides the basic guide to members on their rights, duties and required conduct. On joining the organisation, each new member is required to make the following declaration:

"I, [...], solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims and objectives of the African National Congress as set out in the Constitution, the Freedom Charter and other duly adopted policy positions, that I am joining the Organisation voluntarily and without motives of material advantage or personal gain, that I agree to respect the Constitution and the structures and to work as a loyal member of the Organisation, that I will place my energies and skills at the disposal of the Organisation and carry out tasks given to me, that I will work towards making the ANC an even more effective instrument of liberation in

¹² See Joel S. Hellman; Geraint Jones and Daniel Kaufmann *Seize the State, Seize the Day: State Capture, Corruption, and Influence in Transition* published in the "Policy Research Working Papers" of the World Bank Group: September 2000 and Joel Hellman and Daniel Kaufmann *Confronting the Challenge of State Capture in Transition Economies* published in the International Monetary Fund's "Finance and Development" magazine, Vol. 38, number 3, September 2001, available at <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2001/09/hellman.htm>



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the hands of the people, and that I will defend the unity and integrity of the Organisation and its principles, and combat any tendency towards disruption and factionalism. [My emphasis]

78. Members of the ANC decide freely to submit themselves to the rules, decisions and discipline of the organisation. Members who choose not to abide by the rules contained in the ANC Constitution or the decisions of its structures are free to leave the organisation.

79. Members of the ANC also affirm that they join the organisation selflessly, without anticipation of any personal reward. Clearly, any member that is involved in corrupt activities or seeks in any other way to use their position for undue self-enrichment is in violation of this basic undertaking.

80. The ANC Constitution contains remedies for the violation of its rules, in the form of disciplinary proceedings. In terms of Rule 25.3 of the ANC Constitution:

“Any member, office bearer or public representative who fails, refuses and/or neglects to abide by the provisions of the Constitution of the ANC, its Standing Orders, Rules, Regulations, Resolutions and policies adopted or made in terms of the Constitution shall be liable to be disciplined in terms of this Constitution.”¹³

¹³ ANCCR 1, p22

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81. Among the acts of misconduct in respect of which disciplinary proceedings may be instituted are:

81.1. Engaging in any unethical or immoral conduct which detracts from the character, values and integrity of the ANC, as may be determined by the Integrity Commission, which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute;

81.2. Abuse of elected or employed office in the Organisation or in the State to obtain any direct or indirect undue advantage or enrichment;

81.3. Being convicted in a court of law for the offence of fraud, theft of money, corruption, money-laundering, racketeering or any other act of financial impropriety.¹⁴

82. Among the sanctions that may be imposed for such misconduct are a fine, a reprimand, suspension of membership, expulsion from the ANC, or in the case of an office bearer, removal or suspension from office.

83. In addition, the NEC, NWC, Provincial Executive Committee or Provincial Working Committee may, at any stage prior to the commencement of disciplinary proceedings

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p23-24

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against a member, summarily suspend the membership of that member, having regard, among other things, to the nature and seriousness of the alleged violation.

84. Each incoming NEC appoints a National Disciplinary Committee and a National Disciplinary Committee of Appeal to hear and adjudicate on disciplinary cases. Similar disciplinary structures exist at the lower levels of the organisation.
85. These disciplinary structures have played an important role in holding members to account for actions that violate the rules of the ANC Constitution, including acts of corruption, fraud and abuse of office.
86. A recurring challenge in the management of organisational discipline is that, in certain instances, the institution of disciplinary proceedings is dependent on a conviction in a court of law. This is particularly the case with respect to offences related to corruption and fraud. This has meant that the organisation has been unable to act against members facing serious charges of financial impropriety until the completion of court processes, which can often be lengthy.
87. In an effort to address this problem among others, the 53rd National Conference in 2012 agreed to the establishment of an Integrity Commission. The Report of this conference, held in December 2012, is annexed marked "ANCCR 3". Among other things, the Integrity Commission was to recommend action against leaders and members of the ANC who face damaging allegations of improper conduct. While the work of the Integrity Commission


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would not substitute for disciplinary action, it was established with the expectation that it would assist in dealing with allegations that had not yet been tested in court.

88. In resolving on the establishment of the Integrity Commission, the 53rd National Conference noted the following:

“More urgent steps should be taken to protect the image of the organisation and enhance its standing in society by ensuring, among others, that urgent action is taken to deal with public officials, leaders and members of the ANC who face damaging allegations of improper conduct. In addition, measures should be put in place to prevent abuse of power or office for private gain or factional interests. The ANC can no longer allow prolonged processes that damage its integrity.”

89. Since the establishment of the Integrity Commission in March 2013, there has been ongoing debate within the ANC on its status and powers. The ANC's 4th National General Council in October 2015, for example, took the view that the Integrity Commission should get powers to implement decisions and not just to recommend to the NEC. The Report of the 4th ANC National General Council held at Gallagher Estate, Midrand, 08-11 October 2015 is annexed marked “ANCCR 12”. The 54th National Conference in December 2017



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passed the matter on to the incoming NEC to give consideration to the two options, namely whether decisions of the Integrity Commission should be binding or advisory.¹⁵

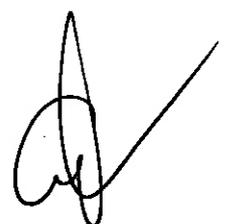
90. In September 2018, the NEC adopted revised terms of reference for the Integrity Commission. The ANC Revised Terms of Reference and Rules of Procedure of the ANC Integrity Commission, as adopted by the NEC 28-30 September 2018 and revised by Officials 15 April 2019 are annexed marked "ANCCR 13". These empower the Commission to make any recommendation on alleged unethical conduct by ANC members "*that it deems fit*", which may include a recommendation for disciplinary action. The Integrity Commission is required to provide its judgments to the ANC Officials, NEC and any affected member, and these must be tabled at the NEC for noting. Any member may appeal against a decision of the Integrity Commission to the NEC, which is the final arbiter on any appeal.

Response to state capture allegations

91. Having outlined the ANC's general approach to corruption within its ranks, I will now turn to the specific allegations that arose with respect to 'state capture' and other matters under investigation by the Commission. I will outline how these allegations arose within the structures of the ANC and how the organisation responded.

92. It should be noted that while there is now broad consensus within South African society that a process of state capture took place over the course of several years, it took some time for the term to gain currency and for the phenomenon it described to be clearly

¹⁵ Annexure ANCCR 4



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recognised as such. Therefore, even though some of the incidents that I refer to below may be regarded as instances of state capture, they were not necessarily recognised or described as such at the time. And even as the term gained currency, there were individuals in the ANC and in society more broadly who contested both the use of the term and the existence of the phenomenon.

93. One of the earliest claims made within the formal structures of ANC of the possibility that members of the Gupta family may have had an improper role with respect to the functioning of the Executive was a statement by Minister Fikile Mbalula at an NEC meeting in 2011. I understand evidence with respect to this statement has been led before the Commission by Minister Mbalula, former Minister Trevor Manuel and others. While I recall the NEC meeting in which this statement was made, this matter was not, to my knowledge, taken further by the NEC or in any other structure of the organisation. For me, the statement did not at the time prompt any specific concerns about the capture of the state.
94. From a public perspective, perhaps one of the earliest signals to the ANC of an unhealthy influence by private individuals over state institutions and resources was the landing of a private aircraft at Waterkloof Air Force Base in April 2013, carrying guests for a wedding of the Gupta family.
95. In a statement released in the hours following the landing (dated 30 April 2013 and annexed marked "ANCCR 14"), the ANC said:



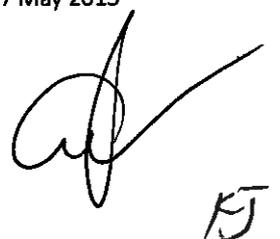
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“The African National Congress has learnt that guests of a family hosting some wedding at Sun City landed at the Waterkloof Airforce Base today... We demand that those who are responsible for granting access to land aircraft in our country also explain the basis upon which such permission was granted, particularly to land at Waterkloof Airforce Base. Those who cannot account must be brought to book.”

96. The matter was raised at the NEC meeting of 17-19 May 2013 (the statement of this meeting is annexed marked “ANCCR 15”). The NEC noted the reports that had been compiled and concluded the matter by saying: *“We are confident that the relevant Ministers will take the process to its logical conclusion so that this incident does not repeat itself.”*

97. It should be noted that the Ministers of the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security (“JCPS”) Cluster concluded an investigation into the landing of the aircraft at Waterkloof Air Force Base on 17 May 2013. Among other things, this investigation concluded that the landing of the flight followed “the exercise of undue influence” and that the activities of then Head of State Protocol Ambassador Vusi Bruce Koloane and South African Air Force Lieutenant-Colonel Christine Anderson “were a serious dereliction of duty”. A copy of this report¹⁶ is annexed marked “ANCCR 16”.

¹⁶ JCPS Cluster Report ‘Landing of a Chartered Commercial Aircraft at Air Force Base Waterkloof’, 17 May 2013

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98. Allegations of state capture assumed greater prominence in the aftermath of the removal of Mr Nhlanhla Nene as Minister of Finance in December 2015 and revelations by Deputy Finance Minister Mcebisi Jonas in March 2016 that members of the Gupta family had earlier offered him the position of Finance Minister.

99. These issues were raised sharply at the NEC meeting of 18-20 March 2016. Among other things, the media statement released at the conclusion of the meeting said:

“The ANC NEC had frank and robust discussions on the serious allegations surrounding the Gupta family and its purported influence in the appointment of ministers, their deputies and other positions in key state owned entities in their interests. Such actions can have no place in the ANC or its government as they have the potential to undermine and erode the credibility and confidence of our people in the leadership of their organisation, the ANC and its government.”

“We reject the notion of any business or family group seeking such influence over the ANC with the contempt it deserves while also recognizing the need to act to protect the integrity of our government and our organisation. The appointment of ministers and deputy ministers is the sole prerogative of the President of the Republic, in line with the Constitution. To this end, the ANC continues to confirm its full confidence in our President.”



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This statement is annexed marked "ANCCR 17".

100. Given the seriousness of the allegations, the NEC mandated the Officials and the NWC *"to gather all pertinent information about the allegations to enable the ANC to take appropriate action on this matter."* The NEC made a call on all members who have information to approach the ANC Secretary General's Office.

101. Following the NEC's call for people to come forward with information, it was reported that a number of ANC members came forward to engage with the Office of the Secretary General. However, only one person would make a written submission on the matter. On the basis of this report, the NEC said:

"The allegations made were serious, they cannot be treated lightly and many warrant a comprehensive investigation. The NEC has advised comrades to formalise their complaints to institutions that deal with complaints of this nature."

The statement of this NEC meeting, held between 27 and 30 May 2016, is annexed marked "ANCCR 18".

102. While the call for ANC members to come forward did not yield much information that the organisation could use, it is significant that the NEC called for further investigations by the competent authorities and for ANC members to provide information to any such investigations.

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103. Another important development during this time was the decline in the ANC's electoral support in the local government elections of August 2016. Opinion research at the time indicated that the issue of corruption was becoming an issue of greater concern among voters and that it was among the factors that contributed to the ANC's weaker performance. This was one of the more direct ways, although not the only one, in which public opinion contributed to a shift in the ANC's response to state capture.

104. One of the investigations arising from the allegations in the public domain was that conducted by former Public Protector Thuli Madonsela, who released her 'State of Capture' report on 2 November 2016. It is critical to note that while allegations of state capture were directed at senior leaders, it is ANC members who brought this matter to the attention of the movement, and many of them provided evidence to the Public Protector. Similarly, it was ANC members in the NEC (and other structures) who were calling for stern action on these allegations.

105. Later that month, the NEC held a meeting at which a call was made by some members of the NEC for ANC President Jacob Zuma to consider stepping down as President of the Republic in light of the issues raised in the Public Protector's report and reported in the media. The NEC statement (annexed and marked "ANCCR 19"¹⁷) described the discussion as follows:

¹⁷ Statement of the ANC NEC Meeting, 26-27 November 2016



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"The NEC decided that even though the issue was neither on the agenda nor in the Political Report, the debate should be allowed without any suppression... Following robust, honest, candid and at times difficult discussions, the NEC did not support the call for the President to step down. The NEC resolved it was more urgent to direct the energies of the ANC in its entirety to working towards the unity of the movement."

106. At a subsequent NEC meeting, in May 2017, a call was once again made for former President Zuma to consider stepping down as President of the Republic. The statement released at the conclusion of the meeting, annexed marked "ANCCR 20", said the following:

"This [the call for President Zuma to step down] we considered to be part of a broader discussion characterised by the restlessness manifesting itself in society, where certain sections have made similar calls. A number of members of the NEC were of the view that the ANC should listen to this call. Various contributions in support of and against the appeal to President to step down were raised. Many more were neither in favour nor against the appeal but emphasized the need for unity within the organisation. The NEC sought to have a detailed analysis of the consequences of removing the President; appreciating that some calls, especially those made by the opposition, are not so much about removing the President but rather dislodging the ANC itself from power. The NEC concluded the matter by recommitting itself to focus on the task at hand and what our people expect from us."

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107. The same NEC meeting endorsed the proposal arising from the Public Protector's Report for the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry into allegations of state capture without delay. It said:

"The terms of reference of such Commission of Enquiry must be broad enough to uncover the influence of business on the state. The NEC expressed its desire to see all processes of reviewing the Public Protector's State of Capture report accelerated so that they are not an obstacle to the speedy establishment of the Judicial Commission into State Capture."¹⁸

108. Support for the establishment of a commission of inquiry into state capture was further reaffirmed by the ANC's 5th National Policy Conference in June/July 2017 and by the Alliance Political Council in October 2017. The ANC's 54th National Conference in December 2017 reaffirmed the call for the "expeditious establishment" of such a commission of inquiry.

109. On 12 February 2018, the NEC held a special meeting to reflect on the position of former ANC President Jacob Zuma as President of the Republic of South Africa. After an "exhaustive discussion", the NEC decided to recall President Zuma. A statement released after the meeting (annexed marked "ANCCR 21") said:

¹⁸ Statement ANCCR 21



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“The National Executive Committee firmly believes that this situation requires us to act with urgency in order to steer our country towards greater levels of unity, renewal and hope. We are determined to restore the integrity of the public institutions, create political stability and urgent economic recovery... The decision of the NEC provides certainty to the people of South Africa at a time when the economic and social challenges facing the country require urgent and resolute response by all sections of society.”

Role of the ANC in Parliament

110. The role of the ANC in Parliament, particularly with respect to the exercise of oversight, is dealt with at length in statements submitted to the Commission by Mr Magashule, deposed on 8 October 2020, and Mr Mantashe, deposed on 12 March 2021. I will therefore only deal with specific matters on which the Commission has sought comment to the extent to which these have not been canvassed in the aforementioned submissions.

111. Within our constitutional framework, members of the Executive are also members of the National Assembly (with the exception of the President and up to two Ministers and Deputy Ministers appointed from outside the National Assembly). This means that most Ministers and Deputy Ministers are elected members of the National Assembly in their own right, are members of the caucus of the governing party and participate in any forums or structures established to coordinate the work of the governing party in Parliament.

112. In addition to exercising oversight over the Executive, Parliament has a broader Constitutional mandate, including:

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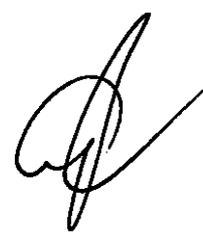
- 112.1. choosing the President;
- 112.2. providing a national forum for public consideration of issues;
- 112.3. passing legislation;
- 112.4. scrutinising and overseeing executive action.¹⁹

113. For the governing party, this means that a fundamental feature of its role in Parliament is the implementation of its electoral mandate. This is a responsibility that falls as much to members of the Executive as it does to other members of Parliament that are not in the Executive.

114. Members of the Executive and other members of Parliament therefore have both common and distinct responsibilities. They have a common responsibility to implement the policies and programmes contained in their election manifesto. Yet, at the same time, members of Parliament have a distinct responsibility to hold the Executive to account.

115. This presents a natural tension in the fulfilment of the various elements of the Constitutional mandate of Parliament. Such a tension is not unique to South Africa; it is prevalent in many political systems around the world. The challenge for any democracy is how to manage this natural tension to ensure that Parliament effectively exercises all elements of its mandate. I would argue that this management is a function of several factors, including the design of Parliament's rules and structures, its conventions, the

¹⁹ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Section 42(3)


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prevailing political culture, and the role and influence of other formations, both within and outside the state.

116. This is not only a function of the design of our Constitutional dispensation. This tension is also present, in different forms and to differing degrees, in constituency-based Parliamentary systems (like the United Kingdom) and in systems where the President and legislators are elected on different ballots (like the United States). In both of these cases, and in many others, party affiliation and electoral mandates are significant factors in the exercise of legislative oversight.

117. I make these observations not to excuse lapses in the exercise of Parliamentary oversight of the Executive, but to provide a context in which exercise of oversight needs to be understood.

118. A related matter, on which the Commission has asked me to comment, is whether ANC MPs should be entitled to vote “in accordance with their conscience” on issues related to allegations of corruption by members or deployees of the ANC.

119. As indicated in 77 above, the ANC is an organisation that individuals join voluntarily. It is open to all South Africans above the age of 18 years, “*who accept its principles, policies and programmes and who are prepared to abide by its Constitution and rules.*”²⁰ For most people, therefore, joining the ANC is an act of conscience, motivated by the objectives and

²⁰ See ANCCR 1



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values contained in the ANC Constitution. Members are, however, expected to abide the rules of the organisation, to accept its discipline, to participate in its activities and to defend the policies and the positions of the organisation. Members who do not wish to do so, are free to leave the organisation.

120. These rights and responsibilities apply equally to ANC MPs. As with any other member, they are bound by the decisions of the relevant structures of the organisation, duly arrived at through democratic processes. Though this would apply to varying degrees under any electoral system, this is reinforced under proportional representation, where MPs are elected on the basis of the number of votes received by their party. They are in Parliament to implement the manifesto of their party and to act in accordance with the collective position of their party on matters before Parliament.

121. All Members of Parliament have an overriding duty arising from the affirmation they make on assuming their positions. Among other things, they undertake to *“be faithful to the Republic of South Africa and [to] obey, respect and uphold the Constitution and all other law of the Republic”*.²¹ In other words, all parties have to ensure that their constitutions, policies and practices accord with the basic law of the land.

122. The ANC has endeavoured throughout the 27 years of the democratic Parliament to ensure that its members act both in accordance with their oath of office and in line with

²¹ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Schedule 2, 4(1)


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the electoral mandate that they carry; that they are both faithful to the Constitution and abide by the decisions of the collective.

123. The question posed by the Commission – and by the allegations of corruption in the Executive and in other parts of the state – is what is expected of MPs who believe that there is a conflict between the position of their party and the oath they have undertaken. This is not a theoretical consideration. I would suggest that it is a consideration that has been faced by several MPs during the period under review. For some MPs, this may have come down to a choice between one's 'conscience' and the 'party line'. I would argue, however, that some MPs took another view, asking themselves how they could fulfil their oath as MPs and remain true to the principles of their party in a context where, to their mind at least, the party collective was not acting against allegations of corruption. How could they, in the context of a politically contested space, ensure that Parliament exercised oversight?

124. In my view, the answer to this question can be found, at least in part, in the events that unfolded in Parliament from late 2016 and into 2017, where the ANC and other parties initiated a number of inquiries into allegations of malfeasance in some state-owned enterprises and parts of government. The affidavit of the former ANC Chief Whip, the late Mr Jackson Mthembu, deposed to on 7 October 2020, provides an adequate description of these inquiries and the decisions that informed them.

125. It is clear from Mr Mthembu's account that the determination of the ANC in Parliament to probe these allegations was both a response to the evidence of wrongdoing that was

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accumulating in the public domain and the implementation of the decisions taken by the ANC's constitutional structures, especially its NEC, to ensure the proper investigation of these allegations.

126. There may, of course, be instances where decisions arrived at by appropriate structures of the ANC on specific issues do not accord with the letter and spirit of the country's Constitution or could have the effect of undermining efforts to attain the ideals it enshrines. Other matters may invoke a contradiction between preferred collective policy action and the privately-held beliefs of individual public representatives. These instances would, in a political party system, be the exception – not the norm. I would suggest a few ways in which such difficulties are managed:

126.1. The first level is to attempt to convince the decision-making structures, including the caucus, of what a member may consider to be the correct position, or vice versa.

126.2. The second level is to draw the attention of relevant leadership structures to the conflict that a member may experience in supporting a particular policy approach and seek guidance on how to manage the issue. There are instances where the ANC has found ways to manage such situations as with some religious leaders in the ANC caucus, many years ago, in dealing with the issue of termination of pregnancy. In this instance, the weight of the issue and the implications for both the individual member and the party are carefully weighed by the leadership.



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126.3. The third and ultimate level derives from the very essence of democracy: if the party consistently takes decisions that are against the interests of the people, the voters themselves would pass their judgement in an election.

Role of the Alliance and other formations

127. No account of the ANC's response to state capture would be complete without a reflection on the role and influence of formations allied to the ANC. This includes the ANC's Alliance partners, the South African Communist Party ("SACP") and the Congress of South African Trade Unions ("COSATU"), groupings of ANC stalwarts and military veterans, and civil society organs. While these organisations can and should speak for themselves, the positions, pronouncements and activities of these groupings undoubtedly had an impact on the approach taken by the ANC. They also played an important role in drawing public attention to the issue of systemic corruption and thereby contributed to the steps that have been taken to investigate it.

128. While it is neither possible nor appropriate to provide a comprehensive account of their contribution, I will cite a few examples by way of illustration.

128.1. The spectre of state capture (although it was not described in those terms) was pointedly raised in an Alliance Summit held from 27 June to 1 July 2015. The Summit brought together the national leadership structures of the ANC, SACP, COSATU and South African National Civic Organisation ("SANCO"). The Declaration of the Summit (annexed marked "ANCCR 22") raised concern about the "deliberate

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manipulation” of internal democratic processes and the systemic emergence of patronage and nepotism. It said this behaviour is *“the entry-point for corporate capture and private business interests outside of our formations to undermine organisational processes”*.

128.2. The SACP has been vocal in its opposition to corruption and state capture. Following public pronouncements by several of its leaders, in June 2016 the SACP Central Committee took a firm public stance, which included a criticism of the ANC leadership. This statement is annexed marked “ANCCR 23”. Among other things, it said:

“We believe that it is misguided, therefore, for those in the ANC’s leadership who now seek to dismiss concern about corporate capture as if it were just a marginal issue. We certainly agree that neither the ANC nor government are corporately captured in their entirety. But the problem is widespread, and threatens to become endemic... In fact, it is only by addressing the challenges of parasitic corporate capture head-on, without fear or favour, that we will reaffirm the values of our liberation struggle, and begin to regain the respect of millions of ANC supporters and South African citizens in general.”

128.3. In the Political Report to its 14th National Congress in July 2017, the SACP said that state capture undermined the developmental capacity of the state and called for



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the immediate establishment of an independent judicial commission of inquiry into state capture. A copy of the Political Report is annexed and marked as "ANCCR 24".

128.4. In August 2017, COSATU called a nationwide strike against state capture. Significantly, this strike call received support from several quarters, including Business Unity South Africa, Business Leadership South Africa and the Chamber of Mines. A copy of the COSATU Central Executive Committee Statement of August 2017 is annexed and marked as "ANCCR 25".

128.5. In October 2016, a group of more than 100 stalwarts of the democratic movement, which included Rivonia Treason Trialists Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni and Denis Goldberg, released a statement calling on the ANC to "*reclaim the trust of society and moral high ground*"²² (it is annexed and marked "ANCCR 26"). In the statement, they said:

"Communities that have looked to the ANC for leadership and who we should serve, increasingly see self-enrichment, corruption, nepotism and the abuse of power... As stalwarts and long-serving members of the ANC, we have profound responsibility to the movement and the country to ensure that the principles and values of the ANC are not destroyed."

²² 'For the Sake of Our Future', Press Release, 27 October 2016

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128.6. In April 2016, the South African Council of Churches ("SACC") created an 'Unburdening Panel' to receive information of any experiences of corruption covering the period of South Africa's democratic era.²³ Its report annexed and marked "ANCCR 27". The process was triggered by allegations made by Mr Jonas and former ANC MP Vytjie Mentor about being offered Cabinet positions by members of the Gupta family. From testimony received during the process, the SACC concluded that:

"A careful analysis makes the case for... observable trends of inappropriate control of State systems through a power-elite that is pivoted around the President of the Republic that is systematically siphoning the assets of the State."

129. While the impact of these and other developments on the ANC may not have been immediately apparent, I would argue that the positions taken by allied formations and respected voices in society played an important role in influencing the direction of discussions within the ANC.

Significance of the 54th National Conference

130. Since its formation, the ANC's national conferences have often marked significant milestones in the organisation's growth and development. The 54th National Conference, which was held at Nasrec, Johannesburg on 16-20 December 2017, was no different in this

²³ SACC Report to the Church Public on the Unburdening Panel Process, Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, 18 May 2017

respect. It was a watershed moment in the ANC's efforts to assess its strengths and weaknesses and to confront state capture and corruption within its ranks.

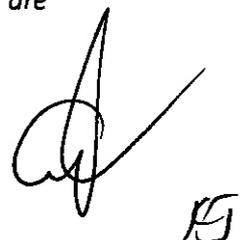
131. Much of the discussion at the Conference on issues of state capture was framed by a 'Diagnostic Organisational Report' presented by then Secretary General Gwede Mantashe to the National Policy Conference in July 2017. (Policy Conferences are generally held around six months before a National Conference to prepare policy proposals for consideration at the National Conference.) The Diagnostic Organisational Report, which was presented on behalf of the NEC, directly addressed the allegations against the Gupta family and some ANC leaders in the broader context of state capture.

132. Given the significance of the document, it is worth quoting some passages at length:

"Mistakes committed at Government level affect the ANC directly, and the organisation cannot claim not to be involved.

"An example of this is the debate on State Capture, which was started within the movement and the Communist Party was vociferous about. The issue of the Gupta family being too influential in the decisions of the state has become a household discussion...

"However, their relationships with the families of prominent leaders attract the attention of the people. When there are benefits that accrue to families of the leadership, it is assumed to be corrupt in that the political leaders are

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supposed to have facilitated the accrual of benefits. The leadership of the ANC should never be taken by surprise when society reacts to such relations. In our case, we become dismissive and defensive about it.

The public outcry about the influence of the Gupta family has led to investigations by both the Office of the Public Protector and the South African Council of Churches. Serious allegations were made against a number of the leaders of the ANC. Instead of dealing with the reality facing the movement, a defence was developed by using the real threats we face as a movement. A narrative was developed to link any discomfort with the influence of the Gupta family to the regime change agenda. While it must be acknowledged that regime change is a real threat that needs to be analysed and a strategy to defend the country and the movement needs to be developed, this cannot be used as a response to the perception or reality of corruption.”²⁴

The Diagnostic Organisational Report is attached hereto as “ANCCR 28”.

133. The National Conference adopted a resolution on organisational renewal that noted, among other things, the following:

133.1. an increase in corruption, factionalism, dishonesty and other negative practices that seriously threaten the goals and support of the ANC;

²⁴ ‘A Diagnostic Organisational Report’, 5th National Policy Conference, 30 June – 5 July 2017



133.2. that the lack of integrity perceived by the public has seriously damaged the ANC's image, the people's trust in the ANC, its ability to occupy the moral high ground, and its position as leader of society;

133.3. that current leadership structures seem helpless to arrest these practices, either because they lack the means or the will, or are themselves held hostage by them; and,

133.4. that the state investigative and prosecutorial authorities appear to be weakened and affected by factional battles, and unable to perform their functions.

134. The Conference consequently resolved to:

134.1. demand that every ANC member accused of, or reported to be involved in, corrupt practices account to the Integrity Commission immediately or face disciplinary processes;

134.2. summarily suspend people who fail to give an acceptable explanation or to voluntarily step down, while they face disciplinary, investigative or prosecutorial procedures;


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- 134.3. publicly disassociate the organisation from anyone, whether business donor, supporter or member, accused of corruption or reported to be involved in corruption;
- 134.4. ensure that ANC members and structures cooperate with the law-enforcement agencies to criminally prosecute anyone guilty of corruption; and,
- 134.5. require the ANC deployees to Cabinet, especially Finance, Police and Justice, to strengthen state capacity to successfully investigate and prosecute corruption and account for any failure to do so.
135. The 54th National Conference resolutions signalled a clear determination by the membership of the ANC to acknowledge the organisation's failings, to make a decisive break with corrupt practices and to initiate an ethical, political and organisational renewal of the ANC.
136. In my closing address to the 54th National Conference (annexure "ANCCR 29" hereto), I reflected the outcomes of the Conference on this matter in the following terms:

"At the state level we must confront the reality that critical institutions of our state have been targeted by individuals and families through the exercise of influence and the manipulation of governance processes and public resources..."


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“Whether we call this state capture or simply corruption, this has undermined the integrity of our institutions, cost our economy hundreds of billions of rands and contributed to the further impoverishment of our people...

“This Conference has resolved that this must be acted upon and stopped. We must also act fearlessly against alleged corruption and abuse of office within our ranks... This Conference has resolved that corruption must be fought with the same intensity and purpose that we fight poverty, unemployment and inequality.”²⁵

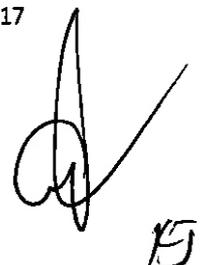
Specific matters relating to the ANC Officials

137. The Commission has requested that I provide information on specific matters that would have served before the ANC Officials.

138. With respect to the dismissal of Mr Nene as Finance Minister and his replacement by Mr van Rooyen, the dismissal of Mr Gordhan as Finance Minister and the proposed appointment of Mr Brian Molefe as Finance Minister, these matters are dealt with in the statement made in my capacity as President of the Republic.

139. On the appeal by Mr Popo Molefe regarding PRASA, Mr Molefe met the ANC Officials. I cannot readily remember exactly when this took place. He made certain allegations regarding the situation at PRASA. The Officials acknowledged that Mr Molefe raised serious

²⁵ Closing Address by ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa to the 54th National Conference, 20 December 2017

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matters and made significant allegations that were best handled by the appropriate law enforcement agencies. The ANC is not an investigatory body or law enforcement agency capable of dealing with matters of alleged corruption and criminality. The Officials therefore advised Mr Molefe to approach the relevant agencies to ensure these matters were investigated.

140. On the approaches made by former Directors-General, military veterans and others on the issue of state capture, these need to be viewed in the context of statements, actions and representations by various social actors during this period, some of whom approached the ANC leadership to raise their concerns. I deal with some of these in the section above on 'Role of the Alliance and other formations'. I understand that the meetings held between full-time members of the ANC top 6 and some former DGs and military veterans are dealt with in affidavits filed with this Commission by persons with personal knowledge of the meetings.

141. On the alleged donation to the ANC from Ms Maria Gomez, I am informed that this matter is dealt with in the submission to the Commission by former ANC Treasurer General Mr Zwelini Mkhize, in an affidavit he deposed to on 3 December 2020.

Process of renewal and correction

142. Following the 54th National Conference, and in line with its resolutions, the ANC embarked upon a process of organisational rebuilding and renewal. This included corrective measures both within the ANC and in the State. While the latter are dealt with extensively in my statement to the Commission in my capacity as President of the Republic,

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and I will therefore not discuss them again here, it is important to note that these measures were informed by the mandate of the ANC's National Conference.

143. Just a few weeks after the National Conference, the incoming NEC released its first January 8th Statement (a full copy of which is annexed marked "ANCCR 30"), which outlined the organisation's priorities and tasks for 2018. It took a firm position against corruption:

"Corruption in [state-owned enterprises] and other public institutions has undermined government's programmes to address poverty and unemployment, weakened key institutions, discouraged investment and contributed to division within the ANC and the Alliance..."

"Anti-corruption efforts within the state must be more effectively coordinated and all forms of corruption must be exposed and prosecuted. This includes corruption, collusion and other criminal activity in the private sector, which must be fought with equal diligence and determination."

"Strong and efficient law-enforcement agencies are critical to the fight against corruption and crime generally, and to the restoration of the integrity and legitimacy of the state. In this regard, the ANC is of the firm view that the country's intelligence services, the police and prosecutorial authorities should be strengthened and fortified to act with professionalism, and without fear, favour or prejudice. They should continue to be at the forefront of the fight"



against corruption and state capture, and work with communities to deal decisively with acts of criminality that threaten to tear communities apart.”²⁶

144. The January 8th Statement said that among the priority tasks for the organisation for 2018:

“We shall work to restore the integrity and credibility of the ANC. We need cadres who are committed to serve no other interest than the interests of the people, who seek no advantage for themselves or their families from the positions they occupy, and who safeguard public resources. We shall strengthen the Integrity Commission to deal with matters of ethics in the organisation and finalise its standing and the status of its decisions by June this year.”²⁷

145. An important part of the ANC’s renewal process was to publicly identify and acknowledge the extent of corruption within the State and within its own ranks. The ANC’s 2019 Election Manifesto (dated January 2019 and annexed marked “ANCCR 31”) was a significant moment in this process. Among other things, the Manifesto said:

“The ANC acknowledges that we made mistakes and veered off course.

²⁶ Statement of the National Executive Committee on the occasion of the 106th anniversary of the African National Congress, 8 January 2018

²⁷ *Ibid.*

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“As a nation, we have learned the harsh impact of corruption on society and the economy. We have witnessed the loss of integrity in some of the institutions of state, business and political and other organisations. We have learned hard lessons about the vigilance needed to stop lawlessness, greed and selfishness from taking root. We are resolved to work with our people to address this cancer in our society...”

“We will actively promote a culture of integrity throughout the state, society and within our people’s organisation – the ANC. We will ensure that leaders and members of the ANC and the broader movement and those entrusted with public responsibilities are uncorrupted, honest and self-disciplined with clear values who can resist moral pressures. We will not tolerate practices that harm the public interest. We will hold people accountable and those who loot public resources must face the might of the law.”

146. As detailed in 144 above, the ANC has since the 54th National Conference also strengthened the Integrity Commission. In its meeting of July 2019, the NEC revised the terms of reference of the Integrity Commission to enable it to call on ANC members and leaders to appear before it, to enable members to present themselves to the Commission and to strengthen the Commission’s investigative capacity.

147. The allegations that surfaced during the coronavirus pandemic about corruption in the procurement of personal protective equipment and other essential supplies compelled the ANC to reaffirm its stance against corruption and undertake further measures in the

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implementation of its Conference resolutions. I refer here to the Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress held on 31 July – 2 August 2020, annexed marked “ANCCR 32”.

148. It prompted a letter from the ANC President to the membership of the organisation in which I outlined actions the ANC should take without delay. These included the following:

148.1. the ANC should implement without delay the resolutions of the 54th National Conference on dealing with corruption, including that:

148.1.1. every cadre accused of, or reported to be involved in, corrupt practices must account to the Integrity Commission immediately or face disciplinary processes;

148.1.2. people who fail to give an acceptable explanation or to voluntarily step down while they face disciplinary, investigative or prosecutorial procedures should be summarily suspended;

148.1.3. the ANC should publicly disassociate itself from anyone, whether business donor, supporter or member, accused of corruption or reported to be involved in corruption;

148.2. require ANC leaders to make regular declarations of financial interests;

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- 148.3. conduct lifestyle audits of all ANC leaders and public representatives;
- 148.4. develop a clear policy on ANC leaders and their family members doing business with the state;
- 148.5. strengthen the Integrity Commission and provide it with clear administrative and legal support.

The letter from the ANC President to ANC members has been attached as "ANCCR 33".

149. The NEC, in its meeting of 28-30 August 2020 endorsed the letter from the ANC President as a *"clear articulation of the policies and positions of the organisation, and agreed to the implementation of the points of action contained therein"*.

150. The NEC further directed that the following should happen:

150.1. Members of the ANC who are formally charged with corruption and other serious charges must immediately step aside from all leadership positions in the ANC, legislatures or other government structures pending the finalisation of their matters and mandated the Officials to develop "guidelines and procedures" for the implementation of the "step aside" resolution.

150.2. Members who did not step aside, in line with the resolution, may be summarily suspended.



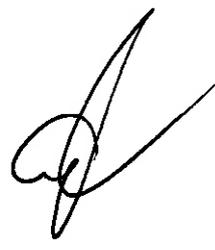
150.3. Members of the ANC who are reported to be involved in corrupt and other serious criminal practices must go to the Integrity Commission and provide a credible explanation for these allegations or reports. Should members fail to give an acceptable explanation, they may be suspended.

150.4. Members of the ANC who are convicted of corruption or other serious crimes must resign from leadership positions and face disciplinary action in line with the ANC Constitution.

The NEC Statement of 28-30 August 2020 is attached hereto as "ANCCR 34".

151. The NEC further directed the Officials to develop guidelines on the implementation of the Conference resolution and subsequent NEC decisions. The Officials appointed a task team of venerable elders and stalwarts, supervised by the Treasurer-General and led by former ANC Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe, to develop the guidelines and procedures on stepping aside.

152. The draft guidelines and procedures were presented to the NEC meeting of 13- 14 February 2021 and adopted at this meeting. Full implementation of the resolution was deferred by a month to effect technical refinements and workshop structures to foster common understanding and unity on the approach to implementation. The NEC Statement of 13-14 February 2021 is attached as "ANCCR 35".



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153. The NEC in its meeting of 26–29 March 2021 resolved to implement the Resolutions of the 54th National Conference on ‘stepping aside’ and directed that *“all members who have been charged with corruption or other serious crimes must step aside within 30 days, failing which they should be suspended in terms of Rule 25.70 of the ANC Constitution.”*

154. The NEC Statement of 26–29 March 2021 is attached as “ANCCR 36”

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ANALYSIS OF THE ANC'S ROLE IN STATE CAPTURE AND CORRUPTION

155. As is evident from the decisions and statements outlined above, the ANC recognises that state capture and corruption have taken a great toll on our society and our economy. These practices erode the values of our Constitution and undermine the rule of law. They threaten the achievement of the growth, development and transformation of our country.
156. The ANC's 54th National Conference resolved to support the establishment of this Commission, and has consistently expressed its support for the objectives and the work of the Commission. The ANC maintains that this Commission is an important part of the broader social effort to end all forms of state capture and corruption.
157. The ANC's position has been that it is the responsibility of ANC members – and indeed of all South Africans – to assist the commission in its work.
158. In addition to the damage inflicted on society, state capture and corruption has had a serious impact on the integrity, unity, capability and credibility of the ANC.
159. The allegations of malfeasance that the Commission was established to investigate and about which much testimony has been led occurred while the ANC was the governing party in national government and in most provinces and municipalities.



160. Allegations have been made at the commission against a number of ANC leaders and members. While many of these allegations have not yet been tested and the commission has yet to make any findings, these allegations do have a cumulative effect on the ANC's integrity and standing in society.

161. However, as is evident from section 67 above, corruption within the ranks of the ANC was a broad issue of concern over many years. Indeed, there have been occasions where allegations have been made against ANC leaders and members, and instances where ANC leaders and members have been prosecuted by the State and disciplined by the organisation.

162. With the passage of time, however, as more reports began to surface in the public domain about the alleged 'capture' of public entities by private interests and the undue influence of certain individuals, notably members of the Gupta family, in executive decisions and appointments, ANC members began to raise concerns within the various structures of the organisation.

163. As the volume of evidence began to mount in the public domain, the issue of state capture was increasingly a subject under discussion in the NEC and other ANC structures. It was also a matter taken up more directly by the ANC's Alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and by ANC veterans and others outside the structures of the organisation.

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164. The issue of state capture – whether indeed it existed, its extent and form, and what should be done about it – became a matter of political contestation within the ANC. Differences over this issue contributed to divisions within the NEC and other ANC structures, which divisions were evident also in government, in parliament and other sections of society.

165. Indeed, the issue of state capture and corruption was prominent in the contestation that took place ahead of the ANC's 54th National Conference in December 2017.

166. Although the ANC, as an organisation, did not have direct evidence of state capture activities at the time they were being perpetrated, and did not have the investigative capacity to probe the various allegations, it is necessary to address the issue of whether the organisation, through action or inaction, enabled the commission of these activities.

167. In this regard, certain objective and subjective factors should be considered:

167.1. Corruption is, by its nature, a covert activity. Those who perpetrate corruption and related crimes generally seek to keep their actions hidden and disguise their intentions. Therefore, even as corrupt activities may be taking place within institutions, it is entirely conceivable that most members of the institution would be unaware. It was due to the covert nature of these activities that, for the most part and for much of the period under consideration by the Commission, these issues did not arise within the structures of the ANC, and, it would be fair to say, were not known to most of the members of these structures.



167.2. The ability of any organisation – but especially a political formation – to act on allegations of malfeasance relies not only on its formal rules and procedures, but also on the balance of power within its structures. The alignment of views within such an organisation is further influenced by access to the offices of state, where the ability to appoint and dismiss – and even to dispense patronage – is concentrated among a few individuals.

167.3. The ANC has recognised the erosion over time of its organisational integrity, as processes have been manipulated to advance the material interests of certain members and associated private companies and individuals. This manifests itself in weak and pliable branches, vote buying and gate keeping (where certain potential members are deliberately prevented from joining or participating), factionalism and even open conflict. This provides fertile ground for state capture and corruption.

168. The ANC recognises – as clearly stated at its 54th National Conference – that it needs to rid itself of the practices, tendencies and organisational culture that corruption has implanted, and which in turn have enabled corruption.

169. The ANC has therefore embarked on a process of renewal and rebuilding, to build a movement characterised by integrity, accountability and the highest standards of ethical behaviour. The process of renewal is ongoing. The rate of progress is determined not only by the existence of political will and organisational capacity, but also by the continued

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existence of vested interests and resistance from those who have much to lose from the corrective measures mandated by the ANC's 54th National Conference.

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CONCLUSION

170. This statement has sought to outline the ANC's approach to corruption, its knowledge of and response to allegations of state capture, and the measures it is taking to address its organisational deficiencies.

171. The statement is not a comprehensive or definitive description of the impact and operation of state capture as it pertains to the ANC. This is something that will likely only emerge with time, as processes of investigation, research and analysis unfold. The work of this Commission will undoubtedly contribute much to the understanding of how state capture occurred and what function the different formations in society – including the ANC – performed in enabling or restricting these criminal activities.

172. It may not be within the remit of this Commission to delve into all the causal factors that contribute to the development of a culture of corruption within the state, political and other organisations, the business community and other sections of society. However, we have referred to some of these issues in this statement. Many other important matters that may require reflection include:

172.1. the character of South Africa's political transition and how the structures, networks, systems and culture of corruption within the apartheid state and established business may have been carried over into the democratic dispensation;

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- 172.2. the nature of our social relations and a value system in broader society which measures success on the basis of the material possessions that individuals command;
- 172.3. the tendency among companies to succumb to extortion, adapt their operations to corrupt environments and themselves to become facilitators of corruption and state capture;
- 172.4. the management of the rise of an entrepreneurial 'class' among those previously marginalised and the temptations in this process to cut corners;
- 172.5. the criteria for accession to political office in parties and in the state which may result in situations in which individuals with no other avenues for material self-advancement rely on state patronage to pursue gilded lifestyles;
- 172.6. and the system of party political funding which we are only now starting to regulate in a systematic way.
173. These systemic causal factors of corruption and state capture require ongoing reflection within our society, the better to find solutions that are effective and lasting.
174. The position of the ANC on leaders and members who have committed acts of corruption or other crimes is clear. Their actions are a direct violation, not only of the laws



of the land, but also of the ANC Constitution, its values and principles, and the resolutions and decisions of the ANC's constitutional structures.

175. Such members must face the full legal consequences of their actions. They cannot rely on the ANC for support or protection, nor may they appeal to the principle of collective responsibility. In accounting for their actions, they stand alone.

176. While the ANC distances itself from those within its ranks who have been involved in corruption or who are complicit in state capture, the organisation must – and does – acknowledge the responsibility that it bears for the matters currently under investigation by the Commission.

177. State capture took place under our watch. It involved leaders of our organisation and it found fertile ground in the divisions, weaknesses and tendencies that have developed in our organisation since former President Mandela sounded his clear warning in 1994.

178. The vast majority of ANC leaders, cadres and members are vehemently opposed to corruption in all its manifestations. But they will also acknowledge that the organisation could and should have done more to prevent the abuse of power and the misappropriation of resources that defined the era of state capture.

179. Particularly during the period under review by this Commission, the ANC does admit that it made mistakes as it sought to execute the mandate it was given by the voters. It failed to live up to the expectations of the South African people and it was inconsistent in

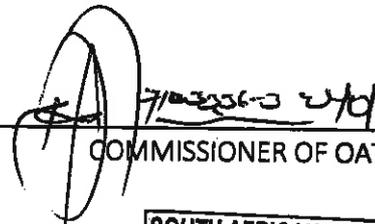
upholding the values and principles that have defined the movement over more than a century of its existence.

180. As the leadership of the African National Congress, duly elected at our 54th National Conference, we acknowledge these shortcomings of our organisation and we extend a sincere apology to the South African people.

181. We further undertake to work alongside all South Africans to ensure that the era of state capture is relegated to history and that the excesses that took place may never again occur in our country.


MATAMELA CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

I hereby certify that the deponent declares that he knows and understands the contents of this affidavit and that it is to the best of the deponent's knowledge both true and correct. This affidavit was signed and sworn to before me at HYDE PARK on this 22 day of APRIL 2021 and the Regulations contained in Government Notice R1258 of 21 July 1972, as amended, have been complied with.


COMMISSIONER OF OATHS

FULL NAMES:
ADDRESS:
DESIGNATION:
AREA:
Stamp:

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE
PRESIDENTIAL PROTECTION SERVICE
2021-04- 2 2
PRESIDENTIAL PROTECTION SERVICE
SOUTH AFRICA POLICE SERVICE

**BEFORE THE JUDICIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO ALLEGATIONS OF STATE CAPTURE,
CORRUPTION AND FRAUD IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR INCLUDING ORGANS OF STATE**

**INDEX FOR STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, MATAMELA CYRIL
RAMAPHOSA**

SUBMISSION ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Constitution



**As amended and adopted
by the 54th National Conference
Nasrec, Johannesburg 2017**

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ANC Constitution

as amended and adopted at the 54th National Conference, Nasrec, Johannesburg 2017

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PREAMBLE

WHEREAS the African National Congress was founded in 1912 to defend and advance the rights of the African people after the violent destruction of their independence and the creation of a white supremacist Union of South Africa;

AND WHEREAS in the course of fulfilling this historic aim, the African National Congress has emerged to lead the struggle of all democratic and patriotic forces to destroy the apartheid state and replace it with a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa in which the people as a whole shall govern and all shall enjoy equal rights;

AND WHEREAS through the struggles and sacrifices of its members over the generations, the African National Congress has come to be recognised as the central organiser and inspirer of a vast popular upsurge against apartheid, involving a great array of social, cultural, religious, trade union, professional and political organisations;

AND WHEREAS the fundamental goal of the African National Congress remains to construct a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society in South Africa;

AND WHEREAS the historic April 1994 election has placed the African National Congress in a position of responsibility for leading the process of reconstruction and development aimed at eradicating the problems of poverty and inequality created by apartheid and creating a just and equitable economic and social order;

NOW THEREFORE the National Conference of the African National Congress, duly constituted and assembled, cognisant of the historic mission of the African National Congress and of the need to build a mass based democratic structure to enable it to fulfil its historic mission, hereby adopts this amended Constitution, as follows:

DEFINITIONS

The words, terms and acronyms used in the Constitution and the Appendices bear the following meanings, unless the context indicates otherwise:

“accountable” means to answer for, or explain, one’s conduct, decisions or acts;

“ANC” means the African National Congress;

“appeal” means to resort to or apply to a higher authority in the ANC structures for a decision;

“appellant” means a member, office bearer or public representative who appeals against a decision of a Disciplinary Committee;

“Appendix” means an attachment or annexure to this Constitution;

“assembly or gathering” means a grouping of ANC members who come together for a specific purpose;

“autonomous” means that the Leagues function independently, next to and in addition to ANC structures and within the framework of the Constitution and policies of the ANC;

“BDC” means a Branch Disciplinary Committee;

“BEC” means the Executive Committee of a Branch of the ANC;

“biennial” means once every two years;

“Branch in good standing” means a Branch that is recognised by the ANC to be fully compliant with its obligations in terms of this Constitution and whose members are paid-up members;

“bribe” means any promise or offer to give something, usually money, to procure services or gain influence in an improper manner;

“candidate duly endorsed” means a candidate nominated and elected democratically by the constitutional structures of the ANC at the appropriate levels, and endorsed by the NEC, the PEC or the Branch;

“caucus” means an organised group of public representatives of the same political party which exists as a structure or institution at each respective sphere of governance and which meets privately to discuss policy, issues pertaining to voting and strategies in preparation for open meetings with other political parties where such policies are discussed and voting takes place;

“chaplain” means a priest, religious or spiritual leader;

“Chief National Presenter” means a person appointed in terms of this Constitution to present the case of the PDC, NDC and NDCA, as the case may be, in disciplinary and appeal proceedings and “Chief Provincial Presenter” and “Chief Regional Presenter” have the same meaning, in respect of the relevant organisational level and “Presenter”, where used, refers to all of the persons included in the definition of “Chief National Presenter”;

“complainant” means, in the context of disciplinary proceedings, the ANC;

“consistent with” means agreeing, compatible, not contradictory;

“Constitution” means the ANC Constitution;

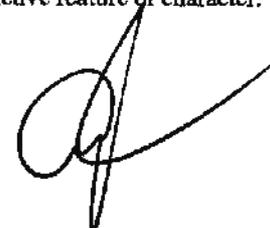
“contractual liability” means the debt or risk a party takes on or assumes when it enters into an agreement with another party or parties, usually expressed in a written and binding contract;

“co-opt” means to add to a structure by a vote or decision of those already members of that structure;

“days” means calendar days and include Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays;

“deemed” means a state of affairs which does not necessarily or in fact exist, but is taken for granted to exist;
“Department” means any operational division of the ANC at national, provincial, regional and local level and excludes structures and committees established in terms of this Constitution;
“deployed member or deployee” means a member who accepts to perform certain duties and functions on behalf of the ANC in a representative capacity, in addition to his or her duties and obligations as a member;
“designated to administer oaths” means the person or persons designated within the ANC to administer the oath;
“direct” means to conduct the affairs of, manage, or regulate;
“directive” means an order or instruction, especially one issued by a central authority;
“disciplinary committee” means a disciplinary committee of the ANC constituted in terms of this Constitution;
“disrepute” means the absence or loss of reputation, discredit or disgrace;
“election agent” means a representative of a candidate contesting an election who represents the interests of that candidate;
“elective office” refers to an office held as Councillor, Member of the Provincial Legislature or Member of Parliament;
“Electoral Commission” refers to a body appointed by the ANC from amongst its members to constitute an Electoral Commission;
“eligible/ineligible [for membership]” refers to the rules that determine which persons are eligible for (qualified for or worthy of) membership of the organisation. (A person qualified for membership is not necessarily entitled to membership);
“endorsed” means approved or supported;
“ethnic chauvinism” means a prejudiced belief in the superiority of a certain ethnic group (a cultural or social group with certain characteristics like religion, language, ancestry or physical traits);
“ex officio” means by virtue of his or her position or office;
“Freedom Charter” means the document containing the essential philosophy of the ANC, adopted by the (then) alliance in 1955 and ratified by the ANC in April 1956 and which is annexed to this Constitution as Appendix 2;
“full-time functionaries” means members of the National Officials Committee and Provincial Secretaries who are engaged full-time by the ANC on a salaried basis;
“good cause shown” means sufficient reason for any fact or circumstance that would make it just and fair between the parties;
“honorary membership” refers to membership given as a mark of honour without the usual requirements or privileges of membership;
“impede” means to obstruct the way of, or hinder the progress of;
“invitee” means a person who has been invited to a gathering of the ANC or a structure of the ANC who enjoys no rights or privileges in the Organisation;
“jurisdiction” means the range of authority one has over individuals and events;
“Leagues” means the ANC Womens’ League, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Veterans’ League;
“legal relationship” means a relationship, like a contract, from which legal rights, obligations and duties flow;
“logo and colours” means that the ANC is the sole copyright holder of its logo and colours;
“member” means a member of the ANC;
“member not in good standing” means a member who fails to pay his or her subscriptions for three months and whose membership has lapsed;
“misappropriation” means to use money or funds wrongly or dishonestly, especially for one’s own use;
“money-laundering” means a criminal offence as defined by statute and means the process of concealing the source of money obtained by illicit means;
“mutatis mutandis” means that the body of information remains essentially the same but only minor details will change to fit the circumstances;
“National Chairperson” means the National Chairperson of the ANC;
“National Democratic Revolution” means the process of transforming the country from an apartheid state to a non-racial, non-sexist, united democratic society in which all people enjoy equal rights;
“National List Committee” means a committee appointed annually by the NEC and which is responsible for drawing up regulations and procedures to be used in the selection of candidates for Parliament;
“NDC” means the National Disciplinary Committee;
“NDCA” means the National Disciplinary Committee of Appeal;
“NEC” means the National Executive Committee of the ANC;
“NGC” means the National General Council of the ANC;
“natural justice rules” means the rules that no one can be a judge in his/her own cause and one should be given the opportunity to be heard;
“nominate” means to propose by name as a candidate;
“non-earning members” means members who are not in gainful employment;
“NWC” means the National Working Committee of the ANC;

“office bearer” means any member who has been elected and holds an office or position of authority in a structure of the ANC;
“officials” means the National Officials referred to in Rules 16.1 to 16.8;
“Organisation” means the African National Congress;
“Party in alliance” means the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO);
“PDC” means a Provincial Disciplinary Committee;
“PEC” means a Provincial Executive Committee of the ANC;
“periodic” means from time to time;
“perpetual succession and power” means the rights that vest indefinitely in the Organisation as a legal person as distinct from its individual members;
“PGC” means the Provincial General Council of a Province, of the ANC;
“President” means the President of the ANC and **“Deputy President”** means the Deputy President of the ANC;
“presumption” means a fact or state of existence that is taken for granted unless the contrary is proved;
“properly constituted Branch General Meeting” means a Branch meeting that complies with all aspects or requirements of the Constitution, including any quorum requirements;
“Provincial List and Candidates’ Committee” means the Committee in each Province responsible for the compilation of elections lists and ward candidates;
“provisional membership” means the membership of a member whose application for membership has not yet been confirmed, but who may participate in the activities of the Organisation except being elected to any committee, structure, commission or delegation of the ANC;
“public representative” means a member who represents the ANC in national, provincial or local government in terms of a contract of deployment entered into with the ANC;
“Provincial Secretary” means the secretary of a Province of the ANC;
“PWC” means the Provincial Working Committee of a Province of the ANC;
“quorum” means the minimum number of officials or members of a structure, committee, assembly or gathering, usually a majority, who must be present for the valid transaction of the business of the meeting;
“ratify” means to approve or give formal sanction to;
“RDC” means a Regional Disciplinary Committee;
“rebuttable” in relation to a presumption means that which can be challenged by evidence to the contrary;
“REC” means the Regional Executive Committee of a Region of the ANC;
“recall” means to order to return;
“Region” means the geographical area of the Province, and not the *“region”* as defined in Rule 21;
“registered political party” refers to registration in terms of the Electoral Act, 1998 (Act No. 73 of 1998);
“representative” means a member of the ANC in good standing who acts on behalf of a charged member in disciplinary proceedings;
“rescind” means to void or repeal;
“review” means to reconsider the acceptance or refusal of;
“RWC” means a Regional Working Committee of the ANC;
“Secretary General” means the Secretary General of the ANC and **“Deputy Secretary General”** means the Deputy Secretary General of the ANC;
“Standing Order” means a directive or instruction made by a structure in authority;
“supervise” means to direct and inspect the performance of work or to oversee;
“suspend” means to bar for a period of time access to a privilege, office or position;
“tied vote” means a state of equality of votes, a draw;
“Treasurer General” means the Treasurer General of the ANC;
“tribalistic exclusivism” means to prevent persons from certain tribes to play a role in the Organisation, or to admit only persons from certain tribal backgrounds to membership or participation;
“undermines” means to weaken, injure or ruin insidiously or secretly;
“Whip” means an officer, usually a Member of Parliament, of a political party in Parliament who exercises some authority over other members of the same party;
“universal suffrage” means the right of all persons to vote;
“voting district” refers to a geographical area demarcated or defined by the Electoral Commission referred to in the Electoral Act, 1998, for the purpose of voting in elections in the country; and
“zone” means a (geographical) area distinguished from adjacent parts by some distinctive feature or character.




Rule 1 NAME

- 1.1 The name of the organisation is the African National Congress, hereinafter referred to as the ANC.
- 1.2 The colours of the ANC are black, green, and gold and the logo is as described in Appendix 1.

Rule 2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of the ANC are:

- 2.1 To unite all the people of South Africa, Africans in particular, for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression;
- 2.2 To end apartheid in all its forms and transform South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter (Appendix 2) and in pursuit of the National Democratic Revolution;
- 2.3 To defend the democratic gains of the people and to advance towards a society in which the government is freely chosen by the people according to the principles of universal suffrage on a common voters' roll;
- 2.4 To fight for social justice and to eliminate the vast inequalities created by apartheid and the system of national oppression;
- 2.5 To build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty in which the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the people is recognised;
- 2.6 To promote economic development for the benefit of all;
- 2.7 To support and advance the cause of women's emancipation;
- 2.8 To support and advance the cause of national liberation, development, world peace, disarmament and environmentally sustainable development; and
- 2.9 To support and promote the struggle for the rights of children and the disabled.

Rule 3 THE CHARACTER OF THE ANC

- 3.1 The ANC is a non-racial and non-sexist and democratic liberation movement.
- 3.2 Its policies are determined by the membership and its leadership is accountable to the membership in terms of the procedures laid down in this Constitution.
- 3.3 The ANC also contests elections as a registered political party drawing its electoral support from all sections of South African society.
- 3.4 The ANC shall, in its composition and functioning, be democratic, non-racial and non-sexist and combat any form of racial, tribalistic or ethnic exclusivism or chauvinism.
- 3.5 While striving for the maximum unity of purpose and functioning, the ANC shall respect the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of its members.
- 3.6 The ANC shall support the emancipation of women, combat sexism and ensure that the voice of women is fully heard in the Organisation and that women are properly represented at all levels.
- 3.7 The principles of freedom of speech and free circulation of ideas and information shall operate within the ANC.
- 3.8 Membership of all bodies of the ANC shall be open to all men and women in the Organisation without regard to race, colour or creed.
- 3.9 The ANC shall cooperate closely with religious bodies in the country and shall provide, on an interfaith basis, for the recognition of the spiritual needs of its many members who are believers.

Rule 4 MEMBERSHIP

- 4.1 Membership of the ANC shall be open to all South Africans above the age of 18 years, irrespective of race, colour and creed, who accept its principles, policies and programmes and who are prepared to abide by its Constitution and rules.
- 4.2 All persons not of South African origin who have manifested a clear identification with the South African people and their struggle and are resident in South Africa may apply for membership.

- 4.3 The National Executive Committee may, acting on its own or on the recommendation of Branch or Provincial Executives Committees, grant honorary membership to those men and women who do not qualify for membership under Rule 4.1 and 4.2, but who have demonstrated an unwavering commitment to the ANC and its policies.
- 4.4 Applications for membership shall be considered by the Branch Executive Committee (where such exists) in consultation with the Branch General Meeting, and by the Regional Executive Committee, if no Branch Executive Committee exists. The Branch Executive Committee, the Regional Executive Committee, or such interim structures as the Provincial Executive Committee or the NEC may create from time to time to decide on applications, may accept or refuse any application for membership provided such acceptance or refusal is subject to review by the next higher organ of the ANC.
- 4.5 Membership cards shall be issued to registered members of the ANC.
- 4.6 Persons whose applications for membership have been accepted, subject to review as provided for in Rule 4.11, shall be issued with:
- 4.6.1 A temporary membership card; and
- 4.6.2 An acknowledgement of provisional membership and the details of the Branch and constituency/area in which the applicant resides and any available information about the local Branch structures.
- 4.7 Membership and temporary membership cards referred to in Rule 4.6.1 and 4.6.2 above shall be issued, subject to payment of the prescribed subscription fee.
- 4.8 Provisional membership shall apply to persons who wish to join the Organisation for the first time or who wish to rejoin the Organisation after a considerable lapse of time or circumstances determined by the NEC.
- 4.9 Provisional membership rights commence from the date of production of acknowledgement following receipt of the application and the appropriate membership subscription. A provisional member may attend Branch meetings only in a non-voting capacity.
- 4.10 Any objection to any application for membership may be made by any member of the ANC to the Branch, Regional or Provincial Secretary within 6 (six) months of the notification.
- 4.11 At any time before the individual is accepted as a full member of the Organisation, or in exceptional circumstances even after the member has been admitted, the Secretary General may rule that the application or the membership be rejected if it was obtained invalidly.
- 4.12 In the absence of any objection from the structures and/or any ruling by the Secretary General, the applicant shall, on the expiry of 6 (six) months from the date of notification of provisional membership, become a full member. The provisional member shall then be transferred to the national membership list as a full member as soon as is practicable.
- 4.13 The reasons for the rejection of an application for membership by the Secretary General or the objection to the application for membership must be sent to the individual applicant in writing.
- 4.14 Members shall pay an annual subscription fee as determined by the National Executive Committee.
- 4.15 Non-earning members or those on reduced incomes shall pay such fees as determined by the NEC.
- 4.16 On being accepted in the ANC, a new member shall, in a language he or she knows well, make the following solemn declaration to the body or person designated to administer such oaths:
- "I, [...], solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims and objectives of the African National Congress as set out in the Constitution, the Freedom Charter and other duly adopted policy positions, that I am joining the Organisation voluntarily and without motives of material advantage or personal gain, that I agree to respect the Constitution and the structures and to work as a loyal member of the Organisation, that I will place my energies and skills at the disposal of the Organisation and carry out tasks given to me, that I will work towards making the ANC an even more effective instrument of liberation in the hands of the people, and that I will defend the unity and integrity of the Organisation and its principles, and combat any tendency towards disruption and factionalism."*
- 4.17 Members who fail to pay their subscriptions for three months and having been reminded of their lapse by instant messaging service (SMS), will not be regarded as members in good standing until they pay their arrears.



Rule 5 RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS**5.1 Rights**

5.1 A member shall be entitled to:

- 5.1.1 Take a full and active part in the discussion, formulation and implementation of the policies of the ANC;
- 5.1.2 Receive and impart information on all aspects of ANC policy and activities;
- 5.1.3 Offer constructive criticism of any member, official, policy programme or activity of the ANC within its structures;
- 5.1.4 Take part in elections and be elected or appointed to any committee, structure, commission or delegation of the ANC; and
- 5.1.5 Submit proposals or statements to the Branch, Province, Region or NEC, provided such proposals or statements are submitted through the appropriate structures.

5.2 Duties

5.2 A member of the ANC shall:

- 5.2.1 Belong to and take an active part in the life of his or her Branch;
- 5.2.2 Take all necessary steps to understand and carry out the aims, policies and programmes of the ANC;
- 5.2.3 Explain the aims, policies and programmes of the ANC to the people;
- 5.2.4 Deepen his or her understanding of the social, cultural, political and economic problems of the country;
- 5.2.5 Combat propaganda detrimental to the interests of the ANC and defend the policies, aims and programme of the ANC;
- 5.2.6 Fight against racism, tribal chauvinism, sexism, religious and political intolerance or any other form of discrimination or chauvinism;
- 5.2.7 Observe discipline, behave honestly and carry out loyally the decisions of the majority and decisions of higher bodies;
- 5.2.8 Inform his or her Branch of movement of residence to any area outside his/her Branch and report to the Branch Secretary on arriving at the new area; and
- 5.2.9 Challenge, within the branch, any decision taken by the branch in breach of fair and just administrative procedure. Should the BEC fail, refuse or neglect to rectify any decision so taken within 2 (two) months, a member shall be obliged to escalate his or her grievance to the RBC and, failing resolution by that structure, to the PEC in an effort to resolve the dispute internally.

5.3 All members shall ensure that they are registered as voters in the constituency in which they live.

5.4 ANC members who hold elective office in any sphere of governance at national, provincial or local level are required to be members of the appropriate caucus, to function within its rules and to abide by its decisions under the general provisions of this Constitution and the constitutional structures of the ANC.

Rule 6 GENDER AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

6.1 In the endeavour to reach the objective of full representation of women in all decision-making structures, the ANC shall implement a programme of affirmative action, including the provision of a quota of not less than 50% (fifty per cent) of women in all elected structures of the ANC to enable such effective participation.

6.2 The method of such implementation will be addressed in all ANC structures immediately and on a continuous basis.

Rule 7 ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

7.1 The ANC consists of the following organs:

- 7.1.1 The National Conference which elects the National Executive Committee;
- 7.1.2 The Provincial Conference which elects the Provincial Executive Committee;
- 7.1.3 The Regional Conference which elects the Regional Executive Committee;

- 7.1.4 The Branch Biennial General Meeting which elects the Branch Executive Committee.
- 7.2 Branches may be grouped together in zones and may, for the purposes of coordination, be subdivided into smaller units such as street committees, voting districts and zones may be grouped into sub-regions. Any Sub-Branch so established shall have the same voting powers as a Branch.

ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE

- 7.3 Membership of the ANC Women's League shall be open to women who are members of the ANC and it has the same basic structures, namely, national, provincial, regional and Branch structures. Its objectives are to defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the Organisation, in the people's struggle and in national life. The ANC Women's League shall function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it shall be an integral part, with its own Constitution, rules and regulations, provided that these shall not be in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC.

ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

- 7.4 The ANC Youth League shall be open to all persons between the ages of 14 (fourteen) and 35 (thirty five) years. It operates on a national, provincial and branch basis. Its objectives are to unite and lead young men and women in confronting and dealing with the problems that face the youth and to ensure that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and the life of the nation. The ANC Youth League shall function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it shall be an integral part, with its own Constitution, rules and regulations, provided that these shall not be in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC.
- 7.5 Members of the ANC Youth League over the age of 18 (eighteen) shall play a full part in the general political life of the ANC.
- 7.6 A member of the ANC Youth League shall not be eligible for election to any position as office-bearer of the ANC or to attend ANC conferences, members' or executive meetings of the ANC (unless specially invited), unless he or she is a full member of the ANC.

ANC VETERANS' LEAGUE

- 7.7 The ANC Veterans' League shall be open to all ANC members 60 (sixty) years of age or older, who have served the ANC and the movement over an unbroken period of 40 (forty) years. It shall operate on a national and provincial basis. Its objectives are to ensure that veterans make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC, to the movement and to the life of the nation. The ANC Veterans' League will function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it shall be an integral part, with its own Constitution, rules and regulations, provided that these shall not be in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC.

Rule 8 THE HEADQUARTERS

- 8.1 The site of the National Headquarters of the ANC shall be determined by the NEC.

Rule 9 PROVINCES

- 9.1 For purposes of ANC structures, the country shall be divided into the following provinces, which shall be demarcated to correspond strictly to the provincial boundaries established in the South African Constitution:
- 9.1.1 Eastern Cape;
 - 9.1.2 Free State;
 - 9.1.3 Gauteng;
 - 9.1.4 KwaZulu/Natal;
 - 9.1.5 Limpopo;
 - 9.1.6 Mpumalanga;
 - 9.1.7 North West;
 - 9.1.8 Northern Cape; and
 - 9.1.9 Western Cape.
- 9.2 The provincial headquarters shall be determined by the Provincial Conference.



Rule 10 THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

10.1 The National Conference is the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC. It shall be comprised of:

10.1.1 Voting delegates:

10.1.1.1 At least 90% (ninety per cent) of the delegates at Conference shall be from Branches, elected at properly constituted Branch General Meetings. The number of delegates per Branch shall be in proportion to their paid up membership, provided that each Branch in good standing shall be entitled to at least 1 (one) delegate;

10.1.1.2 The number of delegates to be allocated to each province to attend the National Conference shall be fixed by the NEC in proportion to the paid up membership of each Province;

10.1.1.3 All members of the National Executive Committee shall attend, ex officio, as full participants in, and as delegates to, the Conference; and

10.1.1.4 The remainder of the voting delegates at the Conference shall be allocated by the NEC from among members of the Provincial Executive Committees, the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League.

10.1.2 Non-Voting Delegates:

10.1.2.1 The NEC may invite individuals, who have made a special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience, to attend the Conference.

10.2 The NEC shall appoint a Conference Preparatory Committee which shall circulate Conference information in advance, determine the precise procedure for the selection of delegates and indicate how the membership can then ensure that their concerns are on the agenda.

10.3 The Conference shall determine its own procedures in accordance with democratic principles.

10.4 Voting on key issues, as determined by Conference, shall be by secret ballot if at least one third of the delegates at the National Conference demand it.

10.5 The National Conference shall be convened at least once every five years.

National General Council

10.6 A National General Council may be convened by the NEC from time to time, provided that the NEC shall convene a National General Council not later than 30 (thirty) months after the National Conference.

10.7 The NEC shall, after consultation with Provinces, determine the composition of the National General Council.

10.8 The National General Council shall:

10.8.1 Subject to Rules 10.8.3 and 10.8.4 below, determine and review the policies and programmes of the ANC;

10.8.2 Receive and discuss reports of the NEC;

10.8.3 Have the right to ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent bodies, units or officials of the ANC, except the National Conference, including the evaluation of the performance of members of the NEC;

10.8.4 Have the power to discuss any issue it deems necessary, taking into account policies and directives of the National Conference; and

10.8.5 Subject to Rule 13.13 below, fill vacancies that have arisen in the NEC provided that such vacancies do not exceed 50% (fifty per cent) of the NEC.

Rule 11 POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The National Conference shall:

11.1 Decide on and determine the policy, programme and Constitution of the ANC;

11.2 Receive and discuss the reports of the NEC which shall include the Presidential Address, the Secretary General's Report, which shall include a report on the work and activities of the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League, and the Treasurer General's Report;

- 11.3 Have the right and power to review, ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent structures, committees or officials of the ANC;
- 11.4 Elect the President, the Deputy President, National Chairperson, the Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, the Treasurer General and the remaining 80 (eighty) additional members of the NEC; and
- 11.5 Have the power to elect or appoint any commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such commission or committee.

Rule 12 NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Powers of the NEC

- 12.1 The National Executive Committee is the highest organ of the ANC between National Conferences and has the authority to lead the organisation, subject to the provisions of this Constitution.
- 12.2 Without prejudice to the generality of its powers, the NEC shall:-
 - 12.2.1 Convene the National Conference and the National General Council and carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Conference and the National General Council;
 - 12.2.2 Issue and send directives and instructions to and receive reports from the Provinces;
 - 12.2.3 Supervise and direct the work of the ANC and all its organs, including national, provincial and local government caucuses;
 - 12.2.4 Ensure that the Provincial, Regional and Branch structures of the ANC and the Leagues function democratically and effectively. (The NEC may suspend or dissolve a PEC where necessary.) The suspension of a PEC shall not exceed a period of 3 (three) months. The election of a PEC, which has been dissolved, shall be called within 9 (nine months) from date of dissolution. The NEC must appoint an interim structure during the period of suspension or the dissolution of the PEC to fulfil the functions of the PEC);
 - 12.2.5 Oversee the work of the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League;
 - 12.2.6 Establish Departments and set up committees, ad hoc or permanent, as it considers appropriate, and to delegate powers and functions to such Departments and committees;
 - 12.2.7 Manage and control all the national and international property and assets of the ANC;
 - 12.2.8 Receive reports, supervise the work of and delegate such functions to the NWC, as it considers necessary;
 - 12.2.9 Issue documents and other policy directives as and when it deems fit;
 - 12.2.10 Confer such honours as it may deem appropriate;
 - 12.2.11 Appoint annually a National List Committee of not fewer than 5 (five) and not more than 9 (nine) persons for the selection and adoption of candidates for Parliament. (The NEC shall draw up regulations for the procedures to be followed in such a selection. The National List Committee shall report to the NEC prior to the implementation of its recommendations. Provincial structures for the adoption of candidates shall report to the National List Committee);
 - 12.2.12 Institute disciplinary proceedings against any member and temporarily suspend the membership of any member;
 - 12.2.13 Have the power to institute and defend legal proceedings on behalf of the Organisation;
 - 12.2.14 Develop and adopt Rules and Regulations and Standing Orders for the due and efficient functioning of the Organisation and the achievement of its aims and objectives;
 - 12.2.15 Appoint at least 6 (six) but not more than 10 (ten) members from among its membership and/or from other structures of the ANC, one of whom shall be designated as Chairperson, to constitute the National Disciplinary Committee;
 - 12.2.16 Appoint at least 6 (six) but not more than 10 (ten) members from among its membership and/or from other structures of the ANC, one of whom shall be designated as Chairperson, to constitute the National Disciplinary Committee of Appeal;
 - 12.2.17 Appoint 4 (four) members as Presenters, one of whom shall be designated as Chief National Presenter, to investigate, represent and present the case of the ANC, from time to time, in any NDC and NDCA hearing;
 - 12.2.18 Have the power to appoint a National Chaplaincy on an interfaith basis to provide spiritual guidance;

- 12.2.19 Have the power, in appropriate circumstances, to delegate any of its powers to the NWC, the Officials or Secretary General;
- 12.2.20 Take all steps necessary or warranted for the due fulfilment of the aims and objectives of the ANC and the due performance of its duties; and
- 12.2.21 The NEC may:
- 12.2.21.1 Convene a Policy Conference, as a recommendation-making body on any matter of policy, whenever it deems it necessary, but the NEC shall convene a National Policy Conference at least 6 (six) months before the National Conference to review policies of the ANC and to recommend any new or to amend any present policy for consideration by the National Conference; and
 - 12.2.21.2 Sign deployment contracts with public representatives and recall any public representative.

Elections and composition of the NEC

- 12.3 The NEC, as a whole, shall not consist of less than 50% (fifty per cent) of women. The NEC, except where otherwise stipulated, shall be elected by secret ballot by the National Conference and shall hold office for 5 (five) years and shall be constituted as follows:
- 12.3.1 The President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, the Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and the Treasurer General who shall be elected separately by the National Conference;
 - 12.3.2 80 (eighty) additional members of the NEC;
 - 12.3.3 The Chairperson and the Secretary of each elected ANC Provincial Executive Committee who shall be *ex-officio* members of the NEC;
 - 12.3.4 The President and Secretary General of the ANC Women's League who shall be *ex-officio* members of the NEC;
 - 12.3.5 The President and Secretary General of the ANC Youth League who shall be *ex-officio* members of the NEC;
 - 12.3.6 The President and Secretary General of the ANC Veterans' League who shall be *ex-officio* members of the NEC; and
 - 12.3.7 Not more than 5 (five) additional members that the NEC may co-opt at any time during its term of office in order to provide for a balanced representation that reflects the true character of the South African people.
- 12.4 Should a vacancy occur on the NEC for any reason, the NEC shall have the power to appoint a replacement.
- 12.5 The quorum for meetings of the NEC shall be 50% (fifty per cent) plus 1 (one) of its total membership.
- 12.6 A person must have been a member in good standing of the ANC for at least 10 (ten) years before she or he can be nominated for election to the NEC.
- 12.7 Nominations for the NEC members referred to in Rules 12.3.1 and 12.3.2 above, shall be by the following procedure:
- 12.7.1 Subject to sub-rule 12.7.1.1 below, nominations for the posts of:
 1. The President;
 2. Deputy President;
 3. National Chairperson;
 4. Secretary General;
 5. Deputy Secretary General; and
 6. Treasurer General,
 shall be made by any Province and placed before the National Conference.
 - 12.7.1.1 A delegate to the Conference shall, however, have the right to nominate any person whose name has not been proposed in terms of Rule 12.7.1 above. In such event the presiding officer shall call for seconders for the nomination. If such nomination is seconded by a minimum of 25% (twenty five percent) of Conference delegates, then such nomination shall be regarded as having been duly seconded, in which event the

name of such nominee shall be placed on the ballot paper. If the nomination fails to secure the support of a minimum of 25% (twenty five per cent) of conference delegates, such nomination shall fall away.

12.7.2 Nominations of candidates for election to the NEC, other than the above positions, shall be carried out in terms of the following procedure:

12.7.2.1 Subject to Rule 12.7.2.2 below, only those candidates who have been proposed by a Province shall appear on the National Conference ballot paper.

12.7.2.2 Subject to Rule 12.7.2.3 below, a delegate to the Conference shall, however, have the right to nominate any person whose name has not been proposed in terms of Rule 12.7.1 above. In such event the presiding officer shall call for seconders for the nomination. If such nomination is seconded by a show of hands by a minimum of 25% (twenty five percent) of Conference delegates, then such nomination shall be regarded as having been duly seconded, in which event the name of such nominee shall be placed on the ballot paper. If the nominee fails to secure the support of a minimum of 25% (twenty five percent) of delegates, such nomination shall fall away.

12.7.2.3 Not more than 2 (two) persons per Province may be successfully nominated in terms of Rule 12.7.2.2 above.

12.8 For purposes of the nomination procedures referred to in Rules 12.7.1 and 12.7.2 the ANC Veterans' League, as a whole, the ANC Women's League, as a whole and the ANC Youth League, as a whole, shall be regarded as a Province.

12.9 Voting shall take place by secret ballot. Each voting delegate shall vote once in each ballot.

12.10 In accordance with Rule 6, not less than 50% (fifty per cent) of the directly elected and co-opted members of the NEC shall be women.

12.11 Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the Secretary General, the Deputy Secretary General and the Treasurer General shall be full-time functionaries of the ANC.

12.12 The NEC shall meet in plenary session at least once every three months and shall provide broad political and organisational perspectives to the National Working Committee.

12.13 The NEC may invite any ANC member in good standing to attend its meetings. The number of invitees shall be limited by the NEC. An invitee may speak and participate at such meeting but shall not vote.

12.14 A member who is elected or co-opted to the NEC must resign from any executive position he or she holds as an office bearer in any lower structure in the ANC.

Rule 13 NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

13.1 As soon as possible after the conclusion of the National Conference, the NEC shall meet and elect a National Working Committee.

13.2 The National Working Committee shall be constituted as follows:

1. The President;
2. Deputy President;
3. National Chairperson;
4. Secretary General;
5. Deputy Secretary General; and
6. the Treasurer General.

13.3 In addition, the NEC shall elect additional members to the NWC from among the directly elected members of the NEC. These shall not exceed one-quarter of the composition of the directly elected members.

13.4 The members of the NWC may not necessarily be full-time functionaries of the ANC. However, the NEC shall determine the extent to which the elected members shall be full-time functionaries who may be allocated specific responsibilities.

13.5 The ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League shall appoint one representative each to serve on the NWC.

13.6 In accordance with Rule 6, not less than 50% (fifty per cent) of the members of the NWC shall be women.

- 13.7 The NWC may invite any ANC member in good standing to attend its meetings. The number of invitees shall be limited by the NWC. An invitee may be given a specific assignment by the NWC, but may not speak on behalf of the NWC. An invitee may speak and participate at such meeting for the purpose for which he or she was invited but shall not vote.
- 13.8 The National Working Committee shall:
- 13.8.1 Carry out decisions and instructions of the NEC;
 - 13.8.2 Conduct the current work of the ANC and ensure that Provinces, Regions, Branches and all other ANC structures, such as parliamentary caucuses, carry out the decisions of the ANC; and
 - 13.8.3 Submit a report to each NEC meeting.

Rule 14 THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

- 14.1 The NEC shall appoint an Electoral Commission of not fewer than 3 (three) members whose task it shall be:
- 14.1.1 To prepare the ballot papers;
 - 14.1.2 To make provision for ballot boxes or other means of secret voting;
 - 14.1.3 To create machinery for the counting of ballot papers and the effective supervision of the counting of votes;
 - 14.1.4 To announce the results of all ballots and make known the number of votes received by each successful candidate; and
 - 14.1.5 To establish procedures for voting and to determine any dispute raised in regard to elections and election procedures, and to determine how any tied vote should be resolved.
- 14.2 The names of members of the Electoral Commission, whose work is to commence before the Conference opens, shall be submitted to the National Conference for endorsement and they shall then be complemented by a representative appointed by each Provincial and League delegation.

Rule 15 THE NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE

- 15.1 The NEC shall appoint the National Finance Committee.
- 15.2 The NEC shall determine the composition and powers of the National Finance Committee.
- 15.3 The National Finance Committee shall report to the NEC at least twice a year on the finances and budget of the ANC.

Rule 16 DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF OFFICIALS

The powers and duties of the individual members of the Officials are as set out below.

16.1 The President

The President is the political head and chief directing officer of the ANC and the leader of the house at the National Conference or National General Council meetings. He or she shall:

- 16.1.1 Make pronouncements for and on behalf of the NEC, outlining and explaining the policy or attitude of the ANC on any question;
- 16.1.2 Present to the National Conference and National General Council a comprehensive statement of the state of the nation and the political situation generally;
- 16.1.3 Under the overall supervision of the NEC, orient and direct the activities of the ANC.

16.2 Deputy President

The Deputy President shall assist the President, deputise for him or her when necessary and carry out whatever functions that are entrusted to him or her by the National Conference, the National General Council, the President, the NWC or the NEC. He or she shall be an *ex-officio* member of the NWC.

- 16.3 In the event of death or permanent incapacity of the President or the Deputy President, the NEC shall, as soon as possible, appoint an Acting President until such time as the National Conference meets. Until such appointment is made, the provisions of Rule 16.7 shall apply.

16.4 The National Chairperson

The National Chairperson shall:

- 16.4.1 Remain the custodian of the policies adopted and decisions taken by the National Conference and National General Council and ensure that all organs of the ANC implement decisions

taken by the National Conference, the National General Council, the NEC and the NWC and operate within the parameters of policy set out by the National Conference, the NGC and the NEC;

- 16.4.2 Preside over meetings of the National Conference, the National General Council, the NEC and the NWC;
 - 16.4.3 Carry out such additional tasks or functions, as are entrusted to him or her, by the Conference, the Council, the NEC or the NWC.
- 16.5 In the absence or incapacity of the National Chairperson, the President will assume his or her functions.

16.6 *The Secretary General*

The Secretary General is the chief administrative officer of the ANC. He or she shall:

- 16.6.1 Communicate the decisions of all national structures of the ANC on behalf of the NEC;
 - 16.6.2 Keep the minutes of the National Conference, the National General Council, the NEC, the NWC, as well as other records of the ANC;
 - 16.6.3 Conduct the correspondence of the NEC and the NWC and send out notices of all conferences and meetings at the national level;
 - 16.6.4 Convey the decisions and instructions of the National Conference, the National General Council, the NEC and the NWC to the Provincial Executive Committees and see to it that all units of the ANC carry out their duties properly;
 - 16.6.5 Prepare annual reports on the work of the NEC and the NWC and such other documents which may, from time to time, be required by the NEC and the NWC;
 - 16.6.6 Present to the National Conference and National General Council a comprehensive statement of the state of the organisation and the administrative situation of the ANC.
- 16.7 In the absence of the President and the Deputy President, the Secretary General shall assume the functions of the President.
- 16.8 All Departments shall report on their activities and be accountable to the Secretary General.

16.9 *Deputy Secretary General*

The Deputy Secretary General shall assist the Secretary General, deputise for him or her, when necessary, and carry out the functions entrusted to the Secretary General by the National Conference, the National Council, the NEC, or the NWC and shall be an *ex-officio* member of the NWC.

16.10 *Treasurer General*

The Treasurer General is the chief custodian of the funds and property of the ANC. He or she shall:

- 16.10.1 Receive and bank all monies on behalf of the NEC and shall, together with any 2 (two) members of the NEC, open and operate a banking account;
- 16.10.2 Keep such books of account as may be necessary to record accurately the financial position of the ANC;
- 16.10.3 Submit to the National Conference a report showing the Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet of the ANC for the period since the previous National Conference, and shall submit periodic reports to the NEC and the NWC;
- 16.10.4 Be responsible, with the National Finance Committee, for working out and executing plans for fund raising;
- 16.10.5 Present to the National Conference and National General Council a comprehensive statement of the state of the finances of the ANC.

Rule 17 PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

17.1 Subject to the decisions of the National Conference and the National General Council, and the overall guidance of the NEC, the Provincial Conference shall be the highest organ of the ANC in each Province.

17.2 The Provincial Conference shall:

- 17.2.1 Be held at least once every 4 (four) years and more often if requested by at least one third of all Branches in good standing in the Province.

17.2.2 Be composed of:

(i) **Voting delegates** as follows:

17.2.2.1 At least 90% (ninety per cent) of the delegates at the Conference shall be from Branches, elected at properly constituted Branch General Meetings. The number of delegates per Branch shall be in proportion to their paid up membership, provided that each Branch in good standing shall be entitled to at least 1 (one) delegate.

17.2.2.2 All members of the Provincial Executive Committee shall attend *ex-officio* as full participants in and as delegates to the Conference.

17.2.2.3 The remainder of the voting delegates at the Conference shall be from among members of the RECs, the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League, as allocated by the PEC.

(ii) **Non voting delegates**

17.2.2.4 The PEC may invite individuals, who have made a special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience, to attend the Conference. In addition, the PEC shall permit representation as non-voting delegates to structures, which do not have the minimum requirement to form a Branch.

Provincial Conference shall:

17.2.2.5 Appoint a Conference Preparatory Committee which shall circulate Conference information in advance, determine the procedure for the selection of delegates and indicate how the provincial membership can ensure that their concerns are on the agenda;

17.2.2.6 Determine its own procedures in accordance with democratic principles and practices;

17.2.2.7 Vote on key questions by secret ballot if at least one third of the delegates at the Provincial Conference demand it; and

17.2.2.8 Vote for the election of the PEC by secret ballot. Each voting delegate shall vote once in each ballot.

17.3 The Provincial Conference shall:

17.3.1 Promote and implement the decisions and policies of the National Conference, the National General Council, the NEC and the NWC;

17.3.2 Receive and consider reports by the Provincial Executive Committee, which shall include the Chairperson's address, the Secretary's report, which shall include a report on the work and activities of the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League in the Province, and the Treasurer's report;

17.3.3 Elect the Provincial Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer and the 30 (thirty) additional members of the Provincial Executive Committee, who will hold office for four (4) years. (The Provincial Secretary shall be a full-time functionary of the Organisation);

17.3.4 Carry out and develop the policies and programmes of the ANC in the Province;

17.3.5 Have the right and power to review, ratify, confirm, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent structures or officials of the ANC in the Province; and

17.3.6 Have the power to elect or appoint any commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such commission or committee.

17.4 A member elected to the PEC shall resign from any position held in a lower structure in the ANC.

Rule 18 THE PROVINCIAL GENERAL COUNCIL

18.1 A Provincial General Council shall be convened between Provincial Conferences.

18.2 The PGC shall meet at least once a year. A PGC shall, on good cause shown, be convened by the PEC upon the request of one-third of Branches in the Province.

Composition

18.3 The PGC shall consist of all members of the PEC and delegates representing Branches in proportion to their membership, with a minimum of 1 (one) delegate per Branch. The ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League shall be represented by their respective

PECs. The RECs shall be appropriately represented as determined by the PEC.

Powers and duties

18.4 The PGC may discuss and decide any issue it deems necessary, including any matter brought before it by the PEC, and may decide on any matter falling within its competence, subject always to the policies and directives of the National Conference, the National General Council, the Provincial Conference and the NEC.

Filling of vacancies

18.5 The PGC may fill any vacancy on the PEC, provided that the filling of vacancies does not exceed 50% (fifty per cent) of the membership of the PEC.

Rule 19 PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Authority

19.1 The PEC is the highest organ of the ANC in a Province between Provincial Conferences and has the authority to lead the Organisation in the province, subject to the provisions of this Constitution.

Composition

19.3 The elected members shall consist of the Provincial Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer and not more than 30 (thirty) other persons elected by the Provincial Conference. A person must have been a member in good standing of the ANC for 7 (seven) years before she or he can be nominated to a Provincial Executive Committee of the ANC.

19.4 Each Region in the Province shall be equally represented in the PEC, by the Chairperson and/or the Secretary, as determined by the PEC, with *ex-officio* status, provided that the number of regional representatives on the PEC does not exceed the number of elected members of the PEC.

19.5 The ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League in the Province shall be represented by the Chairperson and Secretary of the respective Leagues in the PEC with *ex-officio* status.

19.6 The PEC may co-opt not more than 3 (three) persons, in order to provide for a balanced representation that reflects the true character of the South African people.

19.7 In accordance with Rule 6 above, not less than 50% (fifty per cent) of the directly elected and co-opted members of the PEC must be women.

Invited members

19.8 The PEC may invite any ANC member in good standing to attend its meetings. The number of invitees shall be limited by the PEC. An invitee may be given a specific assignment by the PEC but may not speak on behalf of the PEC. An invitee may speak and participate at such meeting but shall not vote.

Powers and duties

19.9 The PEC shall:

19.9.1 Meet as soon as possible after its election to elect the Provincial Working Committee and thereafter meet at least once a month;

19.9.2 Carry out the policies and programmes of the ANC in the Province and do all things necessary to further the interests, aims and objectives of the Organisation;

19.9.3 Carry out the decisions and instructions of the Provincial Conference, the PGC, the NEC and the NWC;

19.9.4 Provide broad political and organisational perspectives to the Provincial Working Committee. (For this purpose it shall receive reports, supervise the work of and delegate such functions to the PWC, as it considers necessary);

19.9.5 Manage and control the funds and assets of the ANC in the Province;

19.9.6 Submit reports to the NEC, the Provincial Conference and the Provincial General Council, as often as is required, on the state of the organisation, the financial position of the Province, and such other matters as may be specified;

19.9.7 Issue and send directives and instructions to and receive reports from the Regions, Branches and other substructures in the Province;

- 19.9.8 Supervise and direct the work of the ANC and all its organs in the Province, including the ANC provincial and local government caucuses;
- 19.9.9 Develop and implement social cohesion programmes;
- 19.9.10 Audit the functioning of branches and take remedial action;
- 19.9.11 Oversee the work of the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League in the Province;
- 19.9.12 Ensure that the Provincial, Regional, Branch and other structures of the ANC in the Province function democratically and effectively. In this regard, the PEC is empowered:
- 19.9.12.1 To organise, establish and service Branches in the Province and supervise the work of the Regions in the Province;
- 19.9.12.2 To suspend, dissolve and re-launch Branch Executive Committees and Regional Executive Committees where necessary, subject to any directives from the Provincial Conference.
- 19.9.12.2.1 A suspension of a BEC shall not exceed a period of 1 (one) month. During this period, the PEC shall, pursuant to an investigation, either lift the suspension or dissolve the BEC;
- 19.9.12.2.2 Election of a BEC, which has been dissolved, shall be called within 3 (three) months from the date of dissolution;
- 19.9.12.2.3 A suspension of a REC shall not exceed a period of 2 (two) months. During this period, the PEC shall, pursuant to an investigation, either lift the suspension or dissolve the REC;
- 19.9.12.2.4 Election of a REC, which has been dissolved, shall be called within 6 (six) months from the date of dissolution.
- 19.9.12.2.5 A BEC or a REC which has been suspended or dissolved shall have a right of appeal to the NEC.
- 19.9.12.3 The PEC must appoint an interim structure during the period of suspension or dissolution to fulfil the functions of the BEC or REC, as the case may be.
- 19.9.13 Establish, wherever possible, Provincial Departments in line with National Departments and establish committees, as it considers appropriate;
- 19.9.14 Issue documents and other provincial policy directives, as and when it deems fit;
- 19.9.15 Appoint the provincial and regional staff as required, subject to directions from the office of the Secretary General;
- 19.9.16 Have the duty to appoint annually a Provincial List and Candidates Committee, of not less than five and not more than nine persons, which will identify regulations for the drawing up of the Provincial List of candidates for national elections, provincial elections and for the selection of candidates for local government elections. (The Provincial Executive Committee shall report to the NEC and shall be bound by the recommendations of the National List Committee.);
- 19.9.17 Appoint at least 5 (five) but not more than 10 (ten) members from the PEC and/or from any structure within the Province, one of whom shall be designated as Chairperson, to constitute the Provincial Disciplinary Committee;
- 19.9.18 Appoint 4 (four) members as Presenters, one of whom shall be designated as Chief Provincial Presenter, to represent and present the case of the ANC in any PDC hearing and in appeal and review proceedings before the NDC; and
- 19.9.19 Take all steps necessary or warranted for the due fulfilment of the aims and objectives of the ANC in the Province and the due performance of its duties.
- 19.10 The quorum for any meeting of the PEC shall be 50% (fifty percent) + 1 (one) of its total membership.
- 19.11 Provincial officials shall, with due allowance for differences of scale and level of work, perform the same functions as their national counterparts, provided that there is no equivalent or counterpart for the position of National Chairperson.

Rule 20 PROVINCIAL WORKING COMMITTEE**Composition**

- 20.1 The Provincial Working Committee (PWC) shall consist of the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Treasurer of the Province and the Chairperson or Secretary of the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League in that Province and not less than one quarter of its directly elected members. The PEC shall elect the additional members of the PWC from amongst the directly elected additional members of the PEC.
- 20.2 In accordance with Rule 6 above, not less than 50% (fifty per cent) of the members of the PWC shall be women.

Powers and duties

- 20.3 The PWC shall:
- 20.3.1 Carry out decisions and instructions of the Provincial Conference, the NEC and the PEC;
- 20.3.2 Conduct the current work of the ANC in the Province and ensure that Regions, Branches and all other ANC structures, such as parliamentary caucuses, carry out the decisions of the ANC; and
- 20.3.3 Submit a report to each PEC meeting.

Meetings

- 20.4 The PWC shall meet as often as is necessary, but at least once every two weeks.

Invitees

- 20.5 The PWC may invite any ANC member in good standing to attend its meetings. The number of invitees shall be limited by the PWC. An invitee may be given a specific assignment by the PWC but may not speak on behalf of the PWC. An invitee may speak and participate at such meeting for the purpose for which he or she was invited, but shall not vote.

Rule 21 REGIONS

- 21.1 The PEC, under the supervision of the NEC, shall divide the Province into regions for the more efficient and democratic functioning of the ANC.
- 21.2 Provincial Regions shall be demarcated to correspond strictly to district and metro municipal boundaries in each Province.

Regional Conference

- 21.3 Each Region shall hold a Regional Conference once every 3 (three) years.
- 21.4 The Regional Conference shall be composed of:
- (i) *Voting delegates* as follows:
- 21.4.1 At least 90% (ninety per cent) of the delegates at the Conference shall be from Branches in the Region, elected at properly constituted Branch General Meetings. The number of delegates per Branch shall be in proportion to their paid up membership, provided that each Branch in good standing shall be entitled to at least 1 (one) delegate.
- 21.4.2 All members of the Regional Executive Committee shall attend *ex-officio* as full participants in and as delegates to the Conference.
- 21.4.3 The remainder of the voting delegates at Conference shall be from among members of the BECs, the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League, as allocated by the REC.
- (ii) *Non voting delegates*
- 21.4.4 The REC may invite individuals, who have made a special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience, to attend the Conference.
- In addition, the REC shall permit representation as non-voting delegates to structures, which do not have the minimum requirement to form a Branch.
- 21.5 The Regional Conference shall:
- 21.5.1 Promote and implement the decisions and policies of the PGC, the PEC and the PWC;
- 21.5.2 Receive and consider reports by the Regional Executive Committee, which shall include the Chairperson's address, the Secretary's report, which shall include a report on the work and activities of the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League in the Province, and the Treasurer's report;

21.5.3 Elect the Regional Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer and 20 (twenty) additional members who shall hold office for 3 (three) years. In addition the Chair and Secretary of the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League in that Region shall be *ex-officio* members of the Regional Executive Committee. A person must have been a member of the ANC for at least 5 (five) years before he or she can be nominated to a Regional Executive Committee of the ANC. The Regional Secretary shall be a full-time functionary of the ANC.

21.6 Each Branch in good standing within a Region shall be entitled to send delegates to the Regional Conference in proportion to its members.

21.7 A member elected to the REC shall resign from any position held in a lower structure in the ANC.

21.8 There shall be at least one Regional Council Meeting in the course of each year with each Branch being entitled to send at least one delegate. Additional Regional Council meetings may be convened by the Regional Executive Committee or the PEC or at the request of at least one third of the delegates.

Powers of REC

21.9 The REC shall be accountable to the PEC for its functioning.

21.10 The powers of the REC are those as may be delegated to it by the PEC. In addition, the REC may, subject to the directions and instructions of the PEC, exercise the following powers:

21.10.1 Meet as soon as possible after its election to elect the Regional Working Committee and thereafter meet as and when necessary but at least once a month;

21.10.2 Carry out the policy and programme of the ANC in the Region and do all things necessary to further the interests, aims and objectives of the Organisation;

21.10.3 Carry out the decisions and instructions of the Provincial Conference, the Provincial General Council, the PEC, the Regional Conference and the Regional Council;

21.10.4 Provide broad political and organisational perspectives to the Regional Working Committee. It shall further receive reports, supervise the work of and delegate such functions to the RWC, as it considers it necessary;

21.10.5 Manage and control the funds and assets of the ANC in the Region;

21.10.6 Submit reports to the PEC, the Regional Conference and the Regional General Council, as often as is required, on the state of the Organisation, the financial position of the Region and such other matters as may be specified;

21.10.7 Request and receive reports from the Branches and other substructures in the Region;

21.10.8 Supervise and direct the work of the ANC and all its organs in the Region, including the ANC local government caucuses;

21.10.9 Recommend to the PEC the suspension or dissolution of a BEC, a Zonal Committee or a Sub-Regional Committee; and

21.10.10 Monitor the work of branches in the building of stable communities and the establishment of street committees and alliance relationships with community-based organisations and provide logistical support to branches to achieve these objectives.

21.11 The REC may co-opt no more than 2 (two) persons, in order to provide for a balanced representation that reflects the true character of the South African people.

21.12 In accordance with Rule 6 above, not less than 50% (fifty per cent) of the directly elected and co-opted members of the REC shall be women.

Invitees

21.13 The REC may invite any ANC member in good standing to attend its meetings. The number of invitees shall be limited by the REC. An invitee may be given a specific assignment by the REC but may not speak on behalf of the REC. An invitee may speak or participate at such meeting but may not vote.

21.14 The Regional Working Committee

21.14.1 The Regional Working Committee (RWC) shall consist of the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Treasurer of the Region and not less than one quarter of its directly elected members plus officials, including the Chairperson or Secretary of the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League in that Region. The REC shall elect the RWC from among the directly elected additional members of the REC.

21.14.2 The RWC shall:

- 21.14.2.1 Carry out decisions and instructions of the NEC, PEC, REC, the Regional Conference and the Regional General Council;
- 21.14.2.2 Conduct the current work of the ANC in the Region and ensure that Branches and all other ANC structures, such as municipal council caucuses, carry out the decisions of the ANC; and
- 21.14.2.3 Submit a report to each REC meeting.

Meetings and representation

21.15 The RWC shall meet as and when necessary but at least every two weeks.

21.16 In accordance with Rule 6 above, not less than 50% (fifty per cent) of the members of the RWC shall be women.

Invitees

21.17 The RWC may invite any ANC member in good standing to attend its meetings. The number of invitees shall be limited by the RWC. An invitee may be given a specific assignment by the RWC but may not speak on behalf of the RWC. An invitee may speak and participate at such meeting for the purpose for which he or she was invited but may not vote.

Rule 22 PROVINCIAL CHAPLAINCIES

Provincial Chaplains may be appointed by the PEC on the same basis as the National Chaplaincy.

Rule 23 BRANCHES, ZONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL STRUCTURES

23.1 Every member of the ANC shall belong to a Branch, which is the basic structure of the Organisation.

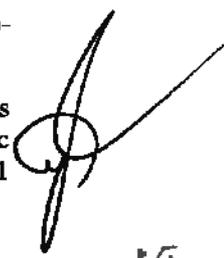
23.2 The Branch shall:

- 23.2.1 Be registered with the PEC and have a minimum of 100 (one hundred) members, provided that the PEC may confer special recognition, where due to exceptional circumstances, the Branch has fewer than 100 (one hundred) members;
- 23.2.2 Meet as provided for in the rules and regulations, at least once every 2 (months) in a branch general meeting;
- 23.2.3 Be the place where members exercise their basic democratic rights to discuss and formulate policy;
- 23.2.4 Be the basic unit of activity for members.
- 23.2.5 Elect at a biennial general meeting a Branch Executive Committee consisting of a Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer, and 10 (ten) additional members. A person must have been a member of the ANC for 2 (two) years before she or he can be nominated to a Branch Executive Committee of the ANC, provided that where a new Branch is being established, the PEC may waive this provision. The ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and ANC Youth League shall be represented on the BEC, by the chairperson and secretary of the ANC Veterans' League Branch, the ANC Women's League Branch and the ANC Youth League Branch within that Branch, with *ex-officio* status.

23.3 Branches covering an extensive geographical area, or in respect of which some special circumstance exists, may divide into smaller manageable sub-branches or units. Such sub-branches or units shall only be used as a co-coordinating and administrative tool by the Branch and shall not possess any decision-making powers. These units shall operate on the basis of acceptable democratic principles and practices.

23.4 In accordance with Rule 6 above, not less than 50% (fifty per cent) of the directly elected and co-opted members of the BEC shall be women.

23.5 The quorum for a Branch Meeting, including Annual Branch meetings or any other Branch meetings where the Branch makes nominations of candidates for elections within the ANC or for public representatives or takes decisions relating to policy matters, shall be 50% (fifty per cent) plus 1 (one) of the total paid-up members of the Branch.



23.6 The Branch Executive Committee (BEC) shall:

- 23.6.1 Meet as soon as possible after its election and allocate tasks and functions among its members to enable it to carry out the day-to-day activities of the Branch;
- 23.6.2 Carry out the publicity and organisational work in its area in furtherance of the policies, programmes and decisions of the ANC;
- 23.6.3 Meet at least once per fortnight and meet with the community bi-monthly in the respective wards;
- 23.6.4 Submit reports on its work to the Branch meeting and at least each month to the Regional Executive Committee;
- 23.6.5 Co-opt not more than 3 (three) persons, if it considers it necessary, to ensure greater representivity.

23.7 The quorum for each meeting of the Branch Executive Committee shall be 50% (fifty percent) plus 1 (one) of the total BEC membership.

23.8 The duties of the BEC at community meetings shall be:

- 23.8.1 To identify basic service needs and grievances of residents in the community;
- 23.8.2 To enter into collaborative partnerships with civic, sport, cultural, religious, business, women and youth organisations in the community with a view to forming a common front to accelerate the delivery of basic services;
- 23.8.3 To initiate the formation of street committees in urban areas to deepen democracy and to safeguard the personal security of residents;
- 23.8.4 To foster trust and cross-cultural relations among residents in an endeavour to build stable communities; and
- 23.8.5 To receive and consider reports from ward councillors and make recommendations to councillors on basic service needs and other challenges of residents.

Zonal structures and sub –regions

- 23.9 The PEC, under the guidance of the NEC, must establish Sub-Regions within a Region. Sub-Regions shall be demarcated to correspond strictly with B-type or metro sub-council municipal boundaries, depending on their location, with similar arrangements and powers that apply to Zones.
- 23.10 Any 3 (three) or more Branches within a Region for the purpose of co-ordinating activities and better organisational efficiency, shall be formed into a Zone at the instance of the Regional Executive Committee after consultation with the relevant Branches, or on application to the PEC, by at least 2 (two) Branches within an area of a proposed Zone.
- 23.11 Whenever a Sub-Region or Zone has been established, the Branch Executive of constituent Branches, within that Sub-Region or zone, shall at a properly convened meeting elect a Sub-Regional or Zonal Committee, as the case may be, consisting of a Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer and five (5) additional members elected from constituent Branches in a meeting convened every two (2) years for that purpose.
- 23.12 In accordance with Rule 6 above, not less than 50% (fifty per cent) of the members of the Sub-Regional Committee and the Zonal committee shall be women.
- 23.13 Where Sub-Regional or Zonal structures of the ANC Veterans' League, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League exist, they shall be represented by 1 (one) member each, subject to the same provisions relating to the requirement for ANC membership.
- 23.14 The tasks of a Sub-Regional or Zonal Committee shall include the following:
 - 23.14.1 To meet at least once a month;
 - 23.14.2 To co-ordinate the work and activities of the constituent Branches and submit reports to the REC;
 - 23.14.3 To see to the implementation of the instructions of the NEC, the PEC, the PWC or the REC in the Sub-Region or Zone;
 - 23.14.4 To participate in the work of the Regional Council; and
 - 23.14.5 To maintain effective links with all Branches in the Sub-Region or Zone.

Rule 24 INTEGRITY COMMISSION AND NATIONAL DISPUTE RESOLUTION COMMITTEE

- 24.1 The NEC shall appoint an Integrity Commission with terms of reference to be approved by the NEC.
- 24.2 The Officials and NEC may refer to the Integrity Commission any unethical or immoral conduct by a member which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute.
- 24.3 The NEC shall appoint a National Dispute Resolution Committee with the composition and powers as set out in Appendix 4.

Rule 25 MANAGEMENT OF ORGANISATIONAL DISCIPLINE

Duties of members, office bearers and public representatives

- 25.1 The Secretary General and Provincial Secretaries shall communicate all Standing Orders, Rules, Regulations, Resolutions and policies adopted or made in terms of the Constitution to the structures of the ANC.
- 25.2 All members, office bearers and public representatives have a duty to familiarise themselves with the contents of this Constitution, Standing Orders, Rules, Regulations, Resolutions and policies adopted or made in terms of the Constitution.
- 25.3 Any member, office bearer or public representative who fails, refuses and/or neglects to abide by the provisions of the Constitution of the ANC, its Standing Orders, Rules, Regulations, Resolutions and policies adopted or made in terms of the Constitution shall be liable to be disciplined in terms of this Constitution.

Jurisdiction

- 25.4 The ANC shall have jurisdiction to discipline any member, office bearer or public representative for committing any act of misconduct as contained in Rule 25.17 below as a member of the ANC and/or by virtue of his or her contract of deployment and/or by virtue of his or her membership of any of the structures of the ANC.

Presumption of knowledge

- 25.5 Notwithstanding a principle of this Constitution that a member is presumed innocent until proven guilty, the charged member, in disciplinary proceedings, shall be presumed to have knowledge of the documents and information referred to in Rule 25.2 above and shall bear the onus of rebutting this presumption.

Disciplinary proceedings not to stifle debate or solve private problems

- 25.6 Disciplinary proceedings against a member shall not:
- 25.6.1 Be used as a means of stifling debate or denying members their basic democratic rights; or
- 25.6.2 Be instituted as a means of solving private problems or as a means of interfering in the private lives of members where the norms of the Organisation are not directly affected, unless such conduct itself constitutes a violation or an offence affecting the Organisation.
- 25.7 The Presenter at any disciplinary proceedings shall do all in his or her power to ensure that disciplinary proceedings are not instituted for any of the purposes set out in Rule 25.6 above.
- 25.8 If the Presenter has information that disciplinary proceedings have been instituted for any ulterior motive, the Presenter shall disclose such information to the Chairperson of the relevant Disciplinary Committee who, in turn, shall have the discretion to investigate such information and, if necessary, refer the matter for further investigation to the relevant party which instituted the disciplinary proceedings, prior to the commencement of the disciplinary proceedings or to put an immediate stop to such disciplinary proceedings.

Institution of disciplinary proceedings

- 25.9 The Officials, NEC, the NWC, the PEC, the PWC, the REC, the RWC, the BEC or office bearers of any of these structures exercising its right to invoke disciplinary proceedings under this Constitution, may initiate and/or institute disciplinary proceedings against any member, office bearer or public representative of the Organisation in respect of any act of misconduct referred to in Rule 25.17 below.

25.10 If a REC, RWC or BEC or office bearers of these structures, as the case may be, is satisfied that the institution of disciplinary proceedings is warranted against a member or office bearer of an REC or BEC within its Region or Branch in respect of any misconduct referred to in Rule 25.17 below, it, he or she shall first obtain the written approval of the Provincial Secretary before commencing with the institution of such disciplinary proceedings.

One stage inquiry and onus

25.11 Disciplinary proceedings in the ANC shall be a one-stage inquiry and shall be conducted in terms of the procedure set out in Appendix 3. All the evidence regarding the merits of the case and all evidence relating to an appropriate sanction shall be led by the parties before the Disciplinary Committee retires to adjudicate and make its finding.

25.12 The onus shall be on the Presenter in disciplinary proceedings to lead evidence, to prove the guilt of a charged member on a balance of probabilities and, if it chooses, in aggravation of a sanction.

25.13 A charged member shall have the right to lead evidence, call relevant witnesses, submit documentary evidence, interrogate all evidence submitted by the ANC and cross-examine witnesses called by the Presenter in making or supporting his or her defence and in mitigation of a sanction.

25.14 After all the evidence has been led, the members of the Disciplinary Committee concerned shall deliberate in private and make a finding.

25.15 A Disciplinary Committee which has conducted a disciplinary hearing in terms of this Constitution may make a finding of guilt and impose an appropriate sanction only if it is satisfied that the evidence presented is of such a cogent nature as to prove the guilt of such member, office bearer or public representative on a balance of probabilities.

25.16 Where the Disciplinary Committee concerned makes a finding of guilt, it shall take into consideration all information and evidence placed before it in aggravation and mitigation of sanction, before imposing an appropriate sanction.

Acts of misconduct

25.17 The following conduct by a member, officer bearer or public representative shall constitute misconduct in respect of which disciplinary proceedings may be invoked and instituted against him or her:

25.17.1 Acting in breach of the membership oath;

25.17.2 Conviction in a court of law and being sentenced to a term of imprisonment without the option of a fine, for any offence;

25.17.3 Failing, refusing or neglecting to execute or comply with any ANC Policy, Standing Order, Rule, Regulation or Resolution adopted or made in terms of this Constitution or breaching the provisions of this Constitution;

25.17.4 Engaging in any unethical or immoral conduct which detracts from the character, values and integrity of the ANC, as may be determined by the Integrity Commission, which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute;

25.17.5 Behaving in a manner or making any utterance which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute;

25.17.6 Sowing racism, sexism, tribal chauvinism, religious and political intolerance, regionalism or any other form of discrimination;

25.17.7 Behaving in a manner which provokes or is likely to provoke or has the potential to provoke division or impact negatively on the unity of the ANC;

25.17.8 Engaging in sexual or physical abuse of women or children or abuse of office to obtain sexual or any other undue advantage from members or others;

25.17.9 Abuse of elected or employed office in the Organisation or in the State to obtain any direct or indirect undue advantage or enrichment;

25.17.10 Participating in any organised factional activity that goes beyond the recognised norms of free debate inside the ANC and which threatens its unity;

25.17.11 Publishing and/or distributing any media publication without authorisation which purports to be the view of any organised grouping, faction or tendency within the ANC;

25.17.12 Undermining the respect for or impeding the functioning of any structure or committee of the ANC;

25.17.13 Joining or supporting a political organisation or party, other than an organisation in alliance

- with the ANC, in a manner contrary to the aims, objectives and policy of the ANC;
- 25.17.14 Standing in an election for local, provincial or national government or acting as the election agent or canvasser of a person standing in such election for any political party and in opposition to a candidate duly endorsed by the NEC or PEC;
- 25.17.15 Misappropriating funds of the ANC or destroying its property;
- 25.17.16 Fighting, assaulting another member or behaving in a disorderly or unruly manner at ANC meetings, assemblies or gatherings and/or disrupting meetings and interfering with the orderly functioning of the ANC;
- 25.17.17 Prejudicing the integrity or repute of the Organisation, its personnel or its operational capacity by:
- 25.17.17.1 impeding the activities of the Organisation;
- 25.17.17.2 creating divisions within its ranks or membership;
- 25.17.17.3 doing any other act which undermines the ANC's effectiveness as an organisation; or
- 25.17.17.4 acting on behalf of or in collaboration with:
- 25.17.17.4.1 counter-revolutionary forces;
- 25.17.17.4.2 a political organisation or party other than an organisation or party in alliance with the ANC in a manner contrary to the aims, policies and objectives of the ANC;
- 25.17.17.4.3 intelligence or the security services of other countries; or
- 25.17.17.4.4 any person or group who seriously interferes with the work of the Organisation or prevents it from fulfilling its mission and objectives.
- 25.17.18 Being convicted in a court of law for the offence of fraud, theft of money, corruption, money-laundering, racketeering or any other act of financial impropriety;
- 25.17.19 Soliciting or accepting any bribe for performing or not performing any task pertaining to or in connection with the ANC;
- 25.17.20 In the case of a public representative, breaching his or her contract of deployment concluded with the NEC;
- 25.17.21 In the case of a member of an ANC Caucus, failing, refusing or neglecting to carry out or execute an instruction or mandate of such caucus; and
- 25.17.22 In the case of a representative in disciplinary proceedings, charging or soliciting a fee for services rendered or levying a disbursement for associated costs when representing a charged member, appellant or review applicant, as the case may be.
- 25.18 Notwithstanding the discretion afforded to a Disciplinary Committee in terms Rules 25.21 and 25.22 below, any member, office bearer or public representative found guilty by a Disciplinary Committee of any act of misconduct referred to in Rule 25.17. 13, 25.17.14 or 25.17.18 above shall be ineligible to be or remain as a member of the ANC and shall be expelled from the Organisation.

National Disciplinary Committee

- 25.19 The quorum for any sitting of the NDC shall be 3 (three) of the members appointed in terms of Rule 12.2.15 above, one of whom shall chair the relevant disciplinary proceedings in the absence of the designated Chairperson of the NDC.
- 25.20 The NDC shall have jurisdiction to:
- 25.20.1 Hear and adjudicate upon any violation or act of misconduct contemplated in Rule 25.17 above and referred to it by the relevant body.
- 25.20.2 Act as an appeal committee in respect of cases adjudicated upon by a PDC; and
- 25.20.3 Act as a review committee in respect of cases adjudicated upon by a PDC, RDC or BDC which may be referred to it.
- 25.21 Where the NDC acts as a disciplinary tribunal of first instance, it shall have the competence to impose the following sanctions:
- 25.21.1 a fine;
- 25.21.2 a reprimand;

- 25.21.3 payment of compensation;
- 25.21.4 performance of useful tasks;
- 25.21.5 remedial action;
- 25.21.6 suspension of membership;
- 25.21.7 expulsion from the ANC;
- 25.21.8 in the case of an office bearer, removal or suspension from office;
- 25.21.9 in the case of a public representative, cancellation or suspension of his or her contract of deployment and/or removal from any list or instrument which entitles such person to represent the ANC at any level of government; and
- 25.21.10 A combination of sanctions set out in 25.21.1 to 25.21.6 above.

25.22 The NDC may suspend the operation of any of the sanctions imposed in terms of Rule 25.21 above, with or without conditions, for a period to be determined by the NDC.

Where the NDC acts as an appeal or review tribunal

- 25.23 Where the NDC acts as an appeal tribunal or reviews a decision of a PDC, it shall have the competence to impose the following verdicts:
- 25.23.1 Uphold the appeal and set aside the decision of the PDC;
 - 25.23.2 Dismiss the appeal and confirm the sanction imposed by the PDC;
 - 25.23.3 Dismiss the appeal and impose an appropriate sanction;
 - 25.23.4 Uphold the application for review and refer the matter back to the PDC for re-hearing;
 - 25.23.5 Uphold the application for review, consider the merits and impose an appropriate sanction, if necessary; and
 - 25.23.6 Dismiss the application for review.
- 25.24 Where the NDC acts as a disciplinary tribunal of first instance, an appeal from or review of its decision shall be to the NDCA.

National Disciplinary Committee of Appeal

- 25.25 The quorum for any sitting of the NDCA shall be 3 (three) of the members appointed in terms of Rule 12.2.16 above, one of whom shall chair the relevant disciplinary proceedings in the absence of the designated Chairperson of the NDCA.
- 25.26 The NDCA shall have jurisdiction to:
- 25.26.1 Adjudicate upon appeals and review applications in matters determined by the NDC; and
 - 25.26.2 Adjudicate upon applications brought before it in terms of this Constitution.
- 25.27 The NDCA shall have the competence to impose the following verdicts:
- 25.27.1 Uphold the appeal and set aside the decision of the NDC;
 - 25.27.2 Dismiss the appeal and confirm the sanction imposed by the NDC and/or PDC;
 - 25.27.3 Dismiss the appeal and impose an appropriate sanction;
 - 25.27.4 Uphold the application for review and refer the matter back to the NDC for rehearing or with an appropriate directive;
 - 25.27.5 Uphold the application for review, consider the merits and impose an appropriate sanction, if necessary;
 - 25.27.6 Dismiss the application; and
 - 25.27.7 Impose such appropriate finding not covered above.
- 25.28 The decision of the NDCA shall be final.

Review by NEC

- 25.29 The NEC may, in its discretion, review any decision taken by any of the disciplinary committees (if it was the final arbiter) to ensure that procedural fairness has been afforded to the charged member, appellant or applicant for review, as the case may be.
- 25.30 If the NEC finds that procedural fairness has not been afforded to the charged member, appellant or applicant for review, as the case may be, the NEC shall refer the matter back to the appropriate disciplinary committee, for re-hearing.
- 25.31 The members of the NEC who were party to the institution of the disciplinary proceedings and

members of the NDCA, or NDC, as the case may be, who are also members of the NEC and who presided over the hearing and appeal or review concerned, shall recuse themselves from the NEC meeting during the discussion of the case.

Provincial Disciplinary Committee

25.32 The quorum for any sitting of the PDC shall be 3 (three) of the members appointed in terms of Rule 19.9.17 above, one of whom shall chair the relevant disciplinary proceedings in the absence of the designated Chairperson of the PDC.

25.33 The PDC shall have jurisdiction to hear and adjudicate upon any violation or act of misconduct referred to it by the PEC, the PWC or the Provincial Secretary.

25.34 The provisions of 25.19 to 25.22 above shall, *mutatis mutandis* apply to a PDC, RDC or BDC.

Rights of appeal and review and procedure

25.35 A member, found guilty by a Disciplinary Committee of the ANC shall have 1 (one) further opportunity to appeal or apply for the review of proceedings to the appropriate Disciplinary Committee.

25.36 Any member, found guilty by a Disciplinary Committee shall have the right within 21 (twenty one) days from the date of the public announcement of the ruling and sanction, to appeal against the finding or sanction or both to the next higher Disciplinary Committee.

25.37 The ANC, as the complainant, shall have the right to appeal against the decision and sanction imposed by a Disciplinary Committee within 21 (twenty one) days from the date of the public announcement of the ruling and sanction and to cross appeal in cases where an appellant has noted and lodged an appeal.

25.38 Any member, found guilty by a Disciplinary Committee shall have the right within 21 (twenty one) days from the date of the public announcement of the ruling and sanction, to apply to review the decision of the Disciplinary Committee concerned to the next higher Disciplinary Committee.

25.39 The grounds of such review shall be limited to procedural irregularities and shall not deal with the merits of the decision of the Disciplinary Committee concerned.

25.40 The ANC, as the complainant, shall have the right to oppose any application for review.

25.41 The decision of the Disciplinary Committee adjudicating the appeal or review shall be final.

25.42 The procedure to be followed for the conduct of appeal and review proceedings before the NDC, NDCA and/or PDC shall be determined by the NEC.

Status of guilty member, office bearer or public representative

25.43 If a member has appealed against or applied to review a decision of a PDC or the NDC, the sanction imposed by such Disciplinary Committee shall only come into operation after the finalisation of the appeal or review, as the case may be.

25.44 Where a BDC, RDC, PDC or NDC has found a member guilty and imposed a sanction of suspension or expulsion the Secretary General or Provincial Secretary, acting on the authority of the NEC, NWC, PEC or PWC, as the case may be, may suspend the membership of such member and provide reasons therefor, until the finalisation of any appeal or review application instituted by such member.

25.45 During the period of suspension, such member shall be precluded from exercising any right in terms of this Constitution, save to prosecute his or her appeal or review application and be present at any necessary attendance in connection therewith.

25.46 A member affected by such suspension may, within 14 (fourteen) days of being notified of such suspension, apply to the NDCA to set aside such suspension.

25.47 The NDCA may set aside such suspension on good cause shown.

Obligation to dispose of disciplinary proceedings expeditiously

25.48 All disciplinary proceedings shall be disposed of expeditiously and within a reasonable time.

25.49 Notice of the charge shall be delivered to the charged member or his or her representative within 6 (six) months of the date when knowledge of a member's alleged act of misconduct or conviction in a court of law is brought to the attention of the ANC.

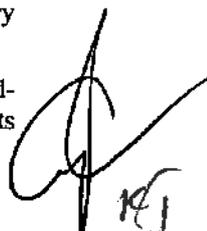
25.50 Disciplinary proceedings shall be finalised by the Disciplinary Committee concerned within 6 (six) months from the date that a notice of the charge was delivered to the charged member or his or her representative.

A large, stylized handwritten signature is present on the right side of the page, overlapping the text of rule 25.49. Below the signature, the initials 'KS' are written in a smaller, less stylized hand.

- 25.51 Where the NEC, the PEC, the RBC or the BEC, as the case may be, fails or neglects to initiate disciplinary proceedings within the time limit in referred to in Rule 25.49 above, the charged member may apply to a Disciplinary Committee having jurisdiction for the withdrawal of the charge.
- 25.52 Where a BDC, RDC, PDC or NDC unduly delays the commencement of or finalisation of disciplinary proceedings within the time limit in referred to in Rule 25.51 above, the charged member may apply for the charge to be withdrawn or proceedings to be stopped, as the case may be.
- 25.53 Notwithstanding the provisions of Rule 25.52 above, where disciplinary proceedings cannot commence or be finalised due to the unavailability or dilatoriness of a charged member and/or his or her representative, or due to the unavailability of one or more of the members of the Disciplinary Committee concerned, the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee may apply, in writing, to the NDCA for an extension of time.
- 25.54 The NDCA may grant such application on good cause shown.
- 25.55 Where a charged member has appealed against or applied to review a decision of a Disciplinary Committee, the NDC or NDCA, as the case may be, shall do all in its power to finalise such appeal or review within 6 (six) months from the date the appeal was noted or the application for the review was lodged.

Temporary Suspension

- 25.56 The NEC, NWC, PEC or PWC, as the case may be, may, at any stage prior to the commencement of disciplinary proceedings against a member summarily suspend the membership of that member in accordance with the provisions of this Rule.
- 25.57 Before making such a decision, the NEC, the NWC, the PEC or the PWC, as the case may be, shall:
- 25.57.1 Have due regard to the nature and seriousness of the alleged violation or act of misconduct;
- 25.57.2 Consider the likelihood of the member engaging in further acts of misconduct;
- 25.57.3 Consider the impact on the reputation of the Organisation of the alleged violation or act of misconduct and/or further acts of misconduct that the member could engage in;
- 25.57.4 Put the accusations to the member for comment;
- 25.57.5 Afford the member 48 (forty eight) hours to respond to the accusations.
- 25.58 Due to the circumstances and urgency of the matter, the Secretary General or the Provincial Secretary, as the case may be, acting on the authority of the NEC, the NWC, the PEC or the PWC, may convey the decision of temporary suspension to the member telephonically.
- 25.59 Should the member fail, refuse or neglect to make representations or make it impossible for the NEC, the NWC, the PEC or the PWC, as the case may be, to give notice of its intention to suspend the member, the NEC, the NWC, the PEC or the PWC, as the case may be, may proceed to make such decision.
- 25.60 If justifiable exceptional circumstances warrant an immediate decision of temporary suspension of a member without eliciting the comment or response of such member as contemplated above, the NEC, the NWC, the PEC or the PWC, as the case may be, may summarily suspend such member.
- 25.61 The member shall immediately be informed of such suspension either directly, by letter or telephonically or, if that is not possible, through a public announcement.
- 25.62 In the case of the suspension of a public representative, the NEC, the NWC, the PEC or the PWC, as the case may be, must also provide for any terms and conditions which will regulate the member's participation and conduct as a public representative during the period of suspension.
- 25.63 The public representative concerned shall immediately be informed of such terms and conditions.
- 25.64 Where a temporary suspension is imposed, the NEC, the NWC, the PEC or the PWC through the office of the Secretary General or Provincial Secretary, as the case may be, shall immediately forward a report of such suspension and the reasons for it to the NDCA and the NDCA may, in its discretion, at any stage set aside such suspension.
- 25.65 The temporary suspension shall lapse if a notice of a charge relating to such suspension is not delivered to the member within 30 (thirty) days from the date of commencement of the temporary suspension.
- 25.66 The temporary suspension shall remain in force until the finalisation of the disciplinary proceedings, including any appeals or reviews, provided that the NDCA may, upon application, or of its own accord if the circumstances so warrant, set aside such suspension at any stage.



- 25.67 During the temporary suspension the member shall not be entitled to exercise any of his or her rights in terms of the Constitution, save for attending the disciplinary proceedings and enforcing his or her right of appeal and/or review.
- 25.68 The member may, at any stage, apply to the NDCA to set aside the temporary suspension.
- 25.69 The NEC, the NWC, the PEC or the PWC may at any stage set aside the temporary suspension if new facts warrant such setting aside and inform the member and the NDCA accordingly.
- 25.70 Where a public representative has been indicted to appear in a court of law on any charge, the Secretary General or Provincial Secretary, acting on the authority of the NEC, the NWC, the PEC or the PWC, as the case may be, if satisfied that the temporary suspension of such public representative's contract of deployment would be in the best interest of the Organisation, may suspend the contract of deployment of the public representative on such terms and conditions which will regulate the member's participation and conduct as a public representative during the period of suspension.

Appearance of charged member at disciplinary proceedings

- 25.71 A charged member shall appear at the venue and at the specified date and time to answer the charge against him or her.
- 25.72 Should the charged member fail or neglect to appear at the venue and at the time determined for such proceedings or if he or she does not remain in attendance when required to do so by the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee, the Disciplinary Committee, if it is satisfied that the charged member was properly and timeously notified of such date, venue and time, may order that the proceedings continue in the absence of such member and make a finding in the absence of the charged member.
- 25.73 Should the chosen representative of the charged member fail or neglect to appear at the disciplinary hearing, the onus shall be upon the charged member to explain the absence of his or her representative and the Disciplinary Committee concerned shall, after deliberations, decide whether or not to proceed with the disciplinary proceedings.

Representation in disciplinary proceedings

- 25.74 A charged member, or appellant or applicant for review, as the case may be, shall have the right to be represented in disciplinary proceedings by a member of the ANC in good standing and who has been a member in good standing for a period of at least three (3) months prior to the date of the hearing.
- 25.75 The representative of a charged member or appellant or applicant for review, as the case may be, shall not be entitled to charge any fee for such representation or levy a disbursement for costs associated with such representation.
- 25.76 The onus shall be upon the charged member, appellant or applicant for review, as the case may be, to arrange his or her representation timeously.
- 25.77 The choice of dates, times and duration for sittings of a Disciplinary Committee shall be the prerogative of the Disciplinary Committee concerned.
- 25.78 Where a charged member or appellant or applicant for review, as the case may be, elects to choose a legal practitioner, who is a member in good standing of the ANC, as his or her representative, such representative shall provide an undertaking at least 5 (five) days before the commencement of the disciplinary proceedings concerned that he or she has set aside sufficient time to ensure that the matter can be disposed of expeditiously.
- 25.79 If the representative cannot provide such undertaking as aforesaid, the onus shall be upon the charged member or appellant or applicant for review, as the case may be, to secure the services of another representative or failing that, to represent himself or herself at such disciplinary proceedings.
- 25.80 The ANC shall be represented at disciplinary proceedings as provided for in the Constitution.

Principles of Fairness, Equity and Legal Precedent

- 25.81 Disciplinary Committees of the ANC shall make decisions and findings on the principles of fairness and equity.
- 25.82 If the NDCA or NDC (as the final arbiter) has adjudicated, made a finding and pronounced on:

25.82.1 The interpretation of any Rule in the Constitution, resolution or policy of the ANC; or

25.82.2 The relationship between structures of the ANC; or

25.82.3 The status of a structure of the ANC; or

25.82.4 A point of law raised by any party in disciplinary proceedings

such decision of the NDCA or NDC shall constitute a precedent and shall be binding on subsequent disciplinary proceedings in the NDC, the PDC, the RDC or the BDC where the interpretation of the same Rule or relationship or status or point of law is raised by a charged member, office bearer or public representative.

Rule 26 RULES AND REGULATIONS

26.1 The NEC may adopt Rules and Regulations for the better carrying out of the activities of the ANC.

26.2 The PECs may adopt Rules and Regulations for the better functioning of the ANC in their respective Provinces.

26.3 All such rules and regulations shall be consistent with the constitutional norms of the ANC, and the Rules and Regulations framed by the PEC shall only become operative when they are approved by the NEC, or, on a provisional basis pending approval by the NEC, by the NWC.

26.4 The NEC may frame a code of conduct to cover all structures, officials, public representatives, office bearers and members.

Rule 27 GENERAL

The ANC shall have perpetual succession and power, apart from its individual members, to acquire, hold and alienate property, enter into agreements and do all things necessary to carry out its aims and objects and defend its members, its property and its reputation.

Rule 28 AMENDMENTS

Any amendments to this Constitution shall be by a two-thirds majority of delegates present and voting at the National Conference or Special Conference. Notice of intent to propose any amendments to the Constitution should/shall be forwarded to the Office of the Secretary General at least three months before the National or Special Conference. The NEC shall give at least one month's notice for any Constitutional amendment.

Rule 29 SPECIAL CONFERENCE

29.1 A Special Conference of the ANC may be convened by the NEC at any time or at the request of a majority of the Provinces for the stated purpose or purposes.

29.2 Not less than one month's notice of such Conference shall be given.

29.3 Participation at the Conference shall be determined by the NEC, provided that Branches are represented at such a Conference in proportion to their membership.

Rule 30 CONTRACTUAL LIABILITY

Only the National Officials Committee shall have the authority to bind the ANC or to create any legal relationship. Any other person purporting to bind the ANC must/shall produce a written authorisation from one of the National Officials, which must indicate the extent of that person's authority.

Rule 31 BORROWING POWER

The NEC may from time to time borrow any amount of money, on such terms and conditions as the NEC considers fit, with the power from time to time to alter the terms of any such borrowing, and to secure such borrowing or any other obligations of the ANC by the mortgage or pledge, either generally or specifically, of the assets of the ANC.

Rule 32 TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

32.1 The amendments to this Constitution were duly adopted at the 54th National Conference and shall

be effective as of 20 December 2017.

- 32.2 The NEC is authorised to make consequential changes to the content and style of these Rules following these amendments and to make such transitional arrangements as may be necessary.
- 32.3 Processes commenced prior to the amendment of the Constitution relating to membership, discipline and eligibility to hold office shall be finalised in terms of the amended Constitution.

Rule 33 DISSOLUTION

The National Conference or any Special Conference may dissolve the ANC and transfer the assets and liabilities of the ANC in such a manner as determined by the Conference, by way of a resolution passed by a seventy-five percent (75%) majority of duly accredited delegates in good standing who are present and voting, provided that the NEC shall have received notice of such resolution from a structure of the ANC at least 12 months before it was voted on by such conference.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized initial 'A' followed by a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.Handwritten initials 'HJ' in black ink.

Appendix 1**SCHEDULE TO ANC CONSTITUTION****ANC Logo and Colours**

The ANC logo is a black African shield in the form of a pointed oval with a narrow white border and canton, the latter bearing six narrow black horizontal bars, surmounted in the centre by a spear erect the shaft white bearing a narrow black vertical line and the blade faceted vertically, white and black, held by a right hand issuant from behind an eight-spoked wheel set to the viewer's right, both white, the rim and spaces between the spokes of the wheel, black, floting from the upper shaft of the spear and partly surmounting the wheel, a horizontal tricolour, comprising from top to bottom, equal bands of black, green and gold.

ANC Flag

The ANC flag is rectangular; it is one and a half times longer than it is wide. It is a horizontal tricolour, comprising from top to bottom, equal bands of black, green and gold.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized initial 'A' followed by the letters 'RS'.

Appendix 2

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!

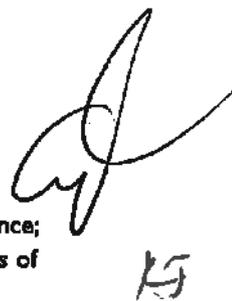
- The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;
- The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
- All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing 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 organise, 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 recognise 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 hospitalisation 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, creches and social centres;
- 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 recognised, 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.**



Appendix 3

Procedure for the Conduct of Disciplinary Proceedings

1. The objective of disciplinary procedure is to ensure that in all disciplinary proceedings:
 - There is a formal procedure.
 - There is a just and fair procedure.
 - A member is presumed innocent until proven guilty.
 - A member has a chance to defend herself or himself.
 - A member has the right to appeal.
2. A charge must be made within a reasonable time after the violation or misconduct was allegedly committed.

Starting Disciplinary Procedure

1. Disciplinary proceedings are commenced with the service of a charge sheet on the charged member.

The charge sheet

2. The charge sheet must:
 - 2.1 Be in writing;
 - 2.2 Set out sufficient details of description of the violation or act of misconduct;
 - 2.3 Provide the date and place of the offence;
 - 2.4 Identify the provision of the ANC Constitution, the Rule, Regulation, the Standing Order, Resolution and/or policy of the ANC that was allegedly breached;
 - 2.5 Inform the charged member of his or her right to be represented by a member of the ANC in good standing and who has been a member in good standing for a minimum period of 3 (three) months before the disciplinary enquiry commences, to call witnesses to make his or her defence and in mitigation of sanction and to produce supporting documents and to cross-examine witnesses called for the prosecution of the charge;
 - 2.6 Provide the date, time and venue for the hearing;
 - 2.7 Inform the charged member that the Disciplinary Proceedings will be a one-stage inquiry and that he or she will also be required to lead evidence in mitigation of sanction if so desired;
 - 2.8 Draw the attention of the charged member to the relevant provisions of the ANC Constitution pertaining to disciplinary proceedings; and
 - 2.9 Inform the charged member that if he or she does not appear at the venue on the date and time determined for such proceedings or does not remain in attendance when required to do so by the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee, the relevant Disciplinary Committee, if satisfied that such member was timeously notified of such venue, date and time, may order that the proceedings continue in the absence of the charged member.

Service of the charge sheet

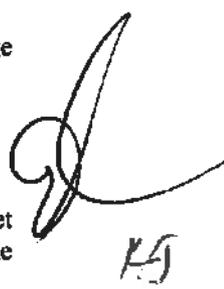
3. It is preferable that the charge sheet is served personally on the charged member by a member of the ANC so authorised.
4. If personal service is not possible, the charge sheet may be faxed or sent by registered post to the physical or postal address of the charged member.
5. Service of the charge sheet on the representative of the charged member shall be deemed to constitute service to the charged member.

Proof of service

6. Documentary or oral evidence presented to the disciplinary committee concerned that the charge sheet, containing the information set out in 2 above, was served shall constitute sufficient proof.

Sufficient notice to charged member

7. A charge sheet shall be served at least 14 (fourteen) calendar days before the date of the hearing.
8. To avoid postponements, the Presenter shall either simultaneously with service of the charge sheet or within a short time thereafter, provide the charged member or his or her representative with the documentary evidence, if available, that will be submitted in evidence by the prosecution.



Pre-hearing conference

9. The Presenter and the representative of the charged member or if he or she is not represented, the charged member may convene a pre-hearing conference for the purpose of exchanging documents, determining the number of witnesses, recording admissions and estimating the duration of the disciplinary proceedings.
10. At the pre-hearing conference the charged member or his or her representative should provide details of any preliminary points that would be raised at the disciplinary proceedings.
11. The parties must convene a pre-hearing conference if requested by the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee concerned.
12. The parties shall draw a minute of the pre-hearing conference and forward it to the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee concerned at least 2 (two) days prior to the commencement of the disciplinary proceedings. If any preliminary points are to be raised, the pre-hearing minute should contain the written arguments of both parties.
13. If both parties seek a postponement of the disciplinary proceedings the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee concerned shall be informed immediately and shall make a ruling and inform the parties accordingly.

Forum and venue of disciplinary hearing

14. Disciplinary proceedings will normally be conducted before a Disciplinary Committee at the level where the alleged violation or misconduct took place, namely the branch, region, provincial or national level.
15. Likewise, the venue for the hearing will normally be within the jurisdiction of the Disciplinary Committee concerned.
16. The Secretary General or Provincial Secretary concerned may direct that for the sake of convenience or out of safety concerns, the disciplinary hearing takes place at a venue outside the jurisdiction of the Disciplinary Committee concerned.

Persons eligible to be present at disciplinary proceedings

17. The following persons should be present at a Disciplinary Proceeding:
 - 17.1 Such number of members of the Disciplinary Committee to quorate the Committee, one of whom shall act as Chairperson;
 - 17.2 The Presenter of the charge, who may be assisted by not more than 2 (two) additional persons who must be ANC members in good standing and who have been members in good standing for a minimum period of three (3) months before the commencement of the hearing;
 - 17.3 The charged member;
 - 17.4 The charged member's representative and/or interpreter, both of whom must be members of the ANC in good standing;
 - 17.5 The witnesses (if any); and
 - 17.6 The minute taker.

Chairperson's discretion

18. The Chairperson shall have the discretion:
 - 18.1 to make interim Rulings during the proceedings;
 - 18.2 to disallow the calling of any witness or production of any documentary evidence which is not relevant to the proceedings;
 - 18.3 to allow the parties to raise any preliminary point;
 - 18.4 to intervene in the proceedings to ensure that the proceedings are held in a fair and equitable manner;
 - 18.5 to determine which party bears the onus of proof;
 - 18.6 to determine whether the argument of both parties should be presented orally or in writing;
 - 18.7 to determine the time to be allocated to the parties to present their evidence, including that of witnesses; and

A handwritten signature in black ink, followed by the initials 'RS' in the bottom right corner of the page.

- 18.8 to investigate such information as contemplated in rule 25.6 of the ANC Constitution and, if necessary, refer the matter for further investigation prior to the commencement of disciplinary proceedings or put an immediate stop to such disciplinary proceedings.

Charged member must be a member of the ANC and representative must be a member in good standing

19. At the outset the Chairperson of the disciplinary committee shall satisfy himself or herself that the charged member is a member of the ANC and that his or her representative, if applicable, is a member in good standing of the ANC.
20. If the disciplinary committee has engaged the services of a legal adviser or minute taker, that person shall be introduced by the chairperson.
21. If the charged member is not a member of the ANC, the proceedings will be halted and the charged member will be informed that he or she is free to leave because the Disciplinary Committee does not have jurisdiction over him or her.
22. If the representative is not a member in good standing, the representative will be asked to leave the proceedings and the proceedings will continue. The charged member, if he or she so elects, may engage another representative. However, such engagement may occur at any stage of the proceedings and does not preclude the continuation of the proceedings.
23. Any preliminary point raised by the charged member shall be dealt with at the outset of the proceedings and the Chairperson shall make a ruling.
24. Once the preliminary point has been dealt with and if the matter is to be proceeded with, the Presenter shall read out the charge if required and the charged member shall be required to plead to the charge.

Plea of guilty

25. If a charged member pleads guilty, the Chairperson shall ask the representative if the plea is in accordance with his instructions from the charged member.
26. If the representative answers in the affirmative, the Chairperson shall record a plea of guilty.
27. The Chairperson should question the charged member or the representative about the alleged violation or misconduct to establish whether the charged member understands the nature and consequences of his or her plea of guilty. The Chairperson shall also consider the minute of the pre-hearing conference, if held, to satisfy himself or herself that the charged member understands the nature and consequences of his plea of guilty.
28. The Chairperson, if satisfied, shall record a plea of guilty.
29. If not satisfied, the chairperson shall record a plea of not guilty.

Mitigation proceedings following plea of guilty

30. The charged member shall have the opportunity to lead evidence in mitigation of sanction and call witnesses or submit documents for that purpose.
31. Before any oral evidence is led, the Chairperson shall ask the witness, be it the charged member or any of his or her witnesses, whether they wish to take an oath or make an affirmation.
32. If the witness wishes to take an oath, the Chairperson should administer the oath and ask the witness to repeat after him or her as follows:
"Do you swear that the evidence you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth? Raise your right hand and say "So Help Me God" .
33. After the witness is sworn in, he or she may give evidence.
34. If a witness does not wish to take the oath but wants to make an affirmation, the Chairperson shall ask the witness to repeat after him or her the following:
"Do you affirm that the evidence you are about to give is true?"
35. After the witness has made an affirmation, he or she may give evidence.

36. The Presenter shall be permitted to cross examine the charged member and submit documentary evidence in aggravation of sanction.
37. The Presenter may also call witnesses to testify in aggravation of sanction.
38. Witnesses of the Presenter shall be sworn in or affirmed as above.
39. After all the evidence has been led, the Disciplinary Committee shall deliberate the issues in private and impose an appropriate sanction.
40. The Disciplinary Committee shall, in writing, report the outcome to the Secretary General or relevant Provincial Secretary and then publicly announce its finding.
41. The charged member shall be informed of his or her right to appeal if the relevant Disciplinary Committee sat as a tribunal of first instance.

Proceedings following plea of not guilty

42. If a charged member pleads not guilty, the Chairperson shall confirm with the representative whether the plea of not guilty is in accordance with his or her instructions from the charged member.
43. If so confirmed, the Chairperson shall record a plea of not guilty.
44. If the representative does not confirm, then the chairperson shall adjourn the proceedings to give the representative an opportunity to consult with the charged member before resuming.
45. The Chairperson shall request the charged member to disclose the basis of his or her defence to the charge. The charged member may, but is not obliged, to do so.

Onus

46. Generally, the onus shall be on the prosecution to prove its case on a balance of probabilities.
47. In certain cases or during the disciplinary proceedings, the onus may shift to the charged member.
48. The Chairperson of the disciplinary proceedings shall be the final arbiter in determining which party bears the onus of proof for the entire case or when any matter is raised during the disciplinary proceedings.

Calling of witnesses and production of documents, video material and photographs

49. The Chairperson shall request the presenter to call its witnesses and, if it wishes to do so, submit in evidence any documents including video material and photographs, in support of its case.
50. It shall not be necessary for either the Presenter or the charged member to call any witness to confirm the authenticity of any document, video or photograph submitted in evidence.
51. Witnesses called by the Presenter shall be required to take the oath or make an affirmation.
52. The charged member or his or her representative may cross examine any witnesses called by the Presenter and question the relevance and evidentiary value of any other evidence produced.
53. The Presenter may re-examine any witness after the cross-examination.

Close of prosecution case

54. The prosecution shall close its case after presenting the evidence of its witnesses and documentary evidence and shall inform the Chairperson of the disciplinary proceedings accordingly.

Opening of charged member's case

55. The charged member shall call his or her witnesses and produce documentary evidence video material and photographs in defence of his or her case or in mitigation of sanction.
56. The prosecution may cross examine any witness called and question the relevance and evidentiary value of any documentary evidence produced.
57. The charged member or his or her representative may re-examine any defence witness.

Close of charged member's case

58. The charged member shall close his or her case after presenting the evidence of witnesses and documentary evidence and shall inform the Chairperson of the disciplinary proceedings accordingly.

Argument

59. Both parties shall be afforded an opportunity to present argument, orally or in writing, which may include argument in aggravation and/or mitigation of sanction.

Adjudication

60. After both parties have closed their respective cases, the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee must ensure that:

60.1 The members of the Disciplinary Committee discuss the issues raised at the disciplinary proceedings in private, immediately after all the evidence has led or during an appropriate period of adjournment;

60.2 Make a finding based on the facts and evidence of the case and make a ruling.

Ruling and sanction

61. If a charged member is found guilty, such ruling shall include a sanction as provided for in the ANC Constitution.

Announcement and rights of appeal

62. The Disciplinary Committee shall inform the Secretary General or the relevant Provincial Secretary of the ruling and sanction.

63. The charged member must be advised of the ruling and the sanction of the Disciplinary Committee together with reasons and of his or her right to appeal.

64. The ruling and sanction must be publicly announced.



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Appendix 4

National Dispute Resolution Committee

1. Name

National Dispute Resolution Committee (“NDRC”) and the NDRC Appeal Committee.

2. Terms of reference

The jurisdiction and terms of reference of the NDRC shall be:

2.1 *Parties who may declare a dispute*

2.1.1 Any branch, sub-region, region or zonal structure (referred to as “the complainant”) which is aggrieved or directly affected by the functioning of the ANC or any of its structures may declare a dispute with the ANC in the manner prescribed in these rules.

2.2 *Definition of a dispute*

2.2.1 A dispute shall mean:

2.2.1.1 The failure by a branch to properly convene its Annual General and Biennial General Meetings in terms of the ANC Constitution and/or the NEC Guidelines provided by the ANC;

2.2.1.2 The failure or refusal to recognise a member, duly elected by his/her branch, to represent it as a delegate at any properly-constituted Conference of the ANC; and

2.2.1.3 Any action taken by a branch to satisfy the requirements for a quorum at meetings in any manner not provided for in the ANC Constitution.

2.3 *Hearing of dispute*

2.3.1 The NDRC, if satisfied, shall have the power to resolve a dispute on the information before it without the necessity of convening a formal hearing.

2.3.2 Should the NDRC decide to convene a formal hearing to resolve the dispute, the relevant parties shall be informed of the date and venue for the hearing.

2.4 *Powers of NDRC*

2.4.1 The NDRC shall make its best endeavours to resolve the dispute.

2.4.2 At the conclusion of the hearing the NDRC shall file a written report with the Secretary General.

2.5 *Implementation of a NDRC decision*

2.5.1 A decision of the NDRC shall be implemented by the Secretary General.

2.6 *Right of appeal and procedure*

2.6.1 Any party (complainant or ANC structure) to the dispute shall have the right to appeal against or apply to review a decision of the NDRC to the NDRC Appeal Committee within 5 (five) days from the date of decision of the NDRC.

2.6.2 The opposing party shall have the right to file a cross appeal within 3 (three) days from the date on which the original appeal was lodged.

2.6.3 These time limits may be dispensed with in the case of urgent proceedings.

2.6.4 Appeals and cross appeals shall be lodged with the Office of the Secretary General.

2.7 *Decision*

2.7.1 A decision of the NDRC Appeal Committee shall be final and binding on the parties and neither party shall have any further recourse to a court of law or other structure or office of the ANC.

Annexure "CR2"

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ANC CADRE DEPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Genesis

1. Elements of cadre development policy can be traced back to the ANC's Kabwe Conference in 1985 when ANC President Oliver Tambo called for the establishment of a political school.
2. In 1994 the ANC recommended the deployment of suitably qualified personnel into structures of government at all levels with the proviso that a sunset clause was agreed to at the political negotiations process at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). The sunset clause in effect slowed down the implementation of deployment in the furtherance of transformation.
3. The ANC used the first term of government to perfect its deployment system, notably with:-
 - 3.1 A deployment framework;
 - 3.2 Guidelines on the relationship between ANC constitutional structures and government executives;
 - 3.3 Guidelines on the role and criteria for ANC Premiers;
 - 3.4 Guidelines on accountability and monitoring of ANC public representatives; and
 - 3.5 Guidelines on the deployment of executive mayors for Local Government Elections.
4. Strategic deployment of ANC cadres played an important role in the ANC taking control of the post-liberation state. The ANC's deployment committees on national and regional levels played a crucial role in state transformation, contributing to reasonable success in deracialising the public service. This also helped ensure that bureaucratic sabotage by

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reactionary forces intent on undermining the democratic order would be minimised.

1997 National Conference

5. The deployment policy of the ANC started in earnest at the 50th National Conference in Mafikeng in 1997. The resolution called for the establishment of deployment committees throughout the ANC's organisational hierarchy. It recognised that the ANC needs to put in place its own policy and code of conduct to guide those of its cadres deployed to the public service. There were concurrent discussions about curtailing corruption and the need for guidelines on ethics.
6. The National Conference recognised that a Cadre Policy can only flourish within the context of a mobilised, strong and active organisation and consequently resolved to:-
 - 6.1 Put in place a deployment strategy which focuses on the short, medium and long term challenges, identifying the key centres of power, our strategy to transform these centres and the attributes and skills we require from our cadres to do so effectively;
 - 6.2 The establishment of deployment committees in the NEC, PEC, REC and BEC, which is implementing the above strategy should:-
 - 6.2.1 Discuss the deployment of comrades to areas of work on behalf of the movement, including the public service, parastatals, structures of the movement and the private sector;
 - 6.2.2 Such discussions of deployment of individual comrades be done with appropriate consultation with the cadre/s concerned;

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- 6.2.3 Do probity checks in all deployments and in general on appointments of staff;
 - 6.2.4 Provide support and disputes about the deployment or redeployment of cadres to the next highest structure for resolution.
 - 6.2.5 Decisions of the organisation, after appropriate consultation with individual cadres are final and a breach of this policy shall constitute a serious offence to be considered by the appropriate structure.
7. Between January and July 1999 the ANC considered and eventually adopted a deployment policy and framework and guidelines for use by the organisation.

Deployment Framework

8. The key centres of authority and responsibility of power are diffused throughout society and located both within and outside the state. Our approach to deployment must therefore be sensitive to these realities.
9. Our immediate goal as set out in Strategy and Tactics is to deepen the hold of the liberation movement over the levers of the state and begin to impact positively on other centres of authority and responsibility outside the immediate realm of the state institutions.
10. The following are the key centres of authority and responsibility within the state that should be given priority:-
- 10.1 Cabinet;
 - 10.2 The entire civil service, but most importantly from director level upwards;
 - 10.3 Premiers and provincial administrations;

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- 10.4 Legislatures;
 - 10.5 Local Government;
 - 10.6 Parastatals;
 - 10.7 Education institutions;
 - 10.8 Independent statutory commissions, agencies, boards and institutes;
 - 10.9 Ambassadorial appointments; and
 - 10.10 International organisations and institutions.
11. Non-state centres of authority and responsibility include:-
- 11.1 The media
 - 11.2 Business (financial, industrial, agricultural, small and medium enterprises, monopolies etc
 - 11.3 Other social and cultural institutions like religious bodies, sports bodies, cultural bodies etc

Guidelines for deployment to various centres

12. There should be a dynamic link between the National Deployment Committee to other deploying structures of the Movement, whether it be the President, list committees, premiers, cabinet ministers, MECs and provincial deployment committees. The Chairperson of the National Deployment Committee should act as the link, on a daily and on-going basis, between the Deployment Committee and these other deployment structures.
13. Whilst the ANC structures should be responsible for final decisions with respect to deployment matters where possible, a dynamic and continuous interaction must be maintained between the deployment committee and the Alliance secretariat. This should be replicated at

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lower levels as well.

14. The decision of the National Deployment Committee should take precedence over those of the provincial deployment committees. We should ensure ongoing engagement between the national and provincial committees to build a common national approach to questions of deployment.
15. Our general approach should be that all strategic deployments should as far as possible be subjected to collective discussions by various structures of the movement. A collective approach will enable the organisation to effectively combat careerism, patronage and opportunism.
16. We should re-affirm the prerogative of the President to appoint cabinet, within the spirit of this collective approach. This will, in practice, mean that in considering cadres for appointment to these positions, the President can consult with the Officials and canvass broader views, as well as use the Deployment Committee as a resource.
17. At provincial level, in addition to the collective approach, we must emphasise the unitary nature of the ANC. The practice of Premiers consulting the Provincial Working Committee in considering the appointment of MECs should continue. In addition to consultation with the Provincial Working Committee, the Premiers should also consult the President in the appointment and dismissal of MECs, as the person overly responsible for matters of governance in the ANC.
18. Our strategy should not only concentrate on deployment at the most senior level, but at lateral entry levels as well. In doing so, we shall

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prevent situations where we deployed capable comrades to positions only to find that they are completely surrounded by and locked into structures dominated by forces that not only do not share the same strategic objectives but also sometimes even actively work to undermine the goals of the National Democratic Revolution.

19. In the deployment of comrades a careful balance should be struck between organisational deployment needs and personal circumstances. Consultations and discussions should take place with individuals, within the framework of prioritizing the needs of the organisation and transformation. Once comrades are deployed, we should seek to create an environment which allows people to balance their deployment commitments with their family and other responsibilities.
20. A core or pool of comrades needs to be identified for deployment in each of the key strategic centres of authority and responsibility, particularly in relation to the legislatures, civil service, parastatals, independent bodies and ambassadorial appointments.
21. With respect to legislatures, the question of continuity and experience should guide the identification of a pool of comrades, without undermining the need for bringing in fresh blood. The Deployment Committee would argue that for the purpose of the list process, we should set a target of at least 30 percent of comrades who served before in the legislatures to form part of this pool. This has since been increased to 60 percent.
22. Focus should not only be on academic or professional expertise but should also take into account skills and expertise in doing constituency work and working with the masses on the ground.

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23. With respect to Cabinet and MECs, it is assumed that these comrades will be drawn from those who will be elected to the legislature, including the core which we have referred to above.
24. With respect to office-bearers deployed within the organisation through internal elections, discussions and consultations should be held about the alternative deployment options of these individuals well before the conference. Whether they are elected or not would have particular implications for them. This would go a long way to prevent bruising electoral battles within our structures as a result of the career and personal implications of being elected or not elected.

Deployment and Human Resource Development

25. A comprehensive human resource development strategy must be developed particularly targeting youth and women leadership, including the mapping of possible career paths and the advancement of transformation of gender relations.
26. Special attention should be paid to the Youth and Women's League to support their human resource development strategies and assist cadres coming through the ranks of the Leagues with career-pathing.
27. At all times, we must ensue an approach where we broaden the pool of cadres who have an understanding of the policies of the movement and the necessary experience and skills to be able to execute these policies effectively, wherever they are deployed.

Co-ordination

28. The overall strategic objectives of the Movement and the strategic role of each centre of authority and responsibility should guide the process of

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accountability, supervision and co-ordination in the overall National Democratic Revolution.

29. The Movement and its constitutional structures therefore remain the main centres of power, which should drive the process of transformation in all centres of authority and responsibility.
30. The NEC subcommittees should ensure that comrades who are deployed in a particular centre of authority and responsibility are encouraged to network and to share information and experience. This should be done in a manner which does not undermine the formal structures in the area of deployment nor should it be too hierarchical.
31. It is also imperative that Directors General and Deputy Directors General should have regular forums to share information and discussion in key strategic issues. Similar forums should be established by leading comrades in the private sector, in the parastatals, independent agencies and other structures.
32. This arrangement should not necessarily interfere with the operational autonomy of these centres of power, but is aimed to ensure that what is happening there is in line with and informed by the Movement's policies and strategic direction.
33. Ministers should ensure a collective approach by involving their colleagues in Cabinet, especially with regard to policy matters. The Office of the President and the Cabinet secretariat in particular should be seen as another key area of co-ordination and the driving of integrated and streamlined policies. It should thus be seen as another key area for deployment.

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34. The President in the next term post 1999 must ensure that she or he stamps authority on Cabinet Ministers, ensuring co-ordination and authority. The National Executive Committee of the ANC should review the overall work of Cabinet in relation to our transformation agenda.
35. The monthly ANC Cabinet caucuses and the preparations for national caucuses should be restructured to ensure strategic discussion and ongoing evaluation and monitoring of our transformation agenda.

Organisational culture of the movement

36. Our cadres deployed in whatever centre should take with them the qualities and attributes that we hold dear as a Movement. This includes putting service to the people, an ethic of work and selflessness, respect for the senior structures and cadres of the Movement, responsiveness to the needs of the people and a collective approach to matters.
37. In our deployment we should consciously strive to dispel the notion that we have become a Movement and a leadership which is distanced from the people whom we have served in our long struggle for liberation. We must be true to our tradition of putting the interests of our people and our country first.

Guidelines on the relationship between constitutional structures of the movement and government executives

38. The relationship between structures of the Movement and of government has been amongst some of the difficult issues that we have faced since our ascendency to power in 1994.
39. While the relationship between these two structures is often best worked out in practice and convention, some guidelines are necessary to help

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guide the organisation. We need to ensure an understanding, in theory and practice, that government implements the mandate of the organisation and is accountable to the political structures as well as to the public based on the electoral platform of the Movement.

40. Policy directions of government emanate from the organisation as resolved at the National Conference. Where there is a need to change or modify existing policy precipitated by prevailing conditions in the country at the time or as a result of practical experiences, such a change or modification must be discussed and approved by the relevant political structures. In such instances the President or Premier would make a recommendation to the political structures for discussion and final decision.
41. The President, Premier and members of the Executive must provide regular reports to the political structures and explain how the policies of the organisation are being implemented, monitored and evaluated by government. In other words, the political structures do not deal with the day-to-day affairs of government unless there is an extraordinary situation that requires political advice or decision by political structures.
42. With regard to government appointments, the collective approach reflected in the deployment guidelines adopted by the National Executive Committee between 22 and 24 January 1999 should be followed. This approach will help to deal with the tensions that usually arise between the two structures, particularly if there is a feeling by some in the organisation that some people have been excluded or that an individual who has no political support in the structures has been appointed to the National Executive.

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43. Some of the situations and practices to avoid would be:-
- 43.1 Allowing political structures to constantly interfere in the running of government and seeking to replace Executive structures of government;
 - 43.2 Allowing government to change or modify policies without consulting the political structures;
 - 43.3 Involving political structures in legalistic or technical debates, for example details of legislation;
 - 43.4 Allowing government structures to utilise political structures as a rubber stamp to mobilise authority for decisions which have not been debated in the movement especially highly contentious ones that are seen to signal a change in policy or direction of the organisation.
 - 43.5 Allowing demagoguery and populism to prevail where the political structures or individuals in them are at loggerheads with the Executive or its members.
 - 43.6 Allowing political debates of a sensitive or strategic nature to be conducted outside the political and government structures, for example in the press, through avoiding the debates in the political structures.
 - 43.7 Above all, political structures should ensure that political conduct, inside and outside government, is conducted in the tradition of the Movement, which is about allowing open debate coupled with decisive action, democracy, delegation of authority and power, and remaining true to the aims and objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.
44. At the 52nd National Conference in Polokwane in 2007, the ANC adopted a resolution mandating the leadership to ensure the implementation of the 1997 resolution on deployment and to strengthen the national deployment committee.

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45. The Conference also called on the NEC to review the political management of the deployment process and take account of a number of issues, including the following:-

Strategic Centres of Deployment

46. The Strategy and Tactics document identifies the following centres as pivotal to national democratic transformation:
- 46.1 The State;
 - 46.2 The Economy;
 - 46.3 Organisational Work;
 - 46.4 Ideological Struggle; and
 - 46.5 International Work.
47. Deployment within each of the five pillars requires its own set of strategic discussions. For example, within the state sector, what principles should inform the deployment of cadres to institutions with judicial or investigative functions, and how should cadres deployed to perform such functions relate to the organisation. Within the 'economy' the potential for cadres to accumulate capital in their personal capacities is manifest. Should such capital accumulated by deployed cadres be regarded as under the command and control of the Movement and, if so, how?

Deployment and remuneration

48. How should our deployment strategy manage the reality that remuneration in a capitalist society is often determined by market forces? In other words, it may make perfect sense for a particular cadre to occupy a strategic position within the state, but such a cadre may already be engaged in activity elsewhere in society that generates greater pecuniary reward than that offered by the state. This poses significant

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and complex challenges for deployment strategy in a capital society.

The composition of deployment structures

49. What should be the composition of the deployment committee? In this regard the possibility of conflict of interest is of prime importance. Simply put, the potential for NEC members to have political or other interests in the deployment of particular cadres to particular positions cannot be ruled out. In this context, the NEC would need to consider whether the deployment structures should not be composed of veterans without a direct interest in the outcomes of the deployment committee's deliberations. This is especially important in the context of the Mafikeng resolution's conclusion that 'breach of policy shall constitute a serious offence'.

Linkage to broader cadre deployment programmes

50. In more general terms, we would need to give attention to the question of how we link our deployment strategy to a broader set of principles and programmes that inform our cadre deployment strategy. It cannot be assumed that, after many years of a weak and inconsistent approach to deployment and cadre development, we do indeed possess an army of conscious and politically-trained cadres, able to carry out the strategies of the Movement in different centres.

Organisational Renewal

51. The resolution of the 52nd National Conference on Organisational Renewal instructed the incoming NEC to review the political management of the deployment process and ensure the implementation of the 1997 Resolution on Deployment, with a view to strengthening collective decision-making and consultation on deployment of cadres to senior positions of authority. This includes strengthening the National

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Deployment Committee.

52. The implementation of this resolution requires more than simply establishing an appropriate structure. It also requires, as a matter of urgency, that the NEC conducts a thorough political discussion which reviews the ANC's overall approach to cadre policy and deployment strategy.
53. A deployment strategy must provide broad guidelines for deployment of ANC cadres to all areas which the Movement crucial for the transformation project. The deployment strategy will ensure that the Movement deploys its cadres in accordance with their knowledge, skills, ability and experience.
54. The NEC was called to implement on the assumption that the ANC has at its disposal 'an army of conscious, committed and properly deployed cadres'. In this context, the resolution notes that 'our Cadre Policy and Deployment Strategy should directly relate to the National Democratic tasks as set out in our Strategy and Tactics document and should actively contribute to the building of strong structures and programmes'.
55. In preparation for local government elections, the ANC has an extensive guideline for the selection of candidates to be councillors, *inter alia*, the involvement of communities in the selection process.
56. Guidelines of ANC deployment policy were revised by the National Working Committee in June 2009. These included:-
- 56.1 Cadres of the ANC should be ready to be deployed where the Movement deemed it necessary to deploy them;
- 56.2 The ANC should look critically at the calibre of candidates that it will field for the 2011 local government elections, as that will determine the organisation's performance.

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- 56.3 Deployees of the ANC should always be loyal to the organisation;
- 56.4 The ANC should set clear standards to guide its deployees who are deployed at all levels and structures of government which should apply to everyone without exception.
- 56.5 Comrades who are deployed in cabinet should not staff their offices along tribal or racial lines.
- 56.6 The deployment process is not an easy process and is open for improvement.
57. In its report to the NEC meeting between 17 and 19 July 2009, the NWC raised and discussed the issue of the principles that informed deployment and the rights of cadres in the exercise of deployment. This discussion emerged in the context of the NEC having identified the need to strengthen the operational capacity of the head office and provinces.
58. At the meeting it was decided that political considerations for deployment should be located within the overall objectives of the Movement and that strong leadership of NEC members were needed to be deployed in the following areas:-
- 58.1 Organisation building and campaigns;
 - 58.2 Policy development and coordination which will be housed in the Policy Institute;
 - 58.3 Communication
 - 58.4 International Relations
 - 58.5 Political education
 - 58.6 The Presidency.
59. At a NWC meeting in August 2009 the ANC tabled its draft policy on declaration of interest to ensure that there is objectivity in decision-making at all levels of the organisation in the best interest of the organisation.
60. The ANC's range of national and regional deployment committees ebbed and flowed over time as the movement battled intra-organisation positioning, optimisation of state governance, factionalism, careerism,

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opportunism, desperation for employment, and the organisational dilemmas of having to act against corrupt comrades.

61. The national deployment committee consists of 15 members, primarily from the National Executive Committee, and is chaired by the Deputy President of the ANC, comrade David Mabuza.

Cadre development

62. In April 2013 the ANC developed its conceptual position on an ANC Political School and Cadre Development.
63. The purpose of the political school is to conduct compulsory education for all elected leadership structures.
64. The overall vision is to provide a forum for collective learning though which members share experiences, learn from each other, assess the world around us and the challenges we face as a Movement and empower each other.
65. More specifically the objectives are:-
- 65.1 To provides resources, trainer-training and learning material for broader cadreship development and political education activities in the ANC and democratic Movement with the aim of re-building a culture of mass political education;
- 65.2 Develop middle-layer leaders who will be equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills to consolidate the ANC as a mass-based democratic Movement which must function as both liberation Movement and ruling party with the maximum and effective participation of members for the transformation of society.
- 65.3 Develop the capabilities of cadres to undertake the tasks to which

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they are deployed and develop the cadres of cadres to support specific ANC campaigns and policy interventions.

- 65.4 Recognise the potential and aptitude amongst middle layer leadership and from which more senior positions and deployments should be filled.
 - 65.5 Develop linkages with tertiary education institutions and funding agencies in South Africa and abroad with a view to placing ANC cadres with potential.
 - 65.6 Provide training and resources for progressive parties outside Africa, especially on the African continent.
66. The course content and curriculum includes:-
- 66.1 Ideological development and political consciousness;
 - 66.2 Policy analysis and public management;
 - 66.3 Organisational, technical and party building skills;
 - 66.4 Development and community outreach work in practice.
67. In 2018 President Cyril Ramaphosa launched the OR Tambo Policy Leadership Institute and Dr David Masondo was appointed as the Principal.

Annexure “CR3”

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

53rd National Conference Report



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Introduction

by ANC Secretary General
Gwede Mantashe

THE 53rd National Conference of the African National Congress (ANC), as with most conferences of our movement, was in many ways a point of learning.

It has proven that knowledge goes beyond schooling to include exposure and involvement. Activists of our movement highlighted practical examples of problems and challenges facing society, something than theory by academic intellectuals.

The ANC has once more proven that policies are better enriched by public participation. The process of formulating our policy started at the National General Council in 2010, continued in the Policy Conference in June 2012 and concluded in the National Conference in Mangaung, in December 2012.

We are proud of the members of the ANC who remained focused even when confronted by serious challenges during the conference itself. This is what is always expected of revolutionaries. In the run-up to the 53rd National Conference we were bombarded with the negativity of a conference that was going to be the centre of conflict. The interests even joined campaigning and lobbying. Commentators and analysts who are daily talking to us about democracy seem to fail to understand it, because where it prevails they project it as divisions.

The resolution on strengthening political education refers to an informed member who can defend the organisation and the revolution, when under attack.

Members of the ANC are urged to read the resolutions and use them in their discussions with both our supporters and our opponents alike. It

has been suggested by some that an average ANC cadre is lazy to read, among others. Therefore, reading ANC policy documents should be the starting point. Only when one understands the policies of the organisation can one be in a position to make any comparison.

The resolutions of the National Conference should be translated into policy and must be implemented. This can only be possible when the structures of the organisation are strong and vibrant. The cadre policy prioritises the defence of the revolution, hence the emphasis on both political and academic education in the formation of the cadre. The movement should continue being ideological and political, and resist the temptation of being narrowly technical.

Discipline and integrity of our organisation must receive our priority attention. Behaviour that brings the ANC into disrepute must not be tolerated. Discipline must always be seen in its broadest sense and not in the narrow sense of disciplinary action. We must all work for unity and cohesion of the movement. Such is the foundation of the ANC.

These resolutions are circulated for reading and discussions among the members. They should be used in political classes of the organisation. They constitute our programme for the next five years. They should guide us wherever we are working or deployed. Remember that the National Conference is the highest decision-making structure of the ANC and, therefore, a serious gathering of branch delegates from all corners of our country. Their decisions are binding on all of us.

Enjoy the reading.

Credentials report

THE ANC constitution as amended and adopted by the 52nd National Conference requires that the National Executive Committee must convene the national conference every five years.

Rule 10.1 of the ANC constitution states that the national conference is the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC. It shall be composed of the followings:

- At least 90% of delegates at conference shall be from branches, elected at properly constituted branch general meetings.
- The number of delegates per branch shall be in proportion to its paid up membership, provided that each branch in good standing shall be entitled to at least one delegate.
- The number of delegates to be allocated to each province to attend national conference shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee in proportion to the paid up membership of each province.

□ All members of the National executive Committee shall attend, *ex-officio*, as full participants in, and as delegates to the national conference.

□ The remainder of the 10% of voting delegates at the conference shall be allocated by the NEC from among the Provincial Executive Committees, the ANC Veterans League, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League.

Rule 10.1.2 of the ANC constitution states that, the NEC may invite individuals, who have made special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience to attend the conference and participate as Non-Voting delegates to the conference.

In compliance with the provisions of the ANC constitution the office of the Secretary General conducted membership audits in order to ascertain the state of ANC branches and membership as at the 15TH June 2012.

As a result, the allocation of delegates as determined by the National Executive Committee is as follows:

Membership

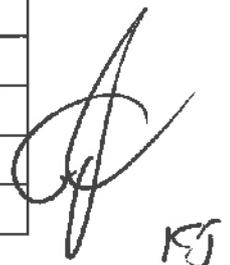
Name of province	Membership in good-standing	Number of Delegates
Eastern Cape	187 585	676
Free State	121 074	324
Gauteng	134 909	500
Limpopo	161 868	574
Kwazulu-Natal	331 820	974
Mpumalanga	132 729	467
North West	75 145	234
Northern Cape	36 428	176
Western Cape	38 499	178
Total	1 220 057	4 103




Credentials report (cont.)

Conference Attendance

Status	Category	Expected	Present
<i>Voting Delegates</i>	<i>Total Voting Delegates</i>	4500	4087
	<i>Total Branch delegates</i>	4103	4087
	<i>Eastern Cape</i>	676	601
	<i>Free State</i>	324	318
	<i>Gauteng</i>	500	418
	<i>Limpopo</i>	574	479
	<i>Kwazulu-Natal</i>	974	958
	<i>Mpumalanga</i>	467	443
	<i>North West</i>	234	177
	<i>Northern Cape</i>	176	157
	<i>Western Cape</i>	178	151
	<i>NEC</i>	82	80
	<i>PECs</i>	180	160
	<i>Women's League</i>	45	45
	<i>Youth League</i>	45	45
	<i>Veteran's League</i>	45	44
<i>Non-Voting</i>	<i>Isithwalandwe</i>	3	1
	<i>RECs</i>	108	56
	<i>Ministers & Deputy Ministers</i>	35	29
	<i>SACP</i>	25	25
	<i>COSATU</i>	25	25
	<i>SANCO</i>	25	25
	<i>Stalwarts</i>	20	18
	<i>MKMVA</i>	23	23
	<i>Former liberation movements</i>	12	12
	<i>ANC Ambassadors</i>	20	20
	<i>SASCO</i>	10	10
	<i>COSAS</i>	10	10
	<i>Deployed Cadres</i>	50	37
	<i>Former NEC members</i>	20	15
	<i>NGOs</i>	10	10
	<i>Mayors</i>	18	18
<i>Diplomatic missions</i>	146	134	
<i>Guests</i>	32	32	

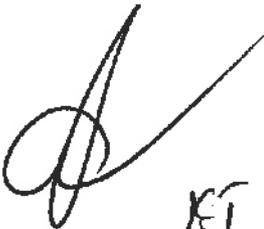


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Credentials report *(cont.)*

Other categories

Name	Invited	Present
<i>International organisations</i>	50	35
<i>Religious organisations</i>	5	5
<i>MPs & MPLs</i>	38	29
<i>Contralesa</i>	5	5
<i>Electoral Commission</i>	14	14
<i>Elections Agency</i>	65	65
<i>ANC Staff</i>	420	470
<i>Media</i>	800	800
<i>ANC Security</i>	250	250
Overall Conference Attendance		6260



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National Executive Commitee

Officials



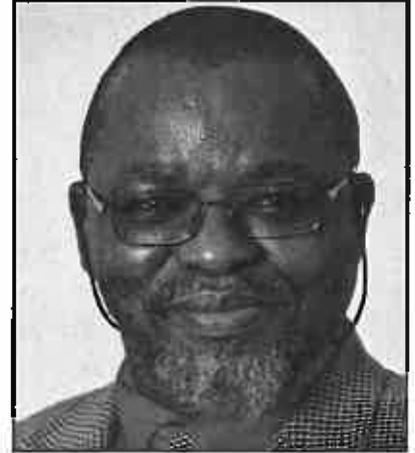
Jacob Zuma
President



Cyril Ramaphosa
Deputy President



Baleka Mbete
National Chairperson



Gwede Mantashe
Secretary General



Jessie Duarte
Deputy Secretary General



Zweli Mkhize
Treasurer General

A handwritten signature in black ink, followed by the initials 'RJ'.

National Executive Committee

Directly Elected Members

1. Obed Bapela
2. Nozabelo Ruth Bhengu
3. Lynne Brown
4. Zoleka Rosemary Capa-Langa
5. Bhokokwakhe Hamilton (Bheki) Cele
6. Collins Chabane
7. Siyabonga C. Cwele
8. Rob Davies
9. Thoko Didiza
10. Nkosazana Clarice Dlamini-Zuma
11. Bathabile Olive Dlamini
12. Sidumo Mbongeni Dlamini
13. Ayanda Dlodlo
14. Beauty N. Dlulane
15. Ebrahim Ebrahim
16. Lungi Gcabashe
17. Malusi Gigaba
18. Enoch Godongwana
19. Pravin Gordhan
20. Derek Hanekom
21. Tina Joemat-Petterson
22. Zweledinga Pallo Jordan
23. Zizi Kodwa
24. Dipuo Letsatsi-Duba
25. Pule Mabe
26. Sisi Mabe
27. Rejoice Mabhudafhasi
28. Ncawwe Mafu
29. Dikeledi Magadzi
30. David Mahlobo
31. Fikile (Slovo) Majola
32. Nomzamo Winfred (Winnie) Mandela
33. Jane Manganye
34. Kebby Maphatsoe
35. Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula
36. Philly Mapulane
37. Billy Lesedi Masetlha
38. Joyce Mashamba
39. Sam Mashinini
40. Tito Mboweni



National Executive Committee

Directly Elected Members (cont.)

41. Nomaindia Mfeketo
42. Humphrey M Z Mmemezi
43. Nomvula Paula Mokonyane
44. Pinky Mokoto
45. Ednah Molewa
46. Joyce C Moloi-Moropa
47. Pinky Moloi
48. Angie Motshekga
49. Aaron Motsoaledi
50. Sankie Dolly Mthembu-Mahanyele
51. Jackson Mthembu
52. Nathi Mchekhwa
53. Thenjiwe Mtintso
54. Joel Sibusiso Ndebele
55. Joel Netshitenzhe
56. Maite Nkoana-Mashabane
57. Gugile Nkwinti
58. Sefora Hixsonia (Sisi) Ntombela
59. Nosipho Dorothy Ntwanambi
60. Thulas Nxesi
61. Blade Nzimande
62. Mildred N Oliphant
63. Naledi Pandor
64. Joe Phaahla
65. Jeff Radebe
66. Ngoako Abel Ramatlhodi
67. Miriam Segabutla
68. Machwene Rosinah Semenya
69. Susan Shabangu
70. Lindiwe Sisulu
71. Max Vuyisile Sisulu
72. Stone Sizani
73. Mcebisi Skwatsha
74. Sisisi Tolashe
75. Pam Tshwete
76. Sue Van Der Merwe
77. Fikile D Xasa
78. Tony Sithembiso Yengeni
79. Senzeni Zokwana
80. Lindiwe Zulu



Declaration

WE, the five thousand delegates to this 53rd National Conference of the African National Congress, gathered at the University of the Free State, united in the diversity of our nation, black and white, women and men, workers and business people, rural and urban, young and old, intellectuals and religious communities, hereby adopt this declaration as our collective message to our country and to the world.

We came from every corner of our land to Mangaung, the birthplace of our people's movement. We came representing the hopes and aspirations of all South Africans.

We were strengthened by the presence and contributions of fraternal parties from across the world, our Alliance partners, the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African National Civics Organisation, and the mass democratic movement.

In response to the echoes of the call by Pixley ka Isaka Seme that brought the founding mothers and fathers of our people's movement to Mangaung a century ago, we returned here "in order to review the past and reject therein all those things which have retarded our progress, the things which poison the springs of our national life and virtue; to label and distinguish the sins of civilisation, and as members of one house-hold to talk and think loudly on our home problems and the solution of them."

The memory of our forebears who worked tirelessly and relentlessly to build the ANC into a powerful instrument of liberation in the hands of our people, pervaded our open and honest debates, conducted in the spirit of convincing

others and allowing ourselves to be convinced.

As we conclude our year-long celebrations and reflections on the Centenary of the ANC, we paid tribute to many generations of freedom fighters who made supreme sacrifices to bring us where we are today.

We reiterate our commitment to the vision of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

These include the guarantee of the fundamental human rights of all South Africans, reinforced by an entrenched Bill of Rights, a multiparty system of government, a representative and independent judiciary and regular elections.

We are conscious that these rights will be meaningless without the fundamental transformation of the economy to serve the interests of the people and far-reaching transformation in the areas of land distribution, housing, education, health, water and sanitation and social security.

Inspired by the theme of **UNITY IN ACTION TOWARDS SOCIO-ECONOMIC FREEDOM**, we reviewed the progress made over the last 18 years towards the building of a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa.

We engaged in vigorous and searching debates on the persistence of the legacy of apartheid colonialism, reflected in the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

Responding to these challenges, we are boldly entering the second phase of the transition from apartheid colonialism to a national democratic



society. This phase will be characterised by decisive action to effect economic transformation and democratic consolidation, critical both to improve the quality of life of all South Africans and to promote nation-building and social cohesion.

Consequently, in pursuance of these objectives, we embraced Vision 2030 and the National Development Plan as a platform for united action by all South Africans to eradicate poverty, create full employment and reduce inequality as critical building blocks towards a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society.

We recognise that these efforts cannot bear fruit if carried out by government and the ANC alone. We therefore commit ourselves to build strong partnerships with community organizations and social movements, trade unions, religious bodies, business organisations, women and youth structures as well as other organisations to ensure that, in actual practice, South Africans – black and white – act as their own liberators.

At the core of the above, should be a united and revolutionary ANC and Alliance formations that are rooted amongst the people and have a committed, conscientious, competent, disciplined and capable corps of cadres.

We hereby declare the next ten years as the Decade of the Cadre and commit to implementing a decade-long programme of organizational renewal to safeguard the core values of the ANC and build its transformative capacity as a strategic centre of power and driver of fundamental change.

We pay tribute to Comrade Nelson Mandela, who during the long, hard decades of apartheid rule was the embodiment and personification of our collective spirit of resistance. As our first democratic President, he inspires our nation and the world and steered our organisation, not

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just with the values of collective resistance, but also with his example of determination, reconciliation and rootedness amongst the millions of ordinary people. We wish you a speedy recovery, Tata.

As we rise, we are conscious that next year marks the centenary of the 1913 Land Act, which should serve as a reminder of the urgent task of dealing with the historical injustice.

In 2013 we also commemorate the 50th Anniversary since the founding of the OAU, an organization who made it its mission to rid the continent of colonialism. We will continue to strengthen its successor, the African Union as it steers the continent towards integration, peace and prosperity.

We will also be gearing up towards the completion of our Second Decade of Freedom and the fifth democratic and non-racial elections.

We are mindful that this conference rises on the threshold of the second centenary of our glorious movement. We are deeply aware of the historical obligations that this imposes on us to implement our resolutions and ensure that the ANC has the resilience to survive and thrive as a people's movement for yet another century.

We emerge from the 53rd National Conference having reaffirmed our firm conviction that the ANC's culture of vibrant internal democracy enhances our unity of purpose rather than being a source of division and internal discord.

We arrived here with different viewpoints on many issues and are returning to our communities and branches with an unbreakable unity of purpose and a single-minded focus on ensuring that the ANC continues to be a loyal servant of the people, a dynamic leader of our society and an effective movement for transformation.

**Asinamona, asinanzondo,
siyayidumisa, iANC!**



Resolutions OF THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

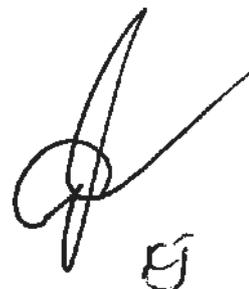
I. ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

Introduction

1. Conference reaffirmed the emphasis of the 4th National Policy Conference on the urgent need for renewal, recognising that renewal is principally about building the ANC's resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capacity and its ability to adapt to changing situations so that it can continue to serve and lead the people.
 - Its deep roots and connection with the people;
 - Vibrant internal democracy and collective leadership;
 - Readiness and willingness of its members to make sacrifices in pursuit of the cause of the people as a whole;
 - Readiness to acknowledge its weaknesses and decisively address them in order to escalate and accelerate the people's struggle;
 - Ability to adapt to changing conditions and rise to the occasion at critical moments;
 - Ability to uphold and build unity a cross section of South Africans and progressive forces in the world in pursuit of the cause of humanity;
2. The continuous renewal of the ANC over the century of its existence has been guided by the nature and content of the struggle against apartheid colonialism and its legacy as elaborated in its Strategy and Tactics. The ANC has always understood that to lead the national democratic revolution successfully, it has to renew itself so that it remains relevant to the changing conditions of the struggle both locally and internationally.
3. Having agreed that the second phase in our transition from apartheid colonialism to a national democratic society will be characterised by more radical policies and decisive action to effect thorough-going socio-economic and continued democratic transformation, Conference concluded that this will require a renewed, united and more vibrant ANC, the Alliance and broad democratic forces.
4. This new phase will require maximum unity of the ANC and the Alliance, enabling us to sharpen our capacity to advance and defend the national democratic revolution. It also requires that we build maximum unity of South Africa's people and the broadest range of sectors of our society around this programme.
5. Conference agreed that we must continue to learn from the reviewed the experiences of the past 100 years of selfless struggle, as well as the experiences of other progressive movements. The ANC has survived due to, among others:
 6. In this regard, the movement's strengths and weaknesses and priorities for organisational renewal were identified in order to reposition the ANC as we commence the revolutionary journey towards the second century.
 7. The 53rd National Conference discussed the Recommendations of the 4th National Policy Conference and agreed with the overall thrust, while making some amendments and additions as follows:

On Cadre policy

 - Believing that the neglect of cadre policy is at the centre of most of the current weaknesses and challenges faced by our movement in the post-1994 era. The Policy Conference reaffirms the perspective that our revolution will only succeed if the movement continuously produces a contingent of cadres who are conscious, competent, committed, disciplined and conscientious.
 - Conference resolves that the ANC and the Alliance should, collectively and individually, should pay urgent and systematic attention to the task of developing a contingent of cadres who have attributes that accord with the tasks of the national democratic revolution in the second phase. Accordingly,



the Policy Conference further recommend that the 53rd National Conference should declare the next decade a Decade of the Cadre in which there will be a key focus on the ideological, political, academic and moral training of a critical mass of ANC members.

- The One Million Members Campaign should be buttressed by a national programme to develop and transform most ANC members into activists and cadres who will be at the cutting edge of the on-going struggle fundamental political, social and economic transformation of our country. Accordingly, ANC members should understand fully what it takes for a member to go through the full cycle of becoming and remaining a tried and tested cadre. It must be clear that joining the ANC is the beginning of a long journey towards becoming a cadre.
- In the new phase of the NDR, deployment should always be preceded by systematic academic, ideological, and ethical training and political preparation. Cadre Deployment should be underpinned by a rigorous system of monitoring and evaluation of the performance of cadres deployed and elected to leadership positions. This will avoid a situation wherein leadership assessment and evaluation take place only in the run-up to conferences.
- It is in this spirit that the establishment and rollout of the ANC's comprehensive political school system – national, provincial, regional, sub-regional/zonal and branch level – is an urgent task during the Decade of the Cadre.
- The ANC veterans and former combatant of MK should be deployed in the programme of rolling out the political education cadreship development programme. This applies to individuals whose conduct is beyond reproach. The proposal that cadre deployment should also consider academic qualifications.
- The ANC should adopt a programme to raise the level of literacy, education and skills among its members as part of the

nation-wide campaign to make education and training a national priority.

- The ANC should be a specific focus on the recruitment, political and ideological training of students and young intellectuals
8. Conference further instructs the incoming NEC to develop and implement programme to give effect to the next ten years being declared a Decade of the Cadre

On safeguarding core values

- Having noted that the gradual erosion of the core values of the ANC threatens its continuing existence in the second centenary, Conference agrees unanimously that safeguarding and promoting the core values of the ANC constitute one of the key tasks of second phase of the transition. The promotion of our core values should be undertaken within the context the ideological struggle to cultivate progressive values among all South Africans as part of building a national democratic society.
- Conference reaffirms the NGC resolution on the setting up of the Integrity Commissions at all levels of the organisation. More urgent steps should be taken to protect the image of the organisation and enhance its standing in society by ensuring, among others, that urgent action is taken to deal with public officials, leaders and members of the ANC who face damaging allegations of improper conduct. In addition, measures should be put in place to prevent abuse of power or office for private gain or factional interests. The ANC can no longer allow prolonged processes that damage its integrity.
- Conference supports the rules on lobbying and called on the NEC to ensure that they are form part of conference rules. However, the idea that those wishing to stand for election should be given an organisational platform to campaign was rejected.
 - Conference emphatically condemned factionalism as well as the practice of slates during conferences. In addition, delegates called for the ANC to tackle the underlying roots of these problematic practices which

undermine the unity and cohesion of the movement. A clarion call was made on the organisation to collectively develop new measures to stop these negative practices and not just condemn them while practically allow them to take root.

- Conference reaffirmed that political discipline is a necessary ingredient without which no organisation can achieve its goals. In this regard, Policy Conference reaffirms the NGC's call for firm and consistent action to instil discipline across all levels of the organization without fear or favour. Instilling discipline is a process that includes political education, correcting personal and social conduct that impinges upon the integrity of the ANC as well as consistent disciplinary action against anyone who violates the ANC Constitution and Code of Conduct.

- The Conference mandated the NEC to draft a separate booklet on the ANC Code of Conduct for discussion and adoption at the 53rd National Conference. While supporting the spirit of including veterans in the disciplinary processes of the ANC, the Policy Conference did not support the proposal that Disciplinary Committees (DCs) should be composed mainly by veterans because it is not practical due to the number of veterans required to be in DCs at all levels.

- Branches should be given the full authority to take disciplinary action without applying to the PWC. Intensive training should be conducted in order to ensure that Branches will conduct disciplinary proceedings in accordance with the letter and spirit of the ANC Constitution.

- The ANC members who are found guilty of wrongdoing in other institutions of society should also be subjected to internal disciplinary processes in line with the ANC Code of Conduct. This will send an unambiguous message in society that the ANC does not tolerate any wrongdoing, including corruption, among its members.

9. Conference further instructs the incoming

NEC to:

- Urgently develop the guidelines and constitute the Integrity Committee of the ANC within three months after this Conference; and
 - Develop a code of conduct booklet and circulated to all branches within the first quarter of 2013.
10. Conference rejects the automatic appeal of public representatives to NDCA because all members should undergo standard process.

Strengthening organisational design

- Conference agrees that, as a matter of principle, the ANC organisational structure should be based on the ANC Strategy and Tactics. In particular, the pillars of the NDR should be the main basis on which our organisation is structured.

- The number of the additional members of the NEC should remain 80. However, Conference resolves that in order to qualify for election into the NEC, a candidate should have been a member of the ANC for at least 10 years, with a proven track record of leadership at other levels or in other sectors of society. In addition, a candidate should have undergone training from the ANC political school system.

- Headquarters should be restructured along five departments: Political Education and Cadreship Development; Organisation and Mass Mobilisation; Information and Publicity; Governance, Research, Monitoring and Evaluation; International Relations and should be headed by full-time NEC members. Such NEC members should be appointed by the NEC in its first sitting, in accordance with their skills, competence and integrity. Those appointed should serve the entire five-year term and not be allowed to opt for other deployments during the course of the five-year term of the NEC. Although the SGO coordinates all departments, policy will remain in the ANC Presidency.

- The NEC and NWC should rotate their



meetings in different provinces, after which there will be direct interaction with local structures and communities.

- The size of the PEC should be increased to 30. The number of full-time PEC and REC members shall be determined by the relevant structure empowered to do so by the constitution.
- Branches should be re-organised to strengthen their work in communities and be the champion of political leadership, socio-economic transformation, local democracy and development. It was further agreed that the current ward-based model should be retained, while sub-branches should be established at voting district level. The composition of the BEC should also be retained. The NEC needs to develop guidelines on the launch of branches and sub-branches.
- The membership audits should be continuous and not just for elective conferences. Audits should be done by cadres of the movement who understand the ANC and not inexperienced comrades. The audit should verify the functionality and activism of the branch and membership, not just the numbers.
- Conference reaffirms the NGC resolution on the need to resolve the problems of the membership system as part of the modernisation of the ANC due to the failure of the ANC to issue membership cards discourages members from renewing their membership. There should be a temporary card for a new member before membership cards are issued.
- Probation period should be extended from eight weeks to six months. During the probation period, the applicants should undergo six months political education and undertake community work as part of preparing them to understand and practically appreciate the role of ANC members as the servant of the people and leaders in society.
- The practice wherein ANC members are elected to serve, simultaneously in more

than one constitutional structure, should not be allowed. The ANC Constitution will be amended accordingly to prohibit this practice.

- In order to qualify for election into the PEC, members should have served for 7 years, 5 years for REC, 3 years for sub-region and 2 years for BEC.

- Having noted that it is currently not feasible to have full-time branch organisers across the country, it was agreed that all regions should have full-time Regional Organisers who should service branches regularly.

- People who are returning to the ANC after having joined other parties should be treated as new members who will have to serve six months probation, undergo political education and undertake community work.

On the Leagues, MKMVA, Young Pioneers and Volunteer Corps

- Conference reaffirms the role and relationship of the Leagues with the ANC as stated in the ANC Constitution. However, Commissions agreed that the ANC needs to take active interest in ensuring that the Leagues understand and play their full role in line with the purpose for which they were founded. This includes making sure that the ANCWL and ANCYL undergo compulsory political training conducted by the ANC as part of cadreship development.
- Conference disagrees with the proposal that Presidents of the Leagues should be referred to as National Chairpersons.
- The resolutions of Polokwane Conference and the NGC on the status and role of MKMVA were reaffirmed. The status of the ANC Veterans League was also reaffirmed.
- There is a need to re-establish the Young Pioneers (Masupatsela) and launch the Volunteer Corps.

Specifically on the ANC Youth League

11. Conference did not approve the recommendation of Policy Conference to change League Presidents to Chairpersons.

12. Conference reaffirms the twin tasks of the ANCYL as set out in the Strategy and Tactics and Constitution of the ANC to mobilise young people behind the vision of the ANC and to champion the interests of young people in society and in the movement.

13. Conference notes with deep concern the state of the Youth League and its increasingly antagonistic relationship with its mother-body, seemingly defining itself outside of the political framework of the ANC. It also notes the state of the NEC with key acting positions, and the emerging tendency in the League at different levels to recall and suspend members without due process. Conference further notes the call for the disbandment of the NEC of the YL.

14. Conference instructs the incoming NEC to urgently intervene to address the situation of the ANC Youth League. The incoming NEC must, amongst other things, engage with the leadership of the League at all levels in order to:

- Assess the state of organisation of the League and its role and activities, and work consistently with the League to strengthen it organisationally and politically;
- Engage the League on its relationship with the ANC;
- Take all necessary measures to ensure that the League plays its proper role and acts within the policy and Constitution of the ANC.

On the Alliance

■ Conference reaffirms the on-going relevance and role of the Alliance in the national democratic revolution. Commissions further agreed that steps need to be taken to enhance the unity of purpose of the Alliance through the diligent implementation of an agreed joint programme of action.

■ Conference further called for the development of a detailed programme of renewal in order to ensure that all Alliance structures are positioned to play a complimentary role in carrying the tasks of the NDR. In particular, a call was made

to improve relations and programmatic cooperation sub-national levels.

■ The Alliance should also work together to build and revive structures of the mass democratic movement and progressive NGOs and civil society.

■ The Alliance should also work together to clarify the tasks of and relationship between of public sector unions and the democratic state and further ensure that the civic movement is strengthened to play a strategic and proactive role in community development and local struggles for transformation.

A Decade-long Programme of Action

15. Conference instructs the incoming NEC to develop a decade-long programme for organisational renewal that covers the priorities set out the Discussion Document on Organisational Renewal as follows:

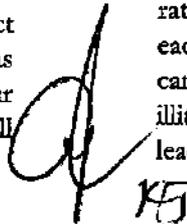
a) Building the ANC's capability to act truly as the strategic centre of power organised along, and effective, in all the pillars of transformation. Central to this is the need to structure the core organisation around the pillars of the NDR and ensure we build capacity to carry out fundamental transformation in each pillar.

b) Building the ANC's capacity to act truly as a vanguard movement for transformation capable of leading a wide range of progressive social movements in transformative struggles to change the legacy of apartheid colonialism and overcome the triple challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequalities. The renewal of the Alliance and mass democratic movement, the revitalization and re-design of grassroots structures of the ANC movement and their re-organisation so as to enable them to focus on solving the problems of the people as well as the activation of the masses to take an active role in development and governance processes is central to the return to mass-based



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transformative politics – the people are their own liberators.

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- c) Fast-tracking the implementation of a coherent cadre policy: The ANC must revitalise all aspects of its cadre policy: recruitment, cadre development, deployment and accountability and cadre preservation. It must take urgent steps to take forward the institutionalisation of political education and consciousness by expanding the comprehensive political school system at all levels of the organisation in the next five years. The political education, general education, academic training and skills development of the membership and leadership of the movement will receive priority attention over the next decade. This includes a deliberate and extensive leadership programme at all levels of the democratic movement as part of giving effect to the call made in the 2000 NGC for a “New Cadre”.
- d) Taking our programme of economic transformation to new heights by fast tracking the development of entrepreneurs, small-medium entities, including large-scale infrastructure development and enhancing the capacity of the state to intervene in key sectors of the economy in pursuit of inclusive economic growth and development, employment creation and broad-based empowerment. For renewal to have a far-reaching transformative impact, it has to propel the process of eradicating unemployment, poverty and inequalities in our society by dealing with structural manifestations of colonialism of a special type. It must further ensure the mainstreaming of women in the economy across all sectors as a deliberate commitment to increase their access to finance, employment, and assets;
- e) Taking urgent and practical steps to build the capacity of the democratic state, within the context of the National Development Plan so that it can act truly as a developmental state that has capacity to drive and implement our transformation agenda. Ensure that all spheres of government have the human resource capabilities and financial resources to contribute and implement the development and transformation priorities contained in the NDP. Ensure that all state institutions embark on massive training and re-skilling and develop a cadreship corps that has the strategic, ideological, political and technical skills to respond to national development priorities.
- f) Urgent and practical steps to restore the core values, stem out factionalism and promote political discipline: As we mark the centenary, we are determined to enhance the ANC moral standing and image among the masses of our people, and address the sins of incumbency. In this regard, we shall combine political education with effective organisational measures and mechanism to promote integrity, political discipline and ethical conduct and defeat the demon of factionalism in the ranks of the ANC, Alliance and broad mass democratic movement.
- g) Urgent and practical steps to place education and skills development at the centre of our transformation and development agenda: The ANC shall lead by example by being the champion of education and skills development in this phase of the revolution. In this regard, all ANC members and leaders are called upon to take practical steps to improve their literacy rate, skills, levels of education and general knowledge on matters relating to global and domestic socio-economic and political issues. Every branch shall strive, through the education campaign, to improve the literacy rate and general level of education and skills among the people in the ward. Every ANC member should be involved in a project or programme to improve the quality of learning and teaching in all schools and raise the level of education, skills and literacy rate in a specific community. In 2012, each branch should begin the literacy campaign by focusing on eliminating illiteracy among the members and leaders of the ANC in each community.
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- h) Urgent and practical steps to deepen our contribution to the renewal of the African continent and the progressive forces of the world: The ANC will continue to strengthen its relations with sister parties in the continent and contribute towards strengthening the progressive forces and multilateral institutions on the continent. As an internationalist movement, we shall continue to work with other progressive forces in the world, towards a more just global social, political and economic order. As a disciplined force of the left, the ANC shall continue to influence and be influenced by the latest progressive ideas and policy about how best to improve the human condition and ensure the sustainability of the environment.
- i) Urgent and practical steps to professionalise and modernise the operations of the ANC, with immediate priority to the membership system: As we mark the centenary, we are fully aware that the world in which the ANC was born hundred years ago is very different from that of today. We shall take full advantage of the advances in the information and communication technology and management sciences to continue to put in place a better membership system, communicate effectively with its membership, core constituency and society in general and put out its views and policy perspectives without let or hindrance. Progressive modern management methods should be introduced in the running of the ANC.
- j) Urgent and practical tasks to do work amongst the new generations of young people, in all of different sectors and social strata: the ANC cannot leave the political and ideological task of winning over new generations of youth and nurturing them into being responsible citizens and active participants in social transformation.



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Resolutions OF THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

2. SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

1. Introduction

The ANC remains remain guided and committed towards the ideals of the Freedom Charter as we work towards building a national democratic society. In this regard we are enjoined by the Freedom Charter to build a society wherein; "South Belongs to all who live in it Black and White...that only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief "

The task of social transformation is about advancing the goal of the ANC as articulated in the Strategy and Tactics of 2007 which states that; "our strategies for social transformation must seek to empower people to lift themselves out of poverty while creating adequate social nets to protect the most vulnerable in our society"

In advancing the social transformation agenda, we noted that over the past eighteen years we have made significant progress in fighting poverty and building a national democratic society. Also noted and considered proposals emerging from the 4th National Policy Conference, and proposed that we adopt the thrust of the proposals emerging from the 4th National Policy Conference

That in order to realise our goals, we must continue to ensure that we implement a comprehensive programme that focuses on the war on poverty, which addresses the challenges of poverty, inequality and underdevelopment and is based on advancing and defending human rights as articulated in chapter two of the constitution

Having considered the National Development Plan, agreed that it forms an important basis for the development of a long term plan to build a national democratic society that is non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous and seeks to advance the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

In order to realise the strategic goals of the NDR, the ANC, must therefore continue to

mobilise all the motive forces in society behind the vision of building a national democratic society, continue to promote an active citizenry and social inclusion.

2. Specific Resolutions on Social Transformation

2.1 On social cohesion and nation building

2.1.1 Noting that:

2.1.1.1 Our past was based on racial and ethnic divisions devised to systematically exclude the majority of South Africans from full and unhindered participation in all aspects of national life, and left deep and persistent social, cultural and economic divisions and inequalities in society.

2.1.1.2 South Africa is a unitary and sovereign state based on democracy, the rule of law, pursuit of equal human rights, non-racialism, non-sexism and the equality of all persons.

2.1.1.3 in the past eighteen years of Freedom and Democracy, significant strides have been made in building a socially inclusive society.

2.1.1.4 Despite this progress we still face challenges of race, gender and slow economic growth which results in many excluded from the economy,

2.1.1.5 We must be mindful that it will take some time to eradicate these inequalities and divisions

2.1.2 further noting that:

2.1.2.1 We must continue to mobilise society in its entirety, to work together to build a caring society proud of its heritage, based on shared values and a vision informed by the following principles:

Constitutional democracy;

- Ubuntu
- Human rights and equality
- Non-racialism, non-tribalism and non-sexism
- Inclusivity and social justice
- Redress and transformation
- Intercultural and community cooperation
- Social solidarity
- Empowered, fair, inclusive and active citizenship
- Civic responsibility
- Unity in diversity
- National consciousness and identity.

2.1.3 therefore resolve that:

2.1.3.1 We must work towards the implementation of the recommendations of the 2030 National Development Plan as a long term vision which should serve as a basis for partnerships across society to attain the South Africa of our dreams, as eloquently articulated in the constitution.

2.1.3.2 We must ensure that social cohesion and nation building underpins all national, provincial and local government strategic priorities, inclusive of integrated economic and social development, education, health, human settlement, land and rural development, safety and security, immigration policies and programmes, arts, culture, language, heritage development and preservation, technological innovation, research and development.

2.1.3.3 We must promote and preserve progressive indigenous cultures and knowledge systems that are not in conflict with the constitution.

2.1.4 further resolve that:

2.1.4.1 The Charter of Positive Values adopted by the Moral Regeneration Movement in 2008 continued our commitment to respect human dignity.

2.1.4.2 To expand existing national, heritage and other honours and

awards to recognise individuals, organisations and communities who have contributed significantly to social cohesion and nation building.

2.1.4.3 To develop a Nation-Building Project Management Manual and Toolkit, for application by practitioners at all levels, and to convene social cohesion and nation building summits at provincial, local and community level within the next twelve months.

2.1.4.4 To convene a National Social Cohesion Report Back and Monitoring Summit in 2014, as we celebrate 20 years of our freedom and democracy, and thereafter at five year intervals, to report on progress.

2.1.4.5 To accelerate change in improving the quality of life of all people, with special attention to the needs of the youth, women and people with disability

2.1.4.6 The state must continue to build capacity to drive the socio economic agenda in the country, including absorbing young people and women into economic activity, employing professionals, investing in skills required by the economy, and investing in research and development to respond to the demands of the knowledge economy.

2.1.4.7 To continue to fight any forms of discrimination, which are threats to social cohesion and nation building.

2.2 On social wage

2.2.1 noting that:

2.2.1.1 In the 2007 ANC 52nd National Conference we took a decision to equalise the pensionable age for the older persons;

2.2.1.2 That since Polokwane we have completed the Consolidated Government Document, that targets, coverage of social assistance and social insurance.

2.2.1.3 We have thus far been able to target more than 15 million people in this

country benefit from social grants which allows the care-givers of children, the aged and those with disabilities to fulfil their basic needs and sustain their households

2.2.1.4 more than 94 % of our people have access to water, 84% have access to sanitation, 81 % of our people have electricity 71% of South Africans have refuse removed from their homes.

2.2.1.5 The State has supplied more than 3 million of households with formal dwellings.

2.2.2 further noting that:

2.2.2.1 Since 2007, we have developed a framework Comprehensive Social Security strategy, which includes the following key elements;

2.2.2.2 The expansion of the assets base of the poor through housing, small business and land reform programmes.

2.2.2.3 Retirement reform, unemployment and accident insurance and National Health Insurance.

2.2.3 therefore resolve that:

2.2.3.1 We increase the capacity of the state to ensure the acceleration of the implementation of the comprehensive social security strategy

2.2.3.2 We increase the capacity of the state to ensure the provision of free basic services for the poor, quality free education for poor households, passenger transport subsidies; we increase access to social grants to children and older persons as outlined in the Consolidated Government Document on Comprehensive Social Security.

2.3 On Children

2.3.1 noting that:

2.3.1.1 The StatsSA 2011 Census report, has found that Children make up 31.3% of the population

2.3.1.2 In Polokwane we took a decision to develop a comprehensive strategy

on Early Childhood Development which has subsequently been developed.

2.3.1.3 We have increased the age of eligibility for social grants up to the age of 18, a goal that has been implemented progressively and given the positive impacts of the CSG, we need to consider universalising the Child Support Grant so that no deserving child gets excluded.

2.3.1.4 The country's social grants reduced the poverty gap by 63%, that early receipt of the CSG contributed to better educational outcomes for all children, especially the girl child, that early receipt of the CSG contributed to a decrease in risky sexual behavior in adolescence, that early receipt and continued participation in the CSG programme, tended to keep children in school longer.

2.3.1.5 we have achieved universal attendance at schools at primary school.

2.3.2 therefore resolve that:

2.3.2.1 We must accelerate the implementation of a Comprehensive Early Childhood Development Programme, taking into consideration the proposals in the NDP, which calls for;

2.3.2.1.1 Universal access for at least four (4) years of Early Childhood Development and the department of social development must take a lead in this area of work,

2.3.2.1.2 The strengthening of youth service programmes and the introduction of programmes that facilitate access to life-skills training and entrepreneurship training.

2.3.2.1.3 Efforts must be made to provide Child care facilities at public and the private sector workplaces.

2.3.2.2 We must ensure integrated services, including nutritional support to expectant mothers and children up until the fifth birthday.

2.3.2.3 We must ensure the provision of

full funding assistance covering tuition, books, accommodation and living allowances to students from poor families.

- 2.3.2.4 We must continue to pay special attention to Child-headed households.

2.4 On the youth

2.4.1 noting that:

- 2.4.1.1 Youth aged 15–24 years account for almost 20% of the country's population while those aged 15–34 years account for 37%.

2.4.1.2 The majority of the youth are poor. More than half of all 18–24 year olds lived under the lower bound poverty line of R604 per month in 2011.

2.4.1.3 That more than two-thirds live under the higher bound poverty line of R1 113 per month and that about half are unemployed and about two-thirds are inactive.

2.4.1.4 Further noted that,

2.4.1.5 employment projections show that even if average annual growth were to rise to 5%, unemployment amongst 15–24 year olds would be 44% and 31% by 2020 and 2030 respectively, in the absence of special other interventions.

2.4.1.6 the youth were unduly burdened with all key social challenges including unemployment, substance abuse and HIV and Aids prevalence.

2.4.2 therefore resolve that:

2.4.2.1 We must ensure that our programmes and policies should focus on developing skills that are required by the economy so that the youth can become part of the mainstream economy, this will include accelerating the development and implementation of financial support for job-seekers, that is tied to compulsory learning and skills development as part of the Comprehensive Social Security System.

2.4.2.2 We must continue to develop strategies to retain young people in schools until they complete secondary schooling.

2.4.2.3 We must implement an optional national youth service for two year service which includes sporting, recreational, military and vocational training, with an intention to build a socially inclusive society.

2.4.2.4 We must continue to pay special attention to Child-headed households.

2.4.3 further resolve that:

2.4.3.1 we strengthen and implement policies and programmes to eradicate drug abuse and alcohol related harms as key component of youth development work.

2.4.3.2 We must implement a rights based comprehensive Sexuality education in schools.

2.4.3.3 We improve access to Sexual and Reproductive Health Services and family planning for the youth, including the implementation of a schools health programme.

2.4.3.4 Ensure the promotion of male and female condom use particularly important to prevent STDs and HIV.

2.4.3.5 We must teach and train the youth in particular men to become more responsible and supportive to partners in making sexual and reproductive health decisions.

2.4.3.6 We must also promote, responsible, healthy reproductive lifestyles amongst the youth;

2.4.3.7 we must continue to provide sanitary wear for the indigent Girl Child.

2.5 On Women

2.5.1 noting that:

2.5.1.1 Approximately 52% of the population is female,

2.5.1.2 In Polokwane we took a decision to establish a women ministry, focusing the development of women;

- 2.5.1.3 We still need to continue to systematically fight against patriarchy and any other forms of abuse against women in society,
- 2.5.1.4 Many of our women are not yet part of the economic mainstream, including access to economic opportunities
- 2.5.1.5 Progress has been made in ensuring that women are now actively involved in the decision making structures in society and in government. This includes progress towards achieving the 50/50 parity
- 2.5.1.6 In addition to the progress made by government in the development of women, civil society structures are now involved in the campaigns that focuses on establishment of centres that focuses on women abuse

2.5.2 therefore resolve that:

- 2.5.2.1 whilst progress has been made in the development of women, the establishment of a Ministry that focuses on women development, there is still a need to effectively implement programmes and policies geared towards the development of women, in particular those that live in abject poverty, the disabled and the most vulnerable in society this includes access to opportunities, access to free basic services and continue to systematically fight patriarchy in society.
- 2.5.2.2 we must increase access to economic opportunities for women, this includes targeted procurement from women companies, SMME's and this includes transforming the economy to represents women demographics
- 2.5.2.3 we must also ensure that we work with the rest of society and in particular the private sector to ensure that women are part of the decision making structures in society and ensure that women are part of the mainstreaming economy, in this regard we welcome the proposal by the Ministry on

Women, which we must engage to ensure that it achieves its goal and we must continue monitor the implementation of this important policy proposal.

2.6 On disabilities

2.6.1 noting that:

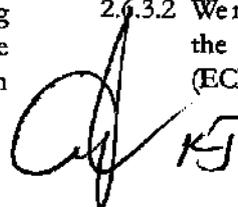
- 2.6.1.1 There has been progress in ensuring that the disabled are protected and supported;
- 2.6.1.2 We have been able to establish a Ministry that focuses on the disabled in society
- 2.6.1.3 Whilst there is progress on addressing challenges facing the disabled in society, there has been a lack of providing facilities to support the disabled in society, development of braille, sign language.

2.6.2 therefore resolve that:

- 2.6.2.1 We continue to implement policies and programmes that are geared towards the protection and promotion of the rights of people with disabilities, including embarking on a campaign for the protection of the disabled in society with relevant stakeholders,
- 2.6.2.2 we must also ensure that we make it compulsory that all public buildings make its easy for the disabled to access such facilities,
- 2.6.2.3 Our policies must be integrated to promote the participation of people with disabilities at all levels of the movement and in all spheres of governance

2.6.3 further resolve that:

- 2.6.3.1 Whilst ensuring continuation of mainstreaming disabled people in schools and establishing full services in the schools, we must prioritise the establishment of special needs schools for specific disabilities where the need arises.
- 2.6.3.2 We must also develop mechanisms at the Early Childhood Development (ECD) level in order to be able to



detect the needs and challenges of a child at an early age,

- 2.6.3.3 We must consider the establishment of a commission or a structure focusing on the disabled in society

2.7 On Sports and Recreation

2.7.1 noting that:

2.7.1.1 Sport plays an important role in promoting, community development, social cohesion, and plays a critical role in the sharpening of the minds of children in schools.

2.7.1.2 The 2010 FIFA World Cup played an important role in mobilising society around the common vision and building patriotism and building much needed infrastructure for the development of sports facilities;

2.7.1.3 In the past eighteen years we have made significant improvement in the development of all sporting codes in the country, these includes:

- That physical education is now a stand-alone and a compulsory subject in schools,
- The building of more infrastructure for sports and recreation particularly in township and rural communities.

2.7.2 further noting:

2.7.2.1 There is still a need to ensure the organisation and development of all sporting codes in the country, in this regard we welcome the adoption of the new sports and recreation plan which seeks to ensure the development and growth of the sports sector and the welfare of the sporting fraternity.

2.7.3 therefore resolve that:

2.7.3.1 That in order to fully realise the implementation of the vision of building a competitive sporting nation we must resource sport in the country from the public fiscus at all levels.

2.7.3.2 That the MIG must be ring-fenced so as to facilitate investments in sports and recreation infrastructure,

2.7.3.3 the utilisation of transformation charters and score-cards to transform Sporting Franchises', Sporting Councils and Federations and the High Performance Centres must focus on local talent development, this includes targeting developing sporting facilities that are historically not available in other parts of the country, e.g. swimming;

2.7.3.4 The Adopted National Sport and Recreation plan (NRSP) must include the decision to implement the quotas as a means to attain sporting excellence in the medium term.

2.7.4 further resolve that:

2.7.4.1 We must continue to use school sport as the bedrock for sport development and excellence, this includes ensuring that sport becomes compulsory in schools

2.7.4.2 We focus on indigenous and grassroots sport development over the next 10 years so that the need for quotas is phased out.

2.7.4.3 All sport facilities must enable access to people with disabilities and that special attention must be paid to children with disabilities.

2.7.4.4 Sport development must also include targeting active ageing programme and this must be done working with all sectors of society and continue to promote community sport so as to nurture and develop local talent.

2.7.5 Arts and Culture

2.7.5.1 noting that:

2.7.5.1.1 Arts, Culture and Heritage play an important role in nation building.

2.7.5.1.2 This sector can play a role in contributing to the growth and development of society.

2.7.5.2 further noting that:

2.7.5.2.1 There has been progress in the implementation of the White Paper on Arts and Culture, which focuses on the promotion of arts, culture, and heritage as a contributor to addressing



- key economic, social and environmental challenges.
- 2.7.5.2.2 a strategy to enhance economic contribution of the of the arts, crafts and cultural talent has been proposed, which is coupled with the establishment of the National Academy, audience development which seeks to ensure that there are Arts facilitators in schools.
- 2.7.5.3 therefore resolve that:
- 2.7.5.3.1 Review the White Paper on Arts and Culture to ensure that this sector continues to play a role in the economy and build a socially inclusive society, this includes creating much needed work opportunities.
- 2.7.5.3.2 Working together with the Artist and other government institutes we must ensure the protection of the artists, including the development of a strategy to fight piracy.
- 2.7.5.3.3 We should ensure the development and promotion of indigenous language, with a view to include the programme in the curriculum. And that an indigenous language policy which seeks to ensure that one African language should be compulsory in schools depending on the region should be developed in 2014.
- 2.7.5.3.4 That special emphasis should be placed on promoting the arts in indigenous and historically marginalised communities, to ensure the building of patriotism and national consciousness.
- 2.7.5.3.5 The ANC must actively promote the national anthem of the country as it currently exists, whenever the ANC sings the original *Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika* it should not be referred to as the national anthem.
- 2.7.6 Cultural Heritage
- 2.7.6.1 noting that:
- 2.7.6.1.1 Heritage plays a pivotal role in promoting nation building.
- 2.7.6.1.2 In order to promote and preserve our rich heritage, we have
- since adopted a comprehensive programme on liberation heritage
- 2.7.6.1.3 The South African society is diverse with many cultures;
- 2.7.6.1.4 The Freedom Charter enjoins us to protect the rights for all the people, regardless of race, colour or sex.
- 2.7.6.2 further noting:
- 2.7.6.2.1 In the past eighteen years, we have made progress in ensuring that there is respect for different cultural practices and that there is still a lack of understanding and respect of each other's culture.
- 2.7.6.3 therefore resolve that:
- 2.7.6.3.1 We promote and preserve our cultural heritage but ensure that all cultural practices are not in conflict with the South African Constitution with special reference to human rights and gender
- 2.7.6.3.2 All patriarchal practices must be discouraged and that practices such as ukuthwalwa and ukungenwa which are in their nature gender oppressive and abusive to women and children must be outlawed.
- 2.7.6.3.3 Measures to reduce Xenophobia and to protect people from discrimination based on sexual orientation.

2.8 On Water Provision

- 2.8.1 noting that:
- 2.8.1.1 Water is a scarce commodity and that in the near future we will be faced with the challenge of water shortages.
- 2.8.1.2 That there have been efforts made by government to ensure that we preserve water, also produce clean quality water.
- 2.8.1.3 That our vision remains that of ensuring that people have access to clean and quality water.

2.8.2 therefore resolve that:

- 2.8.2.1 We must implement policy by

reviewing current legislation, to facilitate the removal of unused and inequitable allocations from entitlement holders in order to ensure more equitable distribution of water.

- 2.8.2.2 The abolishment of water trading and changing the funding model for the development and maintenance of infrastructure.
- 2.8.2.3 The need for further exploration of conservation initiatives including restriction on the number of golf courses in a particular radius.
- 2.8.2.4 we must develop small dams especially in rural areas as part of water conservation.
- 2.8.2.5 We must urgently provide every household with quality, clean water which in the short term may include portable purification tanks and water tanks for rain water harvesting to promote food security.

2.9 On Human Settlements

2.9.1 noting that:

- 2.9.1.1 In the past eighteen years we have been able to create decent shelter for people through different forms of housing.
- 2.9.1.2 Having tested the integrated Human settlements e.g. N2 Joe Slovo project in Cape Town, Cornubia in Durban, COSMO City in Joburg and Lephale in Limpopo. The ANC took a decision to move away from the concept of provision of housing to the creation of Human Settlements and therefore change of label and of the mandate. And we have now continued with a human settlements mandate which now includes safe haven in East London.

2.9.2 further noting that:

- 2.9.2.1 There are still challenges with regards to the availability of land for decent housing and also challenges with the establishment of residential areas in well located land closer to development and places of work

2.9.2.2 The situation has been made worse through towns and cities that are not being geared for increased level of migration as apartheid influx control policies stunted natural migration patterns.

2.9.2.3 There are still dysfunctional spatial development and planning systems and implementation across the country.

2.9.2.4 A substantial segment of South Africans continue to live in inadequate and precarious settlements.

2.9.3 therefore resolve that:

2.9.3.1 We must accelerate the development of a human settlements legislation, that is comprehensive.

2.9.3.2 We continue to build integrated settlements that includes all social amenities such as parks, crèches, clinics, schools, roads and this is in part also advancing the programme on SPECIAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECT (SIP)18 OF THE PICC, this includes.

2.9.3.3 As part of building integrated communities we must continue to transform hostels so as to conform to human settlements, e.g. Jabulani Hostels in SOWETO.

2.9.3.4 As part of human settlement development we will continue to use housing cooperatives so as to create much needed employment in communities and ensure ownership.

2.9.3.5 We accelerate the implementation of the decision to release state owned land, including municipal land to allow for development of human settlement, which will facilitate the deracialization and socio-economic integration of communities, through the Housing Development Agency.

2.9.3.6 We must continue to work with the private sector in particular financial institutions to provide housing for the gap market.

2.9.3.7 We must develop legislation to ban land invasion and in particular land earmarked for development.

A handwritten signature in black ink, followed by the initials 'R' in the bottom right corner of the page.

2.10 On Environmental Protection and the Green Economy

2.10.1 noting that:

- 2.10.1.1 Climate change has a negative, economic and social impact on the lives of the people and in particular the most vulnerable in society.
- 2.10.1.2 We hosted the WSSD and COP17 to contribute towards a just and fair world that protects its environment and promote sustainable development.

2.10.2 therefore resolve that:

- 2.10.2.1 We must drive the global efforts to achieve the stabilisation of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that prevents dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system; and
- 2.10.2.2 We must implement green economy policy programmes
- 2.10.2.3 We must adapt to and manage unavoidable and potential damaging climate change impacts through interventions that build and sustain our social, economic and environmental resilience.
- 2.10.2.4 We have to move towards a more sustainable development path that will create new green jobs, which may help to offset employment losses experienced in other sectors; open up new investment opportunities and export markets; support the creation of a knowledge based economy and allow South Africa to set standards and demonstrate thought leadership.



Resolutions OF THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

3. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

1. The ANC's economic vision rests on the Freedom Charter's call that the people shall share in South Africa's wealth. Through economic transformation we intend to build an equitable society in which there is decent work for all.
 2. Over the last 18 years significant progress has been made in meeting the basic needs of our people, including through the growth of the social wage and the provision of social infrastructure. However, the redistribution of economic assets, and the growth of job creating industries have not met the expectations we had in 1994.
 3. Therefore, as an integral part of the second phase of our transition from apartheid to a national democratic society, we need to accelerate growth and intensify our programme of economic transformation. Over the next five years, the ANC will take decisive and resolute action to overcome the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment, which are at the heart of South Africa's socio-economic challenges. We intend to transform the structure of the economy through industrialisation, broad-based black economic empowerment, addressing the basic needs of our people, including women and youth, strengthening and expanding the role of the state and the role of state owned enterprises.
 4. Our most effective weapon in the campaign against poverty is the creation of decent work, and creating work requires faster and more inclusive economic growth. The challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality require that accelerated growth takes place in the context of an effective strategy of redistribution that builds a new and more equitable growth path.
- Progress and Challenges**
5. The resolution taken by of the 52nd National Conference of the African National Congress continues to define our perspective on economic transformation. The fifteen pillars of Polokwane resolution are:
 - i. Creating decent work is the primary focus of economic policy.
 - ii. Accelerating shared economic growth by overcoming obstacles to growth and intervening to promote equity.
 - iii. Transforming the structures of production and ownership.
 - iv. A comprehensive and clear rural development strategy.
 - v. Reversing apartheid settlement patterns in both urban and rural areas.
 - vi. Expanding the opportunities for sustainable livelihoods, through support for cooperatives and micro-enterprises.
 - vii. Programmes that directly absorbs the unemployed, including public works programmes.
 - viii. Expanding the social wage with universal and subsidised access to basic social services.
 - ix. Investing in priority skills and education, and improving the performance of South African learners in maths and science.
 - x. Using South Africa's natural resources in a manner that benefits the nation as a whole.
 - xi. Ensuring energy security and promoting clean and renewable sources of energy supply
 - xii. Integration on a fair and equitable basis with the economies of Southern Africa and building stronger economic linkages across the continent as a whole
 - xiii. Participating in world trade, pursuing strategic partnerships with countries of the south and agitating for a fairer world trade system
 - xiv. Macroeconomic policies that support growth, job creation and poverty eradication on a sustainable basis.
 - xv. Building the capacity of government to act as a democratic developmental state and implement the programme of economic transformation.



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6. Significant progress has been made in implementing aspects of the Polokwane resolution, but much work still needs to be done to put the resolution into action, and implementation of its pillars is only just beginning. Amongst the key achievements of the last five years has been:

- The creation of the national planning commission and the development of a national plan as the basis for mobilising and uniting all South Africans around a common vision.
- The New Growth Path has defined our medium-term policy imperatives, while industrial and trade policies are increasingly active and well resourced.
- We launched an ambitious infrastructure programme, which is gathering momentum every day. Large public investments in energy, ports, railways and roads, will help alleviate supply bottlenecks in the economy, while social infrastructure will improve the living conditions of our people.
- The social wage has continued to expand, with greater government resources allocated to education, health and other basic services.
- Macroeconomic policy remains sustainable and supportive of growth.

7. However, there remain huge challenges and areas where we have not made sufficient progress. These include the following:

- Structural unemployment remains unacceptably high, particularly amongst the youth. Women, especially black women, continue to bear the brunt of structural imbalances in the economy.
- The global crisis of capitalism asserted itself with vengeance from 2008. Despite concerted counter-actions on the part of our movement, the global shock led to the loss of more than 1 million jobs in South Africa, a tragedy from which we are yet to fully recover.
- We have not succeeded in accelerating growth, and even as the global crisis has subsided somewhat, South Africa's growth rate is still below what it was in 2007.
- Government has added greater

resources to the social wage and service delivery, but there is increasing concern that these resources are not reaching the right people and are not having the expected impact on the ground.

8. These shortcomings reflect the fact that the constraints to South Africa's growth are deep and structural. Despite macroeconomic stimulus, our recovery from the 2008 crisis has been weak. Investment, trade and employment growth remain hesitant. These structural problems require structural solutions that transform the trajectory of economic growth, reindustrialise the South African economy and accelerate social development. The second phase of the transition should thus mark a decisive break with unemployment, exploitation, inequality and poverty.
9. As we noted in Polokwane, the changes we seek will not emerge spontaneously from the 'invisible hand' of the market. People acting collectively in the spirit of human solidarity must shape the patterns of economic development. In this process the state must play a central and strategic role, by directly investing in underdeveloped areas and directing and incentivising private sector investment, including through the effective deployment of state owned enterprises and development finance institutions.
10. A democratic developmental state, capable of intervening effectively to transform economic relations, is therefore at the centre of our economic agenda. At the same time, our objectives cannot be achieved by the public sector acting alone. It will also need South African citizens and firms who are motivated to invest in the future. This requires confidence in the future and a shared belief that tomorrow will be better than today.

Believing that:

1. The destination we are heading towards is a mixed economy, where the state, private capital, cooperative and other forms of social ownership complement each other in an integrated way to eliminate poverty and foster shared economic growth. The process

of overcoming unemployment poverty and inequality and building a national democratic society will be complex, and requires a long term planning blueprint that creates certainty about where we are going and how we intend to get there.

2. Global developments have created new challenges and opportunities for our economic agenda. Despite its obvious dangers, the crisis indicates that the world is at a crossroads where taking decisive charge of our national destiny is even more important. Our responsibility to act in unity – duty bound to protect the livelihoods of the poor and enhance the welfare of our people with care and forethought - is greater than ever.
3. Despite the challenges facing the global economy, growth in Africa is strong and robust. In this context building intra-African trade is a key economic policy objective, and is in the vital interest of the people of South Africa and the entire African continent.
4. South Africa's endowment of mineral resources belongs to the people as a whole through state custodianship, and should be governed by the democratic developmental state in the interests of all South Africans. Exploitation of minerals must optimise their developmental impact, especially job creation, across the economy. Mining must catalyse broader industrialisation through the realisation of all the potential backward and forward linkages, including a much greater degree of beneficiation.
5. Through industrialisation South Africa should seek to construct a new comparative advantage based on our natural resources, in the context of stronger regional integration. This requires us to ensure the competitive pricing of key resource inputs to our downstream beneficiation activities, including on-going measures to address import parity pricing.
6. Government's ambitious infrastructure programme will support the growth of our supply sectors, unlock key bottlenecks in the economy and underpin the structural transformation that we seek. It is a programme based around strategic integrated projects that will have a catalytic

impact on job creation, unlocking resources, developing the poorest regions of our country, overcoming spatial inequalities and developing the region.

7. There are far too many young people who are out of work, and this is a growing problem. Urgent and extra-ordinary measures are required to address youth unemployment. Moreover, the structural gender imbalances in the economy impact negatively on women, especially black women and need to be addressed.
8. A radical improvement in the outcomes generated by our education system is required if we are to change the structure of opportunities in our society, stimulate growth and ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth and income.
9. In addition to creating jobs, eradicating poverty and overcoming extreme inequality, our transformation agenda also embraces the creation of a non-racial entrepreneurial class. SMME and BEE policies should focus on the development of entrepreneurs providing productive inputs into the real economy, rather than shareholder transactions, and should seek to build cooperative institutions and other forms of social ownership.

We therefore resolve:

The National Development Plan

1. The ANC must take the lead in mobilising and uniting all South Africans around a common vision of economic transformation that puts South Africa first. The National Development Plan is a living and dynamic document and articulates a vision which is broadly in line with our objective to create a national democratic society, and should be used as a common basis for this mobilisation. The ANC will continue to engage with the plan, conscious of the need to unite South Africans in action around a common vision and programme of change.
2. Within the NDP vision, critical instruments and policy initiatives will continue to drive government's medium-term policy agenda. These include:
 - The national infrastructure plan,



which is an opportunity to change the structure of the economy, apartheid spatial distortions, support beneficiation and industrialisation and contribute to facilitating intra-African trade. As a flag-ship programme of the state, all departments and spheres of government must join in taking forward this programme.

- The New Growth Path is the economic strategy designed to shift the trajectory of economic development, including through identified drivers of job creation.
 - The industrial policy action plan, which guides the reindustrialisation of the South African economy.
3. We reaffirm our commitment to promoting local companies, entrepreneurs and cooperatives through public procurement and infrastructure spend, and our intention to fully utilise the trade and industrial policy space available to South Africa. Our commitment to localisation extends to the materials used and distributed at ANC conferences. In this regard, the paraphernalia ordered for all ANC conferences and meetings, at whatever level must be made in South Africa.
 4. We will continue to construct an inclusive, democratic and fair system of workplace relations that builds on the constitutional right to collective bargaining and enables South Africans to work together in their common interests. Marginalised workers that are outside the current system of labour relations must be mobilised to realise their constitutional rights and join trade unions affiliated to COSATU. The ANC must campaign to ensure peace, stability and respect for the rule of law in the conduct of industrial relations.

The Minerals Sector

5. The ANC's policy with respect to the further development of the minerals sector is based on the following elements:
 - South Africa is endowed with abundant mineral resources, including the following strategic and important assets:
 - Minerals for manufacturing: Steel

(iron ore), polymers (coal or oil/gas), base metals (copper, zinc, nickel), Platinum group metals, chromium, vanadium, manganese, alumina-silicates.

- Minerals for energy: coal, uranium (also limestone for washing emissions), natural gas, including shale gas and coal-bed methane gas.
 - Minerals for agriculture: NPK-nitrogen (gas), phosphates, potassium, conditioners (sulphur, limestone)
 - Minerals for Infrastructure: Steel (iron ore) cement (limestone, gypsum), copper.
- Within this list of minerals, those strategic minerals that require special public policy measures will be identified
 - State intervention with a focus on beneficiation for industrialisation is urgently required. Instruments are required to support beneficiation and competitive pricing of these strategic resources include the use of targeted management of exports of minerals. In addition, SA's share of some resources offers possible producer power which could be used to facilitate backward and forward mineral economic linkages.
 - At the forefront of state intervention should be the strengthening of the state mining company which will capture a share of mineral resource rents and equity. It should support, where appropriate, vertically integrated value chains that strengthen strategic industries, by ensuring that adequate amounts of raw materials are made available to them at affordable prices.
 - The state must capture an equitable share of mineral resource rents through the tax system and deploy them in the interests of long-term economic growth, development and transformation.
 - Mining should create safe and decent work, and mineral extraction should not compromise local communities or the environment. Government should urgently conduct a comprehensive review of whether mining companies are meeting their obligations regarding social and labour plans, including those stipulated by the Mining

Charter and MPRDA. Social plans must be effectively integrated with community and municipal development programmes.

- There is a need to develop mineral knowledge linkages by encouraging youth to study science and engineering, and providing incentives for this including free education up to first year university level for these subjects. We must also expand investment in research and development that contributes towards innovation that supports beneficiation.

Youth employment, small business and cooperatives

6. Urgent action is needed to get more young people into the work-place. The private sector, public sector, youth organisations and trade unions must unite in action to address youth unemployment through interventions that do not jeopardise the jobs of existing workers, or undermine workers' rights more generally. Government must act to improve the quality of active labour market policies, and create incentives for absorbing the young unemployed, so that young, unskilled job seekers can gain entry into employment more easily. The expansion of vocational training, linking the skills development with industrial growth and job creation and expanding the support for youth, especially black youth, in accessing and developing skills are also critical ingredients of our response. The effective working of our system of basic education is critical to economic growth and development.
7. We must continue to encourage the creation of new businesses, cooperatives and the expansion of small business, by reducing the costs of compliance with government regulations, making it easier for companies to 'do business' with government, making sure that government pays its invoices on time and strengthening the role of our development finance institutions.

Developmental state

8. We must make our government a more capable and effective state, with the technical and political capacity to lead development and transform the economy. This will

require us to:

- Ensure bold forms of state intervention, including through:
 - Financial regulation and control, including through a state owned bank.
 - Progressive and redistributive taxation
 - Wage and income policies that promote decent work, growth and address poverty and inequality.
 - Progressive competition policies that promote growth and employment, and address poverty and inequality
 - A well-resourced state-led industrial and trade policy
 - Increased state ownership in strategic sectors, where deemed appropriate on the balance of evidence, and the more effective use of state-owned enterprises.
- Marshal our state-owned enterprises and development finance institutions taking account of recommendations of the Presidential Review Commission, with a view of transforming them to be one of the key instruments of the developmental state. This will require a comprehensive transformation of the policy framework and institutional architecture governing SOEs and DFIs.
- Ensure a proper balance between political leadership and a professional public service. A critical objective for the next five years is to improve the quality of the social wage, by rolling back corruption, inefficiency and waste in the public service, improving the productivity of public servants and ensuring much tighter accountability, with firm consequences where there is a failure to deliver services.
- Government should increase its own capacity to deliver on its core obligations, including the provision of social infrastructure, where appropriate. This will require eliminating an over-reliance on tenders where this is consistent with the delivery of effective services. Tenders must be issued in an open and transparent manner that does not compromise our objectives in respect of service delivery and economic transformation.

Macroeconomic policy

9. The starting point of our macroeconomic policy is the goals and objectives of the second phase of the transition to a national democratic society: confronting the triple challenge of unemployment, poverty and inequality directly. In this regard:

- The ANC will continue to strive for macro-economic balances that support industrialisation, are biased towards job creation, ensure long term stability and sustainable growth and development that bolster the growth of domestic industrial capacity and in making policy tradeoffs will select those that favour productive sectors of the economy. Macroeconomic policy must help to build an economy in which income inequality recedes.
- Key objectives of the macroeconomic policy framework in the period ahead will be to counter economic volatility, support sustainable growth and a competitive exchange rate. In this regard we must ensure social dialogue on the coordination of fiscal, monetary and incomes policies to achieve these objectives.
- South Africa requires a flexible monetary policy regime, aligned with the objectives of the second phase of transition. Without sacrificing price stability, monetary policy should also take account of other objectives such as employment creation and economic growth. In this regard, government should engage with the new wisdom developing on macroeconomic policy around the world in response to past failures and the global crisis.

Rural development and land reform

10. In the 52nd Conference, we identified land reform and rural development as a priority. As we approach the centenary year of the 1913 Natives Land Act, the African national Congress re-commits itself to urgently accelerate the pace of land reform in South Africa.

11. In giving expression to this urgency:
- land reform must represent a radical

and rapid break from the past without significantly disrupting agricultural production and food security.

- The state must mobilize resources to reverse both the human and material conditions of those displaced by previous land policies; and therefore resolves as follows:
- Transformation imperatives, dealing with the triple challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality in rural areas ought to be addressed, without any further delay.
- Equitable land allocation and use across race, gender and class, must be ensured.
- Agrarian reform: Balancing land transformation with production discipline for food security must be implemented.

Land Audit

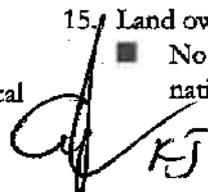
12. We re-affirm the Polokwane resolution that a comprehensive audit of state owned land be completed urgently.

Willing Buyer willing seller

13. We affirm the following proposals:
- Replace willing buyer willing seller with the "just and equitable" principle in the Constitution immediately where the state is acquiring land for land reform purposes.
 - Expropriation without compensation on land acquired through unlawful means or used for illegal purposes having due regard to Section 25 of the Constitution.
 - Expedite the promulgation of the new Expropriation Act.

Land Tenure system

14. A four-tier system is recommended:
- State and Public land: leasehold
 - Privately owned: freehold with limited extent.
15. Land owned by foreign nationals:
- No ownership of land by foreign nationals as a principle.



- Convert current ownership into long term lease after land audit has been finalized.
16. Communal land: communal tenure with institutionalized use rights.
- Taxation of under-utilized land, in both communal and commercial areas.
 - Expedite the Tenure Security Policy and bill against farm evictions.

Institutions in support of land reform

17. Land is a fundamental feature of ownership and control and whilst racial, gender and class concentration of ownership of land still persists, the setting up of institutions to regulate land use, standardize land valuations and normalise land use and distribute is important.
18. We recommend the following institutions in support of the land reform:
- Office of the Valuer General (OVG).
 - Land Management Commission (LMC)
 - Land rights management board
 - We resolve that land be recognized in the Constitution as a socio-economic right and that indigent households be allocated minimum landholdings.

Rural Development

19. We make the following recommendations with regards to rural development:
- A rural development sustained by rural co-operatives bank.
 - Sustainable rural settlements, which could grow into rural town/cities.
 - Prioritize roll-out of bulk infrastructure in rural areas e.g. construction of new dams and irrigation, rail, roads, communications, ICT, energy and green economy.
 - Finalize without further delay the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Bill.

Food Security

20. We further implementation of the Freedom Charter's call to help those who work the

land with implements, seeds, livestock, tractors, irrigation infrastructure and other material support:

- Scale up the recapitalization and development programme and the comprehensive agricultural support programme, including in communal areas.
- Rationalize various existing food security initiatives.
- The commission reaffirmed land as socio-economic factor.

Re-opening Restitution

21. The commission recommends as follows:
- Reopening of the lodgement date.
 - Provide for exceptions to the cut-off date of 1913 so as to accommodate the Khoi and San descendants, heritage sites and historical landmarks.
 - That this forms part of the 1913 Natives Land Act centenary observation.

Capacity of the State

22. Build the organization and capability of rural communities to be champions of their own destiny:
- Various Cooperatives including a rural cooperative bank.
 - Rural development agency.
 - Strengthen the coordination amongst local structures.
 - Include local governments and traditional leaders in the local management of land administration.
 - Revive agricultural colleges and make agriculture a compulsory part of the curriculum in primary school.

Resolutions OF THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

4. LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNANCE

"Towards More Integrated Cooperative Governance as Part of a Developmental State"

1. Policy Framework

- 1.1. The transformation of the state issues dealt with in this Commission on Legislature and Governance have to be understood against the background of the Strategy and Tactics document and the NDP (National Development plan) and NGP (New Growth Path).
- 1.2. To deepen the NDR (National Democratic Revolution), and accelerate service delivery and development, we need a stronger developmental state and a more integrated cooperative governance system. The more we build a developmental state, the more we create the conditions for a more integrated cooperative governance system. And the more we strengthen the cooperative governance system, the more we create the conditions for a developmental state. There is a mutually reinforcing relationship between a developmental state and cooperative governance.
- 1.3. It is within this framework that the Commission dealt with the issues below.

2. Report in Context

- 2.1. There was general agreement with the positions set out in the Policy Discussion Document prepared for the ANC's June 2012 Policy Conference. The issues reported on below should be understood in terms of the Policy Discussion Document.
- 2.2. The resolutions below mainly do not cover decisions taken at previous National Conferences of the ANC – unless it is necessary. Previous decisions are endorsed. The Commission calls for their effective implementation.

3. Need for More Integrated Cooperative Governance

3.1. The Commission noted the need for more effective cooperative governance to advance service delivery and development.

3.2. And resolved:

3.2.1 The powers and functions of the 3 spheres of government should be reviewed to provide greater clarity and facilitate more effective service delivery and development.

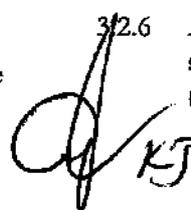
3.2.2 National and provincial government should monitor and support local government in ways that strengthen municipalities, not erode their powers and functions.

3.2.3 There should be greater integration of planning across the spheres and public entities, with alignment between the NDP, PGDS (Provincial Growth and Development Strategies) and IDPs. Such planning should seek to address spatial segregation, including through an integrated urban development framework and more effective rural development policies. Municipalities should be encouraged to develop explicit spatial restructuring strategies as part of their IDPs. Municipalities should develop effective land-use management policies to achieve their spatial objectives. They should strengthen the link between public transport and land-use management.

3.2.4 Decisions taken at Inter-governmental Forums should be implemented effectively.

3.2.5 There should be greater cooperation of legislatures.

3.2.6 All 3 spheres of government should work closer with SOEs (State-Owned Enterprises), DFIs



(Development Finance Institutions) and other public entities, and with civil society.

3.2.7 The NEC should provide guidelines to government on its draft Bill on national government interventions in provincial government and provincial government interventions in municipalities as soon as possible. This Bill should take into account the experiences of recent national interventions in provinces; the need for national interventions in provinces to be in synergy with provincial interventions in municipalities; and the need for the Bill to be in synergy with relevant financial and public service legislation.

3.2.8 Outstanding issues relating to the creation of a single public service should be finalized through taking into account:

- The complexities of the issues that need to be addressed
- The need to ensure greater coherence and cohesion of the local government public administration as an important part of ensuring a single public service.
- The need to take into account the NDP.
- The need for the ANC NEC to further consider the implementation challenges and take a final decision on the viability of a single public service within 6 months.
- The issues be discussed within the Tripartite Alliance and finalized within 9 months.

3.2.9 The proposal by the Education and Health Commission that the President appoints a Remuneration Commission for public servants in general.

4. Future of Provinces

4.1. The Committees noted the decisions of the December 2010 ANC Summit on Provincial and Local Government, and the options in

the L&G Policy Discussion Document.

4.2. The Committees resolved:

4.2.1 Provinces be reformed, reduced and strengthened.

4.2.2 A Presidential Commission be appointed to review the provinces, and make proposals on, among other issues, the role of provinces and the number the country should have and their possible boundaries.

4.2.3 The Report of the Presidential Commission be presented to the next ANC NGC and any changes that have to be made to the provincial system be given effect to in the 2019 national and provincial elections.

5. A Differentiated Local Government Model

5.1. The Commission noted the significant differences in the character of municipalities that belong to the same category, and the previous decisions in this regard.

5.2. And resolved that there should be a differentiated local government model which should include:

5.2.1 Municipalities exercising different powers and functions from a common list, with differences based on such criteria as human settlement types; spatial characteristics; economic activity; revenue base; finances; and capacity.

5.2.2 Differentiation in scope of IDPs, funding support and capacity building.

5.2.3 Devolution of certain provincial functions to stronger municipalities.

5.2.4 New revenue raising powers for some municipalities.

5.2.5 Strong local municipalities not being located in Districts.

5.2.6 Government developing a policy and regulatory framework on differentiation.

6. Role of District Municipalities

6.1. The Commission noted the proposals in the Policy Discussion Paper.

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6.2. And resolved:

- 6.2.1 District municipalities should focus on coordinating, planning and support to local municipalities functions.
- 6.2.2 District municipalities should exist only in areas where there are weak local municipalities.
- 6.2.3 There should be a new funding model for District municipalities.
- 6.2.4 The government's massive new infrastructure development programmes should be used to strengthen District municipalities.

7. Municipal Governance

7.1. The Commission noted the lack of clarity on the role of different functionaries in the governance of municipalities and the need for more effective governance of municipalities.

7.2. The Commission resolved:

- 7.2.1 There should be greater separation of the executive and legislative arms of municipalities
- 7.2.2 There should be more effective oversight of the executive committees by council and council committees. The council oversight committees should be properly resourced and capacitated. Where affordable, Chairs of Council committees should be full-time.
- 7.2.3 The plenary type of municipalities should be abolished.
- 7.2.4 The roles of the Mayor, Deputy Mayor, Speaker and Chief Whip should be clarified.
- 7.2.5 A policy paper be developed on the greater separation of the executive and legislative arms of the municipalities, taking into account the need for a differentiated model of local government.

8. Strengthening Ward Committees as Part of Community Participation

8.1. The Commission noted the vital importance of ward committees and community participation in ensuring that municipalities

function effectively.

8.2. The Commission resolved:

- 8.2.1 Ward committees should be made up of a diversity of community interests, not be dominated by political activists.
- 8.2.2 Ward committees should comprise up to 30 people in geographically large wards, in which there could also be area structures of the Ward Committee.
- 8.2.3 Within an incremental framework, some powers should be delegated to the more effective ward committees. Ward committees could take responsibility for fixing potholes, pavements, street lights and similar issues.
- 8.2.4 Municipalities should be obliged to consider proposals from ward committees and inform them of their responses.
- 8.2.5 To the extent possible, municipalities should provide resources to ward committees and provide members with some financial support.
- 8.2.6 To consider whether a CDW (Community Development Worker) is attached to each ward committee as a field worker.
- 8.2.7 Consider whether School Governing Bodies, Community Policing Forums, Health Forums and other structures should be part of Ward committees.
- 8.2.8 Ward Committees should engage more with Thusong Centres.
- 8.2.9 Ward committees should be linked to other forms of community participation.
- 8.2.10 A spirit of volunteerism should be encouraged so that residents take more responsibility to improve the communities in which they live without expecting a material reward for this.
- 8.2.11 Municipalities should also respond more effectively to community participation outside of the state structures.

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8.2.12 Municipalities should engage more with community organizations in ways that reduce the prospects of service delivery protests.

9. Local Government Finances

9.1. The Commission noted the major challenges in the local government financial system.

9.2. The Commission resolved that there should be major review of the local government financial system, which should include:

9.2.1 A review of the equitable share formula.

9.2.2 Municipalities to maximize their own revenue.

9.2.3 Improving the capacity of municipalities to spend more effectively.

9.2.4 Unviable municipalities to be addressed.

9.2.5 Further research into the viability of a local business tax for municipalities.

9.2.6 Lowering the cost of borrowing from DFIs for municipalities.

9.2.7 Greater transparency in procurement processes and ensuring better value for money.

9.2.8 Avoiding over-regulation of local government finances.

9.2.9 Greater alignment between national and provincial government with local government in view of differing financial years.

9.2.10 Greater recognition of the importance providing electricity to local government finances.

9.3. Consideration needs to be given to the following:

9.3.1 An insurance scheme or some other way of catering for councillors' houses and other properties that are destroyed because of the position they occupy as councillors. The national budget meets the cost of this.

9.3.2 A once-off grant to municipalities to offset the backlogs in service

delivery backlogs.

9.3.3 A transitional restructuring grant for municipalities whose boundaries were changed following the May 2011 local government elections.

9.3.4 A review of the remuneration of councillors and the resources allocated to them, taking into account the enhanced role of ordinary councillors in the new model of municipal governance proposed in section 7 above. The National Fiscus should contribute significantly to the remuneration of councillors.

10. Role of Municipal Demarcation Board

10.1. The Commission noted several challenges in the role of the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) and previous decisions in this regard.

10.2. And resolved:

10.2.1 There should be a review of the role, scope and composition of the MDB.

10.2.2 The government should appoint a Panel of Experts to assist with this.

10.2.3 The MDB should take into account the financial implications of its re-demarcation for municipalities; the challenges of unviable municipalities; the need for ward boundaries to break down racial barriers and a reduced frequency of re-demarcations.

10.2.4 The ANC should develop its capacity to engage with the demarcation process.

11. Relationship Between ANC Structures and Municipalities

11.1. The Commission noted that for municipalities to be effective, the ANC and Alliance need to be stronger, more cohesive and stable. Many of the tensions within the ANC get translated into municipalities and vice versa.

11.2. And resolved:

11.2.1 ANC structures, especially RECs and BECs, should exercise political and strategic oversight without seeking



to micro-manage municipalities and use them as sites to wage internal party struggles.

11.2.2 The ANC should develop a policy framework for how structures, from BEC upwards, should relate to municipalities, councilors and officials.

12. Strengthening the Legislatures

12.1. The Commission noted the challenges facing the legislatures in being more activist and developmental.

12.2. And resolved:

12.2.1 There should be a more activist people-centred model of legislatures should be developed.

12.2.2 Legislatures should be strengthened as part of building a developmental state.

12.2.3 The legislatures oversight model and capacity should be improved.

12.2.4 Constituency work should be used more effectively to link the legislatures to the people.

12.2.5 The legislatures should play a more effective role in shaping the national agenda.

12.2.6 The ANC as the majority party should play a more effective role in the legislatures' budgets, structures and human resource issues.

12.2.7 The Chief Whip's Offices in all 3 spheres should be the centre of decision-making and should be appropriately resourced.

12.2.8 The Chief Whips in all 3 spheres should work more effectively together.

12.2.9 The ANC Political Committees in the legislatures should be strengthened.

12.2.10 A Paper should be developed within 6 months to give more content to the above proposals, and provide a strategy and implementation plan, after having discussed the above issues with the legislatures.

13. Single Elections

13.1. The Commission noted:

13.1.1 Election campaigns give the ANC an opportunity to connect with the masses and renew our mandates -- so we shouldn't reduce them.

13.1.2 Without separate local government elections, which open spaces in the state, it will cost the ANC more financially to reach our constituencies.

13.1.3 Elections help to build the organization and capacity of our cadres.

13.1.4 Provincial ANC leaders currently oversee the finalization of our local government candidates, and they will not be able to do so if they themselves are candidates to be public representatives.

13.2. And resolved:

13.2.1 That the current system of separate elections be retained.

13.2.2 However, in future, should conditions warrant it, consideration should be given to reviewing the issue of elections.

14. Allocation of Seats in Municipal Councils after Elections

14.1. The Commission noted:

14.1.1 The allocation of fewer PR seats to parties that win many wards.

14.1.2 The allocation of residual votes to parties that have not qualified to win a seat.

14.2. And resolved:

14.2.1 That the principle of "fair representation" in the allocation of seats in municipal councils after elections in the Constitution be retained.

14.2.2 However, the formula to give effect to this should be reviewed, including the way residual votes are allocated to parties as this tends to be unfair.

14.2.3 The L & G Commission undertakes research into this and prepares a

position paper for the NEC to take decisions on.

15. Gender Mainstreaming

15.1. The Commission noted inadequate progress on gender equality in the public sector.

15.2. And resolved:

15.2.1 To more effectively implement resolutions on this taken previously.

16. Traditional Affairs

16.1. The Commission noted:

16.1.1 The significant progress on issues related to traditional affairs.

16.1.2 The need for greater clarity within the ANC on the role of traditional leadership.

16.1.3 The need for the L&G Sub-Committee and the NEC to give greater guidance on traditional affairs.

16.2. The Commission resolved:

16.2.1 There should be further changes to the system of communal land administration.

16.2.2 Relations between councilors and traditional leaders should be improved in the interests of service delivery and development.

16.2.3 The process of settling disputes and claims on traditional leadership should be expedited.

16.2.4 The ANC NEC L&G Sub-Committee should prepare a paper for the NEC to take decisions on outstanding issues on traditional affairs.

17. Corruption

17.1. The Commission noted that there is significant corruption in many sections of society, including in the private sector

17.2. And resolved:

17.2.1 As the leaders of society, ANC comrades in every sphere of activity,

need to be the champions in the anti-corruption campaigns.

17.2.2 The ANC should take tougher action against corruption.

17.2.3 Systems to detect and act against corruption should be strengthened.

17.2.4 There should be greater cooperation across the spheres of government in dealing with corruption.

17.2.5 Corruptors should be punished as well.

18. Further Issues in Strengthening the Local Government System

18.1.1 The capacity of councilors and officials should be significantly improved.

18.1.2 SALGA needs to be properly resourced and strengthened. Consideration needs to be also given to:

18.1.2.1. SALGA having permanent representatives in the NCOP with the right to vote.

18.1.2.2. SALGA having full-time office-bearers.

18.1.2.3. The national budget meeting the costs of the above.

18.1.3 Given the importance of the NDP and NGP, LED (Local Economic Development) should be strengthened.

18.1.4 There should be a more effective deployment policy, with a greater retention of councilors after elections.

18.1.5 There should be more full-time councilors.

18.1.6 Changing municipal boundaries alone, including by merging municipalities, will not solve the problem of unviable municipalities. Other issues of the viability of municipalities should also be addressed, including the financial,

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economic, capacity and other challenges.

19. Implementation of resolutions Adopted at the 53rd National Conference

19.1. The Commission noted the challenges of the ANC NEC L&G Sub-Committee.

19.2. And resolved:

19.2.1 The L&G Sub-Committee should be strengthened, including through full-time personnel and resources.

19.2.2 The Commission should hold members of the executive to account more effectively and should seek the assistance of the SGO's Office in this regard where necessary.

19.2.3 Within 3 months of the establishment of the new ANC NEC L&G Sub-Committee, a strategy and programme to implement the above resolutions should be developed.

19.2.4 There be an Annual Assessment of the work of the L&G Sub-Committee.



Resolutions OF THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

5. PEACE AND STABILITY

The Commission affirmed the 52nd National Conference Resolutions and noted the progress made in their implementation.

The Commission considered that at the 4th National Policy Conference we recommended various policy changes to be considered by Conference. In charting the way forward we therefore considered the following questions:

1. Whether to adopt the substance and text of the policy amendments proposed by the Policy Conference;
2. Whether the Commission wished to review the policy changes proposed at Policy Conference; and
3. Whether the Commission proposes to put forward additional policy proposals for further consideration, in Correctional Services, Defence and Military Veterans, Justice, Home Affairs, and Police.

The proposed resolutions that follow incorporate both the National Policy Conference recommendations and the current refinements introduced in our recent discussions in Commission. As such the report is comprehensive.

CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

Recidivism

Noting that:

- There is a high rate of recidivism as a result of among other things, the quality of the rehabilitation programmes and decisions of parole boards; and
- Correcting offending behaviour is a societal responsibility.

Therefore resolves that:

1. The capacity of the parole boards and case management committees be strengthened to ensure effective standard operating procedures and improvement in the quality

- of decisions;
2. There should be a deliberate effort to involve the community in the integration of former inmates into society;
 3. The ANC should play a leading role in ensuring victim participation in the parole process; and
 4. The ANC should mobilise communities to play a positive role in offender re-integration.

Remand Detention

Noting that:

- The high number of inmates who spend long periods in Remand Detention; and
- Challenges still remain in ensuring that victims of crime participate and make inputs in parole hearings.

Therefore resolves that:

1. The Department should provide support and information to victims of crime to enable their increased participation in parole hearings;
2. The Departments of Correctional Services, Justice and Constitutional Development and the Police should ensure that the issue of inmates who spend long periods in Remand Detention is addressed through better case flow management.

DEFENCE AND MILITARY VETERANS

Exhumation and Repatriation of Cadres Buried Outside the Country

Noting that:

- Many of our fallen comrades remain buried outside the country;
- The original view of the ANC was not to take responsibility for the exhumation and repatriation of the remains of its members who died in exile.
- The overwhelming desire of the families and comrades of those who are buried outside

of the Republic is that their mortal remains should be re-buried at home.

Therefore resolves that:

1. The newly elected NEC should expeditiously resolve this matter, including the manner in which the state should take charge of the exhumation and repatriation of comrades who are buried outside the country.

Welfare of Military Veterans

Noting that:

- Many former MK members remain destitute, unemployed, poor, and do not receive much assistance from the state; and
- Some of these former members were demobilized from the SANDF with little safety nets for their survival.

Therefore Resolves that:

1. There should be programmes to uplift and attempt to reintegrate former MK members within the structures of the ANC and broader society in order to utilise the skills which they acquired in their training and education, particularly in politics and security.

Creation of a Stand-alone Ministry for Military Veterans

Noting that:

- The 52nd National Conference resolved that a Military Veteran's Ministry should be established; and
- the Department of Military Veterans was subsequently established under the auspices of the newly reconfigured Ministry of Defence and Military Veterans; and
- Unhappiness still persists among others, that the Department of Military Veterans is under resourced.

Therefore resolves that:

1. There should be a dedicated budget for the Department of Military Veterans which should be adequately resourced.

POLICE

Noting:

- That the ANC resolved in 1994 to establish a single Police Service;
- That the resolution relating to a single police service has not been fully implemented
- The existence of several police services under different municipalities and entities ;
- The different training, disciplinary standards in these police services as well as the different remuneration levels;
- The constitutional injunction that there should be a single police service
- The constitutional provision that provides that national legislation must provide a framework for the establishment, powers functions and control of municipal police services;
- The current statutory responsibilities of the different police services

Therefore resolves that:

1. The newly elected NEC must further interrogate the challenges inherent in the execution of the resolution by the end of 2013.
2. The National Commissioner should ensure the implementation of general, training, operational and discipline standards in relation to policing to foster synergy, uniformity and consistency throughout the Republic.

Conditions of Service for SAPS members in the lower levels

Noting that:

- It is problematic for members of the security forces to be unionized, and
- the conditions of service in the SAPS are not satisfactory and need attention at the lower levels.

Therefore resolves that:

1. The Department of Police should review the conditions of service for members of the SAPS at lower levels.

STREET COMMITTEES

Noting that:

- The 52nd Conference took a decision to establish street committees in order to help fight crime;
- The resolution has not been implemented.

Therefore resolves:

1. To urge the incoming NEC to ensure that its structures implement this resolution.

TRANSFORMATION IN SECURITY DEPARTMENTS

Noting that:

- The transformation of the security departments has in the main been hampered by the middle management that continues to resist change and targets progressive personnel for dismissal.

Therefore resolves that:

1. Tools of transformation and employment equity should be directed at transforming the middle management of security structures;

RHINO POACHING

Noting:

- The upsurge in rhino poaching and the detrimental effects thereof to our national heritage; ecology; environment and tourism.

Therefore resolves that:

1. Harsher sentences be handed down on those convicted of this crime.

COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

Noting that:

- Some of the National Key Points are being secured by private security companies and the risks that this state of affairs poses to national security.

Further Noting

- The country does not have a comprehensive National Security Strategy to ensure cooperation and synergy between security organs.

Therefore resolves that:

1. Government expedites the crafting and execution of a Comprehensive National Security Strategy;
2. National Key Points be secured by National Security Agencies.

HOME AFFAIRS

Noting that:

- The presence of undocumented migrants in the Republic poses both an economic and security threat to the country;
- There is empirical evidence that the majority of asylum seekers do not qualify for refugee status and protection;
- The cross-departmental responsibility and competencies for border management creates duplication of tasks; weak data collection and control; and
- There are challenges relating to legislation regulating access to citizenship by foreign nationals.

Further noting that:

- The Department is embarking on a modernization process to develop a single national identity system which is based on biometrics, and which will be used in the Integrated Justice System to fight crime more effectively; and
- There is a need to balance the inward flow of low skilled labour to curtail the negative impact it has on domestic employment.

Therefore resolves that:

1. Government should reconsider its policy relating to centers for asylum seekers during consideration of their status;
2. There should be awareness programs to combat xenophobia and educate society against narrow nationalism;
3. Home Affairs should take a lead in the border management agency as a department which is seized with immigration issues.
4. Legislation should be introduced to criminalise the fraudulent acquisition of

vital documents such as Identity Documents and provide for such crimes to be treated as a serious offence;

5. ANC branches should be involved in Stakeholder Forums of the Department as a demonstration of "the people" governing as per the Freedom Charter; and
6. There is a need for a single national identity system which will contain a profile of all South Africans and documented foreign nationals who comply with our laws.

JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Noting that:

- Newly appointed judges get assimilated by the dominant culture in the judiciary and hence do not enhance transformation;
- Black lawyers not being briefed sufficiently by the government impedes the development of black lawyers as future judges;
- Some court jurisdictions are not aligned to municipal demarcations and as a result affect negatively access to justice; and
- There has been no comprehensive approach by the ANC to traditional leaders in general and the Traditional Courts Bill in particular.

Further noting that:

- The principle of separation of powers means that we should discourage the encroachment of one arm of the state on the constitutional terrain of another, and that there must be no bias in this regard
- The Progress Report on the implementation of some of the recommendations since the 52nd National Conference. In particular the Commission noted that the Constitution 17th Amendment Bill and the Superior Courts Bill have now been passed by the National Assembly to advance the transformative objective of the Constitution and further enhance the independence of the judiciary.
- The state seems to consistently lose cases in courts.

Therefore resolves that:

1. The ANC reaffirms the position that the branches of the state are co-equal parties entrusted with distinct constitutional powers in their quest to realize the ideals of a democratic South Africa. Each branch of the state must therefore observe the inherent constitutional limitations regarding its own power and authority and that no branch should undermine the others when exercising its constitutional mandate;
2. There should be holistic criteria for eligibility to judicial appointment which include amongst others social activism;
3. Government should strengthen briefing black lawyers so as to acquaint them with defending the state and not individuals, thus creating a pool for potential judges;
4. In order to facilitate access to justice, court jurisdictions should be aligned to municipal demarcation as much as it is reasonably possible; and
5. The LOCUM system in the Magistrates Courts, should be regulated to eliminate its abuse and to enable transformation of the judiciary.
6. The Criminal Justice System should redouble efforts to ensure that case flow management is optimized in order to reduce backlogs.
7. The NEC should be seized with the contradictions pertaining to the constitutional provisions relating to Traditional Leaders and their role and function in society with particular reference to their adjudicating powers.
8. The state should investigate the reasons for the perception that it has a poor success rate at courts, and inter-alia consider the quality of its legal advice.



Resolutions OF THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

6. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Introduction

Believing that:

1. The ANC in pursuit of its international relations objectives as directed by the Freedom Charter which states that "there shall be peace and friendship". Therefore, International Relations is utilised by the ANC to form friendships and to work towards peace in the continent and in the world, whilst pursuing South Africa's national interest.
2. ANC's international relations policy is directly informed by our domestic policy, and vice versa, and they are mutually reinforcing.
3. The ANC remains committed to its founding values of a struggle for a humane, just, equitable, democratic, and free world.
4. The development and prosperity of Africa remains the central objective of the ANC's international perspective and policy for purposes of advancing the African Renaissance.
5. ANC's international relations work is underpinned by a commitment to development, democracy, human rights, peace and security in the world.
6. Continued dominance of countries of the North.
7. Militarism and regime change doctrine.
8. The emergence of powers of the South.
9. The rise of Africa as an important actor in world affairs.
10. The uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East.
11. Global governance institutions remain untransformed.
12. A growing global civil society movement targeting capitalism.
13. The new scramble for Africa.

Recognising that:

6. As the governing party, the ANC has used its progressive internationalism as a prism through which it views the world. Its independent views and courage on the international stage has been acknowledged by many countries.
7. The current balance of forces provides challenges and opportunities for progressive forces, particularly manifest in:
 - a. The global contest between progressive and reactionary ideological perspectives on world affairs.
 - b. The global economic crisis.
8. All previous international relations resolutions of the 2002 National Conference in Stellenbosch and the 2007 National Conference in Polokwane including the 2010 General Council in Durban, particularly on:
 - a. Peace, Stability and end to Conflicts in Africa;
 - b. African Union Government;
 - c. South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA);
 - d. Refugee Policy and Immigration Policy;
 - e. Business Code of Conduct on the African Continent;
 - f. Parliamentary Diplomacy;
 - g. Political Party Foundation Funding;
 - h. Rebuilding bodies with the AU (PAWO & PAYM);
 - i. Rebuilding a Progressive Movement in Africa and the world.
9. The 2010 National General Council resolution identifies the six pillars of ANC's international work as follows:
 - a. Contributing to building a better Africa and a better world;
 - b. Continental and international solidarity;
 - c. Party-to-party, intra-lateral party and multilateral relations;

- d. The transformation of global governance institutions;
 - e. Policy development issues;
 - f. Campaigns.
10. The ANC continues to work on the African continent and in the world through party-to-party relations, participation in relevant international forums, conflict resolution on the continent, involvement in campaigns, dealing with some of the transformational global governance issues and ensuring ongoing policy development.
11. The International Relations Department at the ANC Headquarters remains inadequately capacitated to co-ordinate the development of policy, lead campaigns and partner with like-minded organisations in doing international work
12. The ANC and the ANC-led government remain committed to the promotion of a humane, just, equitable, and free Africa.

Therefore Resolves:

ON PILLAR 1: CONTRIBUTING TO BUILDING A BETTER AFRICA AND BETTER WORLD

BUILDING A BETTER AFRICA

The African Union (AU):

- a. The ANC remains committed to the ideals and objectives of African Union, the operations of its institutions and the implementation of its programmes.
 - b. It joins the continent in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the African Union commencing in May 2013, recognising the important role it played in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid. It believes that this provides the continent with a strategic opportunity to reflect on the past 50 years and map out the way forward.
 - c. The ANC further congratulates the African Union for the election of the woman to be the chairperson of the AU Commission and calls upon the ANC-led government to provide the AU Commission with all the necessary support required.
 - d. The ANC resolves that the pivotal role that South Africa has played should continue, especially with regard to the strengthening of the AU institutions, particularly the AU Commission.
 - e. Recognising that the Regional Economic Commissions (RECs) are the building blocs of the AU, the ANC resolves that South Africa should continue working with other countries to strengthen RECs with special emphasis on SADC.
 - f. The ANC also resolves that South Africa should continue to play a meaningful role in the AU and in the implementation of its programme of peacemaking and peace building through dialogue.
 - g. The ANC strongly encourages that the ownership, control and utilisation of natural, marine and land resources as well as essential infrastructure must be to the benefit of the peoples of Africa.
 - h. The ANC calls on the AU to promote the regulation of multi-national companies without inhibiting investment, whilst simultaneously encouraging domestic industrial development and local investment.
 - i. The ANC-led government should continue to participate in the AU-led discussions on strengthening the role of the African Diaspora in the development of the continent.
 - j. The ANC encourages all African countries to pay their membership subscriptions to the AU and that the AU should continue to explore alternative sources of funding.
 - k. The ANC calls on the AU to encourage African countries to assist countries in great need, especially as a result of conflict and poverty, in the spirit of African solidarity.
 - l. The ANC encourages active participation of non-state actors and African citizens in AU and other African programmes for the purposes of deepening and broadening continental integration.
 - m. The ANC calls on the AU to continue to encourage African countries to diversify their economies and broaden their resource pool so as not to heavily depend on external sources of funding.
13. ***Pan African Parliament (PAP):***
- a. The ANC will continue to play an active role in strengthening the PAP and its work.
 - b. The ANC will lead the debate on the future of the PAP on the transformation of the parliament by giving full legislative powers.

- c. The ANC will promote and celebrate the institution of PAP in South Africa.
- d. South Africa resolves to assist the PAP to revitalise its role as a key catalyst for the unity and further democratisation of Africa.
- e. South Africa should assist the PAP to establish or support regional parliaments in line with the regional bodies of the AU.

14. South African Development Community (SADC):

- a. The ANC will encourage SADC to play a more meaningful role in the promotion of democracy within the region.
- b. South Africa should ensure that the process of regional integration in Southern Africa is fast-tracked in accordance with SADC decisions.
- c. South Africa should encourage the review of bilateral and SADC agreements with the view to strengthen their implementation.
- d. The ANC and the ANC-led government should encourage SADC to promote the process of transformation of the SADC Parliamentary Forum into a SADC parliament.

15. Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO):

- a. The ANC will work together with other countries to strengthen the PAWO, particularly the Secretariat in which the ANCWL currently holds the Secretary-General position.
- b. The ANC will ensure that the resolution on the formation of a Young Women's structure within PAWO is expedited.

16. Pan-African Youth Union:

- a. South Africa as the 15th country to ratify the African Youth Charter, the ANC should work to strengthen the movement's ability to mobilise youth and the implementation of the Charter.
- b. The ANC supports the AU's Decade of Youth Development (2008-2018) and the implementation of the related programmes.

17. All-Africa Student Union:

- a. The ANC calls upon the AU to support

the resuscitation of the All-Africa Students Union, which, in turn, must support student movements at regional and national levels. In the case of the region we specifically refer to the Southern Africa Student Union (SASU) and at national level referring to the student organisations that form part of the Mass Democratic Movement and the Progressive Youth Alliance. The ANC sees the establishment of the Pan-African University by the AU as an important opportunity in this regard.

BUILDING A BETTER WORLD

18. South-South Cooperation:

- a. The ANC views the strengthening of south-south cooperation and strategic relationships as crucial to its vision of a better world.
- b. The ANC resolves to strengthen the IBSA forum and its ability to respond to strategic developmental challenges facing developing countries.
- c. The ANC will continue strengthening the structures of multilateralism in the South including the Non-Aligned Movement and others.

19. Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa (BRICS):

- a. The ANC resolves that South Africa will start an awareness and educational programme to deepen the understanding of the importance and relevance of BRICS among citizens and in civil society. The occasion of our hosting of BRICS meetings in 2013 is an opportunity to accelerate this popularisation campaign.
- b. The ANC will work towards ensuring that the BRICS Bank is established for the benefit of south-south development cooperation including Africa's development.
- c. The ANC and the ANC-led government should effectively use our membership in BRICS to deepen the alignment of our policies with each of the individual BRICS countries.
- d. The ANC will discuss with BRICS countries how the G20 can be better

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utilised to promote a progressive agenda.

- e. The ANC will consolidate party-to-party relations with BRICS countries to strengthen the relations and work towards a common understanding on issues.
- f. The ANC will promote student exchange programmes for South African students with the BRICS countries as part of skills development and deepening people-to-people relations.

20. Peace, Security, Reconstruction and Development:

- a. South African peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction and development initiatives cannot be separated from national interest where this is broadly defined to include the fostering of genuine peace and reconstruction initiatives in Africa.
- b. In this regard, the ANC resolves to develop policy guidelines for South Africa's engagement in peacekeeping.

21. Swaziland:

- a. The current conflict in Swaziland has negatively impacted the economy and human rights of the Swazis.
- b. As the tripartite alliance we should merge our solidarity campaigns on the basis of a commonly-agreed framework of action.
- c. The ANC calls on the Swazi monarch and leaders in Swaziland to create the space for open and free dialogue to find a lasting solution to the challenges facing Swaziland.
- d. The ANC confirms its strong support for the people of Swaziland and will engage the Swaziland government to find solutions to the problems facing the people of Swaziland.
- e. The ANC supports the campaigns for the unbanning of the political parties and the release of all political prisoners.
- f. The ANC urges the Swazi government to adhere to the Memorandum of Understanding on the loan conditions, especially regarding democratisation.

22. Sudan and South Sudan:

- a. The ANC will continue to support the process aimed at finding a lasting solution towards the full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) including the issues of Blue Nile, South Kordofan and Abyei, taking into account recent agreements.
- b. The ANC will engage with all political parties in both countries so as to ensure that as and when tensions arise there are mechanisms for dialogue and engagement.
- c. The ANC will assist the new state of South Sudan to resolve its political, economic and developmental challenges.
- d. The ANC will support the resolution of the complex political, security and developmental challenges in Sudan including Darfur.

23. Zimbabwe:

- a. Through party to party relations, the ANC will continue to engage and support the efforts of SADC towards the implementation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) in Zimbabwe.

24. Madagascar:

- a. ANC commits to a peaceful resolution of conflict in Madagascar and, therefore, supports the efforts SADC in this regard.

25. Somalia:

- a) The ANC welcomes the formation of the new government which marked an end of the transition period.
- b) The ANC will continue to promote political dialogue and provide development support to assist Somalia to achieve peace and development.
- c) The ANC calls on the AU to galvanise collective action to stop piracy, illegal fishing, waste dumping on the Somali coastline, including international maritime formations, in order to secure its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

26. DRC

- a. The ANC supports the efforts of the AU and the UN in finding lasting solutions to the conflict in the DRC including strengthening the relationship between DRC and Rwanda and Uganda.

27. Mali

- a. The ANC is concerned about the conflict in Mali and the Sahel and supports the efforts of ECOWAS, the African Union and the UN in resolving these conflicts peacefully.

28. Guinea-Bissau

- a. The ANC recalls the role played by Guinea-Bissau's liberation movement, the PAIGC, in supporting the liberation struggle in South Africa and resolves to mobilise the support of other former liberation movements on the continent for a peaceful resolution of the challenges in Guinea-Bissau.
- b. The ANC supports the efforts of the African Union, ECOWAS, the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries and the UN in resolving the challenges and ensuring a return to constitutional order, an end to militarisation of institutions of governance, and the release of political prisoners.

29. Iran

- a. The ANC supports the right of Iran and other signatories to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.
- b. The ANC calls for continued multilateral dialogue on the issue of Iran to reach a peaceful consensus.
- c. The ANC reiterates its opposition to unilateral action against Iran.
- d. The ANC supports the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East.

30. Syria

- a. The ANC calls on all parties in the conflict in Syria to embark on dialogue to find a peaceful solution to the current situation.

- b. The ANC continues to support the UN-led peace efforts in Syria including a cessation of all hostilities.
- c. The ANC condemns the violence that is perpetrated by all parties to the conflict including the arming of Syrian parties.

31. Middle East and North Africa

- a. The ANC is opposed to the escalation in the use of force by governments against peaceful demonstrations particularly in the Middle East and North Africa.
- b. The ANC condemns the selective treatment of these developments by the international community, the media, NGOs and military alliances like NATO.
- c. The ANC undertakes to develop a strategy for engaging motive forces in this region.

32. Sri Lanka

- a. The ANC will be steadfast in ensuring its role serves to enhance global support for a political process which is characterised by integrity, fairness and empathy for the efforts Sri Lanka is engaged in to create lasting peace.
- b. The ANC supports the fundamental approach of ensuring the creation of an environment conducive for fair and equitable participation of all credible representatives in genuine negotiations towards a lasting political solution in Sri Lanka, including the question of Tamil minority.

PILLAR 2: CONTINENTAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY**33. Western Sahara**

- a. The ANC re-affirms its solidarity with the Frente Polisario/Polisario Front and the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence.
- b. The ANC condemns Morocco's pull-out of the UN-led peace process and calls on the UN to urge parties back to the negotiating table.



- c. The ANC will engage with allies of Morocco to persuade them to pressurise Morocco to implement UN Resolutions on Western Sahara.
- d. The ANC calls on the UN to amend the mandate of the MINURSO in order to include provisions on human rights monitoring including the exploitation of natural resources in the occupied territories.
- e. The ANC calls upon the African Union and progressive forces in the world to support the Frente Polisario/Polisario Front-led struggle and give diplomatic recognition and developmental support to Saharawi refugees.
- f. The ANC should mobilise the international community to pressurise Morocco to immediately lift the military, security and media blackout imposed in the occupied territories of Western Sahara.
- g. The ANC supports the existence of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and encourages its recognition by other African and other countries.
- 34. Cuban solidarity and the release of the Cuban Five Campaign:**
- a. The ANC continues to support the campaign for the Release of the Cuban Five that is profiled and re-iterated in its commitment to the cause of the Cuban people.
- b. The ANC calls on the international community to remove the economic embargo against Cuba as per UN resolutions.
- c. The ANC calls on the South African Parliament to pass a resolution calling for the release of the Cuban Five (5).
- d. The ANC is to increase the trade between South Africa and Cuba to reinforce our foreign policy position on our solidarity with Cuba.
- 35. Palestine:**
- a. The ANC re-affirms the resolution of its 52nd National Conference in Polokwane on the on Palestinian question.
- b. The ANC supports the application of Palestine for statehood and full membership to the UN and, therefore, supports the UN General Assembly Resolution granting Palestine a non-member observer state as an important step towards that goal.
- c. The ANC is unequivocal in its support for the Palestinian people in their struggle for self-determination, and unapologetic in its view that the Palestinians are the victims and the oppressed in the conflict with Israel.
- d. The ANC will continue its solidarity efforts supporting a just solution including the strengthening of a sovereign independent state of Palestine, which will help to bring peace to the region and end conflict between Israelis and Palestinians.
- e. The ANC calls on the Israeli government to release all political prisoners, to immediately cease the expansion of settlements in the West Bank and to stop the wanton and consistent attacks on Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip.
- f. The ANC calls on all organisations in support of the people of Palestine to form a united solidarity campaign in a view of strengthening the South African solidarity forum.
- g. The ANC calls on all South Africans to support the programmes and campaigns of the Palestinian civil society which seek to put pressure on Israel to engage with the Palestinian people to reach a just solution.
- h. The ANC calls upon all Palestinian political formations to put aside their differences and continue to work together for unity.
- i. In support of the Non-Aligned Movement's call, the ANC-led government will continue to insist on the labelling of imported goods indicating their areas of origin.
- j. The ANC abhors the recent Israeli state-sponsored xenophobic attacks and deportation of people of African origin and request that this matter should be escalated to the AU.

PILLAR 3: PARTY-TO-PARTY, INTRA AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS

36. Building on the resolutions of the 52nd national conference, the ANC reaffirms its commitment to participation in international organisations.

37. ANC participation in international organisations:

- a. The ANC needs to urgently develop a clear policy on international participation to ensure that proper international protocols and conduct is followed by comrades in all spheres of government and in the ANC when conducting their international work.
- b. The ANC needs to strengthen its affiliation with like-minded international organisations and participate actively in them, including strengthening our proactive participation in structures like the Socialist International, Sao Paulo Forum, and Non-Aligned Movement, etc.

38. Party-to-Party Relations:

- a. The ANC will increase interaction with former liberation movements and other progressive-minded political parties of commitment towards strengthening relations.
- b. The ANC will develop clear guidelines for existing relationships and new party-to-party relations informed by the ANC's values.
- c. The party-to-party relations of the ANC will go beyond Africa including relations with the progressive forces across the world to take forward our national and continental endeavours.

39. Building a global progressive movement

International solidarity conference:

- a. The ANC is pleased with the successful hosting of the third ANC's International Solidarity Conference (ISC) held in 2012 under the theme, "*United for a Progressive, Better World.*"
- b. The ANC welcomes the ISC resolutions and therefore commits to set up the ISC's steering committee responsible

for the follow-up and implementation of the ISC resolutions.

PILLAR 4: TRANSFORMATION AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

40. United Nations:

- a. The ANC is committed to the reform of the UNSC to make it more democratic, accountable and representative.
- b. The ANC continues to advocate for expansion of the UNSC in both permanent and non-permanent categories and improving its working methods and supports the demand for two permanent seats for Africa.
- c. The ANC encourages the AU to reinvigorate discussions and seminars on the reform of the UN, particularly the Security Council towards a renewed consensus.

41. IMF and World Bank:

- a. The ANC continues to call for the reform of the IMF and World Bank to reflect principles of equity and fairness.
- b. The ANC will partner with international organisations and alternative think tanks in this transformation endeavours.
- c. The ANC will call on the SA government to utilise platforms like the G20 to lobby for transformation.
- d. The ANC encourages the formation of alternatives like the Latin American Countries have begun in the formation of Banco Sur (Bank of the South).

42. The International Criminal Court:

- a. As much as the ANC does not condone impunity, authoritarian and violent regimes, it is concerned about the perception of selective prosecution of Africans and urges the ICC to also pursue cases of impunity elsewhere, while engaging in serious dialogue with the AU and African countries in order to review their relationship.
- b. The ANC calls on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which has referred some African cases to the ICC, to recognise the work done by the AU, its RECs and



individual African countries to promote the peaceful end to and settlement of conflicts on the continent, the peace agreements signed and commitments made in regard to post-conflict justice.

43. G20:

- a. South Africa continues to play a role in the G20, which has eclipsed the G8 configuration of developed countries as premier platform for international cooperation.
- b. South Africa will continue to bring to the fore the importance of development outcomes of discussion within the G20 by developed countries, particularly those within the G8.
- c. South Africa will ensure that the G20 discussions are focused on stabilising the world economy by building global partnerships to eradicate global poverty and realise a more equitable global economic system.

- b. The ANC resolves that the foreign policy of the ANC-led government should incorporate the challenges of human trafficking and migration, and worker rights as part of its human rights focus.
- c. Linked to this, the ANC resolves to undertake a review of its international relations and solidarity work since 1994 including how it has been given effect through the foreign policy of the ANC-led government.

45. Parliamentary Diplomacy:

- a. The ANC will assist in equipping Parliamentarians deployed in global forums like the Inter-Parliamentary Union, SADC Parliamentary Forum, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and others to promote South Africa's foreign policy objectives.
- b. The ANC will ensure adequate public education in both urban and rural areas on South African Foreign Policy including issues such positions taken in multilateral bodies like the United Nations (UN).
- c. The ANC will continue to strengthen the IBSA Parliamentary Forum and efforts towards the establishment of a BRICS Parliamentary Forum.

PILLAR 5: POLICY DEVELOPMENT

44. Foreign Policy Review:

- a. As the SA foreign policy edges towards 20 years, the ANC decides to undertake its review including:
 - i. the appraisal of its relationship with South Africa's national interest,
 - ii. the effect of membership in international organisations, the quality of the foreign service,
 - iii. the impact of international migration,
 - iv. the coordination of para diplomacy,
 - v. the state of bilateral relations and strengthening of Africa and southern Africa.
 - vi. In line with the National Democratic Revolution, the national interest should not lead to sub-imperialism and dominance but should take on board the conditions and interests of countries South Africa relates with.

46. Business Code of Conduct:

- a. The ANC reiterates the resolution of the 52nd National Conference on the need for a Business Code of Conduct to regulate South African companies doing business in Africa in order to ensure that their conduct accords with South African business norms and standards such as upholding good business practice, labour standards, and ethical conduct.
- b. The Code of Conduct should, however, should not inhibit the comparative advantage of South African companies and organisations in the business environment.
- c. The ANC will work with COSATU to promote the ethos of good labour practice in the business environment.

47. Economic Diplomacy:

- a. Economic diplomacy reinforces our vision of a better Africa and better world as well as the achievement of national development objectives, believing that there can be no peace without development nor development without peace.
- b. South Africa's economic diplomacy should serve as a tool of foreign policy including the utilisation of state-owned-enterprises in development projects on the African continent.

48. Xenophobia:

- a. The ANC should develop a position paper on international migration, immigration and xenophobia as contained in the 52nd Conference resolution, which should be discussed at provincial levels before finalisation.
- b. The ANC recognises the rights of international migrants as a vulnerable group of persons and the responsibilities that they have towards their host country.
- c. The ANC should increase awareness of South Africans about the causes and dangers of xenophobia as well as the role foreign nationals play in the country's economy and national life using dialogue, the media and other engagement modalities.
- d. The ANC will join COSATU in educating foreign nationals, especially those from the African continent, on their labour rights, particularly the minimum wage.

49. SADPA:

- a. The ANC encourages government to accelerate the establishment of the South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA) to assist the ANC and government in pursuit of its vision of a better Africa through African solidarity and mutual assistance as well as partnership with other development actors.

50. National Development Plan and Vision 2030

Noting that:

- a. ANC-led government has developed the National Development Plan as the overarching framework to guide and accelerate the development of South Africa to 2030 and beyond.
- b. The NDP links national development to active international relations and cooperation.
- c. But the NDP was adopted without the benefit of drawing from a White Paper on International Relations, which led to a limited perspective on international relations.

The ANC, therefore, resolves that:

- a. NDP's content on international relations strengthened.
- b. The ANC's foreign policy objectives, particularly on the renewal of Africa, should be reflected in the NDP.
- c. More emphasis be placed on the need to change the political economy of Africa that still reflects the legacy of colonialism and neo-colonisation, particularly with respect to mineral and natural resources of Africa.
- d. The global economic recession as depicted in the NDP should be seen as an opportunity for Africa's development and unity and for building an alternative continental and global economic system.

51. Climate Change:

Noting that:

- a. Global climate patterns are changing with evidence also in South Africa's changing weather patterns.
- b. There is a marginal debate on whether there is climate change or not, rather than whether the climate is changing because of humankind or because as a natural phenomenon.
- c. Climate change technologies, systems and skills are likely to be imported from the developed world.

The ANC, therefore, resolves that:

- a. The adoption of adaptive technology to address the problem of carbon emissions

should not be driven by the appetite for markets on the part of developed countries for the market to supply new green technology, equipment and skills at the detriment of home grown responses that are cost effective and build the country's skill base.

- b. The ANC will investigate the science of the debate about the causes of climate change in order to better understand how South Africa could be inventive in response.
- c. There must be a focus on indigenous skills and technology that promote energy efficiency.

to the African continent and the recognition of our African Heritage.

54. **Mandela Day:**

- a. Increase the role of the ANC, particularly ANC branches, in co-ordinating events on Mandela Day, which should not be dependent on government sponsorship and coordination.
- b. The ANC will promote Mandela Day across the continent and the world, understanding that Mandela is a symbol of ANC's commitment to a humane and caring society through the promotion of human rights, solidarity, peace and unity.

PILLAR 6: CAMPAIGNS

52. **AFRICOM:**

- a. The ANC reaffirms its position that African states should be resolute in their stance against United State's AFRICOM presence in Africa under the guise of "War on Terror", while actually militarising the continent.
- b. The ANC recognises that the AFRICOM is more than just the building of American bases on the African continent, but it includes more subtle programmes involving the US and NATO military in military training of African militaries, the funding of NGOs for anti-African agendas and increasingly the introduction of drones under the guise of technological assistance in conflict areas.
- c. The ANC respects the territorial integrity and sovereignty of fellow African countries, and calls on the US and military organisations like NATO to do the same.

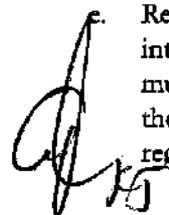
53. **Africa Day:**

- a. As part of popularisation of Africa's renaissance and the African Union, the ANC resolves to mandate its structures and government and the broader South African public to promote the Africa Day.
- b. The ANC calls for the routine adoption of African Union symbols including the flag and the singing of its anthem in South Africa's part of our commitment

CAPACITY BUILDING AND COORDINATION

55. **Capacity and work of the International Relations Department:**

- a. The ANC resolves to develop the International Relations Department into a fully-fledged department with adequate staffing and a full-time political head, so as to ensure it works effectively on all 6 (six) pillars of International work.
- b. All ANC provincial structures that have not established International Relations Sub-committees are encouraged to do so with the assistance of the NEC Sub-committee. Furthermore, IR desks should also established at regional and zone levels and where possible, at branch level.
- c. The resolves that the IR Sub-Committee should convene regular information workshops/seminars on IR policy in each province, while find ways to communicate more effectively with the various ANC structures on IR issues.
- d. In consultation with provinces, IR practitioners should be identified, who can serve as volunteers in the ANC's international work.
- e. Retired ANC diplomats and international organisation employees must be utilised by the ANC to build the capacity in IR in provinces and regions.



- f. The relationship with fraternal organisations and individuals who constituted part of the anti-apartheid movement internationally should be revived so that they are engaged to express the ANC's perspective and activities in various areas of the world and assist in enriching the ANC understanding's and perspectives on broader international matters and country specific dynamics. For example, the anti-apartheid movement in Austria assisted in ensuring that the remains of Klaas and Tvoyi Pienaar were returned back to South Africa.
- g. Protocol training should be provided in all ANC structures, amongst deployees and within Alliance structures to ensure that comrades conduct themselves appropriately when embarking on ANC international relations work.
- h. The IR Sub-Committee must take on the responsibility to communicate and popularise ANC international policies, especially in the absence of a progressive mass media.
- i. The ANC calls on the SABC to invest in the coverage of African news and developments including through the re-establishment of SABC Africa.
- j. The ANC will open an International Relations Office in the City of Tshwane for engagement with the large diplomatic community found in the city.
- c. The ANC-government will investigate the regularisation of international twinning agreements of provinces and cities.
- d. The ANC-government needs to assist relevant government departments to strengthen our infrastructure development capacity and capabilities to monitor our economic maritime zone referred to as sea borders.

57. Alliance programme on international relations:

- a. A combined programme on IR involving Alliance partners should be developed and it should incorporate issues of:
 - Climate change, trade, foreign direct investment, industrialisation of Africa and transformation of multi-lateral institutions and global governance; and
 - Solidarity campaigns on Cuba, Western Sahara, Palestine and Swaziland, with a special discussion on our position on Swaziland.
- b. The Alliance should convene an International Forum to strategise and plan joint campaigns.
- c. The Alliance should share critical information on international relations as the information arises.
- d. The Alliance should hold an annual meeting to assess the events of the year, and plan for the next year.
- e. The ANC will lead in the establishment of an International Solidarity Forum to ensure that all campaigns fall under one umbrella and enable the alliance to manage the solidarity efforts.
- f. In addition to business delegations, other non-state sectors should be considered for inclusion in planning international visits.

56. Key capacity building tasks for the Department of International Relations and Co-operation:

- a. The ANC-government needs to publicise the national guidelines for the coordination of international relations work in all spheres of government, which was adopted by Cabinet. Government officials at all levels should adhere to these guidelines.
- b. The ANC-government will explore the possibilities of using their expertise and facilities of their Diplomatic Academy to provide international relations training to South Africans outside of the government.

58. ANC participation in international organisations:

- a. The ANC will urgently develop a clear policy on international participation to ensure that proper international protocols and conduct are followed by comrades in



spheres of government and in the ANC when conducting their international work.

- b. The ANC will strengthen its affiliation with and active participation in like-minded international organisations, including structures like the Socialist International, the Sao Paulo Forum, the Non-Aligned Movement and so forth.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized initial 'A' followed by the letters 'KS'.

Resolutions OF THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

7. COMMUNICATIONS AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

ON THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

Noting

1. The serious advances made by the ANC, the Alliance and democratic formations in transforming South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist democratic society.
2. The real advances that have been made by the NDR to change the lives of the people of our country for the better through focussed service delivery that impacts on real people's lives in areas like health, education, rural development, access to amenities and general services.
3. The democratic conditions that have been created to deepen peoples' participatory democracy, access to regular government activities and information.
4. Despite all these the battle of ideas is being waged between the theoretical and practical underpinnings of the democratic developmental state and neo liberal paradigm.
5. This ideological battle is being waged mainly through the market forces which seek to dislodge the democratic forces as the drivers of change and to substitute the objectives of the NDR with a neo-liberal market driven paradigm.
6. The Democratic forces need to assert hegemony, propagate and popularise our ideas of transforming South Africa into a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. The on-going problem facing South African society is that the media and Information and Communication Technology (ICT) reflect patterns of ownership, control and distribution of the past.
7. There is a need to focus on redressing and correcting past discriminatory practices as

well as provide firm foundation in policy for a communications sector that embraces all South Africans and treats them equitably.

8. The greatest source of negative portrayal of ANC is misconduct and public ill discipline of ANC members and the use of the media and other platforms to advance their personal and factional interests.

Believing

9. The hegemony of the ANC and the democratic forces in the battle of idea is central to the advancement of the National Democratic Revolution. The ANC must operate in a coordinated and disciplined manner to set the agenda in the battle of ideas. Our interventions must be informed by the ANC Strategic and Tactics, and Organizational Renewal.
10. The war of ideas must be fought like a real war therefore there must be strict coordination of content and messages between all structures of the organisation. The advent of community and public media offers an additional potentially progressive opportunity for the ANC, depending on the ability to influence this media and provide it with adequate support.

Therefore resolve

11. There should be an increased participation of all ANC cadres in public debates on political and ideological matters and comrades should be trained on how to respond effectively to the growing onslaught against the movement in all media.
12. ANC Political education syllabus should be inclusive of media training, research and ICT literacy, and be part of developing young and future communicators. The ANC must develop means through which it communicates beyond its membership



base to reach constituencies outside the ANC. It must urgently increase the use of ICTs for organizational work and effective communication with its structures, communities and society as a whole.

13. A National Dialogue is needed to reignite and deepen the battle of ideas to, amongst others, achieve the following:
- Reassert the position of the ANC as a progressive leader of society
 - Forge unity for accelerated transformation; and
 - Intensify interaction with broader society.
14. To strengthen the information sharing exercise, no edition of *ANC Today*, *Umrabulo* and other publications should go on publication without an article from an ANC government executive (a minister, provincial minister and mayor) highlighting their department's programme, progress and achievement with regard to the implementation of the ANC's programme of action in government. This must be mandatory.

ON ANC INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Noting

15. There is a need for an effective and efficient internal ANC communication system as a tool for organisational management, internal democracy and discourse within the ANC. The engagement on the issues of communications remains an important part of the ANC organisational strategy.
16. The assessment of the membership system indicates that there are a number of challenges in the 'membership system value chain' that can be classified as information systems and technology problems.
17. That the 51st National Conference Resolution, reaffirmed by the subsequent national conference and national general councils, called for all ANC regional offices and branches to be connected to the internet, so as to aid internal communications and improve efficiency.

Believing

18. The advent of ICTs offers an opportunity for the ANC to improve its internal communications processes throughout the organization. There is a need for an integrated strategy for the use of ICTs to improve ANC's ability to communicate, administer its processes and ensure efficiency and effectiveness of the organization.
19. The ANC should promote usage and universal access to information and communication technologies amongst ANC members and the citizenry to:
- a) advocate for and monitor the achievement of universal access to ICTs, issues of affordability and expansion of broadband, through its organisational structures and government.
 - b) ensure that its members are encouraged to understand the advantages of ICTs, and that they empower themselves through attaining e-skills.
 - c) encourage branches to use ICT in communicating with individual members, including bulk SMS and sending emails on branch and regional activities. In addition the ANC website should be used to communicate with members and the public.
 - d) develop and expand use of social media to engage with especially younger members.

Therefore resolve

20. The NEC should develop an ANC internal ICT policy and strategy to drive the ANC's administrative and political systems. The said ICT policy and strategy must encompass the overall training of ANC staff and leaders at all levels of the organisation to develop capacity to service the administration and management of the organisation including membership management.
21. Consistent with the decision of the 51st Conference all ANC provincial offices must have internet access with high speed connectivity. This should include provincial websites linked to the ANC home page. "One branch, one connected office by 2015", to give effect to the 3rd NGC campaign and programme.

22. The ANC should build a unified ICT capacity to enable it to engage with all its members using latest technologies. It should ensure availability of ANC content using traditional and modern platforms to reach ANC members and broader society on a 24/7 basis.
23. All ANC regions should be connected to high-speed ICT services by 2020. The national and provincial offices in the allocation of communication resources must prioritise branches. This should include access to fax-to-mail, and/or faxes, photocopiers, printers, internet and email. Each ANC branch must have a permanent email linked to the ANC domain (that is www.anc.org.za)
24. The ANC should improve the membership system, learning from other institutions that also have mass membership systems, including:
- Creating a secure online system for applying and paying for membership, as an option for those who have internet access.
 - A secure SMS based system for applying for and paying for membership as an option for those who have mobile access.
 - improved security of ANC membership system and databases to make them less open to manipulation, and consider the use of biometric technology.
25. There should be a political champion to drive the ANC ICT policy and strategy including overseeing the implementation. The proper authority regarding the IT systems should champion the roll out and connectivity of ANC regions and branches, to develop and strengthen ICT platforms, manage membership system, including managing all conference registrations, and the like.
26. The NEC should develop social media policy to guide members conduct in the use of social media.

ON GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS

Noting

27. The great strides made by government to communicate with citizens in a transparent and accountable manner through a whole range of mechanisms including quarterly and annual reports, parliamentary programmes, regular cabinet briefings, online publications etc.
28. The Government's ability to communicate with citizens is critical in the delivery of services, deepening democracy and the ability of citizens to interact with government. The weakness of government communications is amongst other factors behind the ideological onslaught, misinformation and the general lack of awareness on the progress achieved since the advent of democracy.
29. The ANC's communication machinery and effectiveness as the ruling party is as strong as the ANC government's communication machinery and effectiveness.
30. The need to enhance Government communication in order to be accountable, influence and set the agenda of public discourse.
31. Whereas weaknesses have been identified in government communications, the media continues to have a propensity to publish mainly negative news on government disregarding the good service delivery record of government. The media continues to distort and ignore information provided by government in a transparent and accountable manner.

Believing

32. That access to government communications is important to a well-functioning democracy and only when citizens are informed about government policies and programmes can take part in the improvement of their lives. There is a need for a pro-active and coordinated government communication platform that enables the three tiers of government to communicate effectively.
33. Government is one of the biggest advertising



KJ

spenders. All spheres of government should advertise in the community and small commercial media that produce media in the languages spoken by communities, to assist with media transformation and diversity, and the sustenance and growth of these media.

34. Government's ability and capacity to communicate in a coordinated manner across the 3 spheres of government, and within the 3 spheres needs urgent attention, and government needs to investigate possible options of unmediated government communication systems like bulk SMS and sending emails, in view of the advent of digitisation and new media.
35. Government's ability to communicate with the different segments and strata of South African society needs to be enhanced. Government's work must be made visible and relate to ordinary South Africans. Media sensationalism must be tempered with concrete examples of government at work delivering services.
- Therefore resolve that the NEC should ensure that:
36. The ANC need to establish a coherent framework and an institutional arrangement that enhances collaboration, effective planning and oversight within the ANC and government communication.
37. The ANC and government need to strengthen other effective communication methods to reach targeted communities like using community broadcasting and public broadcasting services (radio and print) to highlight government service delivery in the battle of ideas. The executives (Cabinet, MECs, Councillors) should champion communication and dissemination of government information.
38. Government communication should reach all citizens and be in all languages.
39. Government Communication and Information System (GCIS) should be strengthened in order to coordinate information flow among different departments and among all three spheres of government (national, provincial and local).
40. The local government communication should be strengthened through enhanced training programmes. The GCIS should further offer communication support to parastatals and other state agencies in order to properly profile work of these institutions.
41. Government should encourage and enforce compliance with Codes of Good Practice in procuring services from the media. Government advertising must be used to drive efficiencies and transform the media industry. Government must diversify its adspent to empower community, emerging commercial and public media.
42. Government must review the implementation of the COMTASK Recommendations including responding to challenges of government communications, agenda setting, empowerment of the citizenry with government information in order for the people to be their own liberators including supporting efforts to favourable position our country as a preferred destination for foreign direct investment and tourism must be reviewed.
43. Government must review the effectiveness of government communications including: vision, structure and co-ordination. It must also increase financial, human and other resources within all spheres of government and further invest in the expansion of its communication platforms.

ON INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES

Noting

44. Over the last three decades, the world has experienced an unprecedented social and economic revolution driven by the advent of high-speed Internet networks or information and communication technologies (ICTs) capable of transmitting huge chunks of information across borders.
45. This revolution, known as the information society, has fundamentally transformed the way people live and relate to one another and their societies. This has made the world a much smaller place, in which individuals can access information and services from anywhere they are in the world.

46. As globalisation intensifies, driven by ICTs, it has also sharpened inequalities between and within communities. It has produced winners and losers. South Africa is by no means an exception to the rising tide of inequality between the haves and have-nots.
47. Since the advent of democracy in 1994, South Africa has made significant strides to facilitate the transformation of the ICT industry. Meanwhile, in recent years South Africa has lagged behind in a number of key global ICT indicators, especially on universal access to the internet, broadcasting and e-governance.
48. Although government has made advancements through Codes and the reform of the Preferential Procurement Policy Framework (PPPFA), Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy, the transformation of the ICT sector remains weak due to some contradictions in underlying statutes.
49. Despite the consistent growth of the ICT market pattern of ownership and participation by Black owned and emerging companies is minimal and requires support from government to speed up the pace of transformation.
50. There should be local manufacturing of ICT products for domestic and exports and government ICT procurement should benefit South African companies including SMMEs.
- at promoting universal service and access.
- f) Failure by the policy and regulatory institutions to enforce compliance with the law.
- g) Limited and misaligned research and development.
- h) Policies are not based on evidence, hence they keep on changing even before the results can be realised; and
- i) Failure to implement some of the decisions of the previous ANC conferences and the National General Council.
52. ICT is a critical enabler of economic activity in an increasingly networked world. It is critical for South Africa to remain globally competitive. The sector needs long-term policy certainty to be in a position to take the country into the next trajectory. This applies to entities in which the state owns shares such as Telkom. Conference directs government to develop a strategy to ensure that we derive maximum value from the competencies that lie within these entities.
53. Our drive towards a new vision of the ICT sector, in the context of the National Development Plan (NDP) should seek to provide a long-term approach to addressing these challenges.

Therefore resolve

Believing

51. There are several reasons for current state of the ICT sector in the country and these include:
- The lack of a comprehensive National ICT Policy, leading to overlaps and competition within government.
 - Institutional misalignment and limited accountability.
 - Limited e-skills within the state and society as a whole.
 - High turnover, and corporate governance challenges in the key institutions and relevant departments.
 - Inadequate funding of projects aimed
54. The National Development Plan (NDP) in respect to ICT should be underpinned by a policy focus and desire to ensure universal access to affordable and quality high-speed infrastructure and services throughout the country.
55. To provide a detailed sectoral plan to strengthen the implementation of the National Development Plan (NDP) in order to maximise the value of the development of the ICT, and to also accelerate the uptake and usage of the ICT tools, the ANC must create a coherent and co-ordinated National Policy Framework and Strategy on ICTs.
56. The National ICT Policy should:
- promote the provision of universal access to high speed, quality and

affordable networks and services to ensure that government, communities; business and all our people become part of the Information Superhighway and the knowledge economy.

- ii. inform the deployment of ICTs across the country – national, provincial and local infrastructure. It should also outline the different roles of the state, private and community sectors in achieving this goal.
 - iii. align uptake and usage of the development of indigenous knowledge systems and the revival of the local content industry.
 - iv. inform regulatory interventions to ensure a world-class digital infrastructure connecting business centres and households in all areas of the country including in rural areas.
 - v. set out targets to increase population coverage of high speed Internet access to 100% by 2030. This means that by the determined period, every South African should be within the reach of the ICT infrastructure.
 - vi. provide for an institutional framework that enhances collaboration, effective planning and oversight.
 - vii. outline approaches to ICT uptake and usage to promote e-applications in e-government, health, education and fighting crime.
57. National Cyber Security Policy should be in place by 2014 to prevent the distribution of harmful and anti-social content.
58. The role of the ICT's in the Green economy should be a priority in the National ICT Policy.

Institutional Mechanism

Noting

59. There is a need for a review of the institutional framework of the ANC government and its ability to discharge its services timeously within the available resources. This review must ensure that the ICT interventions are coordinated across all spheres of government.

Therefore resolves

60. The ANC government should develop and enhance policy-making capacity. A National ICT Forum should be created comprising government and industry to engage on critical issues of mutual interest. Civil society should also be invited to participate in the Forum.
61. There must be a realignment of government shareholding in the various telecommunications entities involved in the sector. The following state institutions must be rationalised to address existing overlaps, duplication and undue competition within the state:
- i. State Information and Technology Agency (SITA)
 - ii. Office of Chief Government Information Council (GITOC)
 - iii. Government Information and Technology Officers at provincial level
 - iv. Broadband Infracore and any other state owned entities in the ICT sector
 - v. Sentech
 - vi. Universal Service and Access Agency of South Africa (USAASA)
 - vii. Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA)
 - viii. National Electronic Media Institute of South Africa (NEMISA)
 - ix. Meraka Institute
 - x. Media, Advertising, Information and Communication Technologies Sector Education and Training Authority (MICT SETA)
 - xi. Fibre Processing and Manufacturing Sector Education and Training Authority (FP&M SETA)
 - xii. Film and Publication Board

Developing e-skills

Noting

62. The 3rd National General Council pronounced that e-skills should become a compulsory subject in all public schools to promote an e-literate society. The curriculum should focus on end-user-computing as well as encouraging young people to pursue careers in the ICT sector.

Believing

63. For South Africa to be a leader in the

development, uptake and usage of ICTs, the country needs more skills than are currently available. The ANC government must also maintain a comprehensive database of the current skills as well as those that will be required in the medium to long term. This would require harmonisation and creation of synergies between public and private sector initiatives.

Therefore resolve

64. Further Education and Training (FET) Colleges should be used as schools of excellence to create opportunities for out of school and unemployed youth. A dedicated funding plan is needed to ensure that rural universities and FET colleges can contribute to the new e-skills revolution. The Skills Fund must prioritize the ICT skills development.
65. Media and ICT studies should also be made available in all provinces using existing tertiary institutions and Further Education and Training institutions (FETs). The two new universities must be dedicated to media and ICT studies and the Northern Cape University should be developed as a Centre of Excellence in ICT's building from the successful bid for the Square Kilometer Array.
66. Government must introduce comprehensive e-Skills Development Plan that would include incentives to mobile industry co-operation for the benefit of young people. This must be in place by 2014.
67. Basic computer literacy should be introduced in all primary schools and a focus should be given also on advanced e skills including software, programming and end-user computing for tertiary institutions and FETs.
- TRANSFORMATION OF THE INDUSTRY**
- Noting
68. The transformation of the ICT sector needs further attention in order to ensure that all our people participate in the sector.
- Believing
69. There is a need to institute practical measures to drive transformation with milestones and measurable outcomes.
- Therefore resolve**
70. As part of the proposed National ICT Policy vision, the ANC should target completing the ICT sector transformation process by 2030. At the end of this period ownership and control of the sector should reflect national demographics including the increased role and participation of black people, women and persons with disabilities in the sector.
71. The ANC needs to prioritise the following interventions:
- i. A review of the empowerment targets in all the ICT subsectors and elements of the ICT value chain by 2014. This review will consider whether such targets are appropriate, reasons why they have not been met - in instances where they have not been met - and what additional considerations should be given with regards to empowerment targets. The review would consider the regulatory and institutional structures overseeing the realisation of empowerment targets. To this end the regulatory capacity will be strengthened to ensure that Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) is capable to set and enforce empowerment obligations on the industry.
 - ii. In accordance with a drive towards vision 2030, the ANC should ensure that the empowerment rules apply equally to all entities - big and small local and international/multinational. The ANC should ensure that strong preference is given to new companies to access scarce radio frequency resources going forward.
 - iii. The review of the Broadcasting Policy by 2014 should be underpinned also by the policy desire to reduce barriers to entry, especially in the pay TV market. The new policy environment should be specific about areas that constitute barriers to entry in the entire broadcasting value chain.
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- iv. It is ANC policy to support the convergence of technologies and services. However, the regulation of the ICT sector in the converged environment should not lead to the creation of consolidated vertical and horizontal monopolies or to abuse of dominance by the existing operators. Competition rules and regulations dealing with opening the market to competition will be prioritised.
- v. The Universal Service and Access Agency (USAASA) charged with promoting access and universal service in under-serviced areas should be reviewed after over ten (10) years of existence in order to redefine its focus towards increasing the uptake and usage of ICTs.
- vi. A new state entity to provide funding to Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs), Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), Co-operatives and other Not for Profit initiatives in the electronic communications, broadcasting and postal sector should be created out of the merger between USAASA and the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) by 2014. The contribution by the industry to the merged entity should be uncapped and should be accompanied by a coherent plan to expend the current allocation.
- vii. The ANC should ensure that endeavours to resource ICASA in line with the decision of the 3rd National General Council should have commenced by the time of the National Policy Conference. ICASA should be self-funding using licence fees, subject to Parliamentary procedures and oversight, by the beginning of 2013 financial year.
72. Licensing and use of the Radio Frequency Spectrum, which is a public asset, is another central pillar towards the creation of an industry that is responsive to the needs of all the people. In order to facilitate the diffusion of ICTs across society, licensing of the scarce radio frequency resources should be underpinned by the following factors:
- i. Alignment of the spectrum allocation and licensing regime with the prevailing social and economic development context, while taking into consideration future needs.
 - ii. Equitable allocation of the frequency spectrum to new licences, including SMMEs, to reduce entry barriers
 - iii. Requirements and obligations to achieve universal coverage. This should be linked to building regulatory capacity to enforce compliance with the law.
 - iv. Promote Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment at the minimum of 30% to 50% direct ownership and control of ICT and broadcasting, including the empowerment of women and youth development. This must be achieved by 2020.
73. To maximise the value of the scarce or high demand spectrum, government must set aside spectrum for the provisioning of wholesale services or open access network by the merged entity between Sentech and INFRACO.
74. This infrastructure must prioritise government services and provide modern communication services to government departments, municipalities, schools, hospitals, clinics, police stations, multi-purpose community centres and courts to ensure that they are connected and can provide e-services to the people. Excess capacity should be geared to further connect rural areas to help achieve full access to high speed internet networks by 2030.
75. Government should provide capital to Greenfields operators starting business to provide amenities to under-serviced communities. These entities should also be entitled to a preferential interconnection (asymmetrical interconnection) rate and this should be mandatory.
76. The fact that South Africa does not design new innovations in the sector while a lot of money is pumped into the Science Councils is a serious missing link. For the country to position itself as an ICT hub for the continent, it requires high levels of research and development, and innovation, to allow for all manner of new inventions and technologies to emerge.

High speed internet infrastructure and services

Noting

77. It is the responsibility of ANC government to maximise opportunities for all South Africans to benefit from the digital economy by laying firm foundations for digital infrastructure to reach all and sundry.

Believing

78. Access to digital infrastructure, or more specifically high-speed internet access, must be considered a basic utility for South Africans.

Therefore Resolve

79. Informed by the National ICT Policy, ANC government must introduce a National Broadband Plan. The National Broadband Plan must be revised and reviewed to take into account the proposals herein. The Broadband Plan must provide for:

- i. A world-class digital infrastructure connecting business centres, households in all areas of the country and people, particularly the poor, in the urban and rural areas is a prerequisite to the introduction of high speed access to modern digital means of communications, work and commerce.
- ii. Affordable quality services that will ensure that the majority of South Africans have access to the internet platforms necessary for them to transact with each other, their government and the private sector.

80. To expedite the deployment of high quality services, the National Policy should explore the combination of various reliable technologies such as satellite, wireless, fibre and other emerging technologies. The wholesale services provided by the merged entity between Sentech and Infracore should use these technologies.

81. High demand spectrum that can be used to deliver high-speed services using emerging technologies should be prioritised for assignment to new entrants. This should also encourage the use of emerging technologies that are spectrum efficient to increase competition and provide value for consumers.

82. On regular basis government through its regulatory capacity must conduct a review of spectrum usage to determine usage and re-allocation of unused spectrum where necessary. A strengthened competition framework that also addresses the quality and affordability of broadband infrastructure and services should also find expression in the National Broadband Plan.

83. The National Policy should also deal with the security of the High Speed Internet Networks (cyber security) to ensure information security, including the protection of vulnerable sectors of society such as children. A national cyber security policy is needed without delay.

84. In the light of the drive towards the new policy vision, there is a need to accelerate the endeavour to define needy people in order to address the utility expectations of, amongst others, people with disabilities, children, rural and urban poor. The needy people, clearly defined, should benefit from special subsidies to access and use communication services.

85. Public finance through the fiscus and the Developmental Finance Institutions (DFIs) should be set aside to fund broadband rollout as a national priority. There should be clear complimentary interventions between the contribution of the fiscus, DFIs and the merged entity between USAASA and the MDDA subsidising needy people.

ON BROADCASTING INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

Noting

86. Various ANC Conference Resolutions and Policy documents capture the vision of a diverse South African broadcasting system - owned by the public, private and community sectors and reflective of the cultural, multi-lingual and demographic diversity and unity inherent in our society.

87. The ANC has consistently upheld the notion that broadcasting operates at two levels. Firstly, it acts as a means to reflect the rich South African cultural heritage, provides

voice to South Africans to participate in democratic dispensation as well as acting as an important platform for community involvement, education and entertainment. Secondly, as part of the ICT industry, broadcasting is an important economic sector that sustains the South African creative industries.

88. Since the advent of democracy the ANC has been consistent in developing a policy environment that transforms the media sector to meet the broadcasting needs and wants of all the segments of the South African population. To this end television coverage has been extended to reach 92 percent of the population.
89. Radio coverage now reaches 95 percent of the population. All official South African languages are now reflected albeit in a limited manner on both television and radio. The public broadcaster and an array of independent commercial operators provide radio and Television services. All District Municipalities are served by an array of geographic and community of interest stations.
90. The opportunities arising from the digitisation of broadcasting which has a potential to grow the sector through the provision of additional channels, including 24 hour news, sport, educational and all indigenous language programming.

Believing

91. That broadcasting plays a fundamental role in democratic expression, fostering of social cohesion, development, economic inclusion and the creation of a united and informed society.
92. Despite the achievements of the democratic dispensation, much still needs to be done to develop a broadcasting system that caters for all the needs of the South African population because of the inherent challenges facing the broadcasting system and the advent of digital terrestrial broadcasting. Some of the challenges requiring resolution include:
- i. The public broadcasting system, beset by many structural, managerial and funding problems, needs to be

restructured and repositioned to prioritise public service as opposed to the commercial focus that it has displayed.

- ii. The 51st and 52nd ANC Conference resolutions on funding have not been implemented due in part to the failure to develop a public broadcasting model that is not reliant on commercial programming, failure to cost the mandate as well as different interpretations on the role of public broadcasting in government.
 - iii. The series of crises at the public broadcaster reflect a lack of leadership, lack of accountability and poor management. In confronting the crisis more emphasis has been placed on reporting processes without a corresponding attention to holding those responsible to account for the financial and organisational maladministration that has brought the public broadcasting institution to the crisis.
93. Such a situation has prevailed because institutional structures responsible for oversight have not been effective. There has also been an overlap in oversight roles enabling the public broadcaster to forum shop.

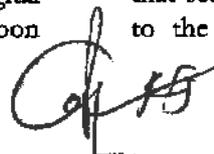
Therefore resolve

94. To review the current model of the public broadcasting system in order to ensure the emergence of public broadcasting that prioritises public service obligation, including education, health, rural development, reflection and development of all South African languages and cultures, information and democracy education and participation. This review should be undertaken without delay and inform the evolution of public broadcasting system in the digital era and the resolutions of the current challenges facing South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and the funding model.
95. The SABC must be restructured to prioritise public services in the digital age. As part of this process, the government must, in line with the resolutions of the 52nd conference, increase its funding of the SABC. This

must be implemented progressively over a reasonable period.

96. Government funding must be ring fenced to be targeted towards public programming such as indigenous languages, developmental and educational programming. In addition to government funding, the SABC requires a long-term sustainability strategy based on a people centred approach to public broadcasting.
97. Programming that is supporting education, health, poverty eradication, rural development, crime prevention and other societal priorities are miniscule compared to programming that is entertainment based. Budgets devoted to developmental programming are reflective of the miniscule programming output targeting the developmental agenda. This needs to be revised as a matter of urgency.
98. The public broadcasting system should not be allowed to lag behind the commercial sector in terms of technological innovations. In this regard any future strategy of the SABC must position the broadcaster as a leader in the uptake and usage of new technologies including Mobile television and Internet Protocol television.
99. A stable corporate governance mechanism is required to provide long-term stability. These include strengthening the SABC's accountability to parliament, shareholder (government) and the public. The public ownership of the SABC is central to its existence and sustainability.
100. Significant entry barriers remain in place in the pay commercial broadcasting sector. Regulation of this sector to enforce effective competition has not produced the desired competition. There is a need to relook at the behaviour of dominant players, access to premium content including sports rights and access to critical infrastructure by the competitors in this sector to enable the entry of new Pay TV services during the migration process, and new Free to Air players after switch-over in 2015.
101. The commercial broadcasting sector is still dominated by foreign programming even though media consumption patterns have demonstrated beyond doubt the predominant preference of South African content. Local content quotas need to be reviewed for all tiers of broadcasting. Raising the production levels and values of the South African content will in turn require collaboration by the various governmental entities that are active in the cultural creative industries space.
102. While broadcasting is delivered through ever changing technologies, it remains a content and cultural industry. In light of this strategic role of broadcasting, the current local content quotas at 55% for SABC 1 and SABC 2, 30% for eTV and SABC 3 and 10% for Pay TV services do not support our long term vision of a diverse South African broadcasting system - owned by the public, private and community sectors and reflective of the cultural, multi-lingual and demographic diversity and unity inherent in our society.
103. Compared to other countries such as Canada, Australia and Nigeria, South Africa has one of the lowest content obligations in the whole world. Many countries continue to impose foreign content and ownership limitations of the media. In its approach to this matter, the ANC maintains that the broadcasting policy review must prioritise national social and economic goals above private interests. In addition, the broadcasting policy must also provide a strategy to fast track the local content development industry. The review of local content quotas must be aligned to this strategy.
104. Much still needs to be done to ensure that the community-broadcasting sector is reflective of the communities they serve in terms of directorship, management and programming. There is a need for concerted action to ensure a fair representation of women, the workers, and people with disabilities, children and the aged. Programming offered by the community sector still need to be diversified to cater for the special needs of these strata while also contributing to community development and upliftment.

105. The capacity of ICASA to effectively regulate in the public interest still shows limitation occasioned by funding constraints, skills shortage and confusion on the means and ways of achieving effective regulation. There is an overriding need to boost the capacity of the regulator to effectively monitor the broadcasters in order to enforce licence conditions and regulations.
106. The analogue system of broadcasting must be switched off by 2015 and a digital terrestrial system should be built to replace it. This will require considerable funds to maintain the penetration levels that have been achieved to date. Given its immense public benefits, Digital terrestrial television (DTT) should be treated as a service with wider implications beyond the ICT sector and broadcasting.
107. The terrestrial digital way of distributing and accessing the television broadcasting services presents a fresh opportunity for South Africa to realise the policy ends that are defined in the broadcasting environment. There is a need to review the broadcasting system and policy framework in its entirety before 2015, to identify the gaps and barriers that have prevented the realisation of some of the important goals as well as plan for new services. This should culminate in a new forward-looking broadcasting policy to coincide with switchover by 2015.
108. Government must ensure that such a review is open to participation by all segments of the South African population and outcomes informed by their needs. As such DTT should be present an opportunity to create a new industry that is owned and controlled by South Africans. The manufacture of Set-Top-Boxes (STBs) should be linked to a long-term vision to manufacture Integrated Digital TVs (IDTVs) for local and external markets. More emphasis needs to be placed on the inter-operability of STBs on both pay TV and free to air to address consumer and competition needs.
109. For government to promote a new manufacturing environment, the current tariffs should be reviewed, as they do not protect vulnerable industries. Digital broadcasting should be implemented as soon as possible in order to accelerate the release the of "digital dividend" spectrum. The International Telecommunication Union recognises that the Digital Dividend is to be allocated to new broadcasting services, wireless services, mobile broadband, public emergency and other services.
110. The broadcasting policy review should create a regulatory framework for satellite services up-linking in the country as well as those that uplink outside our borders. Appropriate public broadcasting obligations should also be imposed on commercial services, Pay TV and Free to Air Services (FTAs) to ensure that public frequencies benefit more than just the owners and operators.
111. There must be access to broadcasting, internet (voice, data and video) and telephone services.
112. To prioritise the broadcast content in all South African languages reflective of the indigenous cultures.
113. The local content quota should be increased to 60% in the public broadcaster and government should fund the public broadcasting programmes of the SABC.
114. Pornographic content should be regulated across all media platforms.
115. Sentech and SABC should remain in state hands in order to facilitate access to broadcasting services by all and corporate governance and human resources capacity at the SABC should be strengthened.
116. There is an urgent need for the establishment of a dedicated Youth Radio Station.
117. There should be an increase in funding for diversity in community newspaper, community radio stations and community TV stations.
- ON PRINT MEDIA TRANSFORMATION, ACCOUNTABILITY AND DIVERSITY**
- Noting
118. In 1992, the ANC adopted a Media Charter that set out the organisation's commitment to the creation of an environment that



promotes media diversity and media freedom. Over the years, the ANC has successfully introduced legislation to promote and protect media freedom. At the same time, various interventions were introduced to promote media diversity. The later include the creation of the Media Development and Diversity Agency to support community media and small commercial media outlets.

119. The print sector is still dominated by four big players, namely Naspers, Avusa, Caxton and the foreign owned Independent Group. These companies also dominate the entire value chain of the market especially printing, distribution and advertising. This integration and the very market structure is perhaps the biggest barrier to market entry and potentially shows possible anti-competitive behaviour. Other mainstream media players include the M&G Media and TNA Media. There exist a number of small commercial print and community print media, who all face the challenge of sustainability.

120. Despite protestations and evident denial, the print media existed for many years as one of the pillars of the apartheid super structure providing rationale and intellectual support to apartheid system. Whatever progressive media fought for the democratisation of society was initiated and linked to mass democratic movement led by the ANC.

121. The print media continues to be a contested terrain that reflects the ideological battles and power relations based on race, class and gender in our society. It continues to position itself as the main determiner of the public agenda and opinion.

122. Recent reports from the Media Development and Diversity Agency and the Print Media of South Africa indicate that despite changes that have taken place since 1994, regrettably the facts are that the average black ownership in South Africa mainstream print media to date is 14% and women participation at Board and management levels is at the diminutive 4.44%.

123. The 52nd Conference resolution regarding the parliamentary inquiry on the desirability and feasibility of establishing an independent

Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT) aimed at complementing and strengthening the existing self-regulatory system of print media.

124. That the proposed MAT was a direct response to the ineffectiveness and varied weaknesses of the self-regulatory regime within the print media.

125. Conference directed that such investigation should examine the principle of a MAT and the associated modalities for implementation. Pursuant to the ANC resolution on a Parliamentary MAT Inquiry, the print media established its own Regulatory Review Mechanism. This led to the publication of the Press Council Report and further established the Press Freedom Commission (PFC) which conducted the wide ranging review of the current regulatory system of the print media.

126. That amongst others, the reports led to the review of the Press Code and the restructuring of the self-regulatory which is ongoing.

127. There is uncertainty on the extent of the implementation of the entire recommendations of the PFC most of which the ANC supported.

Believing

128. Over the years, the ANC has remained resolute that the media including print media patterns of ownership, management and content must reflect the democratic dispensation ensuring the freedom of expression freedom of expression, which includes freedom of the press and other media; freedom to receive or impart information or ideas; freedom of artistic creativity; and academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.

129. That consistently maintained that the freedom of expression does not extend to - propaganda for war; incitement of imminent violence; or advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.

130. That freedom of expression which includes

the freedom of press and other media does not supersede human rights and other rights enshrined in the South African Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

131. The apartheid patterns and behaviour that treat South Africans in an unequal and discriminatory manner sometimes manifests in some of the conduct of the print media in the content, coverage, distribution, management and opinions. Despite denials, this is natural, such attitudes and practices need to be confronted for the media to be a mirror of the present democratic dispensation. The reality arising out of this situation is that the majority of South Africans do not have media that report and project their needs, aspirations and points of views onto the national discourse.

132. That the PFC recommendations go a long way in responding to the ANC conference resolutions. There remains a lot of work to be done to ensure the full implementation of the principles guiding the ANC resolution and the PFC report. Also, the Parliamentary Inquiry using the PFC report as a basis remains relevant.

Therefore resolve

133. The ANC needs to review its own Media Charter to take into regard the developments that have taken place since its adoption, strides that have been made in realizing the rights enshrined in it as well as the emergence of new technologies.

134. The ANC remains committed to a media climate that is free from vested political and commercial interests. This has been our guiding principle in all the engagements and ongoing discussions on the media transformation and accountability. Within this understanding, the ANC reaffirms the need for parliament to conduct an inquiry on the desirability and feasibility of a media appeals tribunal within the framework of the country's Constitution that is empowered to impose sanctions without the loss of any constitutional rights.

135. The envisaged parliamentary process should reinforce the South African Constitution Act 108 of 1996; review the existing media

accountability mechanisms; balance the individual's rights to dignity and freedom of expression and freedom of the media; and review the privacy laws as well as those dealing with libel and defamations.

136. The departure point of the ANC is that South Africans must enjoy the freedom of expression in the context of a diverse media environment that is reflective of their situations and daily experiences. Accordingly, the following must be introduced to encourage media diversity:

- a) Introduction of an economic empowerment charter to promote Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment in the sector. Amongst others, the Charter should address the availability of print media in the languages South Africans speak and communicate with.
- b) Strengthening the MDDA to support more community and commercial entities.
- c) The Competition Commission should focus on anti-competitive practices within the sector.

137. The recommendations of the Press Freedom Commission (PFC) should be included in the wide ranging Parliamentary Inquiry on the regulatory system for print media.

138. The transformation of the advertising industry to ensure its contribution to media diversity must be prioritized

ON POSTAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE POST BANK

Noting

139. The postal infrastructure plays a significant role in the socio-economic development of the country. The ANC through its government has over the years pursued efforts to stabilise the Post Office through a range of interventions, including the allocation of financial and other resources for the State Owned Enterprises to meet its obligations.

140. The postal network has been expanded to reach 2 400 outlets. The re-balancing of the

postal infrastructure to ensure that 1 postal outlet serves a maximum of 10 thousand South Africans. This re-balancing exercise seeks to redress the imbalances between the urban and rural areas of the country.

141. Part of the strategy is to achieve universal access, including the rollout of addresses and other services to under-serviced urban and rural areas.

142. Progress is being made to transform and corporatize the Post Bank as a preferred bank of choice for the poorest people in urban and rural areas. However, more work is needed to establish a sustainable mechanism for the Post Bank.

143. The challenge however is that the advent of emails and SMS has led to reduction in mail volumes. This has lowered SAPO profitability for re-investment in under serviced areas and to rollout the infrastructure.

Believing

144. Through its massive and extensive network the Post Office act as a pay point for many government services including municipality bills and traffic fines. This contribution helps alleviate backlogs in the delivery of services to the people which is the central trust of our National Democratic Revolution.

145. In the view of the ANC, the postal market is not ready for liberalisation. Evidence in the courier market point to local and international courier companies paying more attention to the lucrative urban areas to the detriment of the rural and peri-urban areas who can get services based on internal market cross-subsidization.

146. The Postal Infrastructure and the Postbank are needed for government to deliver services to the people. As such, ownership of the Post Office and the Post Bank by government should be linked to efforts to ensure that the two institutions are sustainable.

147. A State Bank should not only be defined in terms of ownership, but in terms of the services that are delivered by the Postbank.

148. Directing opportunities to Post Bank and Post Office will strengthen revenue diversification and provide a viable alternative for offsetting the cost of services to the under serviced and marginalised areas.

149. That the decision to protect the exclusivity of the Post office should not compromise the provision of affordable, quality services.

150. Postal infrastructure is important in the ongoing efforts to promote regional integration.

Therefore resolve

151. The National Address System should prioritise the rollout of addresses to informal settlements and rural areas to ensure addressability for all households to achieve economic inclusion.

152. The existing government's financial support for infrastructure re-balancing including the rollout of the National Address System should be continued.

153. Government should introduce policy guidelines to direct opportunities to the Post Bank as a bank of first choice of government and a primary platform for government and citizens' transactions. Over the next ten years, the Post Office should continue with the exclusive rights to all letters up to 1kg. This is in line with the Postal Licence Act of 1998 which confers South African Post Office (SAPO) exclusive rights and privileges to be the monopoly on the provision of the basic letter service up to 1kg in order "to offset the cost of providing a basic service in low-density, rural or uneconomical areas," as is a common practice globally.

154. ICASA, as a regulator, need to be strengthened with the necessary capacity to regulate the postal market. Strengthening ICASA as a regulator also has to address policy gaps to improve postal regulation efficiency and effectiveness in reserved and unreserved postal services. This includes courier services, courier brokers and extraterritorial offices of exchange. Extraterritorial offices of exchange refer to international mail houses sending mail either electronically or physically to entities in South Africa. Of concern are illegal

operators and broader transformation issues in the sector.

155. National policy should clarify approach to the regulation of cherry-picking behaviour of international courier companies. The current practice to dump international mail on the South African Post Office infrastructure without paying anything has a long-term detrimental effect on the sustainability of the South African Post Office. A policy to curtail this practice should be implemented by government. This will include compliance with the international tariff regime.
156. All three spheres of government must be encouraged to use the South African Post Office. For its survival, the postal market must continue to expand infrastructure that will be used in the distribution network. The connected Community Service Network must also diversify services to integrate online services. To this end the South African Post Office must be supported to accelerate evolution and migration of traditional postal services to e-services using innovative technology platforms and electronic channels.
157. The ANC must show leadership and utilize the services of the Post Bank.
158. Mobile Post Offices should be deployed in all needy rural and urban communities.
159. Post Office Public Information Terminals should be upgraded to become fully functioning internet access points in rural areas.
160. The post office and postal infrastructure should have regard to increased attention paid to rural areas. This should include the provision to implement a consistent national address system, taking into account the human settlement expansion in the country.
161. The mandate of the Post Bank is reaffirmed as the bank for the unbankable as a priority, in line with the 52nd conference and the NGC. The Post Bank as a developmental bank, different from conventional banks, should be dealt with in the ETC.
162. That the postal services should be inclusive and address the needs of the people with

disabilities. It agreed that there is a need for the postal services and postal infrastructure to accommodate access for people with disability. It was also agreed that print as well as the electronic media should also facilitate access to content for people with disability.

RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND INNOVATION

Noting

163. The country continues to demonstrate excellence through major ICT and scientific breakthroughs emanating from research and development programmes. There is great potential in ICT Research and Development and Innovation that needs to be unlocked in order for the country to become more globally competitive.
164. Highlights of recent world-class achievements include the following projects of the Department of Science and Technology:
 - a) As part of the cyber-infrastructure programme which is implemented by Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in partnership with universities and other science councils, South Africa today hosts the most powerful computer in Africa, which is among the top 500 supercomputers in the world – currently at position 329. This facility provide South Africa with enormous capability to perform complex scientific and mathematical calculations that solves real societal problems in the environment and climate change, automobiles, bio-medical sciences and astronomy.
 - b) On the social impact side, some ICT Research and Development and Innovation programmes include the Digital Doorway (DD) – an innovative, robust computer facility that is deployed in under-serviced areas that members of the community can access anytime of the day to gain computer literacy skills and access relevant information, content and various applications.
 - c) A flagship project that demonstrates the use of alternative, cost-effective and innovative technologies and models to deploy broadband infrastructure and services for rural communities is currently

underway in Nkangala District Municipality in Mpumalanga. The project uses Wireless Mesh Network technology to connect close to 200 schools and a few other sites. 114 of these connections have been commissioned to the Internet. The project incorporates a business model that promotes local economic development. Unlike with conventional telecommunication network operator model, the Wireless Mesh Network uses the out-of-school youth who show entrepreneurial and technical potential to operate, support and maintain the network in their communities.

165. The progress made in the development of a long-term ICT Research and Development and Innovation (RDI) implementation roadmap.

166. High impact national programmes such as the digital switchover will facilitate local and international investments in ICT research and development. As a crucial part of the National ICT Policy research, development and innovation strategies and plans would enable a coherent and increased public and private investment in the ICT by providing mechanisms to forecast technology developments in targeted areas; attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) from ICT multinational companies; and identifying critical areas that must be developed to meet South Africa's socio-economic objectives.

Believing

160. The above examples illustrate how directed interventions on ICT Research and Development and Innovation can bring about significant socio-economic development. However, to make real impact, the current investment in ICT Research and Development and Innovation need to be increased multiple-fold in order to achieve a critical mass in ICT Research and Development.

161. While ICTs are widely recognised as potent tools and enablers for socio-economic development, South Africa still lacks adequate competencies, capacity and capabilities and hence the continued reliance on imported ICT products and services. If the status quo persists, the real impact of ICTs on economic growth will not be realised.

162. There is enough evidence-based studies that show that the world's advanced economies have achieved their status largely because they have adopted and implemented policies that support technological (in most case ICT) innovation based on strong research and development capabilities.

Therefore resolve

163. To promote and support development of new ICT Research and Development (R&D) plans and strengthen existing strategies and policies to foster robust, well-coordinated institutional arrangements that lead to development of indigenous world-class, technology innovations in ICT through directed national ICT research, development and innovation programmes.

164. To increase the number of Masters and PhDs students enrolling and graduating in ICT. Over the past few years, South Africa has been graduating between 14 and 35 PhDs per year in ICT related fields. The starting point should be to increase the current ICT PhD production by 10 - 15 fold per year in order to enable critical mass of advanced ICT human capital.

165. Within the framework of the National ICT Policy, South Africa will overcome the "Digital Divide" by leveraging advances in ICT to address socio-economic challenges and thus create "Digital Advantage". Through sound investment and effective coordination of ICT RDI activities, the following conditions will be established:

- a) advanced human capital and strong institutional capacity, enabling critical mass for research in focussed ICT domains;
- b) a flourishing and growing high-tech ICT industry characterised by tight engagement with research communities, as well as fast uptake and promotion of research results and indigenous innovation;
- c) a healthy innovation ecosystem, in which research results flow unencumbered to government and industry to achieve impact in society;
- d) advanced ICT infrastructure connecting South Africa internally and with the world; and
- e) local content and applications that

address local needs and also create export opportunities.

166. To increase investments in ICT RDI which must support existing research programmes – and enable creation of new ones – leading to achievement of ICT Research and Development critical mass through appropriate funding for Research and Development in higher education institutions, science councils and research institutions.
167. The ICT RDI roadmap must be adopted by 2014.
168. The building of research infrastructure; and attraction of foreign direct investment through various incentive schemes that will see large multinational ICT conglomerates setting up research and innovation facilities in South Africa – not just sales offices.

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Resolutions OF THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

8. EDUCATION AND HEALTH

INTRODUCTION

The Commission noted the Political Report by the President, the Organisational Report by the Secretary General, recommendations of the 2012 National Policy Conference, and presentations on the National Development Plan and Census 2011 results. These provided the context in which discussions took place.

The Commission also received presentations on the progress made since the 52nd National Conference in the ANC and government. Progress was evaluated and plans and programs for the future designed.

After extensive deliberations the commission resolved that the details of certain issues will be dealt with by the NEC and that Conference should adopt resolutions tabled in this report.

GENERAL

Establishment of Subcommittees on Education and Health and collation of sectoral ANC policy documents.

1. Noting that:

- The ANC Subcommittee on Education and Health needs effective and functional structures to carry out its mandate.
- Sectors in the Subcommittee require current policy documents to promote uniform understanding of ANC policy.

Therefore resolves that:

- Each Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) immediately establish a provincial subcommittee on Education and Health at all levels of the organisation.
- At a provincial level an MEC who is not the political head of Education or Health shall serve as a Chair of the Subcommittee on Education and Health. Similarly a Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC) entrusted with educational and health matters shall not serve as the chairperson at local government level.
- The NEC Subcommittee on Education and Health conduct comprehensive

reviews of official policy documents of specific sectors, namely Basic Education, Higher Education & Training, Health and Science & Technology; and where indicated consolidate existing ANC policy positions into identifiable ANC policy documents by 30 June 2013.

National Development Plan 2030

2. Noting that:

- The National Development Plan is a long-term strategy for the country's development which enjoys overwhelming support among the various sectors and communities in our country.
- The National Development Plan broadly resonates and is compatible with the Action Plan to 2014: Towards the Realization of Schooling 2025.
- The Health related identified challenges as well as the recommended objectives, targets and actions correlate with those identified by the ANC and Government in a.o the ten point plan and the NSDA.

Therefore resolves that:

- Conference supports the implementation of the NDP and endorses its objectives and goals.
- Conference enjoins government departments to note any gaps that might have been identified by the NDP for purposes of policy and planning.
- The ANC and government mobilize all necessary resources to achieve the goals and priorities set out in the National Development Plan 2030.

BASIC EDUCATION

Stability in schools and protecting education from disruptions:

Noting that:

- There is general agreement that education has to be protected from disruptions.
- Disruption of schooling through industrial action and service delivery protests impact negatively on the stability of schools and the quality of education.

Therefore resolves that:

- A Presidential Commission be established to review the remuneration and conditions of employment of education and health professionals and make recommendations on salary adjustments and wage increases in a manner that protects education and health as national priorities.
- The Commission commences with health and education because they are APEX priorities; and this will set up the benchmark for all other sectors.

Post provisioning norms**Noting that:**

- There is on-going tension between government and trade unions with regards to post provisioning.

And believing that:

- There must be closer engagement between government and trade union stakeholders to resolve disagreement on class sizes, distribution of educators and redeployment of educators declared redundant.
- The challenge of providing educators in rural schools and incentives must be reviewed.
- Urgent attention must be given to the filling of vacant posts and resolving the matter of temporary educators and attend to issues of principals who interfere with enrolment to maintain a particular number of educators.

Further believing that:

- This solution required close cooperation between government and labour unions.

Therefore resolves that:

- The department must match teaching skills and competencies with positions to which teachers are appointed.
- Post provisioning norms in addition to numbers must be informed by socio-economic context and curricula needs.
- The department must profile all educators on the basis of their qualification and teaching experience.
- Provinces must adhere to existing policies to avoid problems currently experienced with the movement of educators to where they

are needed.

- A different and more stable system must be established to avoid yearly movements of teachers, and this must be balanced with providing teachers where they are needed most.
- The challenge of quality outcomes must also be linked to this point, as poor performance forces parents to move children around schools but also across provinces complicating the deployment of teachers and resources where they are needed.

Resourcing education**Noting that:**

- Conditions under which educators work play an important role in creating job satisfaction.
- These conditions also play a role in improving the morale of both educator and learner.

Further noting that:

- The department will integrate all the education infrastructure needs into the current multi-year programs of the Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission (PICC).
- To maximise benefit, the Commission supported a centralized approach in the procurement of LTSM.

Therefore resolves that:**Procurement**

- Government adopts a centralized approach in the procurement of Learner Teacher Support Material (LTSM).
- Government expands the capacity to print text books and workbooks and own their intellectual property.
- Uniform and standardized textbooks must be provided to all learners across the system.

School Infrastructure

- Infrastructure must be dealt with urgently and in an integrated manner.
- A comprehensive school building program must be developed and coordinated by the Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Committee.

Monitoring and evaluation of performance

Noting that:

- There is general consensus among stakeholders on the need for rigorous monitoring and evaluation of performance in the education sector.
- The objective of monitoring and evaluation plus evaluation of learner performance must be capacity building in order to keep the process innocent and free of manipulation.

Therefore resolves that:

- All teachers, principals and deputy principals as well as education officials must be assessed and evaluated with the intention of improving their skills and accountability.
- People who are to be evaluated must not be the ones determining whether they should be assessed or not and also should not have the final word on how the evaluation should be done.
- The Integrated Qualifications Management System (IQMS) must be refined, improved and enhanced as efficient instrument for teacher assessment and development.
- Quality teaching leadership and management development must address both content knowledge and methodology.
- The Commission confirmed the Polokwane resolution that certain category of teacher training should take place in colleges whilst strictly monitoring quality at those institutions.
- Accountability mechanisms must be developed to ensure that teachers, principals and all officials in the system are held accountable through an efficient monitoring system utilizing modern technology.

Review of funding model for schools and review of the Quintile Model

Noting that:

- The funding model based on the quintiles system has material inconsistencies.
- The model has limitations and unintended results.
- The current system is being reviewed by government with a clear purpose of arriving

at situation where there are “fee” and “no-fee” paying schools in the country.

Therefore resolves that:

- The funding model is endorsed with special emphasis on a bias toward poor communities and the achievement of parity and equality.
- The quintile model must be transformed to classify schools into fee-paying and non-fee-paying schools.

The appointment of school principals

Noting that:

- The current system used to appoint school principals is deficient and open to undue influences.
- School principals are important professionals and managers of our schools accountable to the Departments of Education and communities.

Therefore resolves that:

- Relevant legislation must be amended to allow for a different method of appointment.
- School principals must be appropriately qualified and also be appointed on merit.
- The role of School Governing Bodies (SGBs) in the appointment of school principals must be clarified and communicated to all learners, parents, communities and other stakeholders.
- Principals must be held accountable for poor management, poor discipline and poor outcomes.
- Mechanisms must be developed to enable the deployment of principals in areas of need and for purposes of mentoring and coaching.

The capacity of government

Noting that:

- The low level capacity and incompetence amongst some government officials has resulted in embarrassment and is entrenching a culture of mediocrity.
- Some of these appointments are partly caused by flawed appointment processes and the composition of interview panels.

Therefore resolves that:

- Government be directed to put in place

business processes and to institutionalise these, thus making sure that there are consequences for every action.

- Government must institute constant training and development programmes for government officials.
- A national skills audit must be carried out at all levels of government as a matter of urgency in order to identify the gaps.

Mismanagement, incompetence and ill-discipline

8. Noting that:

- The culture of ill-discipline in schools, crime, vandalism, drugs, violence amongst teachers and learners that has to be urgently uprooted.
- Many educators are not exemplary by engaging in unsavoury relations with learners and therefore get implicated in learner pregnancies, high rate of absenteeism, absconding, unpunctuality, drunkenness and lack of professionalism.
- The inability of bureaucrats to manage and their incompetence often results in labour unrest.
- Poor management often leads to mismanagement of labour relations, with the consequence of creating a vicious cycle of ill-discipline and impunity,
- Poor management completely erodes dignity in the institutions of learning.
- Some teachers have a poor regard for formal dress code and go to school wearing takkies, jeans and T-shirts.

And further believing that:

- Conference should support a process of both government and trade unions to cooperate to stamp out ill-discipline in the sector.

Therefore resolves that:

- The department enforces strict adherence to the disciplinary standards and norms, including adherence to formal and proper dress code.
- Disciplinary steps must be taken against any official who engages in corrupt, unethical or unlawful practice.

Corruption

9. Noting that:

- Reports of corruption are increasing, especially irregularities in employment and promotions.
- There are many cases of conflict of interest that relate to procurement involving public representatives and civil servants.

Therefore resolves that:

- The ANC takes strong action to deal with corruption.
- The ANC ensures that all collusion that leads to irregularities is stamped out.
- The ANC must ensure its name and all its structures are not abused in the furtherance of corrupt activities.

Poor education outcome

10. Noting that:

- Poor education outcomes are also a reflection of poor leadership at various levels in the system.

Therefore resolves that:

- The ANC takes responsibility and ensures that both elected leaders and deployed cadres in the administration are held accountable.
- The ANC must act decisively to turn around the situation.
- The Subcommittee on Education and Health submits to the ANC leadership a plan of how to ensure accountability of ANC structures, leaders and employees responsible for delivery and education sector outcomes thus enabling decisive action to be taken where performance does not achieve expected outcomes.
- The ANC as a party must act on its members who fail to perform.
- The ANC engage its structures to mobilize grass roots support for improved education outcomes, including the ANC branches, regional, provincial structures, Alliance, parents' bodies and civil society in general in accordance with resolutions of the 52nd National Conference.

Language and cultural education

It is resolved that:

- Teacher development with regard to the use of sign language should be increased.
- In preparation for the introduction of indigenous languages in 2014, the department must prepare resources, curriculum, teacher development and other support measure to ensure an efficient implementation of the program.

Curriculum

Noting that:

The Minister has appointed a Ministerial Team to investigate, among others,

- i. The academic value and benefit of Mathematical Literacy.
- ii. Whether it is desirable in Matric to have a pass rate of above 50% in five subjects and 30% in two subjects.
- iii. To examine two-stream model in the curriculum for technical schools and Further Education and Training (FET) colleges.

Therefore resolves that:

- The Minister must investigate the value of Life Orientation, including Environmental Education, and history as compulsory subjects in the curriculum.
- The recommendation of the Ministerial task team be discussed with the ANC and other stakeholders upon release.

Credibility and image of the sector

Noting that:

- There is on-going onslaught on the education system that is creating a sense of despair, undermining work and progress made and the general credibility of the system; and

Therefore resolves that:

- A committee be established to examine all matters raised such as the debate including the matric pass requirements, text book provisioning and the ANAs results.

School Governing Bodies

Noting that:

- Policies and legislation must be reviewed to prevent unfair discrimination and exclusion and to promote integration.

- A guide on the roles, responsibilities and functions of governing bodies has been distributed to schools.

Therefore resolves that:

- The power of governing body with regards of the locus of authority in terms of language, and capacity of schools and curriculum choices be reviewed and appropriate policy and legislative changes be made where necessary.
- The department must develop SGBs in rural and township schools through the funding that has been made available.
- The department must launch the advocacy campaign encouraging SGBs to co-opt members with appropriate technical skills to assist Governing Bodies.

Section 100 (1)(b) interventions

Noting that:

- There were concerns that were raised about the declaration of section 100(1)(b) interventions.
- There has been good progress in the area of intervention.

Therefore resolves that:

- Interventions must be linked with efforts to develop capacity in areas of interventions.
- Conference supports these interventions and call upon government to pass the necessary legislation guiding such interventions.

Employment of educators and other civil servants as local government councillors

Noting that:

- The 52nd National Conference resolved that the ANC must review the issue of civil servants who are local government councillors.

And further noting that:

- Teachers who are employed as councillors are inevitably distracted by the additional obligations, which impact negatively on their performance.

Therefore resolves that:

- Government must prioritise passing a law to

bar civil servants from taking up employment or positions as local government councillors whilst still employed in government posts.

Multi-grade schools

Noting that:

- A large number of children attend small, multi-grade schools. In 2011, approximately 26% of schools reported having multi-grade classes similar to figures in 2009.

Believing that:

- Multi-grade schools have a negative impact on the quality of learning and teaching.

Therefore resolves that:

- Multi-grade schools must be phased out by 2020.
- Until such time as multi-grade schools are phased out, focused dedicated service and support must be provided to multi-grade schools with elaboration at all levels in the system starting from national to provincial, district and up to schools level.

Retention and drop-out rates

Noting that:

- Approximately 590 000 children aged 7 to 18 were not attending any education institution in 2011 of which the majority, viz. 4 in 5 were in the 16 to 18 age group and 1 in 5 were disabled. A higher percentage of males than female aged 16 to 18 were enrolled in education. Teenage pregnancy generally has a negative impact on enrolment; and the secondary completion rate (completion of Grade 12 by 24 year olds), which was 44% in 2009, has increased to 46.5% in 2011. Learners with Special Education Needs are frequently excluded as a result of not being able to cope with the demands of the National Senior Certificate and Curriculum Statements.

Believing that:

- Completion of Grade 12 and attainment of the National Senior Certificate qualification is vital for the world of work and post schooling education and training opportunities.

Therefore resolves that:

- All measures must be taken to strengthen the basic education sector to provide more opportunities for young people as well as increasing retention, progression, and completion rates in the basic education sector. Such measures can include the following:

- Focused programmes must be put in places to address drop-out rates especially at high school and the negative effects of teenage pregnancy, gangsterism, and vulnerability including bullying
- The two stream model of provisioning must be strengthened to reflect the balance between the vocational and academic pathways.
- Post school options must be expanded; that is, collaboration between DBE and DHET must be strengthened to improve articulation between basic and post-school education in order to expand the effectiveness of credible post-school education and training options.
- Inclusive education. The development and advocacy of learning programmes linked to the National Senior Certificate and the National Curriculum Statement must be.

Early Childhood Development, including Grade R

Noting that:

- There has been a significant increase in the enrolment of learners in ECD – especially in Grade R. 84% of learners entering Grade 1 have attended Grade R in schools according to 2011 Household statistics. Pre-Grade R attendance in ECD has doubled since 2008, and we are on track for universal coverage.

Believing that:

- ECD contributes to accelerated development and that participation in ECD and Grade R is key to develop the basic skills for future successful learning and it is critical that South Africa meets the goal of universal access to Grade R by 2014.

Resolve that:

- A National Policy for Grade R must

be finalised in order to make Grade R compulsory;

- Qualified teachers for Grade R must be trained and employed and professionalization of all Grade R practitioners must be achieved by 2018

Adoption of the National Development Plan 2030 Implementation plan for Basic Education

Noting that:

- The resolutions are aimed at enhancing policy and will help shape an integrated implementation plan on Basic Education.
- Such a plan provides greater detail and time lines for the implementation of such a plan.

Therefore resolves that:

- The attached implementation plan forms the basis and framework for government in dealing with the issues pertaining to the resolutions.
- The implementation plan is hereby adopted as appropriate.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Implementing free higher education for the poor in South Africa

Noting that:

- Significant strides have been made in finalizing the policy on free higher education to all undergraduate level students from for the poor and working class communities for phased implementation from 2014.
- A draft policy on Free Higher Education has been completed, and the broad consultative process, including the social, economic analysis and impact and consultation with Treasury will ensue.

Therefore resolves that:

- The policy for free higher education to all undergraduate level students will be finalized for adoption before the end of 2013.

The National Student Financial Aid Scheme

Noting that:

- University education is costly.
- The principle of increased access to higher

education is a core transformation goal.

- Academically capable students from poor families should not be expected to pay up-front fees in order to access higher education.
- Academically capable students from working class and lower middle class families should also be subsidised with their families providing a household contribution to their studies in proportion to their ability to pay.
- The fees that must be covered include tuition, accommodation, food, books, other essential study materials or learning resources and travel that is the full cost of study fees.
- The upfront fees that are provided and enable fee-free university education for the poor and subsidised fees for the working class and lower middle strata, should be made available as loans through a strengthened NSFAS system. Part of the loan should be converted to a bursary for successful students.

Therefore resolves that

- A newly structured national student financial aid system must be introduced to enable fee-free education from 2014 onwards.
- A policy dialogue model must be utilised to develop a fully-fledged costing model.
- The current NSFAS must be used as a basis for introducing the newly structured scheme.
- Consideration must be given to a graduate tax for all graduates from higher education institution.

Community service for graduates from higher education institutions

Noting that:

- There is currently no national youth or graduate community service scheme in South Africa, which covers all youth and/or graduates.
- The only comparable national programme for graduates is the community service requirement that graduates in a variety of health science programmes have to fulfil.

Therefore resolve that:

- Community service is in principle required from all students who are funded from the fiscus, government bursaries and/or loan schemes with the need to leverage employment and internship opportunities in the public service for different professional fields; and
- Impact studies must be commissioned to inform a policy on Community Service for Higher Education Graduates, initially targeting professional fields linked to national human resource development priorities and progressing to a community service scheme for all higher education graduates.

Infrastructure for post-school education and training system

Infrastructure for post-school education and training system:

Noting that:

- The expansion of the post school education and training system to achieve the 2030 enrolment targets requires extensive infrastructure investment over the next 18 years including the construction of 5 Universities, 20 Teacher Education Campuses and 55 Further Education and Training Colleges.

Therefore resolves that:

- The Department of Higher Education and Training consolidates the infrastructure requirements with estimated costs to expand the post school education and training system which will be linked and coordinated by the Presidential Infrastructure Coordination Council (PICC).

On Higher Education Colleges

Noting that:

- The DHET has been established specifically to enable the coherent and well-articulated offering of higher education, vocational education and skills development through a variety of post school institutions which are under national legislative competence, these colleges continue to operate outside of this sphere and therefore cannot be well integrated into the post school system.

- All post school education and training institutions should be governed under national authority and specifically regulated under the requirements of Higher Education and Training legislation.

Therefore resolve that:

- All public Colleges, specifically Agricultural and Nursing Colleges currently under provincial authority must be moved to a national competence in line with the constitution, and should be governed under the relevant Higher Education and Training Act.
- All Agricultural Colleges must be immediately transferred to the Department of Higher Education and incorporated fully into the post school system.
- All nursing colleges must be immediately transferred to the National Department of Health but must operate under the requirements of the Higher Education Act of 1997 as amended, and must be fully incorporated into the post school system in terms of articulation, governance, information systems and skills planning.

On former Teacher Education Colleges

Noting that:

- All education infrastructures should be effectively utilised for educational purposes in order to ensure expanded access to educational opportunities for our youth.
- Former Colleges of Education are well placed across the country and represent significant infrastructure that could be recapitalised for teacher education, as well as other post school education and training opportunities.
- Specifically there is a need to open new Teacher Education Campuses to enable the strengthening and expansion of foundation phase and intermediate phase African language specific teacher education, as well as a need to open new FET College campuses and Community Education and Training Centres.

Therefore resolves that:

- A full audit of all former College of Education infrastructure must be undertaken to identify those Colleges which are not being utilised for educational purposes.

are underutilised and could be productively used to expand post school education and training opportunities.

- All former colleges not utilised for educational purposes e.g. as university campuses, FET College campuses, teacher development institutes or centres, must be recapitalised for foundation and intermediate phase teacher education or as FET College campuses, or for other post school education purposes.

Other matters

The Commission further raised a number of issues amongst which the following may be noted:

1. A special committee on the transformation of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) has been established by the Minister.
2. A funding model informed by the report of the Ramaphosa Commission is biased in favour of the Historically Disadvantaged Institutions of Higher Learning.
3. Bogus colleges that have not been registered have been criminalized.
4. A review process of the curriculum content of the National Senior Certificate – Vocational (NSC-V) has been initiated.
5. A policy document seeking to align FET Academic schools, Technical Schools and FET Colleges is being developed.
6. An initiative has been launched to attract better qualified FET lecturers and staff.
7. There are discussions between Higher Education & Training and Higher Education South Africa (HESA) in relation to standardization of points or scores for purposes of admission to universities or universities of technology.
8. The Minister of Higher Education & Training in his capacity as a convener of the Human Resource Development Inter-Ministerial Task Team has approached State Owned Enterprises (SOEs), sister departments and the private sector to provide opportunities for practical training of graduates. Eskom has already taken about 8000 learners as interns and apprentices.
9. The process of centralized applications for Higher Education Institutions has commenced and will be refined over time.

HEALTH

National Health Insurance (NHI)

Noting:

- Progress made in the implementation of the NHI, including the setting up of pilot sites in at least 11 districts covering all provinces.

Therefore resolves that:

- The NHI fund be set up urgently using state revenue by 2014.
- The ANC should mobilise broad social support for the roll out of the NHI.
- The ANC should continue to guide and oversee government process of developing the White Paper and legislation on the NHI and should be finalised by 2013.

Central hospitals, namely academic hospitals directly attached to medical schools

Noting that:

- Central hospitals are national assets providing services across provinces.
- Central hospitals are an integral part of universities by virtue of being primary training platforms which no medical university can do without.
- All universities are competencies of the Department of Higher Education.
- The NHI will need an expanded training platform to produce adequate health professionals.

Therefore resolve that:

- Central hospitals must become the responsibility of national government including overall management.
- National Health must ensure improved management and related capacity of central hospitals to deliver services efficiently and effectively.

Security and efficiency of supply of critical services

Noting that:

- Intermittent deterioration of quality of health care within public health institutions, especially in the areas of cleanliness, safety and security of staff and patients, attitude

of staff, infection control, the long queues and stock-out of drugs and other essential services.

- Improvement of quality of public health services has been identified as a key success factor in the implementation of NHI.
- Cost reductions have been achieved in the centralisation of procurement of medicines.
- Pharmaceutical depots are no longer a best practise for sustainable supply of medicines by the countries with developed and efficient health systems because of inherent risks of pilferage, expired stock, lack of security of supply and inefficient distribution to hospitals and clinics.

Therefore resolve that:

- Critical services such as cleaning services, security services, food services and laundry services and linen supply must be provided in-house and not be outsourced.
- The department introduces direct delivery of pharmaceuticals, dry dispensary and related supplies to facilities by suppliers to ensure improved turnaround times and prompts payment of suppliers.
- The department extends the central procurement mechanism to all pharmaceuticals, dry dispensary and medical equipment and devices.
- State must have majority shareholding in the state owned pharmaceutical company.

Human Resources Development

Noting that:

- The National Health System currently experiences a critical shortage of professional and technical staff.
- The NHI will require increased numbers of health professionals and technical personnel.
- Nursing remains the backbone of the health care system.
- While it is important that nurses also continue their studies at universities, universities cannot be the primary training platform for the nursing profession as the training of nurses is mostly a bedside experience.

Therefore resolves:

- To welcome the National Human Resource Strategy for Health.

- That the Primary training platform for nurses should be located at nursing colleges inside the hospitals, and that the department accelerates the refurbishment of such colleges.

- To accelerate the training of health professionals in collaboration with the Ministry of Higher Education and local Universities; and, where necessary, to extend training to outside the borders of our country.

Healthy lifestyles

Noting that:

- Ever-increasing global burden of Non Communicable Diseases, which in our country adds to the already high incidence of communicable diseases such HIV & AIDS and TB.
- United Nations high-level meeting in the General Assembly as well as National Summit held in September 2011, imploring countries to deal decisively with the risk factors of smoking, harmful use of alcohol, poor diet and lack of exercise.
- Generally NHI systems around the world are sustained through initiatives targeted at reducing the burden of Diseases, including NCD's, violence and injury especially on the roads, by mechanisms that control the risk factors.

Therefore resolve that:

- Government must fast track legislation and regulations to deal with the risk factors of diseases and injury, including the creation of a multi-sectoral Health Commission whose function is specifically to deal with the said risk factors.
- The ANC and government must embark on activities to promote healthy lifestyles through mobilization of individuals and communities to engage in physical activities, good dietary practices and reduction of harmful use of alcohol, tobacco and to control of substance abuse.
- Government must strengthen the capacity of rehabilitation services in the public sector with a focus on mental health, physical disability, gender based violence, childhood trauma and substance abuse.

Infrastructure

Noting:

- The health infrastructure backlogs, poor maintenance of health facilities, under-spending and poor project management capacity.
- The need to accelerate the revitalisation of health facilities as well as building new ones.
- That health infrastructure is one of the SIPs in PICC.
- There is a need for massive health infrastructure for NHI

Therefore resolves that:

- Under the auspices of the PICC, a comprehensive audit of all health infrastructure be conducted, revitalization and refurbishment of all substandard infrastructure be executed by 2025 using the public fiscus and public-private partnerships where appropriate.
- The department establishes teams of engineers and other professionals in built industry from, e.g., the CSIR, DBSA, Transnet, Eskom, to provide health infrastructure on a massive scale in the pilot districts in order to shorten the pilot period.
- Provincial health departments must establish effective project management teams led by Technical professionals such as engineers.
- The department establishes workshops in health facilities for maintenance of infrastructure and medical equipment.

Quality of Health Care

Noting that:

- Health facilities easily run out of essential supplies and services despite budgetary allocation.
- The Office of Health Standard Compliance (OHSC) Act has been passed by national parliament in November 2012; which prescribe for the establishment of the following 3 units: Inspectors, Ombudsperson and Certification office. These Units are established for the implementation and monitoring of core-standards.

Therefore resolves to:

- Establish the OHSC nationally and in each

province from 2013.

- Appoint Ombudsperson by 2013.
- Accelerate the establishment of facility improvements teams for each district.
- Adopt non-negotiables for health, e.g. pharmaceuticals, security, vaccines, food, dry dispensary, as a policy and good practice for hospitals and clinics.

Re-engineering of primary health care

Noting that:

- Primary Health Care is the heartbeat of any sustainable health system globally.
- The PHC remains at the core of the overhauling of the health system and the NHI in South Africa.
- Progress was made in the re-engineering of the PHC through the School health programme, municipal ward-based primary health care agents, districts specialist teams and contracting GPs to work in clinics in pilots districts.

Further noting:

- The centrality of the school health programme in giving children a head start in disease prevention and health promotion as well as the need to social crisis like barriers to learning, teenage pregnancy, teenage termination of pregnancy and substances abuse.

Therefore resolves to:

- Launch a massive family planning programme throughout the country by 2013 under the theme "Dual Protection".
- Ensure consultation of parents on school health programme, in relation to reproductive health rights, HIV counselling & testing and prevention of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs).
- Establish the National Health Commission in 2013, which will be a multi-sectoral platform to promote healthy lifestyles, encourage prevention of diseases and promote health care; by enforcing health regulations.
- Pass regulations on tobacco control, in line with World Health Organisation's framework convention on tobacco control as it relates

to elicit trading of tobacco products, by 2014.

- Pass law to abolish marketing of alcohol products by 2013.
- Accelerate regulations on diet and content of salt in food stuffs.
- Accelerate the contracting of General practitioners to work in government clinics.

Cost of Health Care

Noting:

- Extremely exorbitant fees charged in private health care which have markedly increased health inflation.

Therefore resolves to:

- Establish a National Pricing Commission to regulate the health care in the private sector by 2013.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Noting that:

- Science, technology and innovation requires greater attention in the work and policies of the ANC.
- Science, technology and innovation across public and private sectors remains somewhat fragmented.
- The ANC 50th National Conference emphasized the importance of science and technology in human resource development and economic growth.
- The need for a clear policy on the strategic leadership, coordination and governance of the Science, Technology and Innovation system.

Further noting that:

- Government declared 1998 the Year of Science and Technology and launched a five-year public awareness campaign in Science and Technology; and that the ANC resolved that this campaign be linked to the educational campaign to build a culture of learning, teaching and service.
- The 50th ANC National Conference resolved to call upon government to ensure that programme and broader efforts to

restructure the country's science and technology infrastructure to benefit the poor and rural areas.

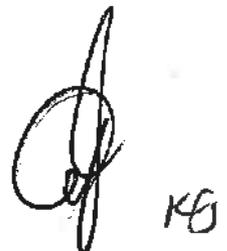
- The Ministerial Review Committee recommendations on the governance and financing of the Science, Technology and Innovation system tabled in 2012.

Believing that:

- Science, Technology and Innovation are central to finding appropriate solutions for any society to address its socio-economic challenges.
- The achievement of the vision 2030 will require investment in innovations of new knowledge and technology
- The Developmental State must lead in strengthening the capacity, co-ordination, funding as well as ensuring mainstreaming of Science, Technology and Innovation in both the public and private sector.

Therefore resolves that:

- The 53rd National Conference Strategy and Tactics make reference to critical role of the National System of Innovation in building the knowledge based economy.
- The ANC should prioritise science and technology policy development, implementation and monitoring capacity.
- The principle of mainstreaming Science, Technology and Innovation in the ANC, government and the private sector be adopted.
- The Ministry of Science and Technology should provide strategic leadership and coordination of the National System of Innovation.
- The Government should adequately finance and capacitate the National System of Innovation and target achieving 1,5% expenditure of GDP by 2017.



Resolutions OF THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

9. FINANCE AND FUNDRAISING

Noting that:

1. The organization is entering its second phase of transition in the transformation of our society from a colonial apartheid past to a united, non – racial, non – sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa, where more radical programmes will have to be implemented aimed at a total emancipation of the people of South Africa in an environment of scarce resources.
2. As an organization operating within a modern and dynamic society, we need to adapt our systems to be compatible with modern technologies that speed up processes and facilitate smooth management and accountability.
3. The organization must maintain financial prudence and discipline at all levels of organization all the time.
4. Progress made in the implementation of the 52nd National Conference as has been presented in the Treasurer-General's report to the 53rd National Conference. The financial report pointed out a number of strengths and weaknesses as well as threats that organization needs to pay attention to and opportunities that it may need to exploit in bettering its financial situation.
5. All Branches should promptly open bank accounts. The opening of bank accounts by branches should be concluded within 6 months, and special mechanisms should be put in place to deal with unsustainable accounts, including allowing a region to hold some kind of a trust account separate from any region's transaction account in which moneys of those branches can be kept and be released on request. This should go with rigorous training of branches on financial management and politics of money as proposed above.
6. In expediting the full implementation of the 52nd National Conference resolution on the full reallocation of membership fee, cost of collecting such fee and printing a membership card must be taken into consideration.
7. All ANC members who earn an income should be encouraged to contribute equitably to the movement by paying a levy, according to their ability.
8. Affirm the 52nd resolution on the allocation of levies to provinces. However, on implementation, provinces must be given option based on their concerns and their situation.
9. Foreign funding should be permitted but must be regulated to avoid abuse and as well as building an investment portfolio. Regulation of party-linked investment vehicles should also be introduced to avoid conflict of interest which will result in compromising the integrity of the movement.
3. The membership fees should be increased from R12 to R20 for all members.
4. The NEC must implement the 52nd National Conference resolution on the allocation of full membership fee to branches as part of strengthening the capacity of branches to carry out their key tasks in communities (full allocation to be sub-divided amongst the province, regions and branches).

And believing that:

- i. Resourcing the movement is fundamental to its ability to carry out the mission of the ANC, as articulated by the 52nd National Conference.
- ii. Decisive steps have to be taken to secure the financial sustainability.

Therefore resolves:

1. Public funding should be expanded in order to promote and support democracy. Such funding will be accompanied by full financial accountability and transparency by political parties, including regulation of private financing of political parties.
2. The ANC should participate in the economy, through various activities such as setting up business to provide goods and services

- manipulation by external forces in the political affairs of our country.
10. The fundraising guidelines should emphasize that fundraising effort should be an ongoing responsibilities of every member in the leadership. However, there must be consultation with the Office of the Treasurer-General. Donations will be accepted in kind or financial contribution. Mechanism will be instituted to eliminate abuse and corruption, such as keeping records, or a declaration book for donation in kind, depositing into the organization's account and limiting fund raising to those who are authorized.
 11. The ANC should introduce financial management module in the political education program for ANC members who are charged with the responsibility to manage finances of the organisation.
 12. The current investigation done by the ANC has indicated that the use of the Post Bank will be more affordable and the NEC should consider using the Post Bank unless the high bank charges with the current FNB is negotiated to a more competitive and acceptable level.
 13. The NEC should act to improve the professionalism and effectiveness of ANC fundraising and financial management efforts, including by ensuring that those involved are properly orientated, trained and authorized. Those assigned to these tasks must be accountable to organizational structures, such as the Finance Committee and related forums, and their performance needs to be monitored.
 14. Outstanding matters from the 52nd National Conference pertaining to Finance and fundraising should be concluded within the next 12 months. These include amongst others increase in allocation of political party funding from the public fiscus at national level and introduction of the provincial political party funding bill. To maximize the sharing of resources between regional offices, provincial leagues and caucus the alignment between the operations of the constitutional structures and constituency offices must be finalized.
 15. Mechanisms to broaden the revenue base of the organization should be developed as a matter of urgency and be implemented. These include the adoption of the fundraising and investment policy guidelines within the first meeting of the finance and fund raising sub-committee for recommendation to NEC.
 16. The composition of the Finance and Fundraising sub-committee should be reviewed. In particular:
 - i. In addition to NEC members serving on this structure, other ANC members with relevant expertise and knowledge should be coopted on to this structure to enhance its effectiveness. Provincial treasurers and treasurer-generals of the Leagues should also serve on the FFC.
 - ii. To improve its effectiveness, the subcommittee must develop an annual programme with specific milestones to be achieved within any given period of reporting. Due consideration must be made to all levels of the organization regarding this matter.
 - iii. Institutional capacity to support the work of the sub-committee should be built at the national, provincial and regional levels. The performance of this support function should be assessed from time to time, and should include responsibilities for specific areas of work (e.g. fundraising, investment portfolio and financial management and accounting systems).
 17. Political decisions taken should be costed and financial implications be understood and budgeted for. The adoption of annual political programme must be linked to the available funding in order to avoid over commitments and accrual of debts and liabilities.
 18. Induction on financial matters involves all members of the executive committee at all levels and the leagues to ensure collective responsibility for the finances and other resources of the organization. Training of treasurers of the ANC and its leagues must be in both hard core issues of financial management, on politics, ethics on good governance and in fundraising in general. This training must be conducted within six months of the term of office of the current NEC.
 19. The Veterans league to be provided with special financial and technical support, including training as they are at an early stage of their setting up of systems.
 20. The ANC should ensure its financial reporting complies with Generally Accepted Accounting Practice (GAAP)

Handwritten signature and initials, possibly 'A. H.', located at the bottom right of the page.

**CRITICAL ISSUES REFERRED TO
NEC FOR FURTHER HANDLING**

The Financial report points out that the following costs are very high and unsustainable and have been referred to NEC for further handling since there are of administrative nature:

- Salary and Wages;
- Operational Costs; and
- Travelling and Accommodation.

Other matters that the commission also referred to the Management for further handling:

- Asset Management;
- Expansion of Investment portfolio; and
- Donor Fatigue.



Handwritten signature, possibly initials, with the letters 'KJ' written below it.

Closing Address

ANC President Jacob Zuma



*ANC Deputy President, Comrade Cyril Ramaphosa
and all Officials of the ANC,*

*Deputy President of the Republic, Comrade Kgalema
Motlanthe,*

*Members of the incoming of the National Executive
Committee,*

Leadership of the Leagues, MKMVA,

*The leadership of the Alliance, the SACP and Cosatu
plus SANCO,*

*Representatives of fraternal parties in SADC and
internationally,*

Comrades Delegates,

Our honoured veterans,

*Representatives of the business community, traditional
leaders, religious and other sectors,*

Distinguished guests,

Comrades and friends,

Members of the media,

WE have come to the end of a very successful
53rd National Conference of the ANC.

We conclude our business on a high note, satisfied
that we have achieved the objectives we had set
for ourselves at the beginning of the conference.

Let me take this opportunity to formally
congratulate the newly elected leadership of the
ANC – the Officials as well as the additional
members of the National Executive Committee.

As the incoming leadership collective we are
humbled by the confidence shown by the
branches of the ANC in us. We will do our
best in executing our tasks on behalf of the
membership, and also guided by the membership.

We also extend our deepest gratitude to our
former colleagues, the outgoing officials and the
outgoing National Executive Committee.

The comrades contributed immensely to the
growth and success of the movement in the past
five years, at times under difficult conditions.

The primary task of the ANC going forward is to work for unity at all levels of the organization. We must all do everything that is humanly possible to lead the organization in promoting unity.

As Madiba taught us, unity is the rock upon which the ANC was founded.

When we emerged from the 52nd national conference in Polokwane, we assumed that we were all in agreement that we would work for unity, and collectively understood the democratic principles and internal democracy that prevailed within the movement.

We did not monitor the process. We must not repeat that mistake. Unity will not happen automatically, we need to work hard for it.

Comrades,

We also wish to reiterate that all members have a right to be nominated for any position in the organisation and to accept or decline that nomination.

Therefore, no member or leader of the ANC should be ostracised for exercising their democratic rights as members.

Comrades, let me also acknowledge the delegates in this hall for discipline and for promoting unity and cohesion.

When we requested you to refrain from divisive and triumphant songs and slogans, you complied. This is what is always expected from ANC cadres.

In that way, the decorum of the ANC that we know returned. We are going to leave this conference venue with great optimism, as it is clear that the ANC is renewing itself already.

Comrades,

We had indicated that this was a significant conference as it occurs at the beginning of the decisive second phase of our long transition from Colonialism of a Special Type to a National Democratic Society.

We chose as a theme, **Unity in Action towards Socio-Economic Freedom**, which demonstrates that we are ready for the task of radically transforming our society.

That task will require a renewed and more vibrant ANC and Alliance.

As directed by conference, the incoming NEC

will begin processes of implementing the directive of the 53rd conference to develop a 10 year programme for organisational renewal and the Decade of the Cadre.

We have to fast-track the implementation of a coherent cadre policy, and to institutionalise political education.

We must move away from saying how important political education is, to actually implementing the decisions.

Through political education and cadre development as well as decisive action against ill-discipline, we will be able to root out all the tendencies that we have identified over the years.

These include factionalism, the sowing of disunity and confusion within the movement, the use of money to buy members, positions or influence in the organisation, the hurling of insults or even worse, the attacks on members of the ANC.

We will be able to deal with the comrades who disrupt ANC meetings and those who want the ANC to be now run on technicalities and through the courts.

We will be building cadres who respect actions taken by the movement to enforce discipline against others, who know the implications of working with members who have been expelled from the organisation, assisting them to undermine the organisation. There must be consequences for such ANC members.

Leading the ANC's political education programme will need to be a seasoned and senior cadre of our movement who is schooled in the traditions of the ANC.

We discussed this critical matter with Deputy President Ramaphosa and former ANC Deputy President Motlanthe and other officials.

We are pleased to announce that former Deputy President Motlanthe will lead this crucial ANC political education programme. We thank the former Deputy President for availing himself for this crucial developmental task.

Comrades,

On safeguarding core values, conference has also directed the incoming NEC to urgently develop the guidelines and constitute the Integrity



Committee of the ANC within three months after this Conference.

The NEC must also develop a code of conduct booklet to be circulated to all branches within the first quarter of 2013.

We discussed the formation of the Committee at length at the National General Council in 2010.

This intervention will go a long way towards promoting ethical behaviour within the organisation.

Comrades, as part of organisational renewal, the ANC will also lead by example by being the champion of education and skills development in this phase of the revolution.

We therefore call on every branch to strive, through the education campaign, to improve the literacy rate and general level of education and skills among the people in every ward.

Comrades, on the economy, we have declared that over the next five years, the ANC will take decisive and resolute action to overcome the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment, which are at the heart of South Africa's challenge.

The ANC government will therefore transform the structure of the economy through industrialisation, broad-based black economic empowerment, addressing the basic needs of our people, including women and youth as well as strengthening and expanding the role of the state.

More importantly, the ANC has at this conference welcomed and embraced National Development Plan as a critical basis for united action by all South Africans to build a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society.

Thus, our first main strategic task in period ahead is the comprehensive and democratic implementation of the National Development Plan.

It is a strategic task to ensure that by 2030 we attain full employment for our people, consequently eradicate poverty and significantly reduce inequality.

Some of the key programmatic contents of the NDP have already been put into motion in the last few years.

This relates to the new growth path, the state-led industrial policy as well as the huge social and economic infrastructure development. It also relates to our five priorities.

Our main strategic task will be to ensure that our people are organised and mobilised around the NDP as a bold plan in our struggle for nation-building and socio-economic emancipation.

We must ensure all sectors of the state and society are focussed on the vision and the implementation of the Plan as it is a Plan for all South Africans not the ANC alone.

We call upon members of the ANC, wherever they are deployed – in cabinet, in communities, in provincial or local governments, to build on the message of the NDP.

Comrades

We have had very robust and constructive debates in the plenary and the Commissions. The culture of internal debates in the movement became visible.

We have taken several other resolutions that will renew and transform the organization. What is a priority now is to draw up a clear programme of action to implement our good policies.

We trust that early in the year the programme will be done and concluded.

The programme of action that we will draw up must demonstrate the tasks of individual branches in implementing the programme.

The Leagues of the ANC should also work on programmes of action based on the resolutions of this 53rd conference.

As we go forward we will be working with the Alliance, in the spirit raised by the President of COSATU, who said correctly that we need to engage more as the Alliance partners.

Comrades

There are other very important outstanding organisational issues for us to look at in the new year.

For example the conference has in its wisdom, taken a decision that the incoming NEC must discuss the matter of the ANC Youth League. We appreciate that decision and the spirit in which it was taken.

Comrades, next month the ANC enters its second century. We were able to achieve 1,2 million members in the first century. Every century must have its own million members.

Let every member be an organiser and swell the ranks of the ANC with new members. More importantly, we must always remember that we are the organisation of the people of this country.

We carry the hopes and aspirations of the people of this country and beyond.

Therefore, the manner in which we conduct ourselves must help to keep those hopes alive to the citizens of this country.

Comrades, at this stage, please allow me to update you on the important matter of the health status of Isithwalandwe, our beloved former President Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, who has been hospitalised in Pretoria since Saturday the 8th December 2012.

Tata was admitted for tests in keeping with his age and health status.

We were informed by his medical team, which consists of the best specialists in our country, that he had a recurring lung infection and later that they also suspected that he had gallstones.

This latter diagnosis was confirmed and he was successfully operated on 15th December 2012.

Today is the thirteenth day that Tata spends in hospital. His condition was serious but he is responding well to treatment and has steadily improved over the last few days.

I have been informed that at his age, doctors need to intervene in a very gradual and sensitive way, in order to maximise the chances of a full recovery.

The medical team has our full confidence and he is receiving the best care possible.

We are however mindful of the fact that Madiba is at an age where medical challenges require extra-ordinary care.

But, as we all know, Comrade Madiba is an unparalleled fighter and has always been so.

He has met all his health challenges with his tremendous fortitude and grace.

He appreciates the support of the whole nation during this difficult period. We wish him a speedy

recovery and assure his family that he remains foremost in our thoughts.

Comrades,

We thank the Free State for being a wonderful host yet again.

Allow me to also thank all the fraternal liberation movements within SADC and also fraternal political movements from other parts of the world for attending the conference and providing messages of support.

We thank all religious leaders, business and traditional leaders who also graced our conference.

I wish all of you a wonderful festive season and a prosperous New Year, as well as a safe journey back home.

As we close, let me remind you of the wise words of President Mandela when he says there is "No easy walk to freedom".

There will certainly be no easy walk to socio-economic freedom, ngoba yinde lendlela esiyihambayo.

Amandla!



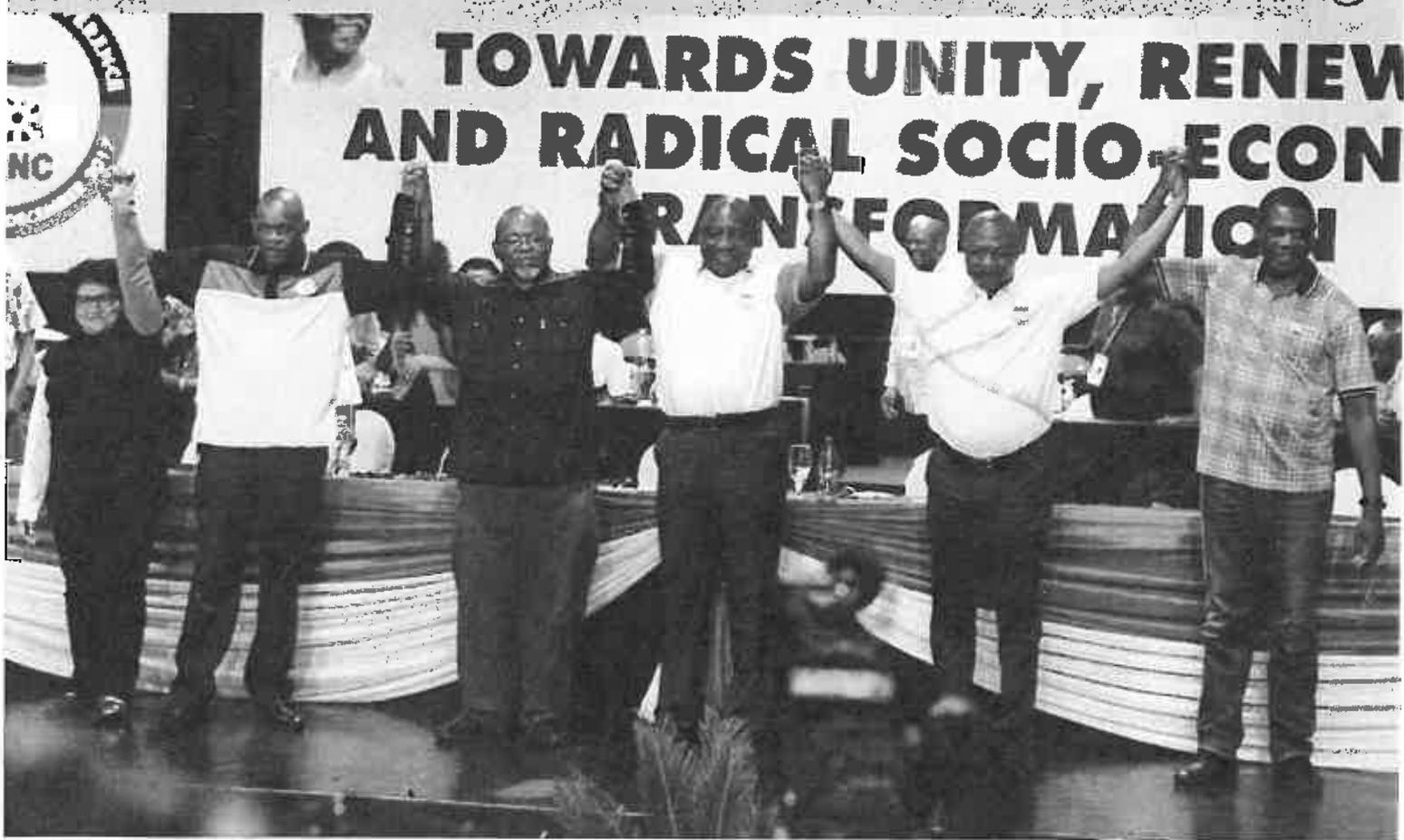
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Annexure "CR4"



54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS

TOWARDS UNITY, RENEW AND RADICAL SOCIO-ECON TRANSFORMATION



REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

CONTENTS

- 1. Introduction by the Secretary General**
- 2. Credentials Report**
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 - a. Officials**
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- 5. Resolutions**
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 - b. Communications and the Battle of Ideas**
 - c. Economic Transformation**
 - d. Education, Health and Science & Technology**
 - e. Legislature and Governance**
 - f. International Relations**
 - g. Social Transformation**
 - h. Peace and Stability**
 - i. Finance and Fundraising**
- 6. Closing Address by the President**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'A. H.', located in the bottom right corner of the page.

INTRODUCTION BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL COMRADE ACE MAGASHULE

The 54th National Conference was convened under the theme of **“Remember Tambo: Towards Unity, Renewal and Radical Socio-economic Transformation”** and presented cadres of our movement with a concrete opportunity for introspection, self-criticism and renewal.

The ANC can unequivocally and proudly say that we emerged from this conference invigorated and renewed to continue serving the people of South Africa.

We took fundamental resolutions aimed at radically transforming the lives of the people for the better and our tasks now are to transform these resolutions into programmes that will make meaningful and lasting difference to peoples' existence.

The ANC is committed to addressing the historical injustice of land dispossession and we shall pursue land expropriation without compensation as a matter of policy. We shall give effect to this resolution in a manner that strengthens the agricultural sector,

improves economic growth and meaningfully addresses inequality and unemployment.

Conference reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to nation-building and directed all ANC structures to develop specific programmes to build non-racialism and non-sexism. It further directed that every ANC cadre must become activists in their communities and drive programmes against the abuse of drugs and alcohol, gender based violence and other social ills. Fundamentally, Conference directed every ANC member to work tirelessly for the renewal of our organisation and to build unity across all structures. A united ANC is a prerequisite for leading the struggle for a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

We invite you to read this report of the 54th National Conference and to discuss the resolutions contained herein thoroughly.

Amandla!

ACE KS

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

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CREDENTIALS REPORT

The ANC Constitution as amended and adopted by the 53rd National Conference requires that the National Executive Committee must convene the national conference every five years.

Rule 10.1. of the ANC Constitution states that the national conference is the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC. It shall be composed of the following:

- At least 90% of delegates at conference shall be from branches, elected at properly constituted branch general meetings
- The number of delegates per branch shall be in proportion to its paid up membership, provided that each branch in good standing shall be entitled to at least one delegate.
- The number of delegates to be allocated to each national conference shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee in proportion to the paid up membership of each province.
- All members of the National Executive Committee shall attend, ex officio, as full participants in, and as delegates to the national conference.
- The remainder of the 10% of voting delegates at the conference shall be allocated by the NEC from among the Provincial Executive Committees, the ANC Veterans League, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League.

Rule 10.1.2. of the ANC Constitution states that the NEC may invite individuals, who have made special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience to attend the conference and participate as Non-voting delegates to the conference.

In compliance with the provisions of the ANC Constitution, the office of the Secretary General conducted membership audits in order to ascertain the state of ANC branches and membership as at 30 April 2017.

As a result, the allocation of delegates as determined by the National Executive Committee is as follows:

Province	Number of Delegates
EASTERN CAPE	648
FREE STATE	409
GAUTENG	508
KWA-ZULU NATAL	870
LIMPOPO	643
MPUMALANGA	736
NORTH WEST	538
NORTHERN CAPE	197
WESTERN CAPE	182
TOTAL	4731

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REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Conference Credentials as adopted during the 54th National Conference

Province	Category	Expected	Registered	Collected
EASTERN CAPE	BRANCH	648	636	632
GAUTENG	BRANCH	508	491	491
FREE STATE	BRANCH	409	355	349
KWA-ZULU NATAL	BRANCH	870	840	804
LIMPOPO	BRANCH	643	553	567
MPUMALANGA	BRANCH	736	722	708
NORTHERN CAPE	BRANCH	197	193	193
NORTH WEST	BRANCH	538	511	446
WESTERN CAPE	BRANCH	182	146	136
	TOTAL	4731	4447	4326
EASTERN CAPE	PEC	27	27	27
GAUTENG	PEC	27	27	27
FREE STATE	PEC	0	0	0
KWA-ZULU NATAL	PEC	0	0	0
LIMPOPO	PEC	27	27	27
MPUMALANGA	PEC	27	27	27
NORTHERN CAPE	PEC	27	27	27
NORTH WEST	PEC	27	27	27
WESTERN CAPE	PEC	27	27	27
	TOTAL	189	189	189
NEC MEMBERS	NEC	86	86	86
ANC Veterans' League	LEAGUES	60	55	55
ANC Youth League	LEAGUES	60	60	60
ANC Women's League	LEAGUES	60	60	60
TOTAL VOTING DELEGATES		5006	4897	4776
ANC Ambassadors	NON-VOTING	567	567	567
Support Staff	NON-VOTING	415	415	415
Guests	NON-VOTING	299	299	299
TOTAL NON-VOTING		1281	1281	1281
GRAND TOTAL		6562	6453	6148



REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

STATUS REPORT ON 63 COMRADES WHOSE VOTES WERE NOT COUNTED

63 comrades presented themselves at the voting station but their names did not appear on the voters roll. Their votes were registered by the Elections Agency but the ballot papers were kept in 63 separate envelopes. These ballots were not counted.

Only those delegates whose branches were pre-registered and verified later, are included in the credentials report. This does not alter the credentials report.

The 63 comrades come from the following Provinces:

Free State	3
KwaZulu Natal	12
Mpumalanga	3
Gauteng	6
Limpopo	32
Western Cape	4
Veterans	1

2 blank sheets of paper were included.

The table below sets out the provinces, names of the comrades and the reasons for the exclusion:

Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
FREE STATE	Fezile Dabi	Ward 8	Mandla Ntombela	Passed
	Fezile Dabi	Ward 1	Jabunali Sigasa	Failed
	Mafube Sub-region	Ward 1	Simolia John Tsotetsi	Failed
KZN	Ulundi	Ward 14	Nilovu Ntombiyke	Failed
	Pongolo	Ward 6	Nhlengethwa Muziwempi	Failed
	Ulundi	Ward 14	Ndithathe Thembaletu	Unknown to region and province
	Dumbe sub-region	Ward 14	Mbuso Kunene Branch mandated delegate is Cde Mxolisi Zulu	Kunene voted
	Abaqulusi, Nongoma	Ward 5	William Nkosi	Failed
	Pongolo	Ward 4	Sipho Nkosi	Passed
	Nongoma	Ward 16	Sibusiso Mkhize	Failed
	Nongoma	Ward 2	Sibusiso Vilani	Failed
	Nongoma	Ward 8	Zanele Ngubane	Failed
	Nongoma	Ward 3	Bhekisizwe Zulu	Failed
	Kwa Dukuza Mapumulo sub-region	Ward 4	Sipho Dlodla	Passed, No ID

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Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
MPUMALANGA	Nkangala Emalahleni sub-region	Ward 22	Solomon Bizzah Motubatse	Passed
	Steve Tshwete	Ward 20	Elizabeth Dibaleng Mahlangu	Passed
	Matieland region	Ward 3	Joseph Mkhomo	Passed
GAUTENG	Tshwane	Ward 82	Kgathatso Tlhakudi	Failed
	West Rand	Ward 10	Shadean Butler	Passed Voter lost accreditation
	Tshwane	Ward 37	Albert Kgoadiamoleke	Passed
	Tshwane	Ward 68	Justice Mabasa	Passed
	West Rand	Ward 97	Nkoata Ananias Mokgalotsi	Branch qualified for 2 voters. Nkoata was left off
	Tshwane	Ward 105	William Motaung	Passed
LIMPOPO	Waterberg Lephalele sub-region	Ward 5	Caroline Seabe	Passed
	Waterberg Mogalekwena	Ward 10	Molomo Malesela Thomas	Delegate captured on voters roll was Tapala Ramokone
	Waterberg Modimolle	Ward 4	Sello Makumbelo	Branch qualified for two delegates – Phetela Annie and Monyamane Stemmer. Sello was not a delegate
	Mopani Giyani	Ward 30	Vukosi Ngubane	Passed Voter did not submit ID number on time
	Mopani Giyani	Ward 9	Daniel Maphahlele	Passed

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REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
LIMPOPO	Mopani Phalaborwa	Ward 8	Allen Mogale	Failed
	Mopani Phalaborwa	Ward 18	Edward Rihlampfu	Passed Delegate is Ngobeni Madala
	Mopani Greater Tzaneen	Ward 8	Jameson Mbhalati	Failed
	Mopani Tzaneen	Ward 21	Raymond Daniel	Passed Delegate is Thandi Phenyana
	Vhembe Thulamela	Ward 6	Rendani Lalumbe	Failed
	Vhembe Makhado	Ward 4	Matumba Ambani	Passed Told by agency that someone voted already
	Vhembe Thulamela	Ward 6	Mudele Mashudu	Failed
	Vhembe Collins Chobane	Ward 28	Moses Matuleke	Passed
	Vhembe Thulamela	Ward 37	Ramaphosa Mashudu	Passed Told by agency that someone voted already
	Sekhukhune Fetagomo	Ward 14	Nelly Makofana	Failed
	Sekhukhune Makhuduthamaga	Ward 21	Betsey Manaleng	Passed
	Sekhukhune Fetagomo	Ward 35	Maisela Charlotte Matlale	Failed
	Sekhukhune Fetagomo	Ward 19	Malomane Kapudi	Failed
	Sekhukhune Ephraim Mogale	Ward 2	Moses Vusi Baloyi	Failed

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
LIMPOPO	Sekukhune Makhuduthamaga	Ward 26	Boshielo William	Passed Mandated delegate is Mahlase Masekwele
	Sekukhune Elias Matsoaledi	Ward 31	Mothibe Rhodes Msiza	Passed Mandated delegate is Sephesumohola Rufus
	Peter Mokaba Molemole sub-region	Ward 6	Stephina Mothopi	
	Peter Mokaba Blouberg	Ward 1	Leso Ramakgaphola	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Molemole	Ward 8	Kganakga Matome	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Blouberg	Ward 12	Seemola Vincent	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Sefako Makgotho	Ward 23	Kgomo Stephina	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Blouberg	Ward 5	Katherine Matsobane	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Blouberg	Ward 12	Ramahuma Meise	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Polokwane	Ward 17	Pat Makape	Failed
	Waterberg Mokalakwena	Ward 30	Name not disclosed	Passed. Branch qualified for 2 delegates
	Waterberg Mokalakwena	Ward 9	Matshegwa P. MATHIBI	Passed
	Waterberg	Ward 4	Kenneth Lateia Satege	Branch not verified
ANC VETERANS' LEAGUE			Jacob Otto Marule	Delegate not on voters roll

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
WESTERN CAPE	Dullah Omar	Ward 37	Buyisile Martin Makosi	Passed
	Dullah Omar	Ward 38/59	Given Sebet	Passed
	Breede Valley Boland	Ward 2	Lubisi Mpuemelelo	Passed
	Dullah Omar	Ward 16	Mzoli Matutu	Passed

The delegates highlighted in grey was be added to the voters roll.



NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The following constitute the National Executive Committee duly elected at the 54th National Conference:

OFFICIALS

President	Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa
Deputy President	David Dabeda Mabuda
National Chairperson	Gwede Mantashe
Secretary General	Ace Magashula
Deputy Secretary General	Jessie Duarte
Treasurer General	Paul Mashatile

Directly elected members

- Zweli Mkhize
- Lindiwe Zulu
- Regina Mohaule
- David Masondo
- Malusi Gigaba
- Ronald Lamola
- Violet Sigeda
- Zizi Kodwa
- Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma
- Obed Bapela
- Tito Mboweni
- Lindiwe Sisulu
- Bheki Cele
- Fikile Mbatula
- Thoko Didiza
- Sdumo Dlamini
- Bathabile Dlamini
- Senzo Mchunu
- Pravin Gordhan
- Naledi Pandor
- Alvin Boates
- Zingiswa Losi
- Jackson Mthembu
- Pumullo Masualle
- Pule Mabe
- Sifiso Buthelezi
- Mduduzi Manana
- Aaron Motsoaledi
- Thandi Modise
- Bongani Bongo
- Enoch Godongwana
- Nomvula Mokonyane
- Baleka Mbete
- Derek Hanekom
- Mondli Gungubele
- Jeff Radebe
- Edna Molewa
- Colleen Maine
- Nathi Mthethwa
- Tina Joemat-Peterse
- Nkenke Kekana
- Maite Mashabane
- Angie Motshekga
- David Mahlobo
- Ruth Bhengu
- Mosebenzi Zwane
- Pinky Kekana
- Ncawu Mafu

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

- Joë Maswanganyi
- Tony Yengeni
- Joel Netshitenzhe
- Dakota Lekgoete
- Nosiviwe Mapisa Nqakula
- Noxolo Kieviet
- Ngoako Ramatlodi
- Mathole Motshekga
- Sibongile Besani
- Dikeledi Makatsi
- Thabang Makwetla
- Siyabonga Cwele
- Babara Creecy
- Mildred Oliphant
- Khensani Khubayi
- Thandi Mahambehlala
- Nokuzola Capa
- Susan Shabangu
- Pinky Moloji
- Beauty Dlulane
- Pamela Tshwete
- Thokozile Xasa
- Dipuo Letsatsi-Duba
- NomaIndia Mfeketo
- Hlengiwe Mkhize
- Pammy Majodina
- Faith Muthambi
- Rejoice Mabudafasi
- Candith Mashego
- Cindy Tshikunga
- Gwen Ramokgopa
- Sylvia Lucas



DECLARATION OF THE 54TH CONFERENCE

We, the nearly 5,000 ANC delegates, having met at NASREC Johannesburg, Gauteng from 16th – 20th December 2017, during the centennial celebrations of our longest serving President, Isithwalandwe/ Seaparankoe Oliver Reginald Tambo.

We convened under the theme of “Remember Tambo: Towards Unity, Renewal and Radical Socio-economic Transformation”, to remind ourselves of Comrade OR’s legacy of selfless service to his people and our duty to emulate him in working for the unity and renewal of our organization.

An ANC that is united and committed to the people’s interests remains the best vehicle to bring about fundamental and radical socio-economic transformation of society to create a better life for all South Africans.

President Tambo called on the movement to ensure that the ANC remains a people’s parliament. Delegates came from across the length and breadth of the country to discuss and adopt policies that affect the people’s lives. Our debates were enhanced by the contributions from fraternal partners from across the world, our Alliance partners - the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African National Civic Organisation – as well as the broad Mass Democratic Movement.

Delegates confirmed their commitment to work tirelessly for the fundamental renewal of the ANC. We emerged from the 54th National Conference more united and determined to lead the struggle for a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society.

In this regard, Conference agreed on the urgent tasks to strengthen the movement and modernize the way we function, both as a liberation movement and an electoral party.

We pay tribute to the patience of the thousands of ANC delegates who worked long hours, participating in the internal democratic processes and who never wavered from fulfilling the responsibilities entrusted to them by their branches and other structures of the organisation.

Long before National Conference, across the country, ANC members met in branch general meetings and constitutional structures, making invaluable and robust contributions to the organizational and policy debates of National Conference.

The 54th National Conference reaffirmed that the ANC will guide the South African economy in accordance with the Freedom Charter’s call that the people shall share in the country’s wealth. We shall, as urgently as possible, bring together, government, the labour movement, business and communities in a social pact to accelerate economic growth and create jobs. Conference resolved that the ANC should, as a matter of policy, pursue expropriation of land without compensation. This should be pursued without destabilising the agricultural sector, without endangering food security in our country and without undermining economic growth and job creation.

We have also committed to speed up programmes of providing basic services to all the people of our country, and in this regard we will ensure that all spheres of government are capacitated to meet their obligations.

The ANC commits to the people of South Africa that we shall isolate and root out corrupt tendencies in the public and private sectors.



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International work remains a key pillar of social transformation for the movement. In this regard, 54th National Conference recommitted the ANC to work for a better Africa and a better world and we commit to the strengthening of the African Union and SADC. The ANC unreservedly condemns the resurgence of modern slavery, including the slave trade in Libya as a crime against humanity and calls on the South African government to continue working with the Libyan authorities, the African Union and international community to bring an end to this practice.

The ANC expresses its concern about the rise of right-wing nationalism and the growing trend towards protectionism which has the potential of worsening global tensions. We reaffirm our solidarity with the people of Western Sahara, Palestine and Cuba. Delegates endorsed the proposal that we must give practical support to the oppressed people of Palestine and resolved on an immediate and unconditional downgrade of the SA embassy in Israel to a Liaison Office.

Conference directs ANC branches to lead communities in furthering local development and service delivery and in building non-racialism and non-sexism. ANC cadres must develop programmes aimed at stamping out social ills, including gender-based violence, alcoholism and drug abuse and in building social cohesion.

Conference deliberated upon the plight of young people and agreed that a skills revolution is an absolute necessity if we are to fully exploit their energies for the greater good of society, it is for the reason that the ANC remains committed to the implementation of free higher education for children of the poor and working class at all public universities and TVET colleges starting from the 2018 academic year.

Delegates to this Conference were sharp in their criticism that our electoral processes, both as an organisation and as a country, do not always guarantee the full representation and participation of women in key decision making structures. We are resolute that the ANC will find sound, effective and sustainable structural mechanisms to ensure the full realisation of women's potential especially in leadership roles. It is our belief that the full participation of women in the leadership structures of society will constitute a giant leap towards the total emancipation of women. We came to this Conference cognisant of the fact that the Movement was deeply divided and was tearing itself apart. Critically, our standing in society was declining as a result of our own subjective weaknesses. In the process of 54th National Conference, we engaged one another robustly and frankly, addressing difficulties head-on and with a view to build consensus that is premised on the humane and revolutionary principles that define who we are as an organisation.

We depart from this conference fully aware that the work of restoring the integrity of our movement has just begun. We must all – from the National Executive Committee to provinces, regions and branches – work much harder, together to rebuild and unite this glorious movement of our people. Our fundamental task is to lead a concerted campaign aimed at addressing the persistent challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

The ANC must take heed of the example of the life-long activist and disciplined member of our movement, Isithwalandwe/ Seaparankoe Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela who said that “The struggle is my life” and commit ourselves to being life-long activists in the struggle to create a better life for all! In his words, we ‘dare not linger.’

The struggle continues!

Matla!

Ke rona!

The ANC lives.

The ANC leads.

RESOLUTIONS

5

ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

BACKGROUND

1. The discussions on Organisational Renewal are informed by the character of the ANC as a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic liberation movement that must organise, mobilise and lead the motive forces and society; and as a registered political party that contest elections, governs and participate as opposition to build a National Democratic Society.
2. The movement therefore has to continually review its organisational state and capacities, and its relationship with the people and society. Since the Port Elizabeth National General Council in 2000, the matter of organisational renewal has occupied our deliberations in the context of the ANC as an Agent for Change. Over the last seventeen years, we've adopted numerous decisions on Organisational Renewal and Design, to ensure that the ANC remains a servant of the people and leader of society.
3. We therefore re-affirm our commitment to:
 - Being rooted among the people, representing their interests, concerns and aspirations, transforming society and developing every community;
 - Maintaining a vibrant internal democracy in the ANC and supporting the principle and practice of collective leadership;
 - Readiness and willingness of our members to serve, and make sacrifices in pursuit of the cause of the people as a whole;
 - Readiness to acknowledge and decisively address our weaknesses in order to accelerate the people's struggle;
 - Increasing our capacity to plan, coordinate and monitor and evaluate the implementation of policies, and the impact on the people and society.
 - Upholding and building unity across all sections of South Africans and progressive forces in the world in pursuit of the cause of humanity.
4. The 53rd Conference affirmed an urgent need for renewal, which at its centre is about building the ANC's resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capacity and its ability to adapt to changing situations so that it can continue to serve, organise and lead the people.
5. Since then, the ANC continues to face a number of massive challenges in terms of our integrity and support.

CHALLENGES

6. The Diagnostic Report presented at the 5th Policy Conference describes the many challenges we face as an organisation. These are also captured in the Political Report by the President and the Provincial Policy conference reports. Many of these challenges are not new and many of the issues around negative practices were dealt with by the 2015 NGC.
7. Chief among these, also highlighted in Strategy and Tactics and the Organisational Discussion Documents, are:
 - (a) A loss of confidence in the ANC because of social distance, corruption, nepotism, arrogance, elitism, factionalism, manipulating organisational processes, abusing state power, putting self interest above the people. Even the strongest ANC supporters agree the "sins of incumbency" are deeply entrenched. Many organisations and thought leaders have become critics of the ANC and its leadership and we are losing much of our influence and appeal among students, young intellectuals and the black middle class.
While we know that much of the ANC and government are not affected by this cancer, the movement as a whole is judged as being part of the problem.
 - (b) Leadership weaknesses and loss of integrity, characterised by competition to control state resources, factionalism, conflict, ill-discipline and disunity, and the use of state institutions to settle differences. Slates and vote buying has delivered leaders who have difficulty driving our programmes or commanding respect from society and our supporters.
 - (c) A lack of planning, coordination, implementation and accountability for our work in government and the achievement of our policy goals. We have serious weaknesses in achieving economic growth, overcoming education challeng-



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- es, and in the effective combatting, prevention, investigation and prosecution of crime and corruption.
- (d) Organisational work has focused more on mobilising members to support specific factions or individuals with increasing negative practices like gate-keeping and buying of membership.
- (e) At the 2015 NGC we ourselves expressed a loss of trust in organisational integrity because of practices like membership and vote buying, factions, using state institutions against each other, and factional violence and killings.
8. It is these factors that caused the decline in credibility and support for the ANC. The losses of 2016 Local Government Elections were a direct result of these factors. Unless we arrest them in 2017, we will speed up the decline and will face a real threat of losing power in a number of provinces, and more cities and towns.
9. We agreed in the 2015 NGC that we need an uncompromising fight against these negative and unacceptable practices, if we are to renew ourselves and stay true to our goals and mission. That fight has to be intensified now.
10. Because of the challenge to our core values, and our neglect of cadre development, our organisational capabilities – leadership, structure, cadreship, members, expertise and political capacity, programmes, systems and processes – do not match the tasks and demands of the current phase of the revolution. This neglect also affected our capability to implement policies in government, drive communications and sectoral work, monitor implementation and build an organisation that effectively interacts with the people at grassroots level. Although we have progressive policies and cadres in virtually all pillars of transformation, we are not deliberately building appropriate capabilities, nor are we deliberately deploying competent cadres in accordance with the pillars of our current strategy and tactics.
11. Our focus has to move back to our core tasks of representing and mobilising our communities and delivering development and transformation to the people. It must be fixed on running a capable, developmental and responsive state, implementing all our policies effectively, and advancing the implementation of the NDP. This will help to renew our values, integrity and build unity in action through our commitment to a common mission.
12. Organisational renewal therefore is an absolute and urgent priority, and we may go as far as to say, to the survival of our great movement.

REAFFIRM 53RD CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS ON ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

13. Mostly the 53rd Conference resolutions on Organisational Renewal are still relevant and should be re-affirmed. The values and guiding principles of the organization have not changed, although we face many new challenges.
14. The previous National Conferences elaborated the tasks of the ANC as follows:
- To represent, organise and mobilise communities and the motive forces and win their support and elections.
 - To win and use state power to achieve our goals and better the lives of the people.
 - To make policies, win broad support for them, implement them through the state and monitor implementation and the impact on our people and transformation.
 - To transform society through our values, our integrity, exemplary leadership in society and by winning the battle of ideas in a convincing manner.
 - To select and deploy capable leaders and public representatives, with integrity, capacity, the correct orientation and expertise to drive and implement our programmes.
 - To develop Cadres, schooled in our values and policies, with the capacities to be agents of change wherever they are deployed.
15. Resolutions from the 53rd Conference and the 4th NGC are therefore still relevant and need to be implemented with urgency.

54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE FURTHER NOTES AND RESOLVES

Introduction

- The 54th National Conference discussed Organisational Renewal in Commissions and during Plenary. The deliberations considered recommendations of the 5th National Policy Conference (NPC), the consolidated reports from Provincial General Councils (PGCs), the submission from the ANC Veterans League, as well as issues raised in the reports of the National Executive Committee as presented by the President, Secretary General and Treasurer General.
- Conference noted the extensive and robust discussions during the five-day policy conference, and subsequent discussions in branches, provincial general councils and in structures of the Leagues. It was clear from the contributions of branch delegates to Conference, across commissions and in plenary, that branch general meetings engaged with

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National Policy Conference recommendations. Conference salutes branches for taking their constitutional responsibilities seriously.

3. National Conference affirmed the continued relevance of the decisions taken at the 53rd National Conference and other conferences on Organisational Renewal. It concurred with the challenges identified by the 5th National Policy Conference and further noted that the ANC faces a major challenge, not of diagnosis and responses, but of implementation. It re-affirmed the assertion by the 53rd National Conference, that *“renewal is principally about building the ANC’s resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capacity and its ability to adapt to changing situations so that it can continue to serve and lead the people.”*

54th National Conference furthermore

4. Ratified the recommendations from the 5th National Policy Conference on which there were consensus; and
5. Decided that where recommendations of the National Policy Conference and discussions of structures have not been dealt with or issues not concluded, to mandate the National Executive Committee to finalize these issues or to refer them to structures for discussions towards a Special National General Council (NGC).
6. Raised the following additional recommendations and/or matters of emphasis to be processed the NEC, noting that due to shortage of time it was not canvassed with all commissions and therefore not exhaustively discussed.

PART A: Strengthen Organisational capacity and structures

THE WORK OF BRANCH IN THE COMMUNITY

Noting

1. Branches are our means to stay in touch with our constituency/ communities and impact on development, and our means to mobilise and organise our people. It is the first point of contact between the ANC, the motive forces and the people we represent.
2. Branches must respond to the needs and interests of the community and mobilise the people to form partnerships for development and transformation.
3. Branches are ward-based to enable us to drive, monitor and account for delivery of services at the most local level.
4. Ward councillors report to branches and BECs, and

branches work with councillors to report to and serve the community.

5. All motive forces are represented in our local areas and branches must strive to build trust, address issues of concern and work side by side with communities.

Resolve

To strengthen, support and reinforce the work of branches in the community through the following:

1. All branches should have sub-committees that focus on sectors, community issues and campaigns.
2. The ANC must be involved in every issue that concerns people and should drive campaigns without gate-keeping and trying to control the people.
3. Units or sub-branches can be set up to strengthen our ability to reach people directly, as reflected in the ANC Constitution.
4. Sub-regions/zones must bring branches together to plan municipal programmes, elections and hold ANC in local government to account.
5. All branch members must be inducted within 3 months and integrated into a sub-committee to work in the community.
6. Every BEC must draw up an annual plan against which branch performance audits will be done, to achieve the following:
 - Review community profile. Identify sectors and their issues;
 - Respond to community issues and make concrete plans on what to do as ANC, community and local government;
 - Deploy cadres to participate in CPF, SGB, clinic committees, and any other participation structures with the role of leading through influence and support rather than demanding leadership positions;
 - Develop a sectoral outreach plan and attend meetings of other organisations;
 - Analyse delivery issues and municipal plans, give ANC input and report to community, with councillors and MP/L;
 - Communicate and meet with community at least three times per year and support councillor report backs and all public participation processes;
 - Develop any key local issue campaigns and roll them out;
 - Advise and support anyone or any group experiencing a problem, disaster or conflict.
 - 54th National Conference did not agree with

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- the establishment of two membership categories, with supporters as a distinct category, and re-affirmed that branches should rather be more involved in community engagement and activities.

7. Encourage ANC Branches to have a visible presence in communities through offices, which can also serve communities, the motive forces and strengthen links with ANC councilors and other public representatives.
8. Ensure compulsory BEC induction, based on the ANC Branch Manual adopted by the NEC.
9. Review ward-based branches in rural areas, given the challenges of distance and other factors.
10. Consider the establishment of international ANC structures in countries with a large South African diaspora.
11. On membership recruitment, linking our targets with the size of the population, e.g. one household on ANC member, whilst continue working to build quality members and activists.

ON SUB-BRANCHES OR UNITS

Conference resolves

1. Implement sub-branches, based on voting districts as in the Constitution for the purpose of reaching people and working on the ground more effectively
2. VDs can be used for units and Voting district coordinators should work with the BEC, and attend extended BEC meetings
3. International branches or Units: NEC to decide
4. Ward boundaries to stay as branch boundaries
5. Sectoral branches not supported

MEMBER RECRUITMENT AND INDUCTION

Noting

- That the ANC has close to 1million members at most times, but many are not active in their branches;
- The buying of members who never become active in the work of the ANC;
- The unreliable and slow membership card system
- Decline in quality and discipline;
- The profile of our membership and the lack of a multi-class membership with representation of all the motive forces;
- The fact that most of our members are not active,

politically trained or under the direct discipline of the organisation.

RESOLVES

1. Instructs the NEC to oversee the urgent implementation of a modernized, technologically-enabled membership system that will speed up the delivery of membership cards, allow for electronic membership renewal and discourage gatekeeping. The membership list should be on the cloud and available to any executive member.
2. In line with the Polokwane resolution, resource branches, including implementing the resolution to allocate a portion or the whole membership fee to branches.
3. Branch and membership audits should be done in the presence of duly mandated BEC representatives.
4. Members should have a 3 months probation period and membership should be for two years
5. Every branch should have a recruitment strategy to target all sectors of society and different motive forces.
6. Conference maintained the current criteria for membership, and did not agree on the proposals for different categorisation of membership.

CLEAR ANC PROGRAMME OF ACTION AT OTHER LEVELS

Noting

- That our programme at all levels should aim to effectively represent and mobilise communities and the motive forces, win their ongoing confidence, and their votes in elections;
- The support needed for the work done at branch and community level as detailed above;
- The continuous work needed on elections and voter contact;
- The need for ongoing sectoral work and work with and within the motive forces;
- The implementation of the goals and programme of the ANC for local and provincial government;
- The ANC's cadre development programme;
- The need to effectively engage in the battle of ideas.

RESOLVES

1. That NEC, PEC, REC all must develop an Annual Strategic Plan with a funded budget to effect

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the above support and programmes for our work among the people.

2. The Secretary's office at all levels must monitor the achievements and outcomes of each programme and take the necessary action to address weak implementation.
3. Include a permanent elections and sectoral work capacity at national, provincial and regional level
4. Branch audits should include the Programme of Action as an indication of the life of the branch.

CADRE DEVELOPMENT

Noting

- Our deployment of cadres in many areas of work
- The challenges faced by our structures, public representatives and members
- The rapid turnover in leaders and public representatives
- The cadre development resolutions adopted by previous conferences
- The need for all cadres to understand the goals, values, policies, principles and the programmes of the ANC
- The need to develop the capacity of cadres deployed to higher levels of government and management

RESOLVES:

1. All ANC members must do the membership induction course during the probation period to be trained in the goals, values, principles and structure of the ANC. All BECs must be inducted with the BEC induction programme. THE Induction courses should also be available online.
2. All REC, PEC and NEC members must attend an induction course as soon as they assume office
3. All councillors must be inducted for at least three days in the ANC approach to local government as well as the work we expect from councillors
4. The political school curriculum must be completed in an online version for branch study group or individual use by mid 2018. All ANC cadres available for selection as leaders and candidates must complete the school and pass the courses.
5. All leaders and candidates for deployment to government must ensure that they build their skills and qualifications to enhance their capacity
6. The ANC should develop a real and virtual discus-

sion forum on topical issues to help inform our structures of positions on current debates

7. Our communication to branches should be improved and include more topical political and news analysis.
8. Radio Freedom and any other vehicle (like podcasts) should be used to spread the ideas of the ANC and help us in the battle of ideas.
9. The ANC should ensure that leaders deployed in government go through compulsory, regular and ongoing development; in addition to the responsibility of individuals to continually develop themselves.

ELECTIONS

Noting

- Our declining levels of support and inability to implement our complete election campaign strategy
- Decreasing campaign management capacity and inability to maintain data on supporters and respond to issues
- Our inability to communicate coherently and get leaders to stay on message
- The candidate selection process and controversy that surrounds it in some areas
- The change in VD and ward boundaries that affect ANC branches and the fact that urbanisation happens mostly in our wards. Delaying re-demarcation for more than one 5 year period negatively affects our vote as more voters have the same vote as less voters in wards that do not grow. And that it will be unconstitutional as wards must be within 10% the same size
- A tendency to insult voters by "gifts" of food parcels and blankets before elections as a substitute for effective service delivery
- An increase in dirty tactics by political parties in local elections, like "bussing" voters to register outside their own ward and intimidation to stop voters from participating.

RESOLVES

1. Building a professional and permanent election capacity at national and provincial level, instructing the NEC and other leadership collectives to implement the resolution on maintaining full-time election capacity at national, provincial and regional level.
2. Building on the ANC national cloud data base and

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supporting this work from regional and sub-regional level. Use the cloud to also track campaign work and municipal service delivery programme and progress.

3. Strengthen communications capacity and training at all levels
4. Branches must be more actively involved in the ward demarcations process and sub-regions and regions must help branches to adjust their membership and BECs after re-demarcation
5. Build a strong culture of respect for democracy, tolerance and fair practice during election campaigns and strengthen our capacity to monitor and respond to these practices.
6. In selecting ANC councillors, the process should start with communities before finalization by the ANC.

ALLIANCE

Noting

- Our commitment to strengthen and build an Alliance united on a minimum programme of transformation and development to drive the NDR.
- The current tensions and criticism and our inability to manage it constructively;
- The weakening of the trade union movement through splits and factions;
- The discussion in the SACP to possibly contest elections.

RESOLVES

1. We must continue to build a strong Alliance, and urgently convene a political council of the Alliance to develop a structured programme, to discuss the different positions held by Alliance partners on the configuration of the Alliance.
2. The leadership must engage in a humble and listening way with our allies and find constructive ways of resolving current differences.
3. Base our Alliance on a clear and simple minimum platform with a programme of action that is implemented and monitored
4. Avoid conflict and public spats through ongoing communication and cooperation and unity in action
5. Strengthen COSATU in the context of one industry, one union and one country one federation, engage with the broader trade union movement outside COSATU towards working class unity.

ON SECTORAL WORK

Recognising the need to strengthen sectoral work across society, conference resolved:

1. Given the importance of women and youth in our society, the NEC must support the Youth and Women's Leagues to fulfil their missions.
2. Build a strong Women's League who mobilises women, across all the motive forces, and lead the women's movement and society as a motive force in the resolution of the patriarchal relations and a non-sexist society.
3. The Youth League need to diligently and progressively implement its twin tasks. Firstly, it must organise, mobilise and educate young people behind the vision of the ANC, and continue to be a political school for new generations. Secondly, it must champion the interest of young people in the ANC and in society, ensure that youth education themselves ideologically and academically, to provide innovation, energy and creativity to the project of radical social-economic transformation.
4. Given the changes in demographics and in particular our young population, Conference advised the ANCYL to consider its cut-off age to be in line with its youthful constituency.
5. The Youth League and SASCO must work together on campuses, and especially when contesting elections. Discuss with the Youth League the process of SRC elections, to be contested primarily by SASCO, supported by the PYA.
6. Reconsider the issue of sectoral branches so as to enhance the ANC's ability to reach different sectors and lead society, e.g. in universities.
7. Strengthen organisational work among national groups and implement a focused programme to build non-racialism.
8. The ANC as leader of society must engage the widest range of progressive sectors, civil society as well as society in general, around its vision of building a National Democratic Society. ANC members must all be active in community and sectoral organisations.
9. Instructs the National Executive Committee to urgently start engagements with all motive forces in various organized formations, including those not part of the Alliance.
10. Affirms the important role of traditional leaders in the struggles against colonialism and apartheid, and that they must continue to play an important role in rural areas, including in advancing development and transformation, in social cohesion, gender equality and deepening democracy and the participation of the rural motive forces.

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE**ON POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION***Noting*

- Our reliance on government and outside experts to develop and refine policies, especially in complex areas such as economic and social development. Our analysis that not all policies are implemented and that many are lost along the way.
- The fact that we do not have an effective system, to allow comrades in the executive to account to the organization for progress and delays in implementation.
- Our inability to effectively monitor and account for progress, as well as the impact of our policies.

RESOLVES

1. That the Policy Institute be set up as a matter of urgency as in previous conference resolutions.
2. That the Policy Institute is given the capacity and the resources needed to drive research, policy development, coordination of NEC Policy sub-committees, and monitoring and evaluation.
3. That the PI works closely with political education to school our deployees and our structures in ANC policy to strengthen implementation, our ability to communicate and monitoring capacity at all levels.
4. That we explore legislation in Parliament for publicly funded political party institutes or foundations that enable parties to play an improved role in issues of governance.

SELECTION PROCESS: PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES*Noting*

- The need to deploy ANC cadres with the qualities outlined in Through the eye of a Needle as MPs, MPLs and councillors
- That the confidence in our public representatives is often undermined by their lack of capacity, values and ability to represent the people effectively and to oversee the work of government
- That selection of candidates is often influenced by personal, business and other vested interests, rather than the qualities needed, or the support the person enjoys from the local community
- People who are popular in the ANC rather than the community, often win our nomination process

RESOLVES

1. Our representatives act as representatives of the people, not only the ANC, and must therefore enjoy good standing in the community
2. Ward candidates especially must be upstanding citizens and enjoy broad support before being nominated.
3. The Electoral commission must revise the selection guidelines to overcome some of manipulative practices such as parachuting candidates by PECs and RECs, influencing screening committees and packing community meetings.
4. The Electoral commission must develop the capacity to screen candidates up to ward level.

REGION, SUB-REGION/ZONE*Noting*

- That we have municipal government close to ANC branch structures, often controlled and directed only by regional secretaries or regional governance committees, and ANC caucuses.
- That we should strengthen the accountability to local structures that have to account for and deal with the consequences of work we do in local government.

RESOLVES

1. In metros the REC governance committee directs and coordinates work in government and organisation in the metro area. Outside metros, sub-regions coordinate work in municipal area.
2. Sub-regions and municipalities: Regional governance committee and secretary playing stronger role in monitoring and directing ANC in local government. Implement principle in constitution that Sub-regions should be developed to coordinate ANC work in a municipal area and its governance committee should serve as a space for accountability between the councillors and the ANC structures serving the same people. The REC should be represented with MP/L on the governance committee which should also include the troika. An extended governance meeting can be held regularly with all councillors and representatives from branches attending.

PROVINCE*Recommending*

1. Policy and monitoring coordinator in each province.

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- 2 Election and campaign coordinator in every province.

PROCESS FOR ELECTIONS OF ANC LEADERS AND MANAGING SUCCESSION

Noting

- The need to elect leaders according to the principles of service, track record, capacity, integrity, discipline, honesty, trust-worthiness, and representivity as outlined in the Eye of a Needle.
- The current distortion of our election process through factional practices like slates, vote-buying, patronage, intimidation, and exclusion that deny us the best possible collectives of leaders.
- We need processes that deepen democracy and the trust that the people we serve have in ANC leaders
- The fact that we are using an electoral college system that is easily manipulatable through influencing a core of influential people, like branch, regional and provincial secretaries, who manage the membership and deployment system. This makes our democratic process vulnerable to corruption by business, internal factions and outside interests.
- The lack of representation of motive forces among our leaders and the predominance of people deployed to government

RESOLVES

1. To establish a permanent Election Commission (EC) in the ANC, that is not composed of elected leadership, but should be made up of comrades with no direct interest or conflict of interest in leadership positions, elected by the NEC, responsible for managing the nominations and election of ANC leadership at all levels.
2. The tasks of such Electoral Commission should be to propose the rules and procedures for elections to the NEC, deal with disputes, screen candidates, order lifestyle audits if needed, and oversee the management of the nomination and election process.
3. Nominations processes should make slate nomination impossible, by limiting the number of leaders each branch can nominate for positions in NEC, PEC, REC (for example 20 for NEC out of 60 to avoid block votes or nominations).
4. Slate voting should be outlawed and practices that allow for unifying voting should be encouraged. One is separating the vote for each official and announcement of result for each position, before voting for the next one. This allows a conference to

accommodate a losing candidate to fill a deputy or other position.

5. The EC ensure that those contesting leadership positions declare their interests, including the amount and sources of money for campaigning, in line with ANC Finance Policies and Code of Ethics. Also deal with conflict of interest issues in candidate selection of public office.
6. The election of leadership in all structures must ensure continuity as well as renewal.
7. The NEC must agree on a formula to cap the percentage of NEC members deployed in government.
8. Nominations and elections should result in better representation for the motive forces and we should consider ways of achieving this
9. Agrees on the Youth League proposal for a quota (25-40%) in all leadership positions to be reserved for youth.
10. Consideration should be given to extending the provision for gender equity to the top officials positions in all structures.
11. The NEC should manage the two centres of power after National Conference.

ON VETERANS LEAGUE AND COUNCIL OF ELDERS

1. The NEC to engage with the Veterans League on options with regards to its role.
2. The NEC to investigation the possibilities of the establishment of a Council of Elders, consisting of eminent ANC leaders, including former senior officials (Presidents, SGs, etc) to advise and engage on challenges facing the Movement; and to maintain the current role of the Veterans League and to report to NGC.

PART B. Strengthening the Integrity of the ANC and its role in Society

SOCIAL DISTANCE:

Noting

- The perception that ANC leaders are becoming a political elite removed from the people and that our movement no longer reflects the concerns and issues of the motive forces
- Our goal is to be truly representative of the people and this needs constant contact, humility, disci-

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pline, hard work, ubuntu, empathy and respect for the people

PROPOSALS

1. We must behave as servants of the people, not bosses or celebrities.
2. We need to urgently close the gap between us and the people; strive to be a progressive presence in every community and sector that listens to the people, works with them, responds to their concerns and problems, respects all people, and builds organisations and campaigns of the people.
3. We need to avoid VIP enclosures, holding rooms, bodyguards and fancy cars that separate us from the people when we are going to meet them.
4. All leaders and public reps of the ANC must spend at least two days a week (at all times not just elections) on grassroots and branch work in the community. This should be done in consultation with the branch or sub-regional/zonal structures.

ANC CREDIBILITY AND INTEGRITY: DEALING WITH CORRUPTION

Noting

- An increase in corruption, factionalism, dishonesty, and other negative practices that seriously threaten the goals and support of the ANC.
- That these practices contradict and damage our mission to serve the people and use the country's resources to achieve development and transformation.
- That corruption robs our people of billions that could be used for their benefit.
- That the lack of integrity perceived by the public, has seriously damaged the ANC image, the people's trust in the ANC, our ability to occupy the moral high ground, and our position as leader of society.
- That current leadership structures seem helpless to arrest these practices, either because they lack the means or the will, or are themselves held hostage by them.
- At times we do things that are not according to ANC or government policy, or not legal or constitutional, and wait for courts to correct our actions.
- Our association with, and the closeness of our leaders to, business people facing allegations of corruption.
- That the ANC is endangered to the point of losing credibility in society and power in government.

- That our leadership election processes are becoming corrupted by vote buying and gatekeeping
- That the state investigative and prosecutorial authorities appear to be weakened and affected by factional battles, and unable to perform their functions effectively

RESOLVES

That the 2015 NGC resolutions plus other existing and new measures are implemented urgently by the NEC and PECs to:

1. Strengthen our understanding of our values, ethics and morality and the demands that the people, the constitution and the rule of laws place on us as the guardians of the state, and its resources
2. Demand that every cadre accused of, or reported to be involved in, corrupt practices accounts to the Integrity Committee immediately or faces DC processes. (Powers of IC under constitutional changes)
3. Summarily suspend people who fail to give an acceptable explanation or to voluntarily step down, while they face disciplinary, investigative or prosecutorial procedures.
4. We publicly disassociate ourselves from anyone, whether business donor, supporter or member, accused of corruption or reported to be involved in corruption
5. All ANC members and structures should cooperate with the law-enforcement agencies to criminally prosecute anyone guilty of corruption
6. The ANC should respect the Constitution of the country and the rule of law and ensure that we get the best possible legal advice in government to ensure our compliance wherever possible, rather than waiting to defend those who stray.
7. The ANC deploys to Cabinet, especially Finance, Police and Justice, should strengthen the state capacity to successfully investigate and prosecute corruption and account for any failure to do so
8. Secretaries at all levels will be held accountable for any failure to take action or refer matters of corruption or other negative conduct (in terms of ANC code of conduct) to the relevant structures.
9. Within the ANC nomination and election process: Ban all slates and enforce the ANC code of conduct and disciplinary procedures. Investigate and prosecute all cases of vote or support buying, or membership or branch gatekeeping.
10. Implement the NEC resolution on state capture, including the expeditious establishment of a Judicial Commission of Enquiry.

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INTEGRITY COMMISSION

1. The establishment, composition, powers and functions of the Integrity Commission should be provided for in the ANC Constitution, to be finalised as soon as possible by the NEC.
2. Consideration should be given to the two options: whether the decisions of the Integrity Commission should be binding or whether they should make recommendations to the NEC, thus advisory.
3. 54th National Conference agreed that the Integrity Commission must report directly to the NEC and to National Conference and NGC.

ON DISCIPLINE

1. Introduce clear dispute resolution mechanisms to tackle organizational matters, to combat courts as the first resort for resolving conflicts and disputes.
2. Whilst ANC members have the right to take any matter to court as South African citizens, this should be a last resort, after internal dispute resolution mechanisms have been exhausted.
3. The relevant structures must investigate and act on allegations of gate-keeping, so that we restore the confidence of ANC members in the integrity of internal ANC processes and structures.

ON EX-COMBATANTS

1. Conferences noted the work started by the outgoing NEC to investigate the issues relating to MKMVA and the MK Council, and mandate the incoming NEC to facilitate unity and inclusion of all MK ex-combatants.

PART C. On the Battle of Ideas

1. As proposed in the Strategy and Tactics, the ANC must continue to engage, organise and mobilise all sectors of society, in their great variety, dynamism and ever-evolving nature around our common vision of building a National Democratic Society.

2. Its engagement in the battle of ideas and ideological struggle is therefore about winning hegemony for the integrity and progressiveness of our ideas, and how we conduct the revolution and ourselves as an organisation.

54th National Conference therefore resolves:

ON SOCIAL MEDIA POLICY, ICT AND COMMUNICATIONS

1. The ANC should develop protocols aimed at guiding conduct on social media, and include misconduct related to social media to in our Code of Conduct.
2. ANC must more effectively use technology, especially in our membership system, communications and the Political school.

ON CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

1. Salute all South Africans for honouring cde Oliver Reginald Tambo during 2017, the centenary celebration of his birth.
2. Resolve to honour the memory of cde Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and cde Nontsikelelo Albertina Sisulu during the centenary celebrations of their births in 2018.

OTHER MATTERS FOR ATTENTION BY THE NEC

1. The should urgently put in place measures to finalise the pending appeals and disbandment of structure raised by E Cape and N Cape structures.

A SUSTAINED AND DELIBERATE PROGRAMME OF RENEWAL

1. Mandates the NEC to drive a sustained programme of Organisational renewal and report on such to the NGC.

RESOLUTIONS

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

Noting:

- 1.1 The ANC's 54th National Conference takes place in a contested political, social and economic environment characterised by, among other things:
- 1.1.1 The contest of ideas in society takes place in various platforms and the media being one of them. At the centre of this contestation is the nature and character of the national democratic society we seek to build.
 - 1.1.2 While the ANC remains the dominant force in the public discourse informed by its character and role in society, we note that this is increasingly being contested by an array of forces. This explains why even political forces that purport to be opposed to each other have seen a reason to form opportunistic alliances to dislodge the ANC from power.
 - 1.1.3 In the last few years we have witnessed the emergence of an increasing number of civic and social activism that is campaigning around contested ideas on governance and decision making. Where some of the forces have failed to win democratic elections they have opted for the use of the judiciary to assert their own hegemony.
 - 1.1.4 The increasingly rapid uptake of social media by many of our citizens, especially the youth, and its increased primacy as a platform of choice for accessing and disseminating information. Social media use is fast surpassing traditional media consumption in some countries around the world.
 - 1.1.5 Increased inter-connectivity, whereby multiple sources of information are consumed on multiple devices. Given this, the ongoing Battle of Ideas has assumed global dimensions unprecedented since the advent of the modern media age.
 - 1.1.6 Media consolidation and hegemony in South Africa has meant that the larger media houses – many of whose editorial positions on government and the governing party are adversarial – predominate. Greater convergence has meant that these anti-ANC voices, some of which overtly favour the political opposition, dominate not just one but multiple platforms at any given time.
 - 1.1.7 ANC infighting, disunity and use of media to engage in battles is undermining trust and communicating an image of paralysis and projecting a movement that is at war with itself. Challenges and divisions within the ANC and the broader mass democratic movement have created an opportunity for exploitation by such opponents of the ANC.
 - 1.1.8 Despite progress made by the organization to spread the message of unity and discipline, the media continues to capitalize on divisions and factionalism prevalent in the organization.
 - 1.1.9 While the battle of ideas happens in many platforms, the media continues to be the main dominant force in shaping debates and setting an agenda in society.

2. On the Battle of Ideas

Noting:

- 2.1 That the battle of ideas is the struggle over ideas themselves and a struggle for the progressive production and dissemination of ideas – including the media, the educational and training system, the policy apparatus within the state, and a wide range of cultural and faith based institutions and practices. The ANC struggle is about attaining political hegemony in society and, in this regard, within a heavily contested terrain.

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- 2.2 Further noting that the ideological onslaught against the ANC using all forms of media including broadcasting, print, social media and the internet seeks to dislodge and undermine the character of the movement. The onslaught replaces the NDR narrative with the liberal democratic narrative and therefore undermine the hegemony of the ANC in the battle of Ideas. Leadership and hegemony is not given or static. We must fight for the values and principles of the ANC.
- 2.3 The ANC must operate in a coordinated and disciplined manner to set the agenda in the battle of ideas. The war of ideas must be fought like a real war, therefore there must be a strict coordination of content and messages between all structures of the organisation. The advent of the community and public media space offers a potential, progressive opportunity for the ANC, depending on the ability to influence this media and provide it with adequate support.
- 2.4 Recognizing the need to articulate the ANC policy positions in a manner that is consistent and coherent. The critical question becomes what is contained in the content. The credibility of any message lies in the credibility of the messenger.
- 2.5 There is overwhelming consensus within the ANC on the need to defend our ideas and ideals as a movement across all existing and emerging platforms – with the understanding that the Battle of Ideas should be located within the terrain of the struggle. This starts with reaching a common understanding within the ANC itself of what the Battle of Ideas entail. The hegemony of the ANC and the democratic forces in the battle of ideas remains central to the advancement of the national democratic revolution.
- 2.6 Further recognizing that social polarization is due to the lack of radical change in the socio-economic conditions of the majority of South Africans resulting in the economy remaining in the hands of the few.

Therefore resolves:

- 2.7 That there should be intensified training on political communication as part of political education of ANC structures and deployed cadres; this training should help to mobilise the greatest number of cadres to participate in public debates and to respond effectively to the growing onslaught against the ANC in all media platforms
- 2.8 That the ANC must occupy the space, in order to be in hegemony, with ideologically clear ideas and therefore lead society. ANC must go back to skilling and producing cadres who are politically and ideologically able to communicate ANC policies, principles and values.
- 2.9 That the ANC as a revolutionary movement must continue to mobilise and lead society around a common vision that presents a credible political, social and economic narrative that is in itself an alternative to that of the dominant capitalist class. That is the Battle of Ideas.
- 2.10 That the ANC interventions must be founded and informed by the Strategy and Tactics and Organisational Renewal. The Conference noted the need to have a common understanding of the battle of ideas, as the dialectical process, guided and underpinned by the Freedom Charter and the National Democratic Revolution. We must offer a radical alternative to the existing social and economic order.
- 2.11 Recognizing the role, challenges and achievements of the Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) over the years. The role of the Department of Information and Publicity is to coordinate and facilitate the engagement particularly with the media, i.e. all forms of media platforms.
- 2.12 All ANC Subcommittees and its Leagues must engage at all levels in a programme that is crafted to interact and engage with all society formations, such as religious institutions, labour, civil society, academics, youth formations, women formations, and other influential organs of society, in order to communicate its policies, principles and values. This will create the nucleus of the message to be communicated.
- 2.13 Given that being a leader (either deployed or elected) does not automatically mean you are capacitated to communicate the ANC message, all political communicators, including ANC communicators including top ANC officials, NEC members, Members of Parliament, Ministers, MECs and MMCs must undergo political training on ANC political communication. Political school must be institutionalized in order for the ANC to be hegemonic in the society.
- 2.14 Part of the problem of the ANC engaging properly in the battle of ideas is the lack of an institutional structure that produces coherent messaging along the lines on one message and many voices.
- 2.15 War rooms must be institutionalised and capacitated to undertake media monitoring and rapid responses, capture the narratives and proactively respond to the communication challenges. The ANC must use podcasts and group emails for its communicators.
- 2.16 The ANC must communicate ANC decisions directly with its membership after meetings of its structures. The machinery must complement its

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- media statements, with contextual information sent to its structures, to assist in striving for coherence and coherent messaging. Briefing notes must be produced and disseminated throughout the organisation.
- 2.17 The National Conference noted progress made in developing Communication and Media Policy, including social media, to guide its cadres in public engagements and on how to maintain hegemony in the battle of ideas, with utmost discipline and adherence to policy. The NEC must conclude the policy for implementation to guide the conduct of ANC structures and members. This policy once adopted must bind all ANC structures and members. The policy must be finalized and communicated within 6 (six) month after the 54th National Conference.
- 2.18 The ANC must develop strategies and creative ideas on communication platforms on how to ideologically empower young cadres.
- 2.19 In the political education programme, there must be a module on communication, focusing on ANC political communication.
- 2.20 The ANC cannot suppress voices of its members, instead it must train its leaders on political communication. ANC members' rights to speak must remain protected within the context of organisational discipline. The key is ensuring that the organisation does the right thing, is representative of the people and therefore has its members proudly associated with its actions and decisions. The right to speak must be exercised in a responsible manner.
- 2.21 The ANC must speak a language that embodies and unite all South Africans, as the leader of society.
- 2.22 PCO offices must be standardized, equipped and utilized maximally.
- 2.23 The ANC must use community and small commercial media.
- 2.24 There is a need to empower Ward Committees and Community Development Workers (CDWs) with communication skills, information and integrate their activities.
- 2.25 Government communications must be improved, coherent and centralized through GCIS. Government communicators, including Spokespersons must comply with government policy on communications which should be finalized and approved within twelve months after the 54th National Conference. GCIS should play a central role in government communications and must be adequately capacitated to achieve this. More emphasis should be placed on the coordination role of GCIS to ensure coherent messaging.
- 2.26 Existing coordination mechanisms such as the Government Communicators Forum should be strengthened. There is a need to review the location of the GCIS in the Presidency as a way to give it the necessary authority to oversee and coordinate government communications.
- 2.27 Izimbizo concept needs to be strengthened to ensure that it achieves its purpose that is unmediated and direct communications with the people. More creative ways are needed to enable and achieve this.
- 2.28 The Conference reaffirmed that the ANC is the strategic centre of power and all deployed cadres must be guided by this revolutionary understanding.

3. On ICT

- 3.1 Noting that the 4th Industrial Revolution is driven by the increased use of and adaptation of ICT tools in all human activities. Technological developments have now made possible machine-to-machine (M2M) communications, robots and autonomous systems able to operate with or without human interventions in all spheres of human activity. The 4th Industrial Revolution is a focus of attention, as it contains within it possibilities of disrupting current economic and social structures profoundly over the next 20 years. The task for South Africa is to plan effectively, position itself optimally and engage proactively with these rapidly evolving technologies.
- 3.2 The 4th Industrial Revolution disrupt the current practices and brings new opportunities, restructures other industries, has profound implications for the jobs market, etc., and as such, there is a need to explore and maximize new opportunities and invest in digital skills, improve Government efficiency to deliver services, ready Government for the 4th Industrial Revolution, create opportunities for SMMEs, etc.
- 3.3 The ICT sector has a significant and growing impact on the GDP and is part of the macro economic considerations as it provides opportunities for SA to get out of the current economic challenges. Solutions must be practical given the huge investments needed to rollout broadband and prepare for the Internet of Things, in such a constrained economy.
- 3.4 Many of the ICT sector challenges have been previously raised. The high cost for South Africans of communication needs to be addressed through policy and regulatory systems. In addition there is a need to increase the rollout of broadband infra-

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structure especially in rural areas. The ICT sector needs to be transformed at all levels. As previously stated, the rationalization of state owned companies is a priority. The biggest challenge of ANC deployees is to implement ANC resolutions and policies with speed.

Hereby Resolve that:

- 3.5 The ANC must ensure the implementation of the resolutions to support the Post Office, including that Government business must be availed to the Post Office through intergovernmental framework to maximize the use and value of the Post Office infrastructure to achieve its developmental mandate. The Post Office should continuously review its business models to cope with the changes arising from the digital industrial revolution.
- 3.6 Private postal operators should also contribute to universal service obligations.
- 3.7 There must be a strong regulatory intervention to deal with the question of the high cost to communicate and the ANC must support the campaign for data to fall and the monopolization of data. This is regarded as stifling economic inclusion.
- 3.8 The need to optimize ICT opportunities through the use SMMEs in ICT to drive the economy is critical. Resolve that government must put efforts to ensure that SMME opportunities are created in the whole ICT value chain, and further encourage black industrialists participation in the country. There must be a deliberate legislative intervention to promote local content, production, hardware, and further create an enabling environment for innovation in areas of software development, applications development in the black industrialists programme to ensure SMMEs development.
- 3.9 Government must review the mandate of SITA to not only be procurer but enable local capacity production of software and hardware products, unbundle the value chain, etc. SITA should be transformed and repurposed to provide high quality information technology services aligned to the digital age.
- 3.10 All children of South Africa must get equal opportunities in terms of infrastructure in all schools, if we are to maximize the opportunities of the 4th Industrial Revolution. Government should invest nationally in a paperless system based on digitized and automation of systems. This should form the basis of our policy commitment to introduce smart, paperless schools throughout the country in line with Education Operation Phakisa in Education which should be prioritized.
- 3.11 As part of rationalization of SoCs, consideration must be made to implement the decision to merge BBI and Sentech. This should be underpinned by the overall policy on SOC Reform to improve service delivery and investment in infrastructure.
- 3.12 Ensure requisite skills (including policy making) in the SOCs, and the respective Departments charged to lead this sector.
- 3.13 Digitizing, automating systems will assist in minimizing crime, coordinating information about citizens and Government services, integrating education system, Home Affairs, Justice Cluster, including digitising ANC membership management system amongst others.
- 3.14 Public servants at all levels including Accounting Authority, Accounting Officers, communication heads, etc. must be capacitated with IT and digital skills, as part of the preparation for the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- 3.15 Government should use ICT to address the communications needs of people with disabilities, use of Apps to address government needs and services, etc.
- 3.16 The ANC mandate government to establish the 4th Industrial Revolution Commission and develop the relevant strategies and policies to respond to the new digitization needs. The Commission should include all stakeholders in the economy.
- 3.17 There is a need to strengthen organs of state including ICASA to cope with the unprecedented changes due to the 4th Industrial revolution.
- 3.18 Government should consider the reconfiguration of the existing Government departments to embrace technological convergence. There is a need to have provincial champions at provincial and district government level to drive this agenda.
- 3.19 Targets for youth, women and blacks in the equity of service providers in the ICT industry must be established as part of radical socio-economic transformation.
- 3.20 There is a need to strengthen capability for cybersecurity to enhance protection of critical databases, systems and critical infrastructure resources, including protecting society against fake news, cybercrime, cyber-attacks and hacking etc.
- 3.21 Interventions must include strategies to ensure that SA content and websites become favorites countrywide.
- 3.22 Government must build capacity and strengthen the Media & ICT SETA agency to play a critical role in SMME development including the youth with digital skills in preparation for the 4th Industrial Revolution.

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- 3.23 Education departments must change curriculum to prepare for the 4th Industrial Revolution. Development of digital skills, reskilling, and target of new entrants in the labour market should deliberately target rural areas and provinces in preparation for the digital economy.
- 3.24 There must be priority and speed in the implementation of the ICT White Paper to encourage transformation, ensuring open access to critical spectrum resource usage, ensure the strong market competition and accelerate rapid deployment of electronic communications infrastructure and services including the roll-out of the Wireless Open Access Network.
- 3.25 In preparation for and to enable the 4th Industrial Revolution, government should establish specialized ICT institutions of higher education, and the use of specialized TVETS for the massification of e-skills. There must also be a consideration of the model of dedicated University on ICT, data, innovations and new innovations, to promote creativity, innovation and ready the country for the 4th Industrial Revolution in line with the 53rd National Conference Resolutions.
- 3.26 The Postbank must be licensed and capacitated to play meaningful role in providing banking services before the end of term of office of the current Government administration.
- 3.27 The ANC must further encourage efforts by Government and the private sector to deploy broadband infrastructure and services and also ensure accessibility of free Wi-Fi as part of the development of economic inclusion. Free Wi-Fi must also be provided in rural areas as well as Metros and in all public schools, clinics, libraries, etc.
- 3.28 Strategies must be developed to derive benefits from the opportunities including through taxes, incentives, etc. Approach to ICT policy should locate the sector within the broader economic policy context thereby positioning it to drive the restructuring of the SA economy.
- 3.29 Policies and strategies must ensure asymmetrical regulation of telecommunications services to address existing dominance in the mobile telecommunications industry, fair and open competition, and the growth of SMMEs and MVNOs.
- 4.2 ANC must invest in developing and producing the best cadres, win hegemony, trust and belief in the society, in order for it to be the leader of society.
- 4.3 Government must be capacitated and restructured in preparation for the 4th Industrial Revolution, in a manner that will optimize efforts to grab the opportunities. The 4th Industrial Revolution must be regarded as an economic catalyst.
- 4.4 The local content industry development strategy should be introduced without delay alongside the review of the broadcasting policy and in line with the digital broadcasting plan.
- 4.5 The SABC needs rebranding and turnaround to ensure that focus is on content and less on governance issues and challenges. The SABC should primarily focus on cultural identity and development as a repository of our heritage and identity.
- 4.6 Language is important in enhancing and ensuring effective communication, with emphasis on supporting indigenous languages. Language used in the public media especially the SABC should be accessible.
- 4.7 Digital broadcasting migration programme remains a priority in the country. The success of this initiative will depend on inter alia the availability of new content that appeals to the broader South African viewership, and the uptake of STBs and Integrated Digital Television sets by the non-subsidised households. Government should therefore continue to mobilize all role players and the general public to participate in this endeavour as it also brings other social and economic benefits.
- 4.8 Digital migration switchover should be completed by June 2019. The completion of this programme will also enable the freeing of the critical radio frequency spectrum needed for the rollout of broadband.
- 4.9 The advent of digital broadcasting technologies that allow multichannel platforms should also ensure the representation in all languages.
- 4.10 DTT presents an opportunity for the SABC to introduce multichannel programming to ensure its viability as a broadcaster of choice and this could ensure that Parliamentary channel, community TV could be on the SABC's platform. SABC must be positioned as a content provider of choice, protect and be a repository of our cultural identity, etc.
- 4.11 A TV channel to broadcast parliamentary news, e-government, and other local content information addressing development must be established. The channel should be interactive to enable public participation in the unfolding discourse on various topical issues.

4. On Broadcasting

Hereby Resolve that:

- 4.1 The strategic ownership of media assets is important but must be understood in the context of viewership and listenership. Sustainability of broadcasting services is a challenge and need to be taken into consideration.

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- 4.12 Broadcasting policy review should be concluded without delay, and should apply to the entire broadcasting landscape and not just the SABC & should be underpinned by the desire to create a diverse broadcasting landscape. Policy should aim to attain over 70% local content quotas within five years from the 54th National Conference.
- 4.13 DTT should also include skills development and capacity building throughout the value chain, consistent with the Broadcasting Digital Migration policy and other aspects of the DTT programme.
- 4.14 Digital disruptions affect the media industry throughout the value chain hence the need for an economy-wide strategy on the impact of the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- 4.15 ANC must through government policy and competition interventions ensure a fair, regulated subscription broadcasting television addressing market competition issues.
- 4.16 The ANC must ensure that policy and regulatory interventions are strengthened in order to address the existing monopoly in the pay television market.
- 4.17 Support for community broadcasting must be improved and strengthened. This must also include increase in funding for Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) to address signal distribution and other challenges in both radio and television services. Other innovative measures should be considered to ensure the sustainability and viability of this important sector.
- 4.18 There must be more efforts on investing in research & development and innovation.
- 4.19 As part of the efforts to increase the uptake and usage of ICTs, there must be active action driven to foster partnership with institutions of higher learning and to also encourage universities to specialize in skills in digital technologies.
- 4.20 There is a need to redefine and clarify the role of the different SOCs in the context of the digital age, namely: NEMISA, USAASA, MDDA, and rationalize their mandate. This should be done within the context of the SOC Reform and should include the regulatory institutions such as .ZDNA and the Film and Publications Board.
- 4.21 Government must support the development of digital radio and this should be understood in the context of the need to support the rollout of diverse, affordable broadcasting receivers.
- 4.22 SEZs should be used as manufacturing centers for ICT and broadcasting devices, gadgets such as IDTV.
- 4.23 Internet radio and Internet TV should also receive attention as part of the framework to regulate OTTs (Over-The-Top).
- 4.24 Small businesses owned by young people should be licensed to provide ICT and broadcasting services taking advantage of new innovations such as Over the Top and Internet broadcasting.
- 4.25 Cyber Security policy should also protect broadcasting services.
- 4.26 The local broadcasting industry should also focus/prioritise content from the African continent.
- 4.27 Television signal should be improved especially along the geographic marginal areas and borders of our country enabled through digital broadcast transmission.

5. On Media Transformation, media diversity and accountability mechanisms

Hereby Resolve that:

- 5.1 ANC policy promotes media diversity to ensure media transformation thereby gaining plurality of views in society, and therefore is against dominance.
- 5.2 There has been some changes in the sector post the 53rd National Conference, including changes of ownership in print, the introduction of the New Age, the new ownership of Independent Newspapers by Sekunjalo, birth of the Community Newspaper Initiative (CNI), growth of the Association of Independent Publishers, birth of Association of Black Communications Practitioners, birth of Forum for Journalists Transformation, numerous licenses awarded (subscription, commercial radio in the Free State and Eastern Cape as well as in cities, community radio and TV), Press Freedom Commission (PFC), Digital and Print Media Transformation Task Team (PDMTTT), reviewed Press Council and Press Code, withdrawal of Independent Newspaper from the Press Ombudsman, closure of the Print and Digital Media SA (PMSA), etc.
- 5.3 There exist a number of community and small commercial print media, who all face the challenge of sustainability. The acquisition of small established titles/small commercial media by the big players work against the policy of media diversity as espoused by the ANC and warrant further consideration.
- 5.4 Government (under DoC) held the Print and Digital Media Transformation Summit and a Discussion Document has been developed and will follow the public inquiry through Parliament on the measures and steps needed to ensure media transformation.

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- 5.5 There is a need to review the ANC Media Charter and conduct a Parliamentary inquiry on the desirability and feasibility of a media appeals tribunal.
- 5.6 The review should include the Press Freedom Commission (PFC) recommendations in the Parliamentary processes.
- 5.7 The empowerment charter should promote Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment in the print media sector, and strengthen the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) to support community and commercial entities towards more diversity
- 5.8 The Competition Commission to investigate all possible anti-competitive practices in the print and commercial media. In addition the Competition Commission should investigate the barriers to market access by small and medium enterprises. There is a need to enhance the sanctions that can be imposed by the Competition Commission through the review of applicable laws.
- 5.9 To prioritise transformation of the advertising industry.
- 5.10 Media transformation must include ownership and control, racism in the media and progressive ideas. The transformation of the advertising industry through the implementation of the Advertising Charter must form part and parcel of media transformation.
- 5.11 The utilisation of outdoor media and billboards platforms must be explored. Outdoor media, especially in light of digitization which needs to be transformed as it is currently dominated by international companies, is important.
- 5.12 The ANC must support community and small commercial media including efforts to prevent the take-over of community newspapers by the big companies, thereby increasing media diversity.
- 5.13 In line with the previous resolutions, government should use its advertising spend to advance diversity. Government advertising to community and small commercial media must be increased in line with the 30% set aside provisions. The 30% of media buying from community media needs to be implemented without delay.
- 5.14 Print media empowerment charter must be developed to drive media development, transformation and diversity, informed by the radical socio-economic transformation approach. Print media ownership remains highly racialised & this calls for transformation throughout the value chain. Print media will remain even in the digital environment & thus transformation should remain a priority. There is a thin line between media ownership and control thus we need a holistic approach to transformation. The ANC must appreciate that having black editors does not mean transformation.
- 5.15 An enabling environment must be created for SMMEs to encourage innovation and creativity in order to position our country for the Fourth Industrial Revolution and to create necessary and relevant jobs.

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RESOLUTIONS

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

1. The Conference considered and endorsed a number of recommendations from the National Policy Conference and Provincial General Councils, and agreed to the following resolution on radical socio-economic transformation.

Noting that:

2. The ANC's vision for the South African economy is guided by the Freedom Charter's clarion call that the people shall share in the country's wealth. The ANC is committed to building a more equal society, in which all can find decent work and enjoy a sustainable livelihood.
3. Since the 1994 democratic breakthrough, significant progress has been made in meeting the basic needs of the people. This progress has found practical expression in, among others, increased protection for workers, the expansion of the black middle strata, the extension of the social security net, and the expanded provision of social and economic infrastructure.
4. Current factors such as persistent low levels of economic growth, rising national debt, some weaknesses of state owned companies, low levels of business and consumer confidence, low investment levels, credit rating downgrades, policy inconsistencies and public and private sector corruption have limited the ANC-led government's ability to drive socio-economic transformation and address South Africa's triple challenge of inequality, poverty and unemployment.

Further noting that:

5. Despite the economic advances of the past 23 years of freedom and democracy, the legacy of colonialism and apartheid is still deeply entrenched in our society and in the structure of the South African economy.
6. This legacy expresses itself in racialised patterns of poverty, inequality and unemployment, in land and spatial disparities, in infrastructure and service backlogs, in concentrated structures of ownership and

control and in the weaknesses of the SMME and cooperatives sector.

7. There has been slow progress in building a developmental state that has the capacity and capability to mobilise society and direct resources towards developmental goals.

Reaffirming:

8. The 53rd National Conference in Mangaung characterisation of the current phase of the National Democratic Revolution as the second phase of our ongoing transition from colonialism and apartheid to a National Democratic Society.
9. The ANC's adoption in Mangaung of the National Development Plan (NDP) as our guiding programme for accelerated and radical socio-economic transformation in South Africa, with the aim of achieving shared prosperity for all the people.
10. In addition to adopting the NDP, the focal areas of the Mangaung's economic transformation resolution are as follows:
 - Placing emphasis on mineral beneficiation;
 - Support for women and youth owned small business and cooperatives;
 - The establishment of a State Bank;
 - Rural development and land reform, and
 - Supportive macro-economic framework.

Believing that:

11. Within the context of radical socio-economic transformation, the ANC's strategic relationship with private capital is one of cooperation and contestation. This requires, among others, that the state must actively seek partnerships with the private sector and provide leadership to guide the country towards its developmental goals.
12. In order to revive South Africa's economy, sectoral growth plans must be developed for industry, agriculture, mining, construction and services. There

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must also be programmes to ensure increased investment in infrastructure, expanded research and development and a rapid improvement in education and training in order to equip the people to participate fully in the global economy's ongoing fourth industrial revolution.

Conference therefore resolved:

On reigniting growth

13. South Africa must act urgently to reignite economic growth. Active steps to achieve accelerated economic growth include:
- Uniting government, labour, business and communities in an investment pact;
 - Isolating and rooting out corrupt elements in the public and private sectors;
 - Stabilising the governance and finances of State Owned Companies (SOC) and ensuring that SOC's play a developmental role;
 - Ensuring a measured and balanced path of macroeconomic management;
 - Working to avoid further downgrades to South Africa's credit rating and regain an investment grade;
 - Regulating uncompetitive structures and conduct in the economy; and
 - Reviewing and recalibrating the NDP regularly in order to ensure improved implementation.

On Land Redistribution

14. We must pursue with greater determination the programme of land reform and rural development as part of the programme of radical socio-economic transformation.
15. Expropriation of land without compensation should be among the key mechanisms available to government to give effect to land reform and redistribution.
16. In determining the mechanisms of implementation, we must ensure that we do not undermine future investment in the economy, or damage agricultural production and food security. Furthermore, our interventions must not cause harm to other sectors of the economy.
17. The ANC's approach to land reform must be based on three elements: increased security of tenure, land restitution and land redistribution. Concrete interventions are required to improve the functioning of all three elements of land reform. These inter-

ventions should focus on government-owned land and should also be guided by the ANC's Ready to Govern policy document which prioritised the redistribution of vacant, unused and under-utilised state land, as well as land held for speculation and hopelessly indebted land.

18. The accelerated programme of land reform must be done in an orderly manner. Strong action must be taken against those who occupy land unlawfully.
19. The programme of land reform must have clear targets and timeframes, be guided by sound legal and economic principles, and must contribute to the country's overall job creation and investment objectives.
20. In addition it was resolved to:
- a) Ensure active measures be put in place to drive land redistribution, such as a land tax, support for black farmers and preferential allocation of water rights and infrastructure provisions to black farmers.
 - b) Ensure effective programmes to increase training and support measures that will ensure the success of beneficiaries of land reform.
 - c) Ensure land reform enhances food security for poor families and maintain food security for South Africa as a whole.
 - d) Empower local governments to effectively advance land reform in their areas both for agricultural and other purposes.
 - e) Accelerate the rolling out of title deeds to black South Africans in order to guarantee their security of tenure and to provide them with instruments of financial collateral.
 - f) Democratize control and administration of areas under communal land tenure.
21. It was further resolved that the expropriation legislation currently in process should be finalised and that an ETC workshop on land reform would be held to develop a detailed ANC approach to accelerated land reform and to allow for a report back on the land audit that has been undertaken by government.

On State Owned Companies

22. The main purpose of SOC's is to operationalise the broad socio-economic development plans of government.
23. Firm action is required to improve the governance and performance of SOC's by ensuring the appointment of skilled staff and qualified board members and protecting public institutions from improper interference.

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On Labour Market and Executive Pay

24. The gap between incomes of executives compared to workers remains very high. The wage gap has continued to deepen. This should be addressed as a matter of national priority, through a national incomes policy, underpinned by legislation where necessary.
25. The livelihoods of the poor, their employment opportunities, prospects for employment, and their capacity to roll back poverty and destitution should be prioritized. This principle includes the orientation of the macroeconomic policy so that economic growth takes place within an overarching strategy of job creation. We will strive to create employment that delivers fair incomes and social protection for workers and their families.
26. The national minimum wage must be implemented as a matter of urgency as the new minimum wage regime will impact positively on the lives of many low paid workers.

On the South African Reserve Bank

27. Reaffirm the resolution of the 53rd National Conference Resolution on the mandate of the South African Reserve Bank which states: *"South Africa requires a flexible monetary policy regime, aligned with the objectives of the second phase of transition. Without sacrificing price stability, monetary policy should also take account of other objectives such as employment creation and economic growth."*
28. The South African Reserve Bank is the central bank of the Republic. It performs its functions independently, but in regular consultation with the Minister of Finance. The right to issue paper money, set interest rates and regulate the financial system resides wholly with the Reserve Bank.
29. It is, however, a historical anomaly that there are private shareholders of the Reserve Bank. Conference resolves that the Reserve Bank should be 100% owned by the state.
30. Government must develop a proposal to ensure full public ownership in a manner that does not benefit private shareholder speculators.

On the Financial Sector Transformation, State Bank and DFIs

31. The state must develop a more effective programme to ensure access to, and ownership of, financial institutions by black people, youth and women. This should include new approaches to regulation and licensing that fosters competition and enables diversified ownership. The forthcoming Financial

Sector Transformation Summit should provide a clear framework for the acceleration and deepening of transformation in this sector.

32. The use of state banks to promote economic development must be stepped up. The Postbank should be registered as a bank as a matter of urgency. The NEC must receive reports at each sitting on progress in this regard.
33. Development finance institutions and state banks should give greater emphasis to employment creation, empowerment, industrial diversification and development, small businesses and cooperatives, small-scale agriculture, micro-enterprises and local and regional economic development.
34. Development finance institutions' mandates should include the development of black-owned companies. Public finance institutions must be given clear developmental mandates.

On economic concentration

35. The high levels of concentration of ownership in many sectors of our economy is dysfunctional to growth, entry of black South Africans in the economy and effective competition.
36. Conference calls for effective measures that expand the mandate of the competition authorities to identify high levels of concentration and to have the powers to act to de-concentrate levels of ownership, in order to open the market to new, black-owned companies.
37. The penalties for uncompetitive behavior must be increased.
38. The Competition Commission needs to be strengthened with additional resources to build on its current capabilities.

On investment and allocation of resources

39. Government should introduce measures to ensure adequate financial resources are directed to developmental purposes. A new prescribed asset requirement should be investigated to ensure that a portion of all financial institutions funds be invested in public infrastructure, skills development and job-creation.
40. A Sovereign Wealth Fund should be set up to ensure that the free-carry shares in mining and other resource sectors be retained by the state, acting as the custodian of the people as a whole.

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE**On strengthening Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE)**

41. State procurement should be used as an empowerment lever.
42. The PPPFA should be significantly amended to fully realize all objectives set out in s217 of the Constitution. Set asides must be further strengthened so that they work more effectively in promoting black businesses.
43. Government should intensify the use of state concessions as a policy tool for economic development and transformation, including in minerals, petroleum, fishing, spectrum, land, water, energy, etc.
44. A worker empowerment component should be introduced in the policy framework to massify share-ownership among workers and to provide for worker representatives sitting on the boards of companies.

On manufacturing, creative industries and tourism

45. Manufacturing continues to be a major sector of South Africa's economy, providing a significant base for skilled employment opportunities. Through its Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP), government seeks to transform the structure of South Africa's manufacturing base through creating new levels of dynamism and competitiveness in the sector.
46. A renewed emphasis must be placed on localisation, particularly linked to infrastructure projects and to procurement by government and state-owned companies.
47. There must be increased designation of products that are locally produced to facilitate an expanded buy local campaign.
48. The black industrialist programme should be strengthened and support programmes should be developed for other sectors.
49. Conference recognised the potential of the creative industries as a socially transformative sector that provides jobs, drives economic growth, innovation and allows many young people to make a living from their talent.
50. Conference resolved that the ANC must upscale interventions to support the creative industries. We must ensure the protection of artists, including the development of a strategy to promote trade, fight piracy and map the value chains of this sector.
51. Advancing transformation in the tourism sector is paramount. The popularity of South Africa as a tourist location highlights the need for more streamlined support, including alignment of the

goal of increasing tourism activity with the security of tourists and the visa policies of the country.

On the skills revolution

52. The challenges of new technology and the 4th industrial revolution require a revolutionary approach to training and skills development.
53. Initiatives that accelerate the placement of youth in employment opportunities that generate skills and experience should be intensified.

On improving the industrial and economic impact of public expenditure

54. Infrastructure spending remains a lever through which industrial development and economic growth can be sustained.
55. The infrastructure programme should actively support youth employment, localisation, black industrialists and other developmental goals.
56. Procurement institutions must be strengthened to ensure a close monitoring of adherence to revised preferential procurement regulations.
57. The most potent way to build and strengthen backward and forward industrial linkages in our economy is through local procurement. This will improve our trade balance and ensure that fiscal policy has an increased multiplier impact on economic growth, employment and long term development.

On beneficiation and building high value-added value-chains

58. New measures to inwardly orient those components of mining and upstream production such as petrochemicals and basic iron and steel, which are crucial for metals fabrication, capital goods production especially engineering activities, need to be put in place in support of a coherent strategy of industrial development based on raw minerals beneficiation.
59. The state should apply export taxes to strategic minerals where required to ensure local beneficiation.
60. Encourage recycling, especially of metals and other products such as plastics, rubber and paper. This will require that we promote the local re-cycling industry, especially metals re-cycling in order to significantly reduce energy consumption in the process of metals production and fabrication. In this connection, we should continue to limit the export of scrap metal.

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On small businesses and co-operatives

61. Government measures to support small business and cooperatives need to be scaled up to ensure their impact is felt across the economy. The stimulation and protection of township-based economic activities is also important in this regard.
62. Youth employment must be prioritised, including through effective public employment programmes, internships, job placement, youth set-asides, procurement from youth-owned enterprises and youth entrepreneurship programmes.
63. Effective use and resourcing of the National Youth Development Agency is important as it offers support services to young people, especially those in rural areas and in working class urban communities. Youth support must be incorporated as one of the areas in the scorecards for firms from which government procures goods and services.

On Mining

64. There was support for the overall objectives of the newly promulgated Mining Charter, but it was agreed that further discussion is required with mining industry in order to ensure investment and employment levels are not negatively affected.
65. Beyond a narrow focus on individuals, increased ownership targets in the mining sector should primarily benefit the state, community and employee ownership. In particular, free-carry shares should be held in trust by the state rather than allocated to a few individuals.
66. The well-being of near mine communities and mine safety and rehabilitation are also all priority factors.
67. In line with the Mangaung Conference resolutions, the State Owned mining company must be strengthened, so that it can play a significant role in the mining sector.

On the oceans economy and forestry

68. The ANC must ensure expanded participation in the entire value and supply chain linked to South

Africa's Oceans Economy. Priority interventions must include:

- a. Finalising the fishing quotas and ensure they are given effect to immediately.
 - b. Development of a marine-policy that ensures the use of South African ships as part of our trade with the rest of the world.
69. Similarly interventions must be put in place to fully utilise the potential of South Africa's forestry sector to drive empowerment, transformation, economic growth and decent work.

Taxation

70. The state must develop a proposal for an appropriately structured wealth tax, possibly linked to the land tax, to promote equity and raise revenues.
71. In the current economic climate, there should be a review of the proposed sugary beverages tax with particular emphasis on the potential impact on employment relative to the health benefits.
72. Government must urgently crack down on tax avoidance and illicit capital outflows.
73. In order to make available critical inputs for downstream industries, we must consider instituting export tariffs as an important tool for promoting local beneficiation.

On improved implementation, monitoring, accountability and evaluation

74. Conference reaffirmed the need to strengthen the developmental state in order to ensure seamless implementation for radical socio-economic transformation. The capacity of the state is a macroeconomic issue because it influences the behaviour of the economy as a whole.
75. With this in mind, Conference resolved to affirm the NEC decision to create an accountability framework to ensure that deployed comrades at all levels are held accountable to the implementation of ANC policies.

RESOLUTIONS

EDUCATION, HEALTH, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

ANC Policy cycle

Noting that:

- The ANC policy cycle is five (5) years; and that
- The ANC would benefit and be relieved of the burden of unnecessary and frequent policy changes if it were to be accorded enough time to implement, monitor and evaluate policy.

Therefore resolve that:

- The policy cycle should be at least ten (10) years with a five yearly review.
- The ANC increase its policy, monitoring and evaluation capacity.
- The ANC must ensure that there are Subcommittees on Education and Science and Technology and Health at branch level.

National Development Plan 2030

- The ANC must ensure that government develops five year and annual implementation plans based on the NDP to facilitate monitoring and evaluation of progress.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Noting:

The decision of the ANC 53rd National Conference

- That investment in Research, Development and Innovation must be 1.5% of GDP by 2019 with 5% accepted as the ideal for the country.
- That the National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030 states that science, technology and innovation must play an increasing role in skills development, job creation and economic growth.

- The ANC's commitment to transformative Science Technology and Innovation (STI) policy expressed in resolutions adopted at different conferences.
- That the Department of Science and Technology (DST) is developing a new White Paper on Science, Technology and Innovation.

Therefore resolve that:

- The decision to increase investment in Research and Development (R&D) to 1.5% of GDP by 2019 must be implemented.
- Grassroots and social innovation must be encouraged in order to develop innovative products, services and technologies.
- Prioritise learners with disability for science and technology training.
- Science literacy programmes should include a focus on village and township communities; and the creation of Wi-Fi spots in rural areas.
- The ANC must ensure that professions in science and technology are careers of choice and that public education institutions are resourced to advance this ideal.
- All sectors must account on progress being made in using science, technology and innovation; working with institutions such as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

Further resolve to:

- Invest in the digital economy as it has the potential to create new jobs in the context of the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- Link innovation and entrepreneurship with higher education and training to assist students who are innovative.
- Embark on effective programmes to accelerate the beneficiation of minerals.

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On the use and increase of uptake of locally produced technologies

Noting:

- That technological innovations developed in South Africa have difficulty in becoming recognised and commercially viable due to limited visibility and support from public and private procurement;

Therefore resolve that:

- Government, labour and business encouraged or directed to use and increase their uptake of locally produced technologies.

On the coordination and harmonisation of policies and incentives related to STI

Noting:

- That there are a range of policies, incentives, and initiatives sponsored by various government departments in support of STI and that these are not always well coordinated, resulting in these achieving less impact than desired;

Therefore resolve that:

- The ANC ensures that a focused process is set up between government departments to coordinate and harmonise policies and incentives, especially those related to STI, to encourage and support innovation.

On the use of STI within and across the public sector as an enabler of service delivery

Noting:

- That the take up and utilisation of STI by the public sector is not always recognised as providing possible solutions to improved delivery of services to communities by provinces and local government;

Therefore resolve that:

- A coordinating mechanism be established and implemented to improve the use of STI within and across the public sector.
- STI be used to improve interventions at local and provincial government levels so as to enable and accelerate service delivery.

On the promotion of new innovations and invention of new technologies

Noting:

- That, although people experience and make use of STI in their daily lives, this wide spread acceptance and usage of STI is often not realised by our com-

munities, sometimes as a result of historical deprivation from access to the sciences;

- That there is a need to expose children and communities to science, technology and innovation.

Therefore resolve that:

- Policies be adopted to promote the recognition of the prevalence of STI in daily life and that this serve to encourage learners in schools, students at colleges and universities and workers in every sector to invent new technologies and products by analysing and learning from those imported and used daily in their lives.
- Public engagement on and promotion of science, technology and innovation be intensified.
- The ANC leads society to think more positively about ourselves and our innovation capabilities; and publicises advances that have been made by South African scientists and innovators.

EDUCATION

Noting that:

- We reaffirm that education remains an apex priority for the African National Congress and the ANC government.
- Education is an organising and coordinating body providing skills for the country.
- We continue to implement policies and programmes of the ANC as adopted in previous conferences and elaborated in resolutions contained in our documents.
- The various legislation, policies and programmes of the Departments of Basic Education as well as Higher Education and Training, which are intended to give effect to and achieve the vision and goals of the ANC in relation to an integrated education and training system, embody and articulate the ideals of the Freedom Charter, ANC policies, and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

BASIC EDUCATION

Further noting:

- Progress that has been made in providing scholar transport and the ongoing need for such services.
- Existing challenges of inequity between rural and urban schools;
- That some schools in rural areas still face the challenge of lack of basic services.
- The need to digitalise learning and teaching support material.

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- The welcome expansion of vocational, technical and occupational education in schools.
- That education facilities are increasingly targeted for vandalism and destruction during public unrests.
- That the lack of electricity, libraries and laboratories diminishes the capacity of schools to offer science and technology.

Therefore resolve that:

- The Basic Education sector working with the Higher Education and Training sector and the Treasury must by the end of this term ensure that a comprehensive review of the education and training system has been conducted to ensure that it is relevant and responds to the demands and imperatives of the radical socio-economic transformation and the 4th Industrial Revolution by preparing young people for life, higher education and training programmes; technical, vocational and occupational skills; and the world of work. This includes preparation for post-school education.
- Having achieved commendable targets pertaining to access, redress and equity, the ANC must further ensure that there is strategic alignment and repositioning of the basic education sector by prioritising policies and strategies targeting the achievement of quality teaching and learning outcomes, enhancing the skills and competencies of educators, including the school management team comprising the school principal, deputy principal, and subject heads; and enhancing accountability systems to ensure the achievement of quality outcomes and the efficiency in the basic education sector.
- Steps should be taken to implement operation Phakisa in Education decisions on the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in schools.
- The ANC should lead society in protecting public facilities such as schools, libraries, colleges, universities, hospitals and clinics; and in ensuring that active steps are taken to prevent vandalism and to protect all public properties.
- The ANC must direct government and its relevant clusters to work together in developing strategic programmes and skills and education interventions geared towards young people who are not in employment, nor in education and training (NEETs).
- The ANC must ensure that there is systematic relocation of the responsibility for Early Childhood Development (ECD) from the Department of Social Development to the Department of Basic Education.
- The Departments of Social Development, Basic Education, and Health should coordinate efforts to optimise Early Childhood development. Furthermore, particular attention should be given to children with special needs, for example autism.
- The ANC must deal decisively with challenges of inequity between rural and urban education by ensuring that there is adequate resourcing of village and township schools through the provision of quality, efficient, innovative, and inclusive education and training programmes and solutions. Incentives, through which teachers can be attracted and retained in rural and farm communities, must be explored and sustainably implemented and monitored.
- The ANC sets aside the resolution of the 52nd National Conference on making education an essential service. Furthermore the ANC and its alliance partners must work together to ensure joint responsibility for the maintenance and sustaining of good labour relations within the Basic education sector, and the reduction of conflicts which may lead to labour unrest, loss of teaching and learning time, and damage to property and educational resources.
- The ANC must put in place a legislative framework to guide in addressing executive, management and administrative lapses in the system, which result in interventions in terms of section 100 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996.
- The ANC directs the Departments of Basic Education, Arts and Culture, as well as Sport and Recreation to develop, implement and monitor transformed, strategic and sustainable recreational sport, arts and culture programmes which are intended to promote the democratic values of Ubuntu and social cohesion among South African schools and learners.

Further resolve that:

- The findings of Presidential Commission on remuneration in the Public service and Administration must be released in the first half of 2018.
- Intensify and prioritise programmes to improve literacy and numeracy of all learners.
- Expand the establishment and use of boarding schools in order to further improve the quality of learning and teaching.
- Technical schools must be made schools of excellence focusing on specific disciplines and skill sets; and that the ANC develops a policy on schools that will provide for a focus on talent development, e.g. development or establishment of public schools for talented or specially gifted learners.
- The ANC adopt a policy to introduce a minimum of three (3) languages into the curriculum in schools each must include at least one African language.



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- The ANC consider the feasibility of establishing a single and inclusive examination board for the entire school system.
- ANC branches must submit an audit of mobile schools and clinics that need to be replaced with permanent structures to the incoming ANC NEC Subcommittee for follow-up and intervention.
- The sector accelerates the programme of resourcing of schools, particularly the provision of laboratories and libraries in village and township schools.
- All Provincial Departments of Education adopt and implement the Second Chance Opportunity Programme for matriculants.
- There are uncapped rental rates and severe shortage of student residences for students from poor and working families, particularly those in historically disadvantaged institutions;
- Since 1994, as shown by the transforming demographic profile of students, the ANC government has made significant strides in widening participation in higher education for youth from African households and communities;
- The need to conclude a model for providing fee-free higher education for the poor and working class.

Therefore resolve that:

HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Funding for the higher education and training system, especially the college sector, and for students in the sector

Noting:

- The Provision of free and quality higher education and training for poor and working class students until undergraduate degree is a standing and binding resolution of both the ANC 52nd and 53rd National Conferences;
- There must be progressive introduction of free education for the poor and subsidised education for the working class and "missing middle" subject to the availability of resources.
- The ANC has made huge strides towards providing fee-free higher education to all undergraduate level students from poor families through massive increases in funding;
- The release of the report of the Presidential Commission into the Feasibility of Fee-Free Higher Education and Training in South Africa.
- That the higher education and training system, especially the college sector, is hugely underfunded.
- A newly structured student centred model and central applications process to access financial aid has been implemented across the university and TVET college systems;
- A full review of the NSFAS Act and Regulations is underway, and that this will redefine the NSFAS's definition of "poor and working class students";
- A proposed model has been developed and is being tested to enable free higher education for the poor and working class and subsidised higher education for the working class and "missing middle";
- That there is a need to strengthen collaboration between basic education and higher education and training;
- We reaffirm that education remains an apex priority of Government's pro-poor policies and that it is a central pillar of our fight against the triple challenge of poverty, inequality and unemployment as outlined in the National Development Plan Vision 2030 and that failure to accelerate inclusive access to higher education and training directly threatens the achievement of this key objective.
- The ANC must continue to strengthen measures that will improve access to higher education with the ultimate goal of achieving free higher education for the poor and "missing middle". This should not be limited to the role that NFSAS plays but should also include the role of the private sector in this regard.
- In line with the resolutions of the ANC 52nd and 53rd National Conferences, the ANC government accelerates the implementation of a new financial support model to ensure that academically capable, poor, working class and middle strata students are supported to access higher education, and receive fully subsidised free higher education and training by 2018, subject to availability of funds.
- Steps should be taken to expand the TVET and Community College sector and to ensure that it is adequately funded.
- The programmes of TVET colleges must respond to skills needs and unemployment.
- TVET colleges must foster partnerships with universities of technology and various industries for work experience for both lecturers and students.
- The provision of digital programmes must be expanded.
- The Human Settlements budget must include support for increased student accommodation.
- In order to achieve its intended access and success rates, fully subsidized 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

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needs – that is the full cost of study fees. No poor or working class student should be partially funded, depending on the availability of resources;

- All students receiving grants and loans from the state to access higher education should receive additional academic and psycho-social support to increase their chances of success;
- Finalise framework for regulating higher education fees.
- Redesign funding formula for the college and university sector.
- The incoming NEC Subcommittee should convene a dialogue with stakeholders on sustainable higher education.

Central Application Service (CAS)

- Implement a Central Application Service (CAS) in universities by March 2018 and implement CAS across the PSET system by 2022.

Sector Education and Training Authorities

- The programme of realignment of the SETA landscape should serve to improve the work of under-performing SETAs. The role of both state and private sector by granting access to the workplace for experiential learners remains critical for the success of the work of the SETAs.

Marketing technical and vocational education and training as the first choice

Noting:

- That progress has been made in the PSET system, especially with regards to the migration of the full college functions to the Department of Higher Education and Training from the 1st April 2015
- That Technical and Vocational Education and training is important for skills development towards an inclusive economy;

Therefore resolve that:

- Technical and vocational training should be marketed as the first choice leading to attractive career options for the majority of learners ahead of university education;
- Sufficient resources be made available for increasing access, infrastructure, lecturer in service training bursaries and curriculum transformation;
- Higher Education and Training, and Basic Education sectors are called upon to align technical and vocational offerings in schools and colleges; and

- TVET colleges needs to progressively offer qualifications for Grade 12 entrants on Levels 5 and 6.

The College sector in the Post-School Education and Training System

Noting:

- That the Post-School Education and Training (PSET) system is currently skewed towards university education, and will not self-correct; and that it requires a massive focus on Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) and Community Education and Training (CET) in order to develop the system, change perceptions and culture and make TVET colleges attractive institutions of choice as envisaged in the White Paper on PSET.

Therefore resolve that:

- The ANC must develop policies to clarify the nature and role of the entire college sector that comprises Community Education and Training (CET) colleges, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges and other colleges for specialised purposes such as agriculture, nursing, emergency care, policing and teaching. The entire sector has to be re-imagined in terms of the White Paper on PSET. There must be clarity on programmes offered by all colleges, especially TVET and nursing colleges.
- Research must be undertaken into the cost effectiveness of training students at university in mid-level courses such as Primary Health Care (PHC) and health promotion to determine where such courses would best be delivered; and that note must be taken of the possible resistance offered to a changed approach from universities and organisations such as the South African Nursing Council (SANC) and the Democratic Nurses Organisation of South Africa (DENOSA).
- The sector must conduct an audit of skills in colleges to determine competencies of educators and support staff for better quality learning, education and training in these institutions.

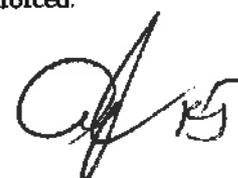
Focus on education and training in social sciences

Therefore resolve:

- Colleges and universities must continue prioritising mathematics, science and technology, but also focus on education and training in the social sciences.

Institutional autonomy

- The legislation on institutional autonomy for universities must be enforced.

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People's Education for People's Power

- The ANC must discuss and be a thought leader on the broader ideological and political issue of decolonisation which is captured in People's Education and People's Power.

Retirement age of professionals and academics

- The retirement age of academics should be increased.

Improving the alignment between college and university programmes to the requirements for employment

- That the ANC must consider policy changes that will make it compulsory for colleges and universities to obtain concurrence and approval to offer a course from relevant ministries, especially in the health sector. This should aim at improving the alignment between college and university programmes to the requirements for employment in different sectors under the governance of relevant ministries, especially in the health sector

Work-readiness of graduates and diplomates

- That the ANC explore ways and means of ensuring that diplomates and graduates are work ready at the time of their completion of studies in colleges and universities.

Funding commitments of the NDP 2030

- The ANC and government pledge to fund commitments that are stated in the NDP 2030.

Further resolve that:

- The ANC considers establishing specialised colleges and universities in specific metropolitan municipalities.
- An audit of teachers be done for purpose of planning so as to guarantee adequate supply and replacement.
- Members of college and university councils be monitored to ensure accountability.

HEALTH

Noting:

- Health is a priority for the ANC, government and country.
- The White Paper on the National Health Insurance (NHI) has been finalised and adopted by government.
- The need to intensify programmes to ensure ongoing improvement in the quality of health care.

Therefore resolve that:

National Health Insurance and Health Financing

- The ANC reaffirms its resolutions on the National Health Insurance (NHI).
- The ANC should ensure that the implementation of the NHI remains a priority of government.
- NHI pilots should be expanded to include other areas that are currently excluded.
- The ANC must ensure that legislative framework on the NHI must be finalized by end of the current term.
- In implementing the NHI specific emphasis must be given to Primary Health Care as the first and most important port of call.
- The ANC supports the policy proposal by the health sector to use the money allocated to tax rebates to medical aids to fund the NHI.
- National Treasury in collaboration with the Health Department must develop measures that health budget allocation takes account of population movements.
- Measures should be developed by the health sector to address the burden on the health system that is a consequence of international patients using the public health system without assistance provided by sending countries or international health agencies and institutions.

Improving the management of the National Health System

- The ANC must pay special attention to the four major issues that bedevil the public health system, namely human resources, procurement and supply chain systems, financial management and infrastructure maintenance.
- Retired health professionals such as nurses should be utilised primarily for mentoring.

Training of Health Professionals

- The medical school in Limpopo should be supported both in terms of financial and human resources.
- The Nelson Mandela-Fidel Castro Health Collaboration should be assessed in light of the expansion of the health professionals training platforms in South Africa.

Traditional medicine: practice and research

- That the Provincial District and Local structures of Traditional Health Practitioners must be supported and strengthened. This should include coordination and prioritization of traditional medicine research in liaison with universities.

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE**Healthy lifestyle**

- The ANC must ensure that all structures of government, including municipalities, must provide requisite amenities in communities, which will encourage healthy lifestyle and improve the quality of health of the people.
- The ANC reaffirms its resolution that the Health Promotion Commission must be fast-tracked.
- The health sector must intensify health promotion programmes such as regular examinations and tests especially the (big five), cervical, prostate, breast, lung and colorectal cancers.

School health

- School health services must be strengthened and nurses should be deployed to schools to implement health plans.

Health infrastructure

- The ANC must adopt and employ the method of accelerated infrastructure planning, delivery, maintenance and revitalisation that is similar to the Accelerated School Infrastructure Delivery Initiative (ASIDI) used by the Basic Education sector.

State pharmaceutical company

- Conference re-affirms its previous resolutions on the establishment of a state-owned pharmaceutical company.

Medical malpractice, medical insurance and litigation

- Litigation and medico-legal hazards must be decreased through improving clinical care, introducing mediation and the use of legal tools. The health sector must continuously strengthen measures to improve the quality of care delivered by health practitioners in the public and private sectors.
- Policy on curbing high costs of medical insurance and litigation against medical malpractice should be developed.

Elimination of vaccine-preventable diseases

- The health sector adopts a policy for the country to eliminate on or before 2027 all vaccine-preventable diseases which have existing vaccines with proven efficacy.

Revitalisation of military health facilities

- Facilities used by the South African Military Health Services (SAMHS) should be prioritised for revitalization in line with the infrastructure programme pursued in the context of the NHI. South Africa's main military hospitals should be prioritized for optimization of management, human resources and equipment. Military and civilian health services must be well-coordinated without compromising the combat-readiness of the SAMHS.



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RESOLUTIONS

LEGISLATURE & GOVERNANCE

1. POLICY CONTEXT

1. The ANC's approach to state power is informed by the Freedom Charter and the principle that *"The People Shall Govern"*. The attainment of power by the ANC is a means to fulfil the will of the people and ensure a better life for all.
2. The ANC state transformation agenda entails building a legitimate state that serves the interests of the overwhelming majority, which is based on a democratic Constitution and a culture of human rights, and which uses public resources to better the lives of the majority, especially the poor.
3. Despite the highlights and gains of the democratic state, the challenges still facing South Africa are immense, with poverty, inequality and unemployment still affecting vast sections of the people. The state's ability to drive transformation in society and the economy is fundamental, but to date it has not demonstrated sufficient capacity to drive this change. This requires a comprehensive re-evaluation.
4. The main goal of state transformation as articulated in the ANC's Strategy and Tactics is "building a developmental state that provides effective basic services and with capabilities to take forward a far-reaching agenda of national economic development, whilst at the same time placing people and their involvement at the centre of this process". This objective is the guiding principle for the ANC's management of the state.
5. Chapter 13 of the National Development Plan (NDP) outlines the challenges in achieving a Developmental State, caused primarily by weaker forms of coordination and collaboration within and across spheres of government and a non-responsive public service.
6. The building of a capable and developmental state at all three spheres of government must be achieved through the following measures:
 - i. Strengthening political institutions to deliver on their mandate.
 - ii. Ensuring the state plays an important role in

driving the economy and society.

- iii. Building effective, integrated planning and service delivery systems.
- iv. Ensuring civil society works with the state in achieving these goals.
- v. Strengthening and professionalizing Public Administration, particularly top management and the delivery sectors.
- vi. Building the educational feeder system to produce developmental skills, technical and professional personnel.

2. RECALLING AND REAFFIRMING

7. The ANC 53rd National Conference embraced the National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030 as *"a platform for united action by all South Africans to eradicate poverty, create full employment and reduce inequality as critical building blocks towards a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society."*
8. Previous ANC Conferences adopted key policies that are central to the transformation of the state. This covers mostly the ANC resolutions of the 52nd National Conference, the 3rd National General Council (NGC) and the 53rd National Conference and 4th NGC. The 5th National Policy Conference endorsed policy decisions specifically related to:
 - 8.1. Need for More Integrated Cooperative Governance;
 - 8.2. Future of Provinces;
 - 8.3. Differentiated Local Government Model;
 - 8.4. Role of District Municipalities;
 - 8.5. More effective governance in municipalities;
 - 8.6. Strengthening Ward Committees as part of Community participation;
 - 8.7. A review of the Local Government Financial System;

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- 8.8. A review of the role, scope and composition of the MDB;
 - 8.9. Strengthening systems to detect and act against corruption;
 - 8.10. Strengthening Local Government Systems.
9. A number of policies have been adopted but not implemented – or not implemented in the spirit intended. An internal institutional machinery must be established to ensure that the ANC guides, monitors and ensures the implementation of conference resolutions.

3. RESOLUTIONS

3.1 Consolidating political power

Believing that:

- i. Political power is attained not for its own sake, but to pursue political and socio-economic objectives. The ANC is a national liberation movement that contests elections to obtain a mandate to exercise state power to further the transformation objective.
- ii. Our overall approach is that the ANC must remain the strategic centre of power in order to deliver on its mandate.
- iii. ANC policies remain valid, but our primary problem is the consistency of their implementation.

2.1.1 And whereas:

- i. The maturation of the political system has resulted in elections for all levels of government which are highly contested and extremely competitive. We have a system of government in which parties can lose elections, and our planning must contemplate different outcomes and the ensuing strategic partnership arrangements.
- ii. In instances where they are necessary, coalition governments must be about gaining access to consolidated power in order to continue to advance the National Democratic Revolution strategic objectives. Decisions and scenario planning about coalitions are tactical in nature and are entered into based on the needs of a pragmatic modern and mature political party.

2.1.2 Resolves that:

- i. Consistently winning elections depends crucially on the calibre of the cadres that are deployed to elected office, their integrity and

commitment to serving communities, and their performance while in office. The ANC must rigorously ensure that its candidates reflect these attributes, and establish mechanisms to hold them accountable for delivering on the ANC's Elections Manifestos.

- ii. A clear Accountability Framework which articulates the roles and responsibilities of cadres operating in the state should be developed. The Accountability Framework must include provisions for enforcement and consequence management where cadres do not perform as expected.
- iii. The ANC Constitution already specifies that there should be 50% gender representation amongst public office bearers. The proposals for 40% youth representation and the current provision for 60% continuity for should be debated further by branches prior to finalisation at National Conference.
- iv. The ANC must establish an Electoral Commission in order to:
 - Ensure ANC public representatives undergo a transparent selection and capacitation process to assume leadership and deployment.
 - Improve the quality, integrity, and sustainability of the selection and election of public representatives, from local to national sphere. This would incorporate much of what the List Committees deal with currently.
 - Institutionalise the selection process and make it transparent in order to reduce the possibility of current leadership organs from interfering with processes.
 - Have an independent capacity to manage these very demanding processes, but that are essential to organisational unity and legitimacy, and quality of the public representatives that are put forward by the organisation for public elections.
- v. The ANC must professionalise its capacity as a modern political party to fight and win elections, and create dedicated capacity to undertake ongoing mass media mobilisation, regular polling, and techniques of modern multi-party electioneering such as projection of key leadership personalities.
- vi. Where the ANC is in power, it should exercise that power in ways that anticipate future electoral contestation, including asserting the legitimacy and superiority of the ANC programme, and exposing the divisions and mor-

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- al bankruptcy of the opposition. It should also aim to build state organs under its control with sufficient institutional resilience to continue under future electoral configurations.
- vii. Where the outcome of an election does not give the ANC an outright majority it must consider entering into strategic governance partnerships or other forms of coalition arrangements in order to gain access to state power. Our starting point for such arrangements must be the ANC alliance and more broadly the Congress movement. Where the ANC enters into coalitions, its focus must always be on achieving access to state power on an 'issue-by-issue' basis, in order to implement programmes aimed at transforming society and building a better life for all.
- viii. The ANC must also build its internal capacity to give policy direction to its elected representatives as well as creating a monitoring mechanism. In this regard, the ANC must ensure the creation of a Governance Support Team whose aim is to work with deployed cadres to ensure the ANC policies are monitored and implemented. The team should also assess the capacity of the State to implement policies, and include expertise in the legislative and management environments of government.
- ix. Legislation on funding for political parties must be amended to provide for the increment and transparency in party funding and apply to all three spheres of government.
- x. The funding of political foundations linked to political parties represented in parliament. The mandate of these foundations would include, but not be limited to: research, policy development, political education, as well as the hosting and management of party archives. State funding for foundations should be separate and ring-fenced from general state funds to political parties.
- ii. Previous ANC Policy Conferences, NEC Makgotla, NGC's, National Conferences, and the NDP have emphasized the need for strengthening alignment in intergovernmental coordination and collaboration. We need a more predictable and coordinated system of how macro policies and priorities are set, and translated into integrated planning instruments and how budgets are developed, deployed and implemented, within and across spheres of government.
- iii. There is weak vertical macro-policy coordination across spheres of government and poor horizontal collaboration across departments and agencies of government due to misunderstanding of the devolution and decentralisation of powers within a unitary state, and an inappropriate configuration of the centre of government
- iv. There is an urgent need to introduce new public administration reforms through uniform public administration norms and standards to ensure that public administration is development-oriented and participatory, and that citizens trust government to deliver services in an integrated manner.

Resolves that:

- i. The Presidency is the strategic centre of governance. The strategic centre must be the central driver of the developmental state and the following core resource based administrative functions must form part of the centre of government to support the strategic centre: state macro-policy and planning; budget and resource allocation and prioritisation; cooperative governance; public services; and performance management.
- ii. Cooperative governance legislation must be enacted to deal with issues relating to: the efficacy of provincial and national government support to local government and provinces; harmonisation of powers and functions of provinces and local government; and a framework for accountability of Provincial and Local Government.
- iii. The Presidential Commission to review the powers, functions and number of provinces must be urgently established.
- iv. The Legislature and Governance Subcommittee should analyse the mandate overlaps and recommend consolidating and reconfiguring functional mandates and roles between entities and departments to inform the appropriate configuration.

3.2 Macro-configuration of government

3.2.1 Whereas:

- i. The ANC government established a constitutional framework within the architecture and configuration of a unitary state within a decentralized form of governance arrangement in three spheres of government. The constitution provides for principles of cooperative governance across the spheres of government that are distinctive, interrelated and interdependent, which binds and defines their interface.

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE**3.3 Capability and Capacity of the Public Service****3.3.1 Believing that:**

- i. The NDP addresses the issues of capability and capacity of the state, and these should be understood separately. Capability deals with the structures, processes, systems and governance instruments at a macro level, and capacity deals with human resources and skills necessary for driving the state machinery.
- ii. The ANC has not made sufficient progress in transforming middle management in government and legislating for gender parity within the administration.
- iii. Youth employment and absorption into the public service remains a challenge and must be addressed.

3.3.2 And whereas:

- i. There are four areas where targeted action is particularly important:
 - The political-administrative interface and the clear separation of roles between the political executive and the administration
 - The intergovernmental system and the articulation of roles between national, provincial and local government.
 - Building a meritocratic and professional public service that serves government of the day in a loyal manner, but has sufficient institutional autonomy to build and retain skills and be protected against political patronage.
 - Development of technical and specialist professional skills, and appropriate career paths for technical specialists.

3.3.3 Resolves that:

- i. The merit principle must apply in the deployment to senior appointments, based on legislated prescripts and in line with the minimum competency standards. However, employment strategies for young people into entry level positions within government should remove any impractical barriers of entry.
- ii. The Transformation and Modernisation of Public Administration should incorporate ANC policy positions and deal comprehensively with: human resources development; capacity building and professionalization of the public administration; and the establishment of necessary systems and processes.
- iii. The National School of Government should

play a central coordinating role in capacitating employees in all spheres to achieve the goals of the NDR. The NSG must provide support for talent management across the spheres of government, and provide guidance for appointments, succession planning and career development.

- iv. The Office of Standards and Compliance must be established to set and oversee implementation of uniform norms and standards in public administration in all three spheres in order to move towards a single public service.

3.4 Government Planning, Implementation and Performance**3.4.1 Believing that:**

- i. The ANC through National Conferences, NGC's, Policy Conferences, Makgotlas and the Manifesto sets policy and priorities for government. The challenge is to ensure government executes ANC policies effectively and timeously.
- ii. The NDP is the planning framework for a developmental state and the NPC was created to provide predictable planning scenarios.
- iii. The centrality of coordinated macro policy coherence and planning and enforcement will ensure the required implementation impact. There is clear evidence of sufficient policy provision developed and adopted by ANC, but the missing link is coordinated macro-planning and execution of the policies.
- iv. The government historically, as well as, through the DPME, has put in place numerous monitoring and evaluation frameworks that enable the state to measure its impact and identify shortcomings. However, there are still challenges of coherence and coordination and collocation of related planning functions. IGR in planning is not yet working, and issues arising from Izimbizo are not linked into IDPs and budgets.

3.4.2 Resolves that:

- i. The centrality of integrated macro policy planning and coordinated implementation is affirmed and supported.
- ii. The DPME must be strengthened and transformed into a department for Policy and Planning, focusing on macro policy coherence and planning; policy impact assessment; resource prioritisation linked to the budget strategy mandate paper; and spatial planning.

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- iii. IDPs should remain the central planning tool in which all other spheres of government participate to address alignment of planning – both bottom up and top down. Alignment of planning cycles and budget cycles, especially with respect to local government must be achieved. Planning cycles must also align with ANC planning and evaluation makgotla.
- iv. The above changes must be effected through a new planning regime that addresses the following:
 - A new predictable planning paradigm and discipline within and across spheres;
 - Clear national and provincial spatial plans aligned with municipal Spatial Development Frameworks and municipal land use management plans;
 - Streamlined coordination structures with clear roles and responsibilities in planning, budgeting, integration of plans and implementation modalities;
 - Strengthening Inter-sphere institutional coordination mechanisms;
 - Clear operational and implementation systems, processes and modalities.

3.5 Managing municipal spaces for radical socio-economic transformation

3.5.1 *Noting that:*

- i. There is proliferation of spatial analysis of municipal space, and that plans are not targeting the same areas and emphasize different priorities, resulting in incoherent impact at local level.
- ii. The primary priority is addressing spatial transformation, integration, inclusion and economic growth. It is of paramount concern that within the twenty years of democratic governance we have not been able to reverse the apartheid spatial legacy.
- iii. Within the context of addressing rapid urbanization, growing urban sprawl, the balance between urban and rural development, the challenge of urban management, the Integrated Urban Development Framework provides a government-wide policy framework to create a shared understanding across government and society about how urbanisation should be managed to ensure resilience and inclusion.

3.5.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. The ANC must play a leading role in driving the IUDF to reverse apartheid spatial patterns, ensure resilience and quality of human settlements, and sustainability and efficiency of the overall system.
- ii. The top 100 urban settlements as well as their rural hinterlands must be prioritised to achieve the goals on integration, inclusion and economic growth, thereby creating a more equitable spatial economy and deracializing communities.
- iii. The overriding spatial challenge is overcoming the legacy of apartheid, densifying and integrating urban and rural development nodes and activity corridors. This requires government departments and spheres to work together in new ways that achieve coordinated impact.

3.6 Legislatures

3.6.1 *Believing that:*

- i. The Legislatures are a critical instrument of advancing people's power and fast tracking the transformation of our society. They are constitutionally empowered and positioned to fulfil their functions of law making, oversight and public participation. This applies to all Legislatures, comprising the two houses of National Parliament, Provincial Legislatures and Municipal Councils.
- ii. The key role of the Legislature is to exercise oversight over the Executive, facilitate public involvement in its work and pass legislation to transform society and change the status quo. The oversight role is to ensure accountability and compliance, as well as to instil a developmental approach to the state.
- iii. Legislatures are constitutionally required to provide a platform for public dialogue on issues of strategic and national importance. Legislatures play an important role in social transformation and the realization of socio economic outcomes.
- iv. The three arms of state, being the Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislatures, are each led by a single office as prescribed by the Constitution, except for the Legislatures.

3.6.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. An assessment of the configuration of the legislative sector across all spheres of government must be undertaken, with a focus

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on the efficacy of the legislative sectors. The assessment must establish whether the legislative sector is appropriately configured, adequately resourced, optimally functioning and works cooperatively with other arms of the state across all spheres.

- ii. The Constitutional role of the NCOP must be reviewed with the intention to strengthen the NCOP. Mechanisms must be developed to ensure the NCOP plays a catalytic strategic role in articulating provincial and local government matters. Ways of strengthening the representation of provinces, SALGA and the National House of Traditional Leaders should be considered.
- iii. The position of Speaker of Parliament should be created as the overall political institutional head of Parliament, with the mandate to lead the legislative sector as a whole.
- iv. The majority party Chief Whip in Parliament should be accorded the necessary political and institutional recognition as the Chief Whip of Parliament, and similar arrangements should be implemented at provincial and local level.
- v. The ANC Caucus must effectively use Parliament to regain the confidence of our people in the run-up to the 2019 Elections. The ANC Caucus must be at the forefront of championing the needs of the people and building the trust and confidence in the ANC led democratic state.
- vi. Parliament should investigate the establishment of a Parliamentary Institute to build the capacity of parliamentarians and public representatives in the three spheres of government.
- vii. The research capacity to assist ANC Caucuses in the Legislatures in the three spheres of government must be boosted, and young people should be employed to do research and provide support to Committees.
- viii. Constituency Offices should coordinate between programmes of government and the representatives of the state. All PCOs must be occupied and working on Mondays which are ANC days. Deployees of the three spheres should develop a joint programme for each PCO, including a full time researcher.

3.7 Institutions Supporting Democracy (ISDs)

3.7.1 *Whereas:*

- i. Chapter 9 Institutions are creatures of the Constitution. However the constitution it-

self, including its Human Rights bodies, must assist to overcome the legacy of racial or national oppression of the black majority in general, and Africans in particular.

- ii. The human rights culture must be in constant conversation with the liberation culture.
- iii. The central political question that must be addressed is how these bodies assist us to fundamentally transform and democratise the State, its Administration, Judiciary and Legislature.

3.7.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. The Ad Hoc Committee report on ISDs and its recommendations must be looked at afresh, in order to review which recommendations are outstanding.
- ii. The rationalisation of ISDs and establishment of a unitary human rights body should be investigated by Parliament, including consequent Constitutional and other amendments.
- iii. Parliament must review the regulations, policies and laws regarding the accountability and reporting of ISDs to Parliament.

3.8 Governance of State Owned Enterprises (SOEs)

3.8.1 *Believing that:*

- i. The state's developmental agenda must be enhanced through SOEs (including those operating at a municipal level) in order to ensure dedicated focused capacity of the state to deliver effectively and efficiently. The SOE's must be channelled towards the implementation of the objectives of the democratic state.
- ii. Government plays a critical role as a shareholder and executive authority. The ANC government should be concerned with the agenda of SOE's, their mandate and functionality.
- iii. The challenge of weak leadership in both Executive and Non-Executive Board Members seems to be persistent and undermines the critical roles of SOEs. Coupled with this, allegations of corruption in the SOEs are also on the rise.

3.8.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. The multiplicity of SOEs including Municipal Entities and their alignment with departments and accounting authorities must be reviewed.



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- ii. The ANC must focus on the mandate and role of SOEs, and make necessary inputs and policy guides to the Presidential SOE Council. Government must audit the mandates of the major SOEs and ensure alignment with the development objectives of the state.
- iii. The ANC government must strengthen the oversight mechanisms on SOEs. The ANC in Parliament must take the lead in ensuring this sector is properly managed and monitored.
- iv. Legislature & Governance to develop a protocol on oversight of SOEs by legislatures across the three spheres of government.
- v. A policy paper on repositioning the SOEs as catalyst of socio-economic transformation must be developed, including ways in which they can enhance local economies. This must take into consideration the PRC recommendations.
- vi. Corruption must be uprooted in all SOEs. The legislatures in their oversight must pay attention to AG reports on corruption and make necessary follow-ups. SOEs must immediately report all corruption to the law enforcement agencies

3.9 Local Government

3.9.1 *Believing that:*

- i. Local government forms part of the ANC's overall socio-economic transformation agenda and is the sphere of government closest to the people.
- ii. The service delivery agenda of local government is key to achieving a better life for all communities.
- iii. Government programme for improving the performance of LG has been launched through the "Back to Basics" approach, the core elements of the Back to Basic include:
 - Bringing government closer to the people;
 - Fast-tracking delivery of quality basic services to the people;
 - Improving financial management;
 - Employing capable and qualified staff;
 - Dealing decisively with fraud and corruption;
 - Ensuring accountable and transparent LG systems;
 - Compliance and consequence management for poor performance;
 - Capable political leadership and oversight management

3.9.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. The pilots where the separation of legislative and executive powers in local government has been tested must be analysed and the legislative amendments proposed to give them effect. The approach should be incremental starting with the highly capacitated municipalities.
- ii. The governance arrangement of intermediate cities and dense rural settlements should be reviewed, with the intention of extending the number of single tier (category A) municipalities. This process should be incremental with a properly researched policy on rationalisation developed and adopted to outline how such moves to single tier municipalities would occur and which may be affected first. This process must also involve an analysis of the implications of a municipality becoming a Category A municipality for surrounding municipal areas.
- iii. District Municipalities must support local municipalities and may be differentiated in terms of the Powers and Functions they exercise. District municipalities must continue to exist in some parts of our country and continue to deliver on their developmental mandate.
- iv. The financing model and the Equitable Share for local government needs to be comprehensively reviewed in order to align resources with Constitutional mandates. The system of intergovernmental grants should be restructured, taking account of changing settlement patterns, poverty, topography, capabilities and other contexts. Local government's own revenues and revenue collection efforts must complement the proportion of the fiscus made available to municipalities in order to ensure there are no unfunded or underfunded mandates.
- v. The current differences in the location of electricity reticulation as a municipal function should be reviewed, and national sectoral departments (Recreation, Human Settlements, Water, etc.) must have strategies aligned with municipal IDPs.
- vi. The definition of what is rateable must be reviewed in terms of the Property Rates Act.
- vii. The impact of the MFMA on the functioning and performance of local government should be reviewed and provisions formulated that will enable local government to play its developmental role.

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- viii. The role and orientation of the Ward Committee system including community participation should be strengthened to improve service delivery and promote social cohesion, including increasing size and providing them with responsibilities.
- ix. Develop principles and policy framework to determine full time vs. part time councillors, their conditions of service and basis on which councillors should be remunerated. This should be phased in beginning with, for example, Committee Chairs. In addition, the additional tasks of Ward councillors in addressing provincial and national local government community-based issues should also be taken into account.
- x. The impact of the provisions in Section 56 and 57 of the Systems Amendment Act for managers to be on contractual terms on institutional memory, available capabilities and the like should be properly researched.
- xi. There must be a review of the inter-governmental processes and structures to ensure municipal governance becomes more effective in advancing its developmental mandate. This includes the alignment of planning cycles and financial years.
- xii. A systematic approach to ANC deployment to local government must be developed to ensure the right capabilities exist in councils. This includes a need to review the idea of retention such as reducing the 60% retention at national and provincial levels. Here, research must be done on the impact retention has had as reducing levels should not have a great impact on the skills and experience
- xiii. Councillor assessments before they are accepted as councillors and during their term of office must include the degree to which the community at large knows them and is happy with their selection and performance.

3.10 Demarcation of Boundaries

3.10.1 Noting that:

- i. The delimitation and alignment of jurisdictional boundaries is crucial to the process of aligning government planning and programmes.
- ii. However the frequent re-delimitation of municipal boundaries is destabilising to the local government system as well as government service delivery more broadly.

3.10.2 Resolves that:

- i. All government functional boundaries must be aligned with municipal boundaries.
- ii. In terms of ward delimitations, a national review should be undertaken of ways in which they create challenges such as dividing communities, recognising that wards are the building blocks of government participation processes.
- iii. The Municipal Demarcation Act must be amended to restrict delimitation of outer municipal boundaries to a 10 yearly cycle, linked to the National Census.
- iv. The restructuring of the Municipal Demarcation Board must be accelerated in line with previous conference resolutions.
- v. The ANC must develop internal capacity to guide its deployees in the demarcation processes.

3.11 Traditional leaders

3.11.1 Believing that:

- i. The new South Africa ushered in a Democratic State in 1996, which dismantled among others, the apartheid homeland structures, which were used as instruments for "indirect rule". Some of the critical elements of a democratic state expressed in the Constitution of South Africa are *"the Republic of South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the following values among others: human dignity, non-racialism, and non-sexism"*.
- ii. CONTRALESA was established in 1985 on account of the counsel of the late President of the ANC, Comrade O.R. Tambo to form part of the broad progressive forces opposed to apartheid colonialism, and particularly to undermine the destructive strategy of the apartheid colonial regime of 'divide and rule', effected through the system of Bantustan and 'self-governing states';

3.11.2 And whereas:

- i. The ANC has taken a number of resolutions at various conferences, resolving on the need for the institution of traditional leadership to be transformed so as to align it with the broader democratisation process, within the republican and Constitutional system, not much attention has been paid on the institution of traditional leadership;
- ii. The White Paper on Local Government (1998), made some concrete proposals for



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integrating elected and traditional leadership at local level; and

- iii. CONTRALESA has continued to engage the ANC since the advent of negotiations and the democratic breakthrough of 1994, and up to date, with the November 2017 Traditional Indaba.

3.11.3 *Noting that:*

- i. While the Constitution of the Republic recognises the institution of traditional leadership and provides for legislation for the establishment of its institutional capacity and infrastructure;
- ii. The department responsible for local government and traditional affairs has been established to inject new energy on the sector of traditional affairs, thus registering remarkable progress;
- iii. Issues of traditional courts, land-use planning tools, land and tenure rights, gender emancipation, political relationships and adequate support to the institution of traditional leadership for its sustainability, independence and transformation, continue to be critical issues;
- iv. Land is one key factor that represents the pride of any people, and the democratic government must prioritise land as one of the progressive steps towards restoring the dignity of our people and helping to make a significant contribution towards a more inclusive economy, especially for the rural areas.

3.11.4 *Resolves that:*

- i. Our approach to traditional leadership must be incorporated within our understanding of a developmental state, under the guidance of the National Development Plan.
- ii. Government policy should take account of and promote cooperative governance with respect to overlapping jurisdictions between local authorities and traditional authorities with respect to land management.
 - a. To this end, municipal councils must consider the institution of traditional leadership as a strategic partner and not just as a stakeholder, especially in matters of development planning and land-use management like SPLUMA; and
 - b. The relevant government department must investigate a Special Cooperative Governance Dispensation that will effectively manage the relationship of

municipalities and traditional authorities

- iii. The institution of traditional leadership is recognised in the Constitution, but concerns raised about powers and functions of the institution as previously reflected in the Interim Constitution is a complex matter that needs further engagement.
 - a. To this end, Conference Resolves to enjoin the relevant government department to pursue further consultative engagement and necessary political and legislative considerations in examining any possible Constitutional proposals.
- iv. The current legislative proposals of integrating the traditional customary legislative system within the broader legislative system of the republic must help in leveraging on the customary system to reduce and ultimately eliminate backlogs in the courts.
- v. The 'opt out' clause in Traditional Courts legislation must be considered by both the department of justice and the institution of traditional affairs as a pilot to further help determine the most appropriate and acceptable judicial dispensation for traditional communities.
 - a. To this end, a Ministerial or Inter-ministerial commission must be appointed to facilitate an investigation and monitoring of the implementation of the 'opt-out' approach in the traditional court system and formulate proposals for a permanent customary judicial system within the next two years after the pilot commencement;
 - b. A consultative process with the sector of traditional affairs must be pursued during and after the pilot stages, to ensure an inclusive outcome of the proposals for implementation.
- vi. The institution of traditional affairs must be encouraged to embrace the Constitutional provisions on gender equality and current positive developments of women ascending positions of leadership must be commended.
 - a. To this end, traditional leaders must further discourage and prohibit practices that limit and deny women rights enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic like the right to represent themselves and be represented in customary courts, right to own land and assets and inherit the same from their late

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- spouses, and to be protected against untold suffering of violence, 'ukuthwala', genital mutilation, and the bride price considered a financial transaction for a commodity;
- b. The relevant state institutions to continue to engage the traditional sector to work together towards the transformation of the sector and align it with the republican and Constitutional democratic system.
- vii. The land that is in state control (13%) and not in dispute or subject to any land claim must be considered for transfer to traditional communities to help leverage the regeneration of rural economies and development.
 - a. The state must courageously help change the land ownership patterns by restoring land ownership to the majority of our people who continue to be landless and land-hungry.
 - b. To this end, the 13% in the state custody must be transferred to the institution of traditional leadership to be held in trust on behalf of the traditional communities;
 - c. To further engage in a consultative and inclusive process by all stakeholders to devise appropriate and empowering modalities of releasing land to members of traditional communities in a way that will not put such land to risk of medium to long term ownership loss, insecurity of tenure and/or concentration by a trust.
 - viii. The rest of the land (87%) in private hands, excluding that owned by private individuals, should be pursued through legitimate claims for restitution, and parcels of land not productively utilised to be transferred under state control for purposes of public good and interests.
 - a. In furtherance of fair restoration and redistribution of land to the people, the ANC must convene a Land Summit within the year 2018. The summit must consider all the available and possible mechanisms and modalities, legally and politically, that will ensure consultative and inclusive processes that will help to safeguard economically productive utilisation of land and food security, without harming efforts to balance the promotion of national unity and transforming the economy to benefit all the people equitably.
 - ix. The implementation of the Communal Property Associations (CPA) Act to be evaluated and appraised with an intention of review in a way that will help reconcile the right of rural communities to own land and their relationship to institutions of traditional leadership geared towards positively impacting rural communities and their lives.
 - a. To this end, the review must seek to address all the unintended consequences of significant undemocratic practices within CPAs that limit the right to land use by intended beneficiaries, as well as inadequate support that CPAs receive to help propel productive utilisation of the land claimed.
 - x. Political matters with regard to the relationship of the ANC and CONTRALESA must continue to be engaged. CONTRALESA will continue to form part of the important sectors within the mass democratic movement who played a significant role within the liberation struggle.
 - a. To this end, the ANC must consider a structured engagement with CONTRALESA as part of a process that CONTRALESA must pursue, that of redefining its role within the new democratic dispensation without alienating any section of the broad and diverse traditional communities that it must continue to represent.
 - xi. All other matters that relate to the adequate support and service to the traditional sector by the relevant state institutions are to be addressed by the relevant departments.
 - a. This support and service to the traditional sector must be to address all matters relating to their tools of trade, benefits, infrastructure and developmental support that help restore the dignity and decorum of the institution and accord traditional leaders the respect they deserve, and empowering them to play a more developmental and transformative role in their communities.

3.12 Job Creation and Community Works Programme

3.12.1 Noting that:

- i. Public employment programmes, including the Community Work Programme (CWP), are playing a key role in providing work op-

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- opportunities in poor areas where markets are failing to do so.
- ii. The purpose of the CWP is to provide an employment safety net for those without access to alternative work opportunities to lift them out of poverty. Participants receive a stipend in return for useful work that they undertake in their own communities.

3.12.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. State institutions must prioritise job creation opportunities in their procurement programmes, including filling all available positions or vacancies.
- ii. Labour maximisation methods should be prioritized in project executions. Every effort must be made to build and support the inclusion of small businesses and emerging enterprises.
- iii. EPWP contractual periods should be extended to avoid frequent instability in employment.
There needs to be better alignment between government departments and spheres in terms of management of Community Development Workers.
- iv. Accredited training in public employment programmes is crucial to their successful implementation.

3.13 Fighting corruption in the state and broader society

3.13.1 *Believing that:*

- i. Corruption is a social ill that cuts across all sectors of society.
- ii. There is a societal outcry regarding the problem of corruption in the organs of the state and in society more broadly.
- iii. The ANC government must rigorously root out all forms of corruption including, tender rigging, fraud, bribery and nepotism in

all state institutions.

3.13.2 *Resolves that:*

- iv. The ANC needs to lead the moral regeneration of society, and this programme must be adequately funded and accounted for. The religious community and traditional leaders should be mobilised into a 'whole of society' approach.
- v. The ANC must mobilise communities and society around issues of corruption, and position itself in a leadership role with respect to a culture of exposing corruption and rewarding whistle blowers within the organization.
- vi. The ANC government and leadership must implement a programme to prevent irregular or fraudulent practices within the ANC and in government, including: ethics; monitoring; transparency in procurement decisions; checks and balances and oversight mechanisms; the disbarring of both public servants and public representatives at all levels from doing business with the state; and the introduction of probity and life style audits.
- vii. The public service and administration portfolio should fast track the establishment of Integrity and Ethics Management Office and build requisite capacity at all levels of government. The scope must extend to the SOEs.
- viii. Reporting corruption to law enforcement agencies must be compulsory in the public sector. The capacity of prosecutorial divisions must be boosted.
- ix. Government must introduce new regulations in terms of PAMA to implement the above provisions for dealing with corruption in the public sector.
- x. Parliamentary oversight mechanisms must pay special attention to corruption.

RESOLUTIONS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

1. The ANC in pursuing its International Relations objectives is informed by the Freedom Charter that states: "There shall be Peace and Friendship"; the African Claims adopted in 1943, and successive National Conference Declarations that have reinforced the ANC's historical role in the global Progressive Movement. Therefore International Relations is utilised by the ANC to form friendships, cooperation and to work towards peace in the continent and the world, whilst pursuing South Africa's National Interest.
 2. The ANC moves from the premise that our International Relations policy is directly informed by our domestic policy, and vice versa. Both domestic and international policy are mutually reinforcing with an umbilical link. Therefore, six guiding pillars anchor international work, namely:
 - I. Building a better Africa and world
 - II. Continental and international solidarity
 - III. Party-to-Party, intra-party and multiparty relations
 - IV. Transformation of Global Governance
 - V. Policy Development issues
 - VI. Campaigns.
 3. The ANC remains committed to the founding values of the Struggle: namely for a humane, just, equitable, democratic and free world.
 4. Africa and its development remains the central objective of the ANC's international perspective and policy, with the African Renaissance remaining a key policy objective.
 5. International Relations remain a pillar of the ANC's strategic approach.
- Recognising that:*
6. As the governing party, the ANC has used its progressive internationalism as a prism through which it looks at the world. The organisation continues to maintain an independent foreign policy stance.
 7. What we are witnessing on the global stage is the continued ideological contestation between reactionary forces on the one hand; and progressive forces on the other.
 8. The election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States of America can be generally viewed as a reversal of progress achieved under the previous Obama administration. However, we note that even under President Obama, there was no substantive change in policy with regards to either the economic system or foreign policy of the US as a superpower.
 9. Multilateral institutions, including the United Nations (UN), continue to reflect a post World War 2 reality in terms of composition, hence the need for their reform.
 10. The emergence of growing economic powers, especially China, India and Brazil, have a perspective that is informed by their respective struggles. They are inclined to acting multilaterally and therefore share our commitment to rebuilding and transforming all the institutions of global governance.
 11. Africa has also seen a growing scramble for economic power between the West and the emerging markets. It is therefore imperative for South Africa to forge beneficial and strategic partnerships.
 12. That the global financial crisis – with its epicenter in the developed countries of Western Europe and the United States, has had ramifications for the developing world and overall negatively affected the transformation of the global economic and financial system.
 13. The hypocrisy of developed countries and the NATO military alliance – consistent with their divisive policies in the Middle East and North Africa.
- Reaffirming:*
14. The resolutions of the 2007 Polokwane National Conference and 2012 Mangaung National Conference and the recommendations of 2015 National General Council.
 15. That ANC has been active on the continent and in the world through party-to-party relations; partic-

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ipating in international forums; conflict resolution on the continent; in campaigns continentally and globally; addressing some of the transformational global governance issues; and ensuring ongoing policy development.

16. The International Relations Department at ANC Headquarters remains inadequately capacitated to execute all its functions and tasks optimally; develop policy; lead campaigns; and partner with like-minded organisations.
17. The ANC and the ANC government remains committed to a peaceful and prosperous Africa – in pursuit of the aspirations of Agenda 2063 of the African Union (AU).

Therefore the ANC 54th National Conference resolves:

CONTRIBUTING TO BUILDING A BETTER AFRICA AND BETTER WORLD:

Building a Better Africa

18. **African Union (AU):**
 - a. The ANC remains committed to the African Union and all its attendant institutions and programmes, including albeit not limited to the Pan African Parliament (PAP), the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Development Bank (ADB).
 - b. Although South Africa and Southern African Development Community (SADC) has played a pivotal role in the development of policies and decisions of the African Union, South Africa and SADC can do more to strengthen the AU.
 - c. The AU Commission should continue to focus on rationalising the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) into a maximum of five geographically aligned (5) REC's in order to avoid duplication and overlapping memberships.
 - d. The ANC calls on African countries to utilise their natural resources such as land, mineral and marine resources; as well as infrastructure development programmes - for the benefit of their population and actively fight against illicit financial flows.
 - e. The ANC calls on the AU to request that member states discuss regulating the conduct of multi-national companies on the continent, without necessarily inhibiting investment.

- f. The ANC government should continue to participate in the AU-Commission led discussions on increasing and deepening the involvement of the African Diaspora in the development of the continent.
- g. The ANC government should encourage the AU to work towards being self-reliant.
- h. The ANC government should have discussions with fellow African leaders within the sub-region as well as in the continent, on the regulation of internal migration on the continent.
- i. South Africa should continue to play a meaningful role in SADC and the AU's peace-making and peace-building efforts in amongst others, Lesotho, South Sudan and Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). These interventions are based on the objective of finding peaceful solutions (such as post-conflict reconstruction and development) as opposed to military interventions.

19. **Pan African Parliament (PAP):**

- a) The South African government should continue to play a role in strengthening the PAP and its work.
- b) The ANC should continue to play an active role in the debate on the future of the PAP, and its transformation into a legislative body of the AU.
- c) The South African government should create awareness around the PAP in South Africa.
- d. The South African government should assist the PAP to be a key catalyst for the unity and further democratisation of Africa and its member countries.

20. **Southern African Development Community (SADC):**

- a. The South African government should support SADC in the promotion of democracy in the region.
- b. The South African government should ensure the process of regional integration in Southern Africa takes into account the varied social, labour, economic, and political systems within the region.
- c. The South African government should work with SADC in transforming the SADC Parliamentary Forum into a regional Parliament.

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22. Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO):

- a. The ANC, together with the ANCWL and DIRCO should work with other countries to strengthen the PAWO Headquartered in South Africa.
- b. The ANC must assist PAWO with its programme of promoting gender equality on the continent.
- c. The ANC must ensure that the resolution on the formation of a Young Women's structure within PAWO is expedited.
- d. Since the AU has declared PAWO as a specialised agency, South Africa must enter into a host country agreement with PAWO.
- e. A Special Envoy must be assigned to PAWO to revitalise the organisation.

23. Pan African Youth Movement

- a. The ANC reaffirms its support of the African Union's Decade of Youth Development (2008- 2018).

24. All-Africa Student Union:

- a. The South African government should recommend the resuscitation of the All- Africa Students Union to the AU.

Building a Better World

CONTINENTAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

25. Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa (BRICS):

The following was noted:

- The historical connection of South Africa with the emerging powers: therefore cooperation through forums such as BRICS is of primary importance to our Movement
- The strategic importance of BRICS membership as part of our overall International Relations strategy
- That our membership within BRICS must be leveraged to advance our developmental goals.
- That as much as our trade has increased with some of our BRICS partners, the balance of trade is still not in our favour.
- That our national programme of industrialization must also improve if we are to benefit from favourable trading relations with BRICS partners, particularly China.

Conference therefore resolved:

- a) To leverage our chairing of BRICS in 2018 to be beneficial to South Africa and the continent;
- b) That the South African government should support the setting up of the BRICS Ratings Agency;
- c) To align our bilateral programmes with the People's Republic of China with those of FOCAC;
- d) To educate ANC members and the broader public on the relevance and importance of our membership in BRICS. The ANC should utilise the hosting of BRICS meetings in SA as events that can promote the work and the relevance of BRICS among its membership and the South African community at large. The Tenth Summit due to be hosted by South Africa, is an ideal opportunity to ensure greater community understanding and interaction with BRICS;
- e) That the BRICS Bank that has been established must be used effectively to provide an alternative Global Financing Mechanism.
- f) That the ANC and the ANC government should effectively use our membership in BRICS to deepen and align our policies with each of the individual BRICS countries.
- g) That the ANC should discuss with BRICS countries how the G20 can be better utilised to promote a progressive agenda;
- h) That the ANC and ANC government should promote student exchange programmes for South African students with the BRICS countries as part of skills development.
- i) That the ANC should work with other BRICS member parties to sign a joint BRICS party – party agreement.

26. Sudan and South Sudan:

- a) The ANC to continue engaging with all political parties in both countries so as to ensure that as and when tensions arise there are mechanisms for dialogue and engagement
- b) The ANC and the ANC government must continue to directly assist in the development of South Sudan as a new state.
- c) The ANC must continue to assist and advise the SPLA/M to transform from a military to a political organisation.
- d) The ANC government must continue to support the work of the Special Envoy, and his mission of promoting peace in South Sudan.

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27. Western Sahara:

- a. Recalling the historic fraternal relations between the ANC and the Polisario Front as allies in the struggle against injustice, colonialism and apartheid.
- b. Recalling that Western Sahara is the only remaining colony in Africa.
- c. Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence.
- d. Recalling all relevant UN Human Rights reports and reports of international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, etc.

Conference therefore resolves that:

- The ANC condemns the withdrawal by Morocco from the UN-led peace process and supports UN efforts to bring both parties back to the negotiating table.
- The ANC should engage with a wide range of players to ensure that the proposed UN Referendum in Western Sahara takes place.
- The ANC urges the international community, and the United Nations in particular, to assume without further delay, their legal and moral responsibility on granting respect to the inalienable right for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara.
- The ANC expresses solidarity with Saharawi political prisoners and human rights defenders and calls on the international community to provide material support to the Saharawi.
- The ANC urges the international community to call on Morocco to immediately lift the military, security and media blackout imposed in the occupied territories of Western Sahara, to remove the wall and to initiate and lobby the international community for the natural resources of Western Sahara to be under the mandate of the United Nations.
- The ANC salutes the struggle and determination of the Saharawi people, both in occupied and liberated zones, as well as in refugee camps under the leadership of the Polisario Front
- The ANC will intensify its solidarity campaign with Western Sahara with more practical initiatives such as humanitarian aid, solidarity marches, seminars etc.
- Morocco's re-admission into the African Union should be used as an opportunity for us to further our support for the struggle of Western Sahara.
- That the South African Government should appoint a Special Envoy on the Western Sahara issue.

28. Somalia:

- a) The ANC welcomes the formation of the new Somali government, which marked an end to the transition period.
- b) The ANC will continue to promote political dialogue in Somalia and its Federal formations and provide support to assist Somalia to achieve peace and development.
- c) The ANC commends the peaceful settlement of the issues through dialogue.
- d) The ANC calls on the AU and UN to galvanise collective action to stop piracy, illegal fishing, waste dumping on the Somali coastline, including international maritime formations.
- e) Commends the strengthening of the Somali judicial system and the promotion of rule of law and justice for the Somali citizens.
- f) The participation of women, youth and minority groups in Somalia and the commitment to work in an accountable manner will remain vital.
- g) The ANC supports the efforts of AMISOM, and encourages them to do all they can to ensure that the elections will be held in a safe environment as possible.
- h) The ANC continues to support Somalia in its efforts towards nation building, national unity and reconciliation.

29. Cuban solidarity

- a) The ANC continues to call on the United States to remove the illegal economic embargo/blockade against the Republic of Cuba.
- b) It further calls on the South African government to increase trade between South Africa and Cuba as a reinforcement of our foreign policy and international solidarity with Cuba.
- c) Call upon the DA-led Western Cape provincial government to cease its discriminatory action of denying opportunities for deserving youth from the Western Cape to study in Cuba.

30. Islamic Republic of Iran:

- a) The ANC welcomes the conclusion of negotiations that led to the lifting of sanctions against Iran.
- b) The ANC encourages the South African government to engage Iran through meaningful bilateral relations in a wide range of fields.

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31. Syria:

- a) The ANC supports the efforts of Russian Federation and Turkey towards brokering peace amongst the main actors in Syria.
- b) The ANC will continue to monitor developments in the region and will engage with all parties and stakeholders in a quest to find a resolution to the country's numerous challenges.

32. Bahrain:

- a. The ANC calls on the world to speak out against the violent actions of the Bahraini government targeted at its own citizens.

33. Sri Lanka:

- a. The ANC will be steadfast in ensuring that its role serves to enhance global support for a political process characterised by integrity, fairness and empathy.
- b. The ANC supports the fundamental approach to ensure the creation of an environment conducive for fair and equitable participation of all credible representatives in genuine negotiations towards a lasting political solution in Sri Lanka.

34. Palestine:

- a) The ANC notes the extraordinary recent development whereby the US administration has taken an unprecedented and provocative decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.
- b) The ANC both unanimously and unequivocally condemns this provocative step by the USA and urges that the President Trump administration immediately reverse its decision.
- c) Consequently, and in order to give our practical expression of support to the oppressed people of Palestine; the ANC has unanimously resolved to direct the SA government to immediately and unconditionally downgrade the South African Embassy in Israel to a Liaison Office.
- d) The ANC calls on the Palestinians to review the viability of the two state solution in the light of the current development.
- e) The ANC must encourage interaction with Palestinian social bodies, especially those involved in peace building such as women groups.

- f) the ANC also calls for the unity of the Palestinians as an imperative to sustainable and lasting peace

36. Kurdish People:

- a) The ANC supports the Kurdish people's struggle for human and political rights, peace and justice in the Middle East.
- b) The ANC urges all role players to engage towards a political solution in the conflict.
- c) The ANC further calls for the release of Kurdish people's leader, Abdullah Ocalan, and all political prisoners.

**PARTY-TO-PARTY, INTRA AND
MULTILATERAL RELATIONS**
37. ANC participates in a number of international organisations.

- a) The ANC needs to urgently develop a clear policy on international participation to ensure that proper international protocols and conduct are followed by comrades - including those deployed to government - whilst conducting their international work.
- b) The ANC needs to strengthen its affiliation to like-minded international organisations and participate actively in them, including strengthening our proactive participation in structures such as the Socialist International and the Sao Paulo Forum.
- c) The strengthening of Socialist International (SI) by working towards renewing and restructuring the organization to enable it to deal with current and future challenges facing the Progressive Left across the world. We must utilize the African Chapter of SI to strengthen the SI.
- d) Educate members and the broader South African public on the reasons for our participation in the SI.
- e) The ANC congratulates Comrade Ebrahim Ebrahim on his election as the Vice President for the Africa chapter, as well as Comrade Gwede Mantashe who serves in the Ethics Committee of SI. This reflects the level of our participation and involvement in the SI.

38. Party-to-Party Relations:

- a) Party-to-Party relations amongst former liberation movements like SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZANU PF CCM etc, continues to be

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- a) prioritised by the ANC. Structured support of the former liberation movements in the region must be pursued.
 - b) A study must be undertaken to establish a better understanding of the ideological orientation and character of the parties in the continent - and identify those that share the same political vision as the ANC.
 - c) A deliberate effort must be made to strengthen relations with all progressive and like-minded parties in the region, continent and the world.
 - d) Relations with other governing parties in the continent that might not share the same vision with the ANC must be promoted. Such relations could be based on common interests.
 - e) The ANC Women's League and the Youth League should strengthen party-to-party relations as well as relations with other progressive women and youth organisations across the world.
- b) The South African government has recommenced the reviewing of the domestication of ICC-related legislation; post this process the withdrawal notification will be made to the ICC.
 - c) Government has begun a process of approaching the AU Member States to reconsider the Malabo Protocol insofar as it concerns the ratification of the African instruments.

TRANSFORMATION AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

39. G20:

- a) South Africa continues to play a role in the G20. This is an important platform for our international work.
- b) South Africa should ensure that the G20 discussions are focused on stabilising the world economy by building global partnerships to eradicate global poverty and realise a more equitable global economic system.

40. IMF and World Bank:

- a) The ANC continues to call for the reform of the IMF and World Bank.
- b) The ANC should partner with international organisations and alternative think tanks that have consistent programmes directed at the reform of the IMF and World Bank.
- c) The ANC call on the SA government to utilise platforms like the G20 to discuss the reform of the IMF and the World Bank.

41. The International Criminal Court

- a) The Conference reaffirmed the resolution of the 2015 ANC National General Council (NGC) to withdraw from the ICC. Furthermore, South Africa must ratify the Malabo Protocol on Amendments to the Protocol on

42. United Nations

- a) The ANC recognises that reform of the UN is a key priority of the global multilateral system.
- b) The ANC continues to advocate for the expansion of the UN Security Council (UNSC) to ensure that all continents are represented and that the reformed UNSC reflects the current global realities.
- c) The ANC notes that since the AU adopted the Ezulweni Consensus ten years ago there has been little to no progress. The ANC calls for the review of the position.

43. OECD

- a) That the ANC government maintains its current observer status as opposed to taking full membership of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

44. Parliamentary Diplomacy

- a) The ANC must ensure that its Parliamentarians deployed to global forums like the International Parliamentary Union (IPU), SADC Parliamentary forums, various Parliamentary Associations and others are empowered with knowledge on foreign policy issues. This begins with the ANC branches.
- b) The ANC should ensure that Parliament together with Government promote public education in both urban and rural areas of South Africa on foreign policy issues. An example is SA positions in multilateral bodies like the United Nations (UN) and elsewhere - as well as around South Africa's other foreign policy objectives to create a better understanding in the public domain.

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- c. The ANC should develop a strategic document towards understanding the need to engage all players in the international system with a view to advancing our interests, values and aspirations.

45. Economic & Cultural Diplomacy

- a) The ANC holds the view that economic diplomacy is not limited to basic economic knowledge, but should be able to increase South Africa's voice and choice in international relations and cooperation.
- b) Economic diplomacy relates to the connection between international relations and domestic imperatives or interests as the enhancement of South Africa's economic diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy, for example our State-Owned-Enterprises (SOEs) should invest in development projects on the continent.
- c) The Department of Trade and Industry and Department of International Relations and Co-operation should ensure that they improve their co-ordination with regard to economic diplomacy.
- d) The South African government missions abroad should include cultural diplomacy as a strategic component of our foreign policy.

46. SADPA

- a) The ANC directs government to accelerate the establishment of the South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA) to assist the ANC and government in pursuit of our vision for a better Africa.

47. European Union

- a) That an analysis on the pending withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, also known as Brexit.

48. Phenomena of Cities

- a) That the role of cities in international development should be coordinated at a country level and not through imposition of structures by the international community. The phenomenon of rapid urbanization is not the sole preserve of cities.

CAMPAIGNS**49. Africa Day:**

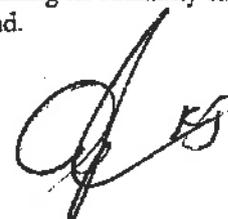
- a) The ANC should mandate its structures and encourage government and the broader South African public to promote Africa Day. The African Union anthem should be learnt and sung by all South Africans as part of our commitment to the African continent and recognition of our African Heritage
- b) The ANC should consider submitting to government that Africa Day is declared a Public Holiday.

50. Mandela Day:

- a) The Conference resolved to intensify the role of the ANC, particularly ANC branches, in co-ordinating events on Mandela Day, which should not be dependent on government-sponsored or organised events.
- b) The ANC should promote Mandela Day across the continent and the world as a symbol of our commitment to a human rights culture, a humane and caring society, and fostering solidarity and unity.
- c) The centenary celebration of the life of President Mandela, should reflect on his commitment to Progressive Internationalism and be used to rally all global progressive formations behind international solidarity work.

51. Swaziland:

- a) The Conference reflected on the nature of the Swazi Monarchy where the King wields executive, judicial and legislative power.
- b) It further discussed that the people of Swaziland still suffer gross human rights violations as well as reflecting on the status of political activity of PUDEMO, SWAYOCO and SSN that are now proscribed in terms of anti-terror legislation in Swaziland.
- c) ANC should find mechanisms to open up talks between the people of Swaziland and their government.
- d) Accordingly, the following 53rd Resolution of the ANC Mangaung Conference on Swaziland be implemented:
- That the ANC calls for the release of all political prisoners, including South Africans incarcerated in Swaziland, such as Amos Mbedzi.
 - That the ANC explore mechanisms of strengthening its solidarity campaigns on Swaziland.



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- That the ANC encourage the progressive Swazi political and civil organizations to lead the Swazi struggle.
 - That the ANC support the call by the people of Swaziland for the unbanning of political parties.
 - That the ANC formalize its party-to-party relations with PUDEMO.
 - That the South African government should upscale its strategic influence of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU).
52. Note the solidarity campaigns mentioned earlier in the document such as Cuba, Western Sahara and the Palestine.
53. In recognition of the sacrifices endured by the various African countries arising from the actions of the apartheid government, we therefore call on government to collaborate with various countries in the establishment of monuments in honour of our fallen heroes and heroines, if possible where they fell, as well as a monument to the Fallen Soldier.
54. **Myanmar**
Conference notes that:
- a) The positive agreement between the governments of Myanmar and Bangladesh that will allow for the repatriation of an estimated 700,000 Rohingyas who were forcibly displaced from the country of their birth to the barren refugee camps in Bangladesh.
 - b) The ongoing humanitarian support from the South African public and organisations.
- Conference therefore resolves that:*
- a) The South African government and its allies urge the Myanmar government to ensure the safe return of the Rohingya people, and that their citizenship be recognized so that that they live and work in peace and dignity.
 - b) The ANC and the South African government continue to urge that humanitarian support be extended from the international and South African community.
55. **Capacity Building and Coordination**
Capacity & Work of the International Relations Department:
- That all Provinces engage in international solidarity work through training and other forms of empowerment for its members; including raising awareness around attacks against foreign nationals.
 - That the ANC consider International Relations as a module to be integrated into the Online ANC political education programme.
 - That the 53rd Conference Resolution on establishing a liaison office in Tshwane is implemented and further agreed to strengthen IR Sub-Committees in all nine provinces.
 - That there is a full-time Head of International Relations (IR).
 - That branches include a standard item on International Relations issues in the agendas of Branch General Meeting.
 - That an easy to read booklet of the NDP and Agenda 2063 of the AU be produced for distribution amongst ordinary South Africans.
 - That there be a focus on gender equality within our International Relations policy.
 - Resolved to establish ANC forums outside the country, where the South African Diaspora is located.
56. **Alliance programme on International Relations**
- a) A combined programme on IR with the ANC's Alliance partners should be developed which incorporates:
 - Climate change, trade and the reform of multilateral Institutions.
 - Solidarity campaigns: on Cuba, Western Sahara, Palestine and Swaziland. In particular. The Alliance needs to undertake a full discussion on our approach to the situation in Swaziland.
 - b) The Alliance should convene an International Forum to strategise and plan joint campaigns.
 - c) The Alliance should share critical information on international relations.
 - d) The Alliance should hold an annual meeting to assess global events and undertake joint planning.
 - e) The ANC should establish an International Solidarity Forum to ensure that all campaigns fall under one umbrella.

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE**SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS****Declaration on President Donald Trump's announcement to relocate the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem***Noting:*

1. The announcement that the USA will move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and further that this announcement has been roundly condemned by nearly every world leader except the Prime Minister of Israel.
2. That a number of protests against this move have broken out in Jerusalem itself, as well as in Ramallah and Bethlehem following the announcement; and several armed groups in the region have labelled Trump's announcement as 'a declaration of war'.
3. The disappointment at the State of Israel's lack of commitment towards peace.
4. The continued illegal occupation of Palestine and East Jerusalem by Israel - now in its 50th year as well as Israel's continued violation of international law and successive UN resolutions. We recall the Nakba calamity and 100 years of the colonial British Balfour Declaration laying the basis for the creation of the State of Israel.
5. The recommendation of the 5th ANC National Policy Conference of on 4 July 2017 to downgrade or shutdown South Africa's diplomatic relations with the State of Israel.
6. The annual ANC January 8th Statements, including specifically the 2015 ANC NGC decision to *"encourage disengagement with Israel especially within government and legislatures, unless promoting solidarity and resolving the conflict. In particular, travel to Israel will be discouraged"*.
7. Israel's continued military occupation of Palestine and the diminishing prospect of realizing the ideal of an independent Palestinian State, living side by side and in peace and security with the State of Israel due to Israel's offensive policy of illegal settlement expansion through land confiscation.
8. The illegal Israeli settlements are in contravention of international law and UNSC resolutions, including Resolution 2334 of December 2016 which declared that Israeli settlements in Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem, have no *"legal validity and constitute a flagrant violation under international law"*.
9. There are now over 600 000 settlers living in hundreds of settlements in the West Bank (430 000) and East Jerusalem (208 000). The Israeli regime is increasingly acting with impunity with no regard

for the rights of Palestinians.

10. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that the Israeli administration is operating on a "no solution -playing for time", seeking to change the international pattern of voting in favour of its goal to render impossible Palestinian self-determination.

Conference resolves to:

1. Condemn in the strongest possible terms the decision by the USA Administration to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This blatantly provocative act severely undermines the spirit of multilateralism and is a significant setback to a fragile and already stalled peace process.
2. Call on the US Administration to reconsider its unilateral and provocative decision on Jerusalem, in the light of the negative ramifications for the cause of a just and lasting peace including that *"the US has driven itself further away from its role as a mediator and sponsor in peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians"*.
3. Call on other countries with resident diplomatic presence in Tel Aviv not to follow suit but maintain their Embassies in Tel Aviv.
4. To affirm the OIC position that East Jerusalem is the recognised capital of the future State of Palestine.

LIBYA / SLAVE TRADE*Noting:*

1. Conference discussed the negative developments in Libya as a consequence to the regime change agenda, and the ongoing conflict in Libya, which is presently controlled by various militias based in cities.
2. There are, presently, two Libyan authorities claiming to represent the Libyan people in addition to a UN recognised third authority.
3. The Libyan people are suffering from a lack of control of their own rich resources, resulting in poverty, lack of water, electricity and importantly food and human security.
4. The inhuman treatment of migrants and economic refugees crossing the Libyan desert to find greener pastures in Europe. Their plight is being exploited by human traffickers. The action of European countries stopping the flow of migrants attempting to cross the Mediterranean has resulted in persons thrust into camps controlled by greedy criminal gangs. This has led to some people who can be characterised as being enslaved.



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Conference resolves to:

1. Condemn in the strongest terms this abominable crime against humanity.
2. To direct the SA government to work together with the Libyan authorities, the AU and the international community for an immediate end to these criminal practices and ensure the wellbeing of the migrants and refugees.
3. Welcome the ongoing efforts aimed at ending these criminal practices and resolved that the ANC directs the SA government to work together with the Libyan authorities, the AU and the international community to eliminate this scourge.
4. Call for support to the Libyan authorities, through international cooperation, in undertaking immediate action to fight against the perpetrators of such crimes.

Resolution on the Nelson Mandela Centenary, 2018

Noting:

1. That the ANC government has declared the year 2018 as the centenary of the late Isithwalandwe Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

2. That the ANC as the custodian of the legacy of Nelson Mandela has a responsibility to preserve the principles and values that he cherished and espoused in his lifetime.
3. That in recognition of Nelson Mandela's contribution to humanity, the United Nations has declared July 18 as the Nelson Mandela International day for Freedom, Justice and Democracy.
4. His contribution to the birth of a new democratic, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa.
5. That Nelson Mandela continues to inspire people all over the world as a symbol of humility, peace and reconciliation.

Conference resolves to:

1. Develop a year-long programme of activities and events to mark the momentous centenary of Nelson Mandela in 2018.
2. Mobilise all sectors of society to engage and participate in activities and events celebrating the centenary of Nelson Mandela.
3. Engage the International Community with a view to organising events and programmes that mark the centenary of Nelson Mandela.

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RESOLUTIONS

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The Conference adopted the Social Transformation Report of the 2017 National Policy Conference. The highlights of the rich discussions and debates are presented below:

- a. Our Social Transformation agenda is part of the continuing journey of social change that began in 1994 when we entered into a Social Contract in the form of the Reconstruction and Development Programme through which we sought to create A Better Life For All, so that together, we can create a South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it as articulated in the Freedom Charter;
- b. Accordingly, the Policy Proposals that are being presented, are aimed at building A Better Life For All; and ensuring that we accelerate our march towards a truly reconstructed, transformed, unified and developed South Africa, whose citizens, Black and White, equally enjoy better and fulfilling lives;
- c. This we do within the context of the Resolutions of the 53rd ANC National Conference which committed all of us to ensure a radical socio-economic transformation aimed at ending oppression, poverty and inequality; and create a society in which all belong, live freely and prosper.
- d. We would like to emphasise at all times the co-existence of socio-economic rights. There is a tendency to emphasise radical economic transformation at the expense of radical social transformation which is an inalienable right, a First Generation Right in The Constitution, and the foundation of the Freedom Charter.
- e. Among others, our critical responsibilities are to transform our society and to prioritise the rights of women, children, and people with disabilities as well as the previously disadvantaged; work tirelessly to reduce discrimination and violence against women and discrimination and violence against children. As the ANC we need to lead in the de-linking of "women and children" as a near singular 'vulnerable' group as it tends to entrench the idea that women are minors as was the case under apartheid era laws. At the same time it also brings into stark relief the inequality under law that children face. We therefore welcome the recent High Court decision that nullified the common law defence of 'reasonable chastisement' as a legal defence for parental and care-givers assault of children. This brings the legal framework in line with criminal law of assault as it pertains to adults. This development will contribute significantly to reducing overall levels of inter-personal violence and the cycle of violence as South Africans will need to embrace the idea that violence is not an acceptable means to deal with conflict or differences. At the heart of fundamental social change and transformation are changes at the level of ideation so that people think and act differently and in ways that builds a more peaceful society.
- f. Our Social Transformation agenda has been very clear over the years that we are in fact in the processes of building a new society. We are not 're-building' as this almost gives the impression that there was a time in our history where universal equality, respect for human rights and dignity existed for all. Colonial oppression, discrimination and violence including violence associated with systemic social and economic exclusion is what we have inherited and we need to build a new society that is peaceful, equal and just as envisioned in our National Development Plan, the UN's Agenda 2030 and Africa's Agenda 2063.
- g. We make the case that inequalities at the social and economic levels over centuries needs to be addressed if we are to reduce social ills in our society. There is global evidence that societies that are unequal socially and economically are more prone to have people who engage in the harmful use of alcohol and drugs, to have high levels of violence and high levels of gender based violence;
- h. In any society plagued by high levels of social and economic inequality and related social ills there are of course people who are particularly vulnerable. It is for this reason that we take an intersectional approach to protect the most vulnerable amongst us. An intersectional lens will show us that black lesbians living in poor rural and urban spaces are amongst the most vulnerable. They are subjected

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to discrimination based on their gender (being women), their sexual orientation, their race and class. This intersectional lens and concomitant strategies will allow us to protect people like Eudy Simelane a star player in Banyana Banyana who was killed in April 2008, at the age of 31 years, because she was openly lesbian.

- i. Similarly, the girl-child is just as vulnerable. We have a historical responsibility to in particular stop the sexual exploitation of the Girl-Child so that they are allowed to grow up in safe, loving and nurturing environments and have the opportunity to play their important roles in society. We point out that the sexual violence meted out to the girl-child, can only be fully addressed when we build a society that does not condone sexual violence in anyway and that we build a culture where no person, no matter how powerful or important feel that they have a level of impunity in terms of raping women. The most recent incidents of what we term rape promoting cultures was evident when young women at Rhodes University were banned for life from studying due to protest action against leniency by university authorities towards sexual predators including a young man convicted of rape.
- j. Further, we have to ensure effective protection of the Child, including the Right of Children to Education; ensuring, among others, that children are not used to highlight and/or settle political and social grievances;
- k. In line with earlier references to 'ideation' being necessary for building a new society and one that also seeks to address the cycle of violence we have to engage constructively around whatever challenges and problems we may have, and thus help each other not to engage in violent protests, including the unnecessary destruction of property as a means of highlighting grievances; the strengthening of local community based organisations that are not party political, such as advice offices may contribute to building new forms of engagement among people and also how people engage with government. At the same time constructive engagement by communities requires more responsive and accountable local governance and generally government at all levels that is accountable to its own rules and procedures and where there is no room for those who are corrupt and use government for personal enrichment while there are such high levels of poverty and inequality. Government must lead by example. And for government to lead by example, the ANC must be exemplary with respect to building accountability within its own structures.
- l. Through these policy proposals, we have to help the youth to grow up as responsible citizens; for

our youth to engage in sporting and cultural activities and to concentrate on the important aspects of growth, especially concentrating on their education and skills development;

- m. We have a duty to ensure that the Youth grow-up as disciplined and responsible adults, who shall have learned great attributes consistent with those imparted to all of us by such leaders of the ANC as Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and many others who have made it possible for us to gather here today as free citizens;
- n. At all times, and in all the things we do, we have to increase the levels of women empowerment. While we have made some important progress in the public sector on this matter, we need to ensure that we effect more improvements.
- o. Obviously, in this regard, the biggest challenge is still in the private sector, and therefore our policies have to help us to make drastic and visible changes in women empowerment in this area, so that through the empowerment of women in this sector, we are able to help bring more social transformation;
- p. As we do this, we have to continue our struggle against patriarchal beliefs and tendencies that continue to suppress and oppress women; while we have significant challenges in relation to violence against women and sexual violence in particular, we have also made significant progress since 1994. One of our most stellar achievements was the huge reduction in the mortality rates associated with unsafe abortion through the passing of the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act which explicated the constitutional provisions of the right to bodily integrity and autonomy. The ANC must, therefore, vehemently oppose the proposed changes to this Act made by the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) as it will not only rob women of their constitutional rights but also rob them of their very lives as these proposals will again push women into the hands of illegal and dangerous back-street abortion providers.
- q. Again, as part of the important work of helping the people to escape the degrading conditions of poverty we must also improve our implementation of integrated human settlements developments; improve our fight to eliminate the squalor of informal settlements; and help give dignity to the people by eliminating the title-deeds backlog and household tenure security;
- r. We have a duty to help our Military Veterans through the improvement and implementation of the various Policies directed at this important sector of our society;
- s. As we engage in these efforts, of improving the



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lives of our people, we must make sure that we do so guided by the ethos of Batho Pele, so that whatever, we do, as ANC deployees at all levels of government, we strive to bring real social transformation to our communities;

- t. Of importance, we have an on-going duty to achieve Social Cohesion and accelerate the project of Nation Building so that we are able to create a just and inclusive society that draws on our rich heritage;
- u. Clearly, we must, at all times ensure that through policy and practical implementation we fight and defeat racism, because failure to do so, would mean we could never achieve the lofty objectives contained in our Constitution;
- v. Overall, ANC policy is in place, and while refinements and adjustments to policy are necessary to meet the changing and shifting societal demands, the key task is ensuring the accurate implementation of our policies. To this end, the ANC capacity to facilitate, monitor and evaluate this implementation must be strengthened.
- w. We have no doubt that all these policy resolutions, will help us move forward towards the attainment of our historical mission of Socio-Economic Transformation to which, we, as ANC members, have committed ourselves.

1. **In relation to Social Cohesion, Nation Building and the Development of Society, the Conference RESOLVED that:**

- 1.1. ANC branches must be effective agents of change as leaders in communities if the ANC is to drive the radical social transformation agenda, and to achieve social cohesion and nation building.
- 1.2. To this end ANC members must be exemplary in their conduct in their families, in their community and in their organisations.
- 1.3. ANC branches must lead our communities in a programme of regular community dialogue throughout the year on issues of social ills, and on social cohesion and nation building.
- 1.4. ANC branches must be clear on the difference between the ANC anthem and the South Africa National Anthem and must sing the National Anthem with appropriate respect and etiquette. ANC branches must utilise the government information booklets on National and AU Symbols as well as Anthems, to ensure that national symbols are known in our communities and treated with appropriate etiquette.

1.5. There should be more local production and content screened on our televisions and broadcast in national and community radios to reflect our values. A practical and sustainable percentage must be determined

1.6. ANC branches must strengthen their relationships with key stakeholders such as inter-faith organisations, sports and cultural leaders, private sector and traditional leaders to enhance moral regeneration, social cohesion and nation building. Furthermore, ANC branches must intensify their communication and engagements with ANC government, Local Municipalities and Provinces

1.7. Relevant legislation in relation to hate crimes should be better enforced; all forms of racism, crude and subtle, including tribalism or xenophobia, must be eradicated; the mind-set shift from an image of an African as being a victim to being a victor must be addressed.

1.8. African history and African symbolism should be promoted including pre-colonial African history. The struggle for freedom and democracy must be documented in all languages. Libraries must promote the literary works of local and African writers. The use of indigenous languages must be promoted. This must include the urgent inclusion and diversification of statues on the Union Buildings Precinct and other high profile places in order to reflect African history.

1.9. The cultural values of diverse communities, including in particular African cultural values, which advance togetherness and co-existence across the spectrum of human existence must be promoted.

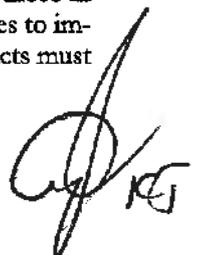
1.10. Patriarchy divides society and must be combatted in all its forms. Gender-stereotyped socialisation of girls and boys must be addressed to build social cohesion. As part of this work the active agenda of promoting women representation in key levers of power should be intensified. Leaders of society should be capacitated to deal with matters of gender abuse.

1.11. The public must be educated on the consequences of criminal damage to public property during protests. Government needs to impose heavy penalties to those who damage and destroy public property.

1.12. The Social Cohesion Advocates should be allocated across the provinces to support the Premiers in driving the moral regeneration and social cohesion initiatives.

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- 2 **In relation to Safety of Women and Children, Eradication of Substance Abuse and Gangsterism, and Promotion of Sports, Arts and Culture, and Empowerment of vulnerable groups, the Conference RESOLVED that:**
- 2.1. Education, sport, recreation, arts, cultural and heritage activities, clubs and programmes are important vehicles to combat substance abuse, gangsterism, violence against women and children, and other social ills, as well as to achieve social cohesion and nation building, and should also be localised.
 - 2.2. Street, Block and Village Committees, in which ANC members are active, are key vehicles of social protection and social transformation. These Street, Block and Village Committees must know exactly what is happening in each street in relation to violence against women and children, substance abuse, crime and be able to ensure that there are safe houses for victims, and that the police and social workers fulfil their functions. ANC branches must also be active in and strengthen the Community Policing Forums and Community Safety Forums. Members of the communities must know their neighbours and be concerned about their lives.
 - 2.3. The ANC needs to lead the processes related to removal of offensive names and signage and the geographic name changes. Part of this work involves the decentralisation of administration of heritage to the provincial level. There should be Arts and Culture units at each municipality, and local Arts Councils as well as community arts centres. Municipalities should be encouraged to support local cultural industries through the LED programme. Local arts and culture programme should be implemented. Municipal facilities such as town and community halls should be utilised for local arts, culture activities and indoor sports.
 - 2.4. The ANC should bring back the ANC Cultural Desk with representation of Creative and Cultural Industries Federation of SA (CCIF-SA) and have cultural ambassadors to pursue cultural diplomacy. The ANC's Cultural Desk needs to develop a Cultural Diplomacy Document. A Cultural and Creative Industries Transformation and Performance Charter needs to be introduced. ANC should ensure that there is continuous building of national monuments to commemorate and remember our rich history and heritage.
 - 2.5. ANC branches cannot remain silent on violence against women and children, on vulnerability of the elderly, people with disabilities, people living with Albinism, of the LGBTIQ community. ANC branches must be aware of changing forms of crimes against vulnerable groups arising out of anti-social beliefs.
 - 2.6. The provision of safe public transport, in particular for girl learners who live far from schools, is an important element of prevention of violence against women and children.
 - 2.7. In particular, ANC men must be visible in 365 days campaigning against all forms of violence and abuse in particular violence and abuse against women and children. ANC branches should rise and hold men's marches against all forms of violence and abuse in their communities under the banner of Not in My Name - Count Me In.
 - 2.8. Overall, ANC policy is in place, and the key task is ensuring the implementation of the policy. To this end, the ANC capacity to monitor and evaluate this implementation must be strengthened.
 - 2.9. The social challenges of racial tensions, xenophobia, violence against women, children and other vulnerable groupings, substance abuse and gangsterism will all be vastly improved through strengthening integrated human settlements, through an active sports and culture programme in schools and in communities and through improving the implementation of existing social transformation policy.
 - 2.10. Inequality, unemployment, and poverty underpin the social ills in our communities, and so, education and skills development, and internships and work exposure programmes that equip the youth with skills required and appropriate to the economy and economic opportunities are also important pillars of building social cohesion and the nation.
 - 2.11. Effective resourcing of government structures to fulfil their functions must be focused on and in particular sport and recreation facilities must be properly resourced. The Department of Women needs to be fully capacitated to discharge its mandate effectively including enhancing its provincial footprint.
 - 2.12. Izindaba on the progress on the empowerment of women per sector needs to be held on a regular basis.
 - 2.13. The State must provide sanitary towels to girls and women, starting with the indigent girl learners and young women and those in the care of state institutions. Measures to improve affordability of sanitary products must



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- be implemented including zero tax rating.
- 2.14. The comprehensive strategy for and the co-ordination and monitoring of the protection of vulnerable groups led by the Department of Social Development must be resourced to enable effective protection of children, the elderly, people with disability, and people with Albinism across relevant departments and spheres of government.
- 2.15. The ANC must conclude its review and processing of the Kader Asmal Report on Chapter 9 and other Institutions supporting constitutional democracy.
- 2.16. The Charter of Positive Values must be included in the curriculum of Life Orientation in schools. The revitalization of Provincial Chapters of the Moral Regeneration Movement should take place in all provinces, driven by the Premiers and relevant MECs to ensure greater coherence with the national programme. Part of this work includes the revival of the ANC's Commission for Religious Affairs to coordinate the efforts of the ANC with the religious sector, as well as the ANC's programme of action on moral regeneration.
- 2.17. The socialization of our children, and in particular the socialization of boy children, to respect each other, to be healthy and active citizens, to take on roles in a non-gender stereotyped manner, is the foundation of addressing social ills, and ensuring the mind-set change necessary for social transformation, gender equality, non-racism, and social cohesion. Take a Girl Child to Work should be expanded to Take a Child to Work.
- 2.18. Parenting was identified as a key area of weakness in addressing social ills and in driving the social transformation agenda. Support to parents to develop appropriate parenting skills must be strengthened through government services, and through dialogue involving key stakeholders such as religious, sports and traditional leaders. Public education on the safety of children, including the prevention children being left in the care of strangers, must be undertaken by ANC branches.
- 2.19. Abuse of religion for sexual predation by some religious leaders must be combatted
- 2.20. Gender parity in sport must be promoted at all levels, including national teams. Green jackets must be awarded for all sporting codes.
- 2.21. Standardisation of school sports across the country both in poor and affluent areas Sporting infrastructure must be extended to rural and township schools and be part of all new school building. Sport should liaise with Traditional Authorities in the roll out of sport facilities and programmes to rural areas. Parents should be encouraged to support their children in their sporting activities.
- 2.22. Sport and physical education must be integral to school curriculum from Grade R to Grade 12. Sports professionals must be utilised to teach sporting codes. Anti-doping programmes in school sports should be introduced.
- 2.23. A 5% sport ticketing levy should be introduced for all major and designated sport tournaments to fund sport development.
- 2.24. The Draft Bill to ban alcohol advertising should be converted to a MoneyBill with a levy to fund sports, arts and culture and educational programmes.
- 2.25. Policy review to determine the school sports policy should be the prerogative of the Ministries of Basic Education and Sports and Recreation -and not the SGBs.
- 2.26. Policy is required to regulate mushrooming unethical churches and traditional practices.
- 2.27. Legislative review is necessary to amend all laws relating to children that is inconsistent with the Constitution, particularly in relation to age of marriage, age of consensual sex, and statutory rape.
- 2.28. The calls to decriminalise Sex work must be subjected to a high level discussion and engagement with relevant multiple stakeholders, and to continue to engage society on this to determine the societal norm. Sex workers must be protected.
- 2.29. ANC must strengthen and capacitate neighbourhood watch and CPFs to continue working with law enforcement agencies, and in particular SAPS, to combat human trafficking and sex slavery.
- 2.30. The need for police stations and service delivery institutions should be determined by considering the population size, proximity to residents, and the nature of services required.
- 2.31. Decisive action against drug lords and environments for anonymously reporting crime should be created.
- 2.32. The Victim Empowerment Centres, Victim Support Units, and Thuthuzela care centres should be up scaled and fully resourced, in-

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- cluding up-scaling the availability of social workers, including in schools. The integration of services and the utilisation of the Gender Based Violence Command Centre must be taken forward. SAPS officials must be trained in gender sensitivity and appropriate practice in dealing with victims of sexual offences and domestic violence.
- 2.33. Public education and awareness on criminal evidence required for successful prosecution of cases of violence against women and children is required.
- 2.34. The full might of the criminal justice system, including the denial of bail and the sentence regime, should be utilised in the combatting of violence against women and children, particular in relation to domestic violence and sexual offences.
- 2.35. In new courts, the Children's Courts should be designed to prevent children from exposure to other dimensions of the criminal justice system. Cases involving children should be prioritised for speedy finalisation in the courts.
- 2.36. The user friendly of disability specific access to government buildings for people with disabilities should be accelerated.
- 2.37. A comprehensive programme must be implemented that addresses minimum qualifications required for ECD practitioners, minimum norms and standards of ECD infrastructure, State remuneration for practitioners who work with children up to the age of 4 as they provide an essential service.
- 2.38. Regulation of advertising using children and women, and reporting on abuse of women and children, must be reconsidered to avoid undue social media exposure of children and young women.
- 2.39. Explore the introduction of mechanisms for organisations and employers to access information in the sex offender register to protect children.
- 2.40. Child headed households including street (homeless) children must be prioritised in social protection policy, in EPWP opportunities.
- 2.41. The child support grant should be extended from the age of 18 to 21 for beneficiaries that are still studying in order to eliminate the advent of vulnerability.
- 2.42. The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (PEPUDA) must be amended to enhance the promotion of equality between men and women public representatives.
- 2.43. Municipalities must regulate the location of taverns and liquor retailers to be away from schools and religious establishments. The Liquor Amendment Bill should also address this matter.
- 2.44. SASSA national administration should be aligned with provinces to ensure that there is seemliness decision making and ensure that there is accountability of provincial offices to the national office. SASSA needs to urgently speed up the process of provision of adequate and decent pay points as older person are often paid in the rain or heat.
- 2.45. The government's internship programme offers valuable work exposure for graduates and thus entry requirements must enable and not unduly restrict entry and access. Part of this work must intensify career guidance programmes for the youth, as well as allocation of more bursaries.
- 2.46. TVET college qualifications must be de-stigmatised through a prestige programme of partnering with local business and local municipalities to create opportunities of streamlined job access for graduants.
- 2.47. The NYDA must be strengthened and resourced to deliver effective youth programmes with the national youth service, the EPWP youth programmes and other youth employment programmes as flagships of youth development in government. Consideration should be given to reinstating the Young Pioneers and the Masupatsela as leading information disseminators. Youth employment programmes should embrace new technologies.
- 2.48. There is a need to professionalise youth work for all youth development practitioners.
- 2.49. The mind set of dependency among the youth should be discouraged.
3. **In relation to Social Cohesion and Social Transformation through Human Settlements, the Conference RESOLVED:**
- 3.1. To implement structured support to black-owned companies in the housing and residential property sector, with special attention to those owned by women, youth, military veterans, and people with disability. 30% set aside should benefit these designated groups.

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- 3.2. Transformatory urban planning and management that changes apartheid spatial residential patterns must be focused on, with a move away from dense single-use residential areas to those with appropriate recreational and sports facilities, other socio-economic amenities and the necessary public transport systems.
- 3.3. In the creation of new cities and towns, planning should promote de-racialisation of society and development consolidation of peri-urban areas
- 3.4. This must include accelerated implementation and consolidation of human settlements development legislation to utilise suitably positioned land for housing, and the enforcement of existing law and by-laws.
- 3.5. Land invasions must be curbed through appropriate by-laws. Fast track the amendment of the Prevention of Illegal Eviction Act 1998 (PIE) to deal with land for housing development.
- 3.6. To implement a rapid urban land re-distribution and release through constitutional means in order to meet development needs in a structured manner. Mining and other private sector land-owners should be encouraged to release their land to the state for human settlement purposes.
- 3.7. The sale of subsidised houses by beneficiaries should be prevented and beneficiaries who no longer need the house must be assisted to return the house to the State for compensation or allocation of an alternative opportunity in another area. The rental of subsidised houses to non-beneficiaries be discouraged especially in the face of growing need. Accelerate the issuing of title deeds and registration of subsidy houses in favour of the "family" rather than the individual beneficiaries.
- 3.8. Uniformity in the standard of housing provision across all provinces must be addressed and remedial improvements of houses at risk must be completed.
- 3.9. Provision of housing for military veterans must be fast-tracked and completed, with appropriate consultation, in line with applicable legislation.
- 3.10. To conduct an audit of all unfinished housing programmes and implement a programme to complete unfinished housing projects.
- 3.11. Human settlements housing options must include site and service schemes, options for people to build their own houses, high rise accommodation, affordable rental stock for those who are transitional residents in urban areas for work and other purposes, the transformation of hostels into family units, and the provision of student accommodation and other priority needs.
- 3.12. The causes of shack farming are in part as a result of the need for income generating opportunities, and must be addressed by plot size control and by laws regulating the building of informal housing.
- 3.13. The allocation of subsidised houses must be consulted with Traditional leaders when developed on land availed by traditional leaders.
- 3.14. Water provision must be addressed as an integral part of human settlements and the Water Act should be reviewed to ensure that water resources are a public good.
- 3.15. Our communities must be served by water tankers where permanent infrastructure is not yet provided to the community.
- 3.16. Municipalities must commission viability studies for building of small dams to ensure water security
- 3.17. Sanitation at community and household level must be improved and the bucket system eradication must be intensified.
- 3.18. Community libraries, parks and socio-economic amenities should reflect on the planning of new communities from the initial planning stages.
- 3.19. Institutionalise and mainstream Programmes aimed at youth development such as a Housing Youth Brigade in order to ensure their sustainability
- 3.20. The ANC should champion proper service delivery especially in areas named after our leaders.

Conference RESOLVED that following the 54th Conference, the NEC must adopt a Social Transformation Action Plan to:

- a) Facilitate implementation of these policies with specific roles of the ANC in the national, provincial and municipal spaces;
- b) Enable accurate monitoring of progress in implementing the policies.
- c) Outline the role of the ANC in championing and leading community development.

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RESOLUTIONS

PEACE AND STABILITY

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Conference affirmed previous resolutions on peace and stability taken at the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung and the recommendations from the National Policy Conference. Conference also acknowledged progress done on the implementation of the resolutions. However, it was noted that there are some resolutions which have not been fully implemented. Further, Conference accepted the description that since the advent of democracy, the country is relatively peaceful and stable, compared to other countries of the African continent in particular, and the world in general.

1.2. The Conference further re-affirmed the thrust of the mandate as outlined in the National Development Plan 2030 that: *“people living in South Africa feel safe at home, at school and at work, and they enjoy a community life free of fear. Women walk freely in the street and children play safely outside. As a result of substantially reduced levels of serious and violent crime, businesses are thriving and local and foreign investors are establishing new businesses. This in turn leads to the creation of new job opportunities and the reduction of poverty and inequality. The Criminal Justice System is well-resourced, professional and is staffed by highly skilled officials who value their work, serve the community, safeguard lives and property without discrimination, protect communities and citizens against violent crime and respect people’s rights to equality and justice. South Africa’s borders are effectively safeguarded, secured and well-managed”.*

1.3. There was acceptance of the security assessment which identified the four broad categories of threats facing South Africa. Those are; threats to the territorial integrity of the Republic, threats to the authority of the state, threats to the well-being and safety of South Africans and threats to the country’s economic development. There was acknowledgement of its fundamental mandate in supporting economic growth towards the realization of radical socio-economic transformation in the current local and global economic climate. The Conference acknowledged the reality that the work of the security cluster is labour intensive and therefore the mechanical reduction in its budget

and personnel will invariably weaken its capacity and capability to reassert the authority of the State, protect the territorial integrity of the Republic and ensure that all South Africans feel safe.

1.4. The paradigm shift in the international space with regard to Peace and Stability in particular the following developments since the National Policy Conference:

- A. Slave trade in Libya and human trafficking;
- B. US recognising Jerusalem as the Capital city of Israel;
- C. Escalation of terrorism on the African continent.

The Conference noted political developments in Zimbabwe and expressed the hope that conditions of peace and stability continue to prevail.

1.5. Pursuant to the foregoing, the Conference identified the following key focus areas as critical for the Peace and Stability Subcommittee for the consideration of Conference, namely: state of peace and stability as relating to the sectors of Correctional Services, Home Affairs, Defence, Military Veterans, Private Security companies, Justice and Constitutional Development, and Fighting Crime and Corruption.

2. SOUTH AFRICA’S STATE OF PEACE AND STABILITY

2.1. Despite relative stability, the Conference noted a plethora of challenges facing the country which requires urgent attention of the ANC led government. Those challenges include, but not limited to the following:

- a) Activities of Foreign Forces seeking to undermine our revolutionary advances mainly perpetrated by Foreign Intelligence Services (FIS);
- b) Continuing lawlessness and impunity which threaten the authority of the state;
- c) The porousness of our border environment which threaten our territorial integrity;

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- d) Acts of crime and criminality which threaten the well-being and safety of our people;
- e) Slow economic transformation which threaten our country's economic development;
- f) Problem of Terrorism;
- g) Information and cyber.

2.2. Therefore, based on the foregoing challenges, the 54th National Conference resolves as follows:

- a) The need to tighten the current laws dealing with the activities of Foreign Intelligence Services, the abuse of the diplomatic immunities and acts of espionage in order to provide for the imposition of harsher sentences to serve as a deterrent. The Ministries of Defence, State Security, International Relations and Home Affairs should develop a framework to regulate the above matters.
- b) The Department of Defence should deploy members of the South African National Defence Force to assist members of the Police Service in dealing with illicit mining.
- c) Expedite the implementation of the Border Management Authority to address the question of irregular migration and border management.
- d) Conclude treaty agreements with the countries of origin of the incarcerated foreign nationals in order to allow for the exchange and repatriation of inmates serving minor sentences.
- e) Finalise the Immigration and Refugee Act in line with the approved White Paper on International Migration in order to manage migration taking into account the protection of low skilled jobs and certain economic sectors in the interest of locals.
- f) Government should allocate adequate additional financial resources to the security cluster to effectively deal with the territorial integrity of the country.
- g) Government to ensure the compliance and enforcement of the Public Gatherings Act
- h) Effect the amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act to categorize vandalism of public properties as economic sabotage and be classified as a Schedule 6 crime.
- i) ANC branches working with local municipalities to champion the awareness and public education on the rights to protest without negatively impacting on the rights of others.
- j) ANC branches should work with the Law Enforcement Agencies and local government to deter human-trafficking, illegal migration and champion the fight against the manufacturing, distribution, smuggling and the use of narcotics.

- k) ANC branches should lead the process of reviving Community Safety Forums and Street Committees to fight crime in their localities.
- l) Ensure the enforcement of appropriate legislation on transfer pricing and illicit economy such as illicit financial flows.
- m) Ensure the speedy implementation of Lifestyle Audits, broadening of vetting and financial monitoring to curb corruption.
- n) Review all pieces of legislation relating to terrorism in order to strengthen our counter terrorism measures.
- o) ANC should lead the process of raising awareness in communities through branch structures of radicalisation of community members by terror groups including through internet and social media platforms.

3. CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

3.1. The Conference noted that South Africa does not have an interstate exchange programme with other countries. This is reflected by the following:

- a) South Africa holds in its correctional centers approximately about 6440 sentenced foreign nationals serving custodial sentences averaging 10.6 years for various crimes. This puts a heavy burden on the already strained fiscus. Four-in-ten of the 6440 foreign nationals have committed serious crimes.
- b) Further, the Conference noted with concern the manner in which the country deals with matters related to parole and its review processes. These challenges include the following:
- c) Correctional Services is segmented into two main streams, the custodial and non-custodial services that are governed in terms of the Correctional Services Act, (Act No 111 of 1998) as amended, and the envisaged Parole and Supervision Act.
- d) International trends show that numbers of offenders serving their sentences within their communities are much higher than those in custody, with custodial sentences reserved for crimes regarded as very serious.

3.2. Based on the above, the 54th National Conference resolves as follows:

- a) There should be serious consideration given to approval of a new policy to enable Prisoner Transfer Agreements to be concluded at bilateral level and on multilateral platforms.

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- b) Government must develop mechanisms to enable the state to try, in our community courts, any offender who committed petty crimes, repatriate those foreign nationals convicted of petty crimes and introduce measures to prevent foreign offenders, from re-entering South Africa.
 - c) The composition of the Parole Board should be transformed to include key stakeholders such as community leaders, and other eminent members of the community.
 - d) The Parole Board should solicit views of the victims before releasing offenders on parole, including repatriation in cases of foreign nationals.
 - e) Review sentencing and parole legislation to ensure that persons committing serious offences spent a longer time in custody.
 - f) ANC branches should undertake educational campaigns in their areas to facilitate the reintegration of offenders into their communities.
 - g) The South African Police Service and the Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services should regularly meet and develop mechanisms to address overcrowding in Correctional centers.
 - h) The Department of Correctional Services should educate released offenders on their options of expungement or presidential pardon where appropriate in order to facilitate their reintegration into the society and their participation in the economy.
- modernise and maintain its systems and processes for the safe keeping and maintenance of records.
 - c) South Africa is facing a high influx of immigrants largely due to porous borders, weak legislative measures governing asylum seeker management, weak enforcement capabilities and the existence of good socio-economic opportunities and benefits which serve as the pull factors.
 - d) The African Union (AU) has developed a protocol on free movement of people within the Continent without visas, this protocol provides for the progressive implementation of free movement of persons, the right to residence and the right to establishment.

4.2. *The 54th National Conference resolves as follows:*

4. HOME AFFAIRS

4.1. The Conference noted that the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) bears the mandatory function to confirm and protect the identity and status of all citizens and all persons within our borders and to regulate immigration and the entry and exit of persons through ports. Further, the Conference noted the following key matters regarding the department:

- a) DHA operates largely outside of the security apparatus of the state and does not receive sufficient funding for protecting its officials, systems and data, yet its work has a major impact on national security, social cohesion and the achievement of our Country's developmental goals.
 - b) The DHA does not have advanced technology, sufficient information technology professionals or legislation required to optimally
- a) Legislation be developed to reposition the Department Home Affairs as a core security cluster department with adequate resources to enable it to achieve its vision of a modern and secure department, managed by professionals.
 - b) Put in place policies and legislation that give effect to its full mandate on the management of identity and international migration in order to ensure national service delivery, economic development and security goals.
 - c) Implement operational and organizational models appropriate for the management of identity and international migration in a digital world, including its law enforcement capacity.
 - d) Accelerate the integration of the existing bio-metric data sets, strengthen cyber-crime counter measures across the criminal justice system value chain.
 - e) ANC branches together with Councilors should develop and maintain Ward profiles in order to account for all the residents in their respective wards and participate in the DHA Stakeholder Forums.
 - f) Accelerate the development of the National Identification System linked to a biometric database of both citizens and foreign nationals lawfully residing in South Africa.
 - g) Review the security clearance status to all DHA staff and repeat such procedures at appropriate intervals not exceeding five years as a condition of employment in order to address the issues of unethical conduct
 - h) Expedite the development of refugee processing centers next to, or near the ports of entry to accommodate asylum seekers while

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their applications are being considered.

- i) Expedite the finalisation of the Border Management Authority (BMA) legislation and implementation thereof, including the provision that BMA assumes frontline customs function at ports of entry and revenue collection must remain a SARS function supported by BMA.
- j) Finalize the development of the White Paper on International Migration including supporting legislation.
- k) Support the vision and implementation of the AU protocol on free movement of persons, provided that it is in compliance with South African laws.

5. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE

5.1 The Conference noted that the Department of Defence remains a key strategic player in the maintenance of South Africa's territorial integrity. The Department of Defence has the full legislative mandate to ensure the protection of South Africa's borders, including the maritime and airspace. The SANDF has undergone significant professionalization. The SANDF protects our Nation and contribute towards the maintenance of peace and stability in the African continent at large.

In addition, the Department of Defence plays a major role of disaster management. Further, the Conference noted the following key matters regarding the department:

- a) The department is facing serious financial constraints owing to the decline in its annual budget allocation. This is illustrated by the department's inability to fulfill its legislative mandate to fully deploy in the border areas.
- b) The challenges of the Department of Defence are exacerbated by the limited resources allocated to support dedicated research and development pertaining to innovation, which can unlock the potential for military innovation being used for civilian purposes. The location of the DENEL under the Department of Public Enterprises denies the Department of Defence the necessary control over sovereign capability and sensitive intellectual property relating to strategic defence technologies.
- c) The investment in the defence sector plays a leading role in the successful industrialization and transformation of the economy through comprehensive research and development, and dual use of technologies.

5.2. *Based on these challenges, the 54th National Conference resolves as follows:*

- a) The Department of Defence be exempted from using the services of the Department of Public Works for the purposes of maintaining their physical infrastructure and permit the Department of the SANDF Works Formation.
- b) Government should ensure that the budget allocation to the Department of Defence is adequate to enable it to effectively implement the Defence Review.
- c) The SANDF should play a central role in the education of the youth on issues of patriotism, discipline and military skills development.
- d) The responsibility for the Executive Authority and oversight of DENEL should be migrated from the Department of Public Enterprises to the Department of Defence to ensure proper planning and control of strategic and sovereign defence capability.
- e) Promote investments in the Defence industry to ensure economic growth, job creation, research and development of dual use technology.

6. MILITARY VETERANS

6.1. *On issues of Military Veterans, the 54th National Conference resolves as following:*

- a) Re-affirm the resolution of the 52nd National Conference, that the Government should establish a stand-alone Ministry of Military Veterans to be fully implemented by 2018/2019 financial year.
- b) Military Veterans should be fully utilized in all the areas of the security services such as securing of National Key points.
- c) Military Veterans should play a central role in uplifting the values and discipline in the ANC.
- d) The department of Military Veterans should strengthen engagement with the South African Military Veterans Association (SAMVA) on matter affecting military veterans.
- e) The Department of Military Veterans should facilitate health services in remote areas where there are no military hospitals to cater for veterans.
- f) The Department should fasttrack the review and amendment of the Military Veterans Act of 2011.

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- g) The Department of Military Veterans should be part of the provision of housing for the military veterans.
- h) The Department of Military veterans should consider extending certain services (e.g health and education) to dependants of veterans and deceased veterans.
- i) The incoming NEC to consider the issue of the usage of military paraphernalia and weaponry of disbanded former liberation military structures as well as other groupings in the country.
- g) Enforcement of the Foreign Military Assistance Act.
- h) The state should consider a possible partnership with the sector to affect its transformation.
- i) More effective implementation and scrutiny of employment practices in this sector.
- j) The usage of military-styled camouflage uniforms by private security companies must be outlawed.

7. PRIVATE SECURITY

- 7.1. The Conference noted that the industry has grown and contributes to job creation. However, of serious concern is the continued illegal employment of foreign nationals and the exploitative labour practices of some of these companies. Further, the Conference noted the resistance by the sector towards transformation which is characterized by their undue pressure against the enactment of the Private Security Regulation Amendment Act.
- 7.2. Further, the Conference noted that the Private Security companies acquire weapons of high calibre while having poorly trained personnel.
- 7.3. Further, the Conference noted that some in the industry coordinate and send South Africans to provide security services in conflict zones outside the country.

The 54th National Conference resolves as follows:

- a) Enactment and implementation of the Private Security Industry Regulatory Amendment Act should be expedited.
- b) Develop regulations to set out minimum requirements for the registration and certification of security personnel.
- c) Amend the National Key Point Act to restrict the utilization of the private security companies in the protection of National Key Points which are owned by the State.
- d) Department of Labour must strengthen its capacity to monitor the exploitation and abuse of employees employed by the private security firms.
- e) That consideration should be given to the utilization of Military Veterans in the provision of security services for government buildings and institutions.
- f) Government to stop outsourcing security of national key points and other strategic installations to foreign owned private security companies.

8. JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- 8.1. The Conference noted the following matters in relation to the transformation of the Criminal Justice System:
- a) Integrated Criminal justice system has not been fully realized
 - b) Access to justice for vulnerable communities remains elusive;
 - c) The quality and capacity of state legal services remains with a number of challenges;
 - d) The project of transformation of the judiciary and the entire legal services has not been achieved beyond Employment Equity imperatives;
 - e) The issue of the doctrine of the separation of powers and independence of each arm of the state has been a cause of strain in the recent period.

8.2. The 54th National Conference resolves as follows:

- a) The doctrine of separation of powers of three arms should be clearly regulated by development of rules of engagement without any arm of state undermining the constitutional authority of the other.
- b) Integrating and modernising systems of the Criminal Justice System through the use of cutting edge technology.
- c) The Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (as amended) should be reviewed to deal with the low rate of successful prosecution.
- d) Department of Justice should bring free Legal Aid services closer to communities
- e) The Court working hours should be extended including the possibility of using week-ends in order to address the high case backlogs.
- f) ANC branches and relevant institutions should conduct awareness campaigns on Human Rights matters.

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- g) Expedite the passing of the Traditional Courts Bill.
- h) Introduce harsher sentences for defaulters of child maintenance orders.
- i) Government must introduce especially harsher punishment for offenders who have committed murder against women and children.
- j) Reaffirm the 53rd Conference resolution that *"Government should strengthen briefing black lawyers so as to equip them with defending the state, thus creating a pool for potential judges"*.
- k) The ICJS must focus on the following:
 - i. Redraft the Criminal Procedure Act to radically transform old-order policies and court processes to improve the efficiency of the criminal justice system;
 - ii. Accelerate the modernisation of the criminal justice system to enhance efficiency.
 - iii. To improve victim support and the implementation of the child justice system.
 - iv. Strengthen the capacity of the State to maintain domestic peace and stability and to deal effectively with threats to domestic stability caused by illegal migrants.
 - v. Enhance intelligence-driven investigations.
 - vi. Develop a corruption-resilient criminal justice system.
- l) Expand the capacity of DOJ&CD to work with other Departments with respect to the location, identification, exhumations and reburials of remains of former combatants.
- e) Further noted that the current number of police officers on the ground is insufficient to the population of the country. The current ratio of the number of police officers to the population is 1:350 (conservative). The Conference noted that like many other countries in the African continent, South Africa continues to face a plethora of national security threats, top among which is the challenge of common crime. The scourge of crime affect the entire nation regardless of class, race and geographic footprint.
- f) Further, the Conference noted that there is limited dedicated and integrated ICT capacity and capability within the Criminal Justice System in South Africa. Further noting that Criminals in South Africa are becoming more sophisticated. This limited capacity hampers the work that should be done by the various role players in the CJS.
- g) The lack of national norms and standards for policing in South Africa.
- h) Further noted that the current lack of norms hampers planning, budgeting and deployment of resources to service communities. The police population ratio as it stands is inadequate and not aligned to a growing population in South Africa. Policing needs and priorities are not aligned to new spatial development including the current community and industry expansions.
- i) There is slow progress in the implementation of the Judge Farlam Conference recommendation with regard to the professionalization and the demilitarization of SAPS. Further noting the appointment of the panel of experts and SAPS Ministerial Transformation Task Team to champion the transformation for the police service in line with the provision of the NDP.
- j) The FICA review has been finalized and enacted by the President.
- k) South Africa has the highest illicit tobacco incidence in the region and is listed amongst the top five illicit markets globally. This not only poses a danger to the health of the nation, but also undermines revenue collection for the fiscus, whilst sustaining criminal networks involved in human trafficking, drugs and violent criminality.

9. FIGHTING CRIME AND CORRUPTION

9.1 The Conference noted that:

- a) Coordination between anti-corruption agencies needs strengthening.
- b) Cooperation between the investigators, forensic experts and prosecutors is uneven and consequently some corruption cases are lost due to poorly constructed dockets and cases presented to courts.
- c) Strengthen implementation of legislation preventing public servants from conducting business with the state.
- d) The focus on anti-corruption activities should extend to issues like land, buildings, licenses and permits, and provision of government services.

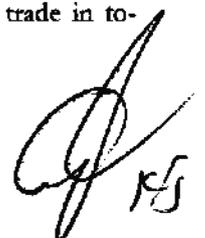
9.2 *The 54th National Conference resolves as follows:*

- a) There should be enhanced cooperation of all anti-corruption agencies.

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- b) Investigations should be intelligence driven and prosecution led to ensure a high conviction rate.
- c) Public servants including those in the security cluster should be periodically rotated in their areas of deployment so as to prevent unprofessional, overly familiar and frequently corrupt relations with clients, service providers and other persons they interact with and/or are responsible for.
- d) Government should conduct a vetting audit for all employees of the State across all levels including related entities.
- e) The vetting process should be expedited for government employees and all related entities
- f) There should be a single vetting agency for the State to strategically place public servants (including State owned enterprises) including those who reject promotion even though it comes with improved remuneration packages
- g) The Deployment Committee policy must include vetting and integrity assessment of deployees.
- h) ANC should take decisive actions against all members involved in corruption including those who use money to influence Conference outcomes.
- i) Challenge the leadership of the public and private sectors to subject itself to instruments of financial interest disclosure, vetting and lifestyle audits.
- j) Increase the capacity of police officers in line with the reality on the ground (ideally 1:150 over a period of five years) including increasing the number of vehicles and the police stations.
- k) Community Police Forums (CPFs) must be strengthened and adequately trained and resourced.
- l) The Ministry of Police should develop norms and standards for policing.
- m) All new community infrastructure developments should integrate policing and safety plans.
- n) ANC branches must ensure that they actively participate in Community Police Forums.
- o) Reaffirm the 52nd National Conference resolution that, ANC branches are to establish Street Committees and ensure that the matter is a standing item in all BEC meetings.
- p) All ANC Branch Executive Committees must establish a portfolio of a Safety officer.
- q) ANC should strengthen consequence management system against comrades who participate or found guilty of corruption.
- r) Reaffirm the 2015 NGC resolution that, ANC leaders and members who are alleged to be involved in corrupt activities, should, where necessary step aside until their names are cleared.
- s) The ranks of senior police officials must be reviewed, in order to adequately align functions and responsibilities.
- t) Reaffirm the ANC policy decision for the establishment a Single Police Service.
- u) There must be a closer working relationship between police and social workers, especially for aftercare programmes for women and children who have been abused.
- v) There must be more police visibility in our tourist routes and sites.
- w) Perpetrators of crime against women and children must be subjected to harsher sentences.
- x) ANC Volunteers must be encouraged to join and participate as police reservists.
- y) ANC branches in partnership with faith based and other Community Based Organizations (CBOs) must champion Moral Regeneration campaigns in various communities.
- z) ANC branches and Local Municipalities must intensify campaigns on the fight against drug and alcohol abuse.
- aa) The Liquor Boards must review trading hours of liquor trading outlets in the townships and villages
- bb) The Ministry to remain fully accountable as the custodian of the transformation of the South African Police Service.
- cc) The FICA regulations should be urgently developed and implemented.
- dd) All Municipalities must establish and institutionalize Community Safety forums.
- ee) Enhance the role of Traditional Council structures on community safety and security.
- ff) Law enforcement agencies, led by the South African Police Service and the South African Revenue Services must work closely with business and social partners to eradicate illicit trade in tobacco, liquor and medicine.



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RESOLUTIONS

FINANCE AND FUNDRAISING

Noting:

- a) The 53rd National Conference Resolution acknowledged the need to enter into more radical second phase of the National Democratic Revolution towards the attainment of the National Democratic society, through the implementation of programmes to achieve radical socio-economic transformation in a scarce resources environment.
- b) The ANC funding sources through membership, donations, employees levies, and fundraising events, as well as minimal investments remain unsustainable. This requires critical assessment and innovative funding methods. Which shall constitute effective resource mobilization aimed to efficiently implement the radical second phase of the National Democratic Revolution.
- c) The resource to renew and rebuild the organisation for success is central to ANC members' commitment. History suggests that brand loyalty and costly Public Relation (PR) exercises, ballooning of advertisement and increased election budgets need a stable transactional balance so that the organisation is able to sustain adequate liquidity to meet both short-term needs. In the probability of uncertainty in terms of future cash needs this based on volatile operating demanded cash. The organisation need to therefore maintain a larger precautionary balance to avoid the risk of experiencing a cash shortfall.
- d) The high costs persist to contribute towards building strong and campaigning structures, which are politically and ideological equipped with cadres and activists grounded within the masses and the general South African society. However, these continue to be among fundamental challenges which require further attention from conference, as it has become unsustainable.
- e) It is a reality that ANC remain a revolutionary movement that requires an independent resource that is sustainable to continue the works of the organisation. It is estimated that conference in particular, the incoming NEC need to establish a diverse source of funding to advance both NDR and ANC works for the realization of the radical socio-economic change for an estimated 5(five) year period. On the other hand, additional resources need to be raised to service ANC financial debt. These require and demand open minded approaches, taking into account the organisation's fundamental values, customs and cultures, but more importantly, the founding principles of the organisation.
- f) The Treasurer General's Finance Report to the 54th National Conference acknowledges ANC fundraising challenges, regardless of the public dependence on the "BRAND ANC". The current public expression about the ANC is that the organisation is characterized by infighting, factions, poor behavioural conduct, and ill-discipline among its ranks and file. The perception of corruption have negatively impacted the support the ANC, and this need an urgent attention to continue broaden the membership pool, support, admirers, and friends that see it fit to continue support and contribute time and resources to the ANC well-being.
- g) Almost 70% (seventy) of the 53rd National Conference Resolution on finance and fundraising have been implemented, including party funding bill that makes provision for an improved funding of political parties from the fiscus. The party funding bill regulatory framework define funding models of political parties, outline areas of funding prohibition for parties either by government agencies and or foreign government, as well as foreign agencies. This legal framework is aimed to provide national interests protection from policy distortions, unscrupulous domestic and foreign tendencies manipulations. The legal framework needs to be interpreted as such and be adhered to accordingly.
- h) The effect of the subdued economic growth impacts various sectors of the country's economy, which subsequently effect the basic resource critical for ANC fundraising initiatives. The fact that the organisation is partly reliant on donor funding and fundraising strategies. Almost 65% of ANC generated revenue result from donor funding and IEC grants estimated at 17%.

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- i) It is noted that operational such as personal costs, conferences, rallies and elections campaigns remain major organisational costs drivers.
- j) The current institutional arrangement rethink and redesign of adequate strategies and approaches designed to equip the organisation to attain the objectives of the NDR, which also ensures the organisation modernise and adapt to competitive political environments based on accountability and excellence.
- k) The 53rd national conference emphasised the need to comply with General Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP). The financial report has demonstrated that this principle is embraced, based on the fundamentals of financial management and accounting measured against Corporate Governance Systems that comply with King Code of Governance Principles. The Treasurer General's report to the ANC 54th national conference recommit and re-emphasise adherence to financial and accounting prudence and professionalism.
- l) The Treasurer General's report to the 54th national conference of the ANC further commits to improve on expenditures and limit rising costs, wastage and further creates a platform that ensures a culture of resources savings.
- m) The incoming NEC need to look at the extent to which the organisation balance sheet represents the current position or organisation value. The urgent valuation of organisational assets will be able to regularise the situation currently at hand.
- n) As part of implementing the 53rd National Conference resolution on the contribution of members ANC equitable to their income, the Progressive Citizen Forum (PCF) was established and in 2013. The PCF contributions have rapidly risen to R16 million in 2016. However, 2016/2017 recorded a decline in rates collections. Further constraints resulted from an estimated 51% failed collections amounting to R14 million per annum. These constraints need to be analyzed effectively to achieve expected collection levels.
- an organisational level given that every member is regarded as a fundraiser for the well-being of the organisation.
2. The incoming NEC will need to develop a comprehensive strategy for driving rigorous party investments, taking into account the existing regulatory framework. The office of the Treasurer General led by the newly elected Treasurer must continue with the already started road-shows to provinces to broaden participation of more members in these forums and other related fund raising forums.
 3. The incoming NEC to develop a comprehensive resource mobilisation strategy with clear targets for the term, including utilisation of other means of mobilising resources, such as investment, endowment, purchase of short-term securities, etc.
 4. The incoming NEC need to establish mechanisms essential to help settle long standing debts and liabilities, including a consideration to assign a responsibility of fundraising to a specific financial committee either outsourced or internally managed and monitored from the treasure general office.
 5. That the NEC must create a new platform similar to the Progressive Citizen Forum, which allows foreign based ANC members to participate in the life of the organisation, including contributing in the organisation's resource base. Such a structure need to be urgently institutionalized with ANC renewed organisational structures and be launched to take a formal constitutional structure format with immediate effect.
 6. The NEC to focus membership on founding ANC principle towards building a strong ANC structure based on politically and ideologically well-equipped cadre grounded within society. This needs to be appreciated as a long term-base relationship and an influence to society as a major marketing investment instrument of the BRAND ANC. Public Relations and marketing should be treated as a complimentary tool to cement the long standing work relations between society and the ANC.

Therefore Resolve:

1. To welcome the adoption of the 53rd conference on political party funding bill that proposed a pool of donations from both private donors and the state, and undertake to implement the regulation of public funding; adhere to the prohibition of direct donations to political parties from state organs, state owned enterprises, as well as foreign governments and agencies. Further that the incoming NEC analyse and evaluate the implications of the new Political funding bill and its legal requirements against resource mobilisation mechanisms. The NEC must also find ways of managing this at
7. The ANC need to decisively attend and act to issues of corruption, ill-discipline, and misconduct across ANC membership. As this need to be considered a vehicle to improve electoral support base and strengthen the development of BRAND ANC.
8. In the quest for stabilising resource mobilizations, the ANC must maintain professional management and accountability systems in accordance with the GAAP principle of accountability with an aim to become an efficient and effective organisation.

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9. The process of organisational redesign that started in 2013 must be concluded and implemented, including adoption of:
- the proposed accountability and management frameworks;
 - appropriate institutional arrangements such as the once proposed in the Organisational Redesign document, which include, inter alia, operational and management structures;
 - creation of commercial property portfolio to realize the time value of existing assets;
 - establishment of endowment fund and asset management portfolio to build reserves;
 - proposed establishment of policy, political education, Heritage and charitable institute/s;
 - proposal on the establishment of mechanisms to facilitate and regulate other organisational commercial initiatives;
 - proposal to explore the establishment of an entity for the management of events and elections.
10. The incoming NEC will have to immediately professionalise a property management entity with a specific function that allows for property commercialisation and use. Further, consider either building commercial and or industrial viable properties. So as to enable organisational growth and revenue generations. The ANC assets and properties might need to be valued to establish the extent of organisation's fair values either in and or outside the country (domestic and abroad), as such undertake to register in accordance with GAAP standards and requirements.
11. The NEC need to look at the development of an application "app" mainly to focus and improve membership accessibility and allow for membership information update. This allows for individual members to continuously update data. Further proposed that monitoring mechanisms be integrated to help determine membership validity and branch awards, with an aim to encourage membership development and growth.
12. The NEC to review or revoke current resolution on full membership allocation to the branches and or provinces, due to high operational expenditure demands and expectations at ANC Head Quarters as compared to branch, region, and or provincial levels. For this condition remains unsustainable, and therefore require to revert to ANC traditional allocation format and formula(e) wherein funds are allocated according to a quarter of branch contribution. And further that it is imperative for the organisation to consider the upskilling of individual treasurers at branch or any level of the organisation to improve funds management capacities.
13. The incoming NEC in particular the Treasurer need to urgently activate and reactivate dormant bank account of all branches, so that transactional activities of funds allocations and donations are transacted and managed in accordance with acceptable standards.
14. The resolution of the 53rd Conference which directed that all membership fees be returned to branches be rescinded. Precisely because, of the high cost of managing the membership system, which renders the system unsustainable. Therefore, membership fee(s) formula prior 2012 should be restored.
15. The Treasurer General and Finance Committee need to investigate various funding models implications such as individual donations, commercial entities as guide to the organisational renewal and management of donor relations.

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6

CLOSING ADDRESS BY ANC PRESIDENT COMRADE CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

National Chairperson, Cde Gwede Mantashe,
Outgoing President of the African National Congress,
Cde Jacob Zuma,

Members of the newly-elected National Executive
Committee,

Members of the Electoral Commission,

Representatives of the Alliance, fraternal parties and
observers,

Distinguished guests,

Delegates,

This is a deeply humbling moment, to address the closing session of the 54th National Conference of our beloved and glorious movement, the African National Congress.

There is no doubt that this has been a Conference of enormous importance and great significance.

In the months and weeks before this Conference, speculation was rife that this 54th National Conference would either not be held or that it would collapse.

Your attendance at this Conference, representing your branches, is a victory over the doomsayers and those who do not wish our movement well.

We therefore congratulate you for having defied the negative speculative predictions by making this Conference happen and ensuring it is successful.

There were some who even suggested that Nasrec would represent the end of the ANC as we would emerge from here divided.

We are still here. Standing almost 106 years later. United.

Nasrec 2017 has not only united us. It has strengthened us.

It has galvanised us and rejuvenated us.

We continue to confound our critics.

Over the course of the last five days, our movement has grappled with the challenges and tasks of this critical moment in the history and life of our people and our country.

The ANC has listened to the aspirations, hopes, wishes, cries and concerns of our people through the voices of the delegates representing our people from the length and breadth of our country.

As delegates representing branches of our movement you have given expression to our peoples hopes through the resolutions you have adopted here and the leadership you have chosen.

In electing the leadership, you, as the delegates to this Conference, have turned your back on the politics of the slate.

You have insisted that the people who lead this movement should not be from one or another faction, but should serve our people in their own right as representatives of the membership as a whole.

This Conference has given us an opportunity to confront difficult truths.

In recent times, we have seen the ANC at its worst.

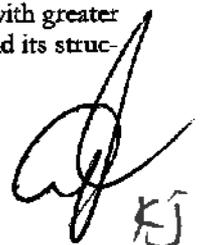
We have seen an organisation divided against itself.

And yet, we have also seen glimpses of the ANC at its best.

Over the last few days, we have seen the ANC that we know and love.

As representatives of nearly a million members, you as delegates have demonstrated that the ANC is an organisation that is alive to the needs of the people and that it is hard at work to develop policies and programmes that respond to these needs.

More than that, we have seen at this Conference a movement that is determined to enhance its policies, to strengthen implementation and to work with greater determination to unite its members and build its structures.



REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Our people will judge this Conference not only by what we have done here over these five days, but – perhaps more importantly – by what we do next.

The people of South Africa want action. They do not want words.

Our people want an ANC that lives up to its promise and is true to its mission.

They want an ANC that lives the values that it espouses and holds fast to the principles that have long defined it.

They want an ANC that uses public office not to serve vested interests, but to build a truly developmental state and a vibrant, inclusive economy that creates jobs and improves lives.

As we leave this Conference, we are resolved to humble ourselves before the people.

We are resolved to respect our people and earn their respect.

We are resolved to cast aside those attitudes and practices that have seen a gulf grow between those in public office and those they were elected to serve.

The African National Congress wishes to send a clear message to all South Africans that we are resolved to be a more responsive and more accountable leadership and movement.

We will continue to be rooted in communities through our branches and always seek to champion the interests of the people.

We must examine, critically and honestly, our commitment to gender equality.

We must be conscious of the practices and attitudes that reinforce patriarchy within our organisation and society – and we must work together to end them.

We need to become a more youthful organisation, more representative of the age profile of our population.

This Conference has resolved that we engage and pay heed to the views and insights of the veterans of our movement, organisations that have always worked with us, and many others.

We will reach out to community organisations and other organs of civil society, understanding that they are critical for the exercise of people's power and are valuable partners for development.

We shall do so because we have a historic responsibility as the ANC to lead society.

The Alliance has faced many challenges and problems in the recent past.

We will work with our Alliance partners to repair relations between the four formations that our people expect to lead the National Democratic Revolution.

As this Conference, we are in agreement that the ANC cannot be strong and effective unless we are part of an Alliance that is strong, united and cohesive.

We are confident that the outcomes of this Conference will assist in advancing efforts to unite the former combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We must make the achievement of unity between MK-MVA and the MK National Council a priority of the incoming leadership.

As we leave this Conference, we are resolved to pursue with greater determination a radical path of socio-economic transformation, premised on growth, job creation and equitable distribution of income, wealth and assets.

The issue of land has been a matter of great concern to our people whose land was taken from them.

We will accelerate our programme of land reform and rural development as part of our programme of radical socio economic transformation.

This Conference has resolved that the expropriation of land without compensation should be among the mechanisms available to government to give effect to land reform and redistribution.

It has also resolved that in determining the mechanisms of implementation, we must ensure that we do not undermine the economy, agricultural production and food security.

As the ANC, we have been the central driver of progress in our country and the economy over the last 23 years.

Our efforts have been aimed at eradicating poverty, inequality and reducing unemployment.

We have placed the challenge of unemployment at the forefront of all our actions in the economy.

Our focus on education and skills training is beginning to bear positive results.

Our social development programmes have been aimed at addressing poverty amongst our people.

The policies we have adopted here provide a platform for faster and more meaningful implementation of the National Development Plan.

We will elaborate the decisions of this National Conference more fully when we release the NEC Statement on January 13 when we celebrate our 106th year of existence.

At the state level we must confront the reality that critical institutions of our state have been targeted by individuals and families who, through the exercise of influence and the manipulation of governance processes and public resources.

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

This has led to the weakening of our State Owned Enterprises whose governance structures need to be revamped.

Whether we call this state capture or simply corruption, this has undermined the integrity of our institutions, cost our economy hundreds of billions of rands and contributed to the further impoverishment of our people.

Given all these challenges we are called upon to act against corruption, collusion and other economic crimes prevalent in the public and private sector.

We must investigate without fear or favour the so-called 'accounting irregularities' that cause turmoil in the markets and wipe billions off the investments of ordinary South Africans.

This Conference has resolved that this must be acted upon and stopped.

We must also act fearlessly against alleged corruption and abuse of office within our ranks.

We embraced the Integrity Commission at our NGC and endorsed that decision at the 53rd National Conference.

The setting up of the Integrity Commission is therefore not in question as there is consensus that the Integrity Commission should be supported and empowered to do its work without fear, favour or prejudice in order to restore the Integrity of the ANC and help cultivate and promote ethical leadership.

The terms of reference including its duties and powers should be discussed and finalised by the National Executive Committee.

This Conference has resolved that corruption must be fought with the same intensity and purpose that we fight poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Through your deliberations, we have together developed a clear line of march for the movement and for the new leadership.

You have, over and over again, emphasised that the ANC is the strategic centre of power for all its cadres.

The actions of Comrades who are deployed by the movement should always be informed by the interests of our members and our people, not personal gain.

Their actions should always be a source of pride, and not a cause for embarrassment.

They should take us closer to the National Democratic Society to which we aspire, not undermine it.

This National Executive Committee that you have elected commits itself to follow the instructions that you have issued from this, our 54th National Conference.

You have instructed us to forge a united ANC.

You have also directed us to unite the Alliance and ensure that its programmes are underpinned by unity.

Another overarching task you have charged us with is to unite the people of South Africa and work harder to heal the wounds of conflict and division.

We must focus afresh on the task of building a non-racial country, guided by the injunction in the Freedom Charter that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

Personally, I wish to thank you, with all humility, for the confidence that you have shown in me.

I shall strive to serve our members, our supporters and the nation with commitment and diligence.

As the newly elected National Executive Committee, and as President I speak on our behalf, we accept without reservation your clear instruction that we must work together as a collective, undivided and motivated by a single purpose – the service of our people.

We are aware that leadership in our movement is not confined to those who hold office.

I wish to pay tribute to Cde Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, who contested the position of President, for the manner in which she demonstrated commitment to our movement during the campaign.

Together with the other candidates, we all pledged to work closely in pursuit of the objectives of our revolution whether we succeeded in our election bid or not.

On your behalf, I wish to thank those people who have made this Conference possible – the management of NASREC, the Electoral Commission and the Elections Agency, technical staff, marshalls, security officials and the many service providers, donors and exhibitors.

The SGO and the Steering Committee have done a sterling job to ensure that we hold a most successful conference.

I wish to thank the media for having reported the proceedings of this Conference to our people and the broader global community.

As revolutionary democrats, we recognise the vital role that the media plays in facilitating the free flow of information and in promoting transparency and accountability.

We register our concern about an incident at this Conference involving a journalist and security officials.

We have sought a report on what happened and must look at how we ensure such incidents do not occur in the future.

I wish to thank our Alliance partners, representatives of civil society organisations, guests from fraternal parties and members of the diplomatic corps who have been

 REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

with us in various capacities over the past five days.

Above all, I wish to thank all our branch members, whose wishes and aspirations we had come here to represent.

To all delegates thank you for your attendance and patience and forbearance with delays in voting and programme planning.

As Officials we have already observed a number of things we can improve.

We will make sure that our next NGC and Conference becomes a better experience for all delegates.

Please travel safely, arrive alive and have a peaceful festive season.

Make sure to have a good rest and come back from the holidays revitalised for the hard work that lies ahead in 2018 and beyond.

We look forward to meeting again at the ANC's 106th anniversary celebrations in East London on the 13th of January.

Next year, we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of our founding President, Isithwalandwe Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

True to his legacy and inspired by his remarkable life, let us hold fast to the principle that guides us as the ANC – that we serve the people of South Africa!

We serve them with humility, integrity and unwavering commitment.

We serve them without expectation of reward or recognition.

We serve them because we have chosen, each one of us, to become members of the African National Congress and thereby to become selfless agents of revolutionary change.

Finally, I would like, on your behalf, to thank President Jacob Zuma for the 10 years he has spent as the President of our movement and for a lifetime of service to the people of this country.

It was during your tenure Nxamalala, and thanks to your vision, that the National Planning Commission was established and produced the country's first National Development Plan.

This is a framework for economic and social change that will guide our country for many years to come.

History will record that it was at your insistence that South Africa expanded its antiretroviral programme rapidly and progressively to be the largest in the world.

Through your intervention, we have made great strides in combating the epidemic, many lives have been saved and many infections prevented.

We cannot close this, the 54th National Conference of the African National Congress, without paying tribute to you for your contribution over many decades to the struggle for freedom, democracy and development.

I thank you.



Annexure "CR5"

**52ND NATIONAL
CONFERENCE
REPORT**



POLOKWANE, 16-20 DECEMBER 2007



Resolutions

1. ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

INTRODUCTION

All commissions at this 52nd National Conference discussed the report of the Policy Conference on Organisational Renewal, together with the President's Political Report and the Secretary General's Organisational Report.

For easy reference, this draft resolution captures all the recommendations made in Chapter 6 of the Organisational Review discussion document, which were generally agreed in the Policy Conference recommendations, without being captured in the Policy Conference Report. Although all proposals on Organisation were extensively debated at the Policy Conference, delegates were still very keen in re-opening the issues debated by that Conference. However, most commissions reaffirmed the conclusions arrived at by the Policy Conference.

CONTEXT OF THE 52ND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

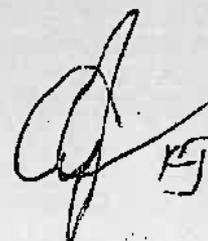
Noting

- 1 That over the 95 years of the existence of the ANC, the movement evolved into a force for mass mobilisation, a glue that held our people together and a trusted leader of the broadest range of social forces that share the vision of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.
- 2 That this historical evolution has been largely due to the movement's distinct character and unique features that have enabled it to overcome adversity and the daunting challenges it faced throughout its near-century of existence.
- 3 That there are a range of global, domestic and intra-organisational factors and forces which impact on the organisation – its character, structures and membership – and the ANC needs to strengthen its ability to respond creatively to these factors and the new environment.
- 4 The preservation of the movement's character, culture and values in a changing context and new conditions of struggle is the central focus of the organisational renewal

effort in the run-up to the Centenary of the ANC in 2012.

Further noting

- 5 That the 1994 democratic breakthrough ushered in new conditions, providing a unique opportunity to combine state and mass power, in serving the interest of the people. Over the last thirteen years, the ANC as the ruling party has used its control of state power to improve the quality of life, beginning to roll back the legacy of apartheid and colonialism.
- 6 That since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, a great deal of effort and energy has been put into re-establishing the movement as a mass legal formation, restructuring and re-organising the structures of the movement to face up to the new challenges. These changes include amendments and innovations in organisational structure of the ANC, changes to the duties and powers of organisational structures, the mainstreaming of gender in ANC structures, ensuring more effective disciplinary procedures and structures, strengthening and clarifying the role of branches, cadre development and defining the relationship between organisational and governance structures.
- 7 That the main organisational strengths of the ANC during the last thirteen years have been its ability to broaden its appeal beyond its traditional support base, to recruit into its ranks new members and outstanding community activists, to create a new cadre of public representatives and servants and to adapt to mass work under new conditions.
- 8 That our accumulated weaknesses include inability to effectively deal with new tendencies arising from being a ruling party, such as social distance, patronage, careerism, corruption and abuse of powers, ineffective management of the interface between the movement and the state, a flawed approach to membership recruitment, a decline in ideological depth amongst cadres; and a lack of institutional resources to give practical effect to the movement's leadership role.

 15

its operations in branches, regions, provinces and HQ and learn from best practices of other parties and movements in the world. In this regard, we need to review current ICT infrastructure and develop a comprehensive medium-to-long term ICT strategy that will cover areas of organisational work such as political education, organising and campaigns, membership and administration and management.

- The incoming NEC must adopt a comprehensive policy and guidelines on ANC records and archives, including detailed procedures on access and preservation of such documents.

FUNDING

63 Conference believes the resourcing of the movement is fundamental to its ability to carry out the mission of the ANC. Conference therefore adopts the following policy positions from the Organisational Review document and the Policy Conference:

- The ANC should champion the introduction of a comprehensive system of public funding of representative political parties in the different spheres of government and civil society organisations, as part of strengthening the tenets of our new democracy. This should include putting in place an effective regulatory architecture for private funding of political parties and civil society groups to enhance accountability and transparency to the citizenry. The incoming NEC must urgently develop guidelines and policy on public and private funding, including how to regulate investment vehicles.

ALLIANCE, MDM AND CIVIL SOCIETY

64 Conference confirms the relevance of the alliance, united in action for the joint programme of social transformation, using its collective strength to continue to search for better ways to respond to the new challenges. To achieve this, we must continue to enhance coordination amongst alliance partners, and to strengthen the

organisational capacity of each individual component.

65 Conference confirms the Policy Conference assertion that we should respect the right of individual Alliance partners to discuss and arrive at their own decisions on how they seek to pursue their strategic objectives. Consistent with this principle, the ANC will continue to determine, in its own structures and processes, how best to advance its own strategic objectives.

66 Conference further confirms that the leadership role of the ANC places on it the primary responsibility to unite the tripartite alliance and all the democratic forces.

67 Conference mandates the NEC to

- Within three months after Conference, convene an Alliance summit to discuss a joint programme of action, including strengthening local structures of the alliance, and an approach on how the alliance manages with differences and discipline.
- Continue to assist SANCO to convene its National Conference and help to define its role in the current phase.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ANC CENTENARY

68 Conference notes that the ANC will celebrate its centenary anniversary on January 8, 2012. The Centenary will also be the year of the 53rd National Conference of our movement. Conference further mandates the incoming NEC and all the leadership collectives and membership of the ANC to mobilise the vast majority of our people over the next five years to take part fully in the build-up activities towards the Centenary celebrations.

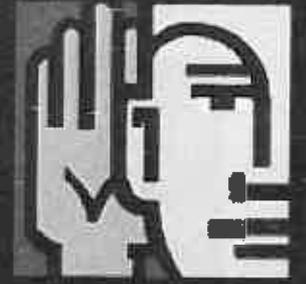
69 Central to these activities must be the focus on building vibrant and dynamic branches and unifying the movement at all levels so that it can tackle the social and economic problems facing the overwhelming majority of our people. The ANC must continue to strive to be the moral, intellectual and political leader of our changing society and the repository of the best values of our people and put in place mechanisms to vigorously combat negative tendencies occasioned by being a ruling party.

70 Conference therefore mandates the

Annexure "CR6"

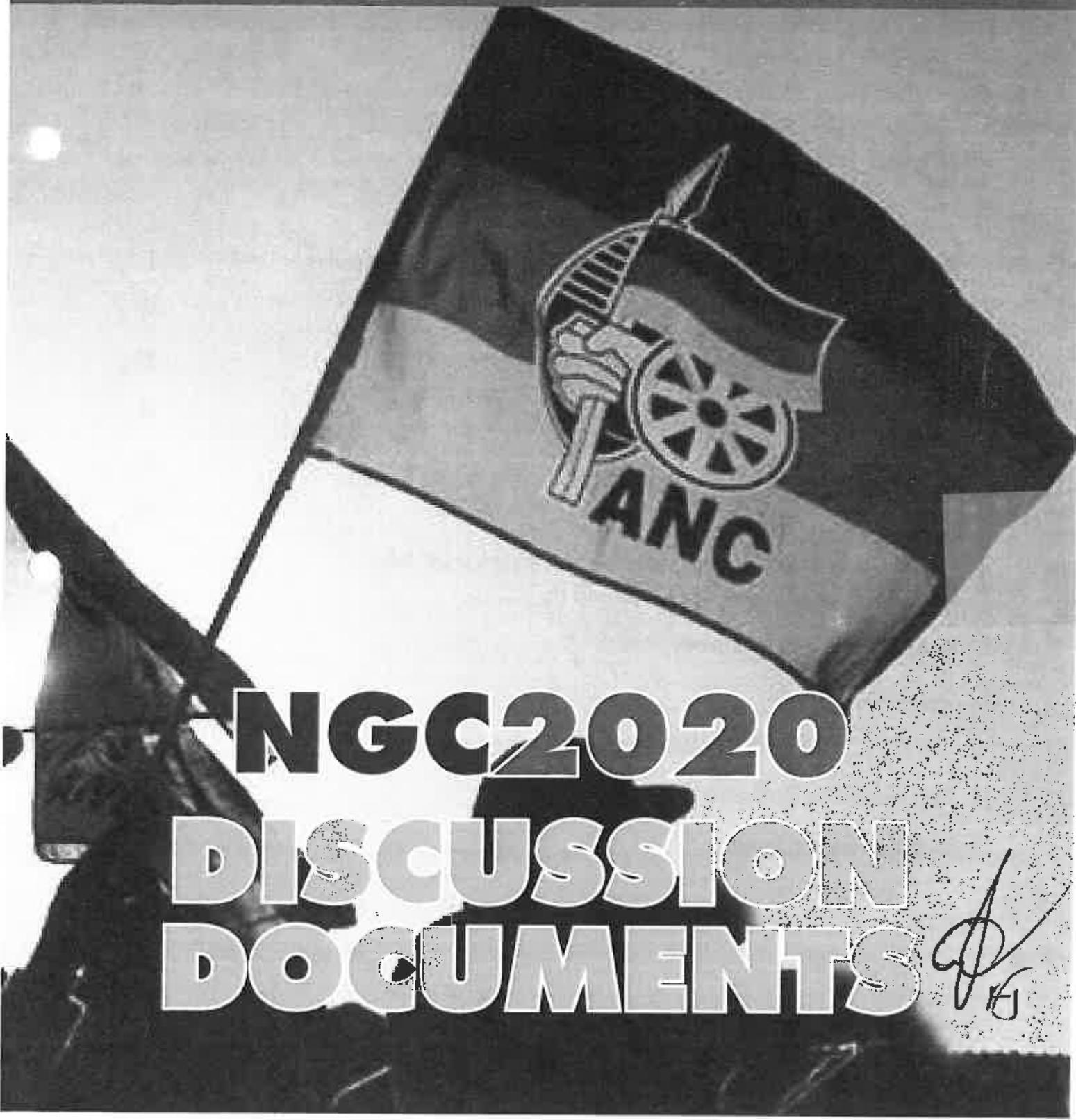


UMRABULO



NGC2020 SPECIAL EDITION

LET'S TALK POLITICS



NGC2020 DISCUSSION DOCUMENTS



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The Changing Balance of Forces around the South African Transformation Agenda

INTRODUCTION

1. A continuous discussion of the domestic and global Balance of Forces is a requisite for the successful prosecution of our struggle for a National Democratic order in South Africa.
2. We need to appreciate the objective and subjective factors which are likely to impede or expedite the advancement of our transformation agenda on an ongoing basis in order to devise pertinent ways and means of achieving our goals.
3. The balance of forces is intrinsically connected to how we understand and define our mission – the strategic intent of our efforts. The way we envision the ideal end-state of our struggle will inherently guide the identification of the social and political forces which should be mobilised in support of our agenda for change.
4. The ANC Strategy and Tactics document as adopted by the last National Conference at NASREC in 2017, encompasses an assessment of the Balance of Forces in 2017.
5. The 2015 National General Council also produced a discussion document which helped conference to consolidate views around the balance of forces. This document together with the Strategy and Tactics as adopted by the Nasrec conference remain relevant. Twenty-four months is a relatively short period of time to expect significant macro social changes which warrant a revision of our strategic positions.
6. However, there are developments which occurred post-NASREC that further amplify observations which underpinned the conclusions made in 2017. This discussion document must be read with the **NASREC Strategy and Tactics** document for completeness.
7. The theoretical expose of the South African Revolution, from the ANC's point of view, has always been premised on the scientific perspective that our struggle was against colonialism of a special type in which the liberation of blacks in general, and Africans in particular, was its strategic intent. This is the premise from which the ANC has explained many complex dimensions of our transformation project.

'COLONIALISM OF A SPECIAL TYPE' – OUR IDEOLOGICAL LAUNCHING PAD

BALANCE OF FORCES

8. The strategic breakthrough of 1994 made it possible for the ANC to commence work in earnest to realise the liberation of blacks in general and Africans in particular in a programmatic way.
9. The constitution of our country will arguably remain a valuable heritage our liberation struggle has bequeathed generations to come in South Africa because it is more than a mere legal framework for the governing of our public affairs.
10. The constitutional principles for a democratic South Africa which former president Oliver Reginald Tambo initiated in the late 1980's was an act of astute, proactive leadership and foresight which anchored our journey beyond the transition firmly on the policy precepts and traditions of our struggle.
11. The political rights and the institutional checks and balances in our constitution, underpinned by the second generation rights in the bill of rights of the South African constitution, derive their origin from the demands of the Freedom Charter. The ideals of the Freedom Charter are embedded in our constitution today.
12. In its preamble, the constitution of the Republic of South Africa asserts that the people of South Africa: *"Recognise the injustices of our past; Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land"*, and proceeds to give an injunction to South Africans to *"Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations."*
13. In 1994 we set out to realise the strategic slogan of our NDR, the call for **"a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa"** by honouring our constitution. We led the dismantling of the statutory and institutional edifice of racial domination, sexism, autocracy, and we unified our nation-state again the way it emerged historically in 1910.
14. An evaluation of the balance of forces must seek to answer the question whether we have been able to achieve the injunctions and vision of our constitutional dispensation.
15. In other words, we should seek to distinguish between what has changed and what remains unchanged with regard to the above challenges. We must define the achievements of the past 25 years objectively and truthfully. This must involve an evidence based assessment of the political and socio economic changes in our society today.
16. Efficiently handled, this dialogue must enable us among other things, to adopt appropriate tactics and programmes. We must craft new slogans to communicate and popularise tasks of the current phase of our revolution.
17. In discussing the balance of forces there are two approaches we can employ. We can either start the discussion

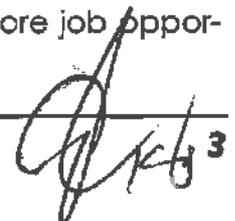
BALANCE OF FORCES

by moving from "the general, to the particular" or the other way round, i.e. from the international to the domestic environment. In this regard, this document opted for the latter approach.

THE DOMESTIC BALANCE OF FORCES

Characteristics of a deepening National Democratic Revolution (NDR)

18. Ours is a National Democratic Revolution (NDR). It is more than a classical National Liberation Revolution (NLR) in that it is designed to go beyond the attainment of nationhood and formal political rights, by encompassing the achievement of socio-economic emancipation.
19. Our struggle is one in which there is a symbiotic relationship between the resolution of the antagonisms thrown up by national oppression and the fundamental problem of social injustice, economic deprivation and patriarchy. Our transition to a National Democratic Society, as we argued at the 2012 ANC National Conference, is one process characterised by different phases with different emphases.
20. The cumulative changes brought about by universal suffrage in 1994, particularly within the black populace, resulted in changes to the social structure of our country, albeit to a limited degree. "Political freedoms in the form of free speech and elections help to promote economic security," argues Amartya Sen, the contemporary Indian thought leader and winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics. Furthermore, he explains that political freedoms must also be seen as "instrumental freedoms" because they also "help to advance the general capability of a person". Combined with the socio-economic programmes introduced since the attainment of democracy, these changes continue to impact on the alignment and re-alignment of the objective interests of the motive forces of our revolution.
21. The reforms of the past 25 years have been life changing and the view that these reforms are insignificant because the task of socio-economic emancipation remains work in progress, is inconsistent. Similarly to say everything we have achieved over the past 25 years is reversible, is debatable and an oversimplification of the complexity of human development.
22. On the other hand the dismantling of white privileges on which the comfort of the white working and middle classes rested, has had the effect of levelling the playing fields and equalizing the dichotomy of opportunities between the black and white communities, albeit with limitations engendered by legacy issues. Furthermore, the very rich at the top end of South Africa's economic ladder have become even richer due to free and bigger access to global markets which were inaccessible under apartheid isolation.
23. Research on the changes of South African's social structure in the recent period importantly focused on the growth of the middle class because of the belief that it is one of the indicators of the impact of economic policy. The growth of the middle class is thought to create knock-on effects such as enhanced buying power, better education and skills, which in turn attract investments and therefore create more job opportunities.



BALANCE OF FORCES

24. Regardless of the many ways of measuring the middle – class population, all the methods social scientists employ point to a significant growth of the middle class in South Africa, in particular the black component of this strata. Data suggest the black middle class has more than doubled from 7% to 14% of the black population between 2004 and 2013, and constitutes between 48% to 52% of the national total, see: **Measuring South Africa's black middle class: Markus Korhonen: Stellenbosch University, 2018.**
25. This development should not escape our attention in assessing the Balance of Forces for the following reasons:
- 25.1 The driving force of our revolution, as it has always been emphasised, is the black masses. Changes within this social base will naturally have a direct effect on the prospects and momentum of our revolution.
- 25.2 The capacity and propensity of the middle class to influence the direction of social upheavals is legendary in the history of world revolutionary movement. Revolutionary vigilance requires that the ANC must always have keen interest in the dynamics of the South African middle class, especial the black segment of this community.
- 25.3 The middle class is not a homogeneous social strata. It consists of various sub-groups which differ significantly in their occupations, income bands and cultural traits.
26. It is from these middle class social forces that the 2007 ANC Strategy and Tactics laments the preponderance of greed, crass materialism and conspicuous consumption. Among them is the petty-bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, some professionals and political elites, the parasitic comprador bourgeoisie (many of whom rely on connections in state structures).
27. These challenges define the very core of our transformation agenda and therefore critical in appreciating the threats and obstacles on our way. Former President Thabo Mbeki offered a historical expose of South Africa's DNA in his Nelson Mandela lecture delivered on 29 July 2006 in which he referenced a seminal paper he delivered in Ottawa, Canada in 1978 when he said:
- "The historical compromise of 1910 in granting the vanquished Boer equal political and social status with the British victor it imposed both the duty to defend the status quo against especially those whom that status quo defined as the dominated. The capitalist class, to whom everything has cash value, has never considered moral incentives as very dependable. As part of the arrangement, it therefore decided that material incentive must play a prominent part. It consequently bought out the whole white population. It offered a price to the white workers and the Afrikaner farmers in an exchange for an undertaking that they would shed their blood in defence of capital...The workers took the offering in monthly cash grants and reserved jobs. The farmers took their share by having black labour, including and especially prison labour directed to the farms. They also took it in loans to help maintain a 'civilised standard of living'..."*
- "Within the context of the development of capitalism in our country, individual acquisition of wealth produced through the oppression and exploitation of the black majority, became the defining social value in the organisation of white society"*
- "Because the white minority was the dominant social force in our country, it entrenched in our society as a whole*

BALANCE OF FORCES

including among the oppressed, the deep-seated understanding that personal wealth constituted the only measure of individual and social success. As we achieved our freedom in 1994, this had become the dominant social value affecting the entirety of our population".

"Inevitably as an established social norm, this manifested itself even in the democratic state machinery that had seemingly "seamlessly" replaced the apartheid state machinery. The new order born of the victory in 1994 inherited a well-entrenched value system that placed individual acquisition of wealth at the very centre of the value system of our society as a whole. Society assumed a tolerant or permissive attitude towards such crimes as theft and corruption, especially if these related to public property. This phenomenon which we considered as particularly South African, was in fact symptomatic of the capitalist system in all countries".

South Africa's lumpen strata

28. Significant swathes of the middle strata constitute a veritable community of lumpen elements. They operate in various spheres of human endeavour, including in the grey area between legality and illegality or in fully-fledged criminal networks.

29. In their genesis under early capitalism, Lumpens as a social group came out of the surplus population which was churned out by chronic unemployment within the proletariat, as a function of the logic of the capitalist labour-market. What critically defines the lumpen elements has always, and is remains the alienation from labour – productive activity in society.

30. Whereas in their origins unemployment was a curse in the lives of lumpens, it evolved over time to be a status issue a badge lumpens wear with honour. Non-involvement or participation in labour has to be elevated to a virtue, a value they worship. Lumpens have a disdain for people who live their lives out of their honest labour because they (the lumpens) live better lives without working. Marx castigated them as 'parasitic criminals'. From contemporary scholars and researchers of social class and criminal behaviour, there is a valuable body of knowledge which concurs with the view of former president Thabo Mbeki.

31. The Marxian sociologist Bonger argued that "a capitalist economic system is necessarily based on competition and exploitative exchange, the inherent product of which is demoralization of humans and rampant egoism. Therefore, because of selfishness and the destruction of human sentiment all members of a capitalist society are crime prone". In his critique of social class and criminal behaviour published by the Oxford press Charles Tittle argues that the old adage "the more you have, the more you want", seem to apply. He postulates the view that, "the idea that the bourgeoisie will be more constrained from criminal acts because they have greater human sentiment" is class mythology.

Who are some of these lumpen elements? Broadly, they can be found among:

- The parasitic bureaucratic bourgeoisie, some of whom seek to capture state institutions and repurpose them for their own accumulation;
- Sections of the political elite and bureaucracy who use their positions in state institutions for venal self-enrichment;

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Balance of Forces

- Some leaders within the trade union movement who swindle unions or their investments arms;
 - Troupes of religious leaders who use their institutions as platforms of spiritual deceit for purposes of larceny from devotees;
 - Elements among student and youth leaders who take advantage of their positions for purposes of making money;
 - Groups that demand 'empowerment cuts', outside of the law, in projects being carried out in various localities;
 - Some leaders of local protest movements who use distressed communities' grievances to worm their way into political, bureaucratic or procurement opportunities;
 - The traditional lumpen proletariat in crime syndicates; and
 - Small time criminals who aspire for more comfort.
32. All these and others constitute a lumpen element within South Africa's middle and upper strata. Their interests and activities intersect in various areas of social endeavour. They collaborate across social networks and professional spheres. What characterises them is illegitimate and illegal self-enrichment and a posture that sees ethical and capable state or civil society institutions as inimical to their crass materialistic interest.
33. Because of that self-interest, this lumpen element seeks to subvert everything progressive if it interferes with their selfish desires. They are driven by greed. They eschew social solidarity and worship elitism. They imbue communities with their value-system of crass materialism, individualism, corruption and criminality leading to social decadence. Yet at the same time, the more cunning among them profess a populist radicalism – often combined with narrow nationalism – that takes advantage of the slow progress in social transformation to legitimise their criminal enterprise.
34. As elaborated in the Strategy and Tactics and other documents of the ANC, monopoly capital and various elements of the erstwhile colonial bourgeoisie often act in a manner that undermines or slows down the process of transformation. Further, among these and the rest of the white middle strata, there are lumpen elements of various types some of whom have found common cause with their peers among the emergent black middle and upper strata.
35. The irony of the dynamics described above, pertaining to the lumpen elements of the emergent middle and upper strata, is that some of them position themselves publicly as sworn enemies of, and fighters against, the remnants of the colonial capitalist establishment. Yet, because they are driven by selfish personal interests, the cumulative effect of their conduct has the same effect (as that of the established capitalist class) of undermining or slowing down social transformation.
36. This is a novel phenomenon that requires constant interrogation and vigilance. It is broadly about the strategic question of managing class formation and value systems in an emergent post-colonial society. It also relates to the fundamental question: how and from where can counter-revolution congeal in the current phase of the National Democratic Revolution!
37. From the above it is apparent that from the original motive forces for change, there is always a possibility of a coalescing of interests which may paralyse further movement forward.

THE BALANCE OF POWER IN AND AROUND THE 5 PILLARS OF STRUGGLE

THE STATE

38. Following the 1994 breakthrough we forged a vibrant multi-party democracy based on a constitution that enjoys the allegiance and support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans. "We transformed state institutions and put in place formal instruments of accountability. We also created space for organs of civil society to thrive. What seems to be new, with major implications for state legitimacy is the deeply-entrenched corrupt practices driven by a few state employees, public representatives and the private sector and arrogance by some in the leadership positions which has directly affected service delivery." (*Balance of Forces* document, NGC 2015)
39. The weakening of the state as a result of corruption deserves more attention. It is a matter for debate whether this is a problem of just a few in the bureaucracy, the private sector and among public representatives as the S&T suggests. The inclination among those who occupy public positions to enrich themselves is widespread. If not vigorously combated, it is destined to be the biggest threat to South Africa's revolutionary change.
40. Corruption is a societal problem. What is happening within the state and government institutions is incubated in communities and society broadly. The state's prevalent culture cannot be different from what obtains within the broader society. Anecdotes of shocking low survivalist morals in different spheres of life in our communities are told with monotonous regularity. These stories no longer raise eyebrows.
41. It is obvious that a heightened sense of unease characterises the political situation in our country. The capacity of the state to deliver the dream of 1994 is increasingly compromised by a public service which is losing its professionalism due to among others, corrupt practices.
42. "When poor decision-making that suggests patronage and cover-ups; and appointments that defy any rational logic, the state as a whole starts progressively to lose the confidence of the people. The hope that prevents South Africa's social tinder from catching fire can thus dissipate". (Ibid, 2015 NGC). The annual reports of both the Auditor-General and the Public Service Commission bear testimony to this.
43. Several areas of government have been targeted by rogue and corrupt lumpen elements, including particularly at local government level. Several schemes and ruses are devised to realise wholesale looting of public coffers leading to paralysis of service delivery. Several municipalities, estimated by SALGA at about 40 in August 2019, are currently under administration by higher authorities partly because they've been collapsed by corruption induced mismanagement. (<https://www.parliament.gov.za/news/salga-concerned-about-high-number-section-139-interventions-municipalities>)
44. Since 1994 the legislative arm of the state at all levels contributed decisively to the transformation we have achieved because of the decisive, democratic political dominance of the ANC. The legislatures, which are meant to be tribunes of the people, have also been assailed by pseudo-political militancy over the past five years, which has subverted the very meaning of democracy – the rule of the majority.

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45. This has replaced a fundamental defining feature of the victory scored in 1994 with a dictatorship of the minority, through disruptions and even threats of violence. This calls upon the ANC urgently to ponder over the efficacy of the strategies it has deployed in dealing with a tendency that not only undermines the legitimacy of representative institutions; but also threatens to collapse processes of parliamentary discourse.
46. If allowed to continue, this disruptive streak will pervade other institutions of social change and destroy our revolutionary gains. It is a direct attack on the country's constitutional values. Again, ironically, it has tilted the power-balance in a way that emboldens South Africa's conservative, right-wing political forces to assail the democratic dispensation.
47. Part of the lumpen tendency described above, this pseudo-revolutionary militancy is used to shield some of the worst cases of corruption. In effect, it is a tendency with counter-revolutionary implications.
48. Just as the COVID-19 pandemic has tested the capacity of our state and the efficiency of government, it has also profiled opportunities to grow our capacity to realise a myriad of our developmental endeavours. As the alliance's perspective suggests, we need programmes which addresses unemployment, poverty and inequality taking advantage of the needs of the moment.
49. The capabilities developed in the past months since the onset of this pandemic, to have scientific and evidence based planning and executive, swift targeted action in response to challenges, intergovernmental coordination and implementation, effective communication and coherent leadership capacity must be consolidated going forward.
- ### THE ECONOMY
50. The distribution of wealth and incomes in South Africa is largely still characterised by the racial and gender demographics of the colonial past. Currently, 6.7% of the economically active population, which happens to be white males, constitutes 52% of Board positions, and 76% of both CEOs and CFOs – (BUSA 2011) in formal enterprises. In 2013, according to Stats SA, unemployment among Africans was at 27% compared to 7.2% among whites.
51. Low economic growth and a huge budget deficit are compounding the difficulties in realising the ideals enshrined in the Constitution. As succinctly argued by Amartya Sen, "Freedom is development". As a consequence of this dilemma, the poor get further exposed to abuse by lumpen politicians who promise them heaven on earth, who speak fine and look very brave. But who in truth are painfully ignorant or less interest in devising solutions this economic challenges.
52. While progress has been made in the two-and-half decades of freedom to extend basic services and reduce poverty, distribution of income and assets still reflects the fault-lines of apartheid colonialism "The issue of distribution of national income – the fundamental question of political economy – now occupies an important place in mainstream discourse." (Ibid, 2015 NGC)
53. As argued by Joel Netshitenze in another input on the balance of forces, "Economically, compared to 15 years

ago, the balance of forces has shifted against the forces for change. The debt burden and legacy of the State Capture wear down the fiscus leaving little room for manoeuvre. Measures to stabilise the fiscal situation, such as VAT increases, have an immediate negative social impact, and agencies like Eskom are strangling the economy. Tragically we have in recent regressed with regard to quality of some basic services such as health, educational infrastructure, water, electricity and roads; and poverty headcount worsened between 2011 and 2015".

54. The COVID-19 pandemic will result in severe contraction of world economies. There will be a huge surge in unemployment globally and on the continent in particular. The ILO estimated in April that up to 25 million people could lose their jobs in 2020. Trade will be affected negatively with less exports in the foreseeable future. Debt levels of countries will increase drastically. This syndrome will further deepen poverty and hardships among millions of ordinary citizens.

55. The economic recovery plan provides us the opportunity to achieve a sustainable economic future and to overcome the constraints of economic exclusion, unemployment and inequality. It can unlock enormous potential for development, better environmental management, human health and well-being. For South Africa to embrace a green stimulus as part of our overall recovery would have tangible advantages.

THE MOTIVE FORCES AND ORGANS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

56. "Revolutions are about the mobilisation of the greatest possible masses of people to engage in their own liberation. The primary mission of the ANC therefore was, and remains, to mobilise all the classes and strata that objectively stand to gain from the success of the cause of social change." 2002 Stellenbosch conference S&T.

57. The motive forces of change in South Africa, as previously organised, are at their lowest ebb. Few if any of their formations have survived the syndrome of factional wars which have gripped even the most critical force of this movement, organised labour. While there are multitudes of underlying factors for this phenomenon, the lumpen tendency described above is central among them.

58. The truth is that for more than half a century, the strength of South Africa's liberation movement rested on the Tripartite Alliance. Without a strong Tripartite Alliance, forces of fundamental change will be on the back-foot. The ANC is the leader of the Alliance, and its members must display their appreciation of this responsibility.

59. As argued earlier, lumpen tendencies are flourishing in many structures of civil society today. The battle-tested structures are increasingly high-jacked by networks of self-serving individuals, and are buckling under the weight of societal ills prevalent among the previously oppressed.

60. These toxic elements have also targeted the ruling party and state structures for penetration, especially at local government level. With the weakened in-

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ternal capacity of the ANC to ward off these deviations, some veterans and other groups and individuals from the old democratic fold took up the cudgels to engage and fight back against these devious political tendencies.

61. The divisions within South Africa's labour movement today is one monumental set-back which dramatized the level of demobilisation which has occurred within the traditional motive forces of our revolution. This development is still to be properly put under the microscope. The breakup of COSATU cannot be reduced to the differences of individuals. It may only be the form in which a much profound shift of interests expressed it-self. What those interests are? Is still to be understood. To the ANC it is a matter which should not be left unattended, implying that there is an acceptance of the state of affairs.

IDEOLOGICAL CONTESTATION: THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

62. The theatre of ideas is a vital centre for change because it talks to unceasing efforts to ensure that social values, views and opinions that enjoy hegemony are those which support change.
63. Our national transformation project is taking place "in the context of a growing global information and knowledge society, which along with changes in forms of production in the developed world, undermine traditional approaches to politics and political organisation. This has seen the decline and increased individualisation not only of party-political organisations in the West, but also in trade union organisation.
64. Coupled with the growing values of self-advancement and individualism

and a cynicism about 'politics and politicians', the citizenry in these countries have either turned towards more extreme political parties (as in France and the Netherlands), disengaged from political participation or are joining civil movements organised around issues such as the environment or anti - globalisation" (**Discussion Document, Special 51st ANC National Conference Edition, 2002**).

65. Combined with manifestations of social inequality, this global trend, in part, accounts for the weakened social cohesion in South Africa to a point where the irrational signs of racism begin to rear their ugly head again. Consequently, social cohesion and hope within broader society is wearing thin.
66. The ANC has a historical obligation to defeat racism in all its forms, and to uphold non-racialism and non-sexism within its ranks and broader society. In this regard, its performance in the recent years has left much to be desired.
67. Misplaced raw narrow nationalistic sentiments and ethnic chauvinism do not only scoff at the legendary vision of the founders of the oldest liberation movement on the continent, but strategically bedevil the mobilisation of the motive forces for the new phase of our struggle. Added to this are continuing manifestations of gender oppression.
68. Two decades ago we undertook to ensure that "our program to transform education is not only addressing access to and the quality of education, but also education as a socialisation institution for the transmission of new values, national identity and our constitutional order of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism, human rights and equality through initiatives such as values in

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education, civic, education and the teaching of history projects". It is evident that the greater part of this work remains to be implemented. These lofty ideals require urgent attention today more than ever before.

69. The discourse on liberation and social transformation is today cluttered with simplistic and revolutionary-sounding phrases with a shallow understanding of strategy and tactics, the balance of forces and how a revolutionary movement is meant to attain hegemony, so its ideas become the ideas of the nation as a whole. On the one hand, a technical approach to 'social delivery' has taken root, tending to assume a form of patronage. On the other hand, demands and policies which are not immediately attainable are advanced as immediate objectives, creating popular expectations that only worsen impatience and social discord. The ANC has to pay full attention to ideological work as part of its renewal.

THE ANC AS AN AGENT OF CHANGE

70. The ANC Strategy and Tactics adopted at the 2017 conference asserts "The ANC faces declining fortunes. Internal squabbles, money politics, corruption and poor performances in government, all conspire to undermine its legitimacy in the eyes of the broader public. Some progressive formations and individuals who historically have been part of the broad front of forces for change are challenging the movement on important current issues, particularly corruption."

71. There can be no revolution without revolutionaries, no revolutionaries without

a revolutionary organisation. Every society which is going through change, must have agents who are the sponsors of that change and are repositories of its characteristics.

72. The ANC Strategy and Tactics explains this revolutionary tenet in the following way: "Leadership collectives should, as a whole, reflect the motive forces of change and the various centres of power. This should help burst the bubble of professional politics in these collectives: a bubble in which government functionaries and full-time ANC employees operate as if in an echo chamber, thus widening the social distance from the rest of society. The various terrains of social endeavour, gender, age, and other criteria must be taken into account. Leadership integrity also relates to criteria to qualify for such responsibility, including length and quality of service, as well as ideological, academic and ethical attributes. In this regard lifestyle audits by structures in which the membership has confidence is critical."

73. The further laments the fact that deviant conduct was becoming deeply entrenched in the ANC. It observed that, "arrogance, factionalism and corruption have been identified by large sections of society, including ANC supporters, as dominant tendencies within the movement. Gate-keeping, money politics and fraud characterise most ANC electoral processes. Underhand practices increasingly define interactions between various spheres of government and the private sector; and private interests seek to capture and control not only state organs, but also the ANC itself."

74. At the end of the day, the ANC as "a strategic centre of power should command both legitimacy and authority,

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deriving from the quality of its collective ideas and the discipline of its members.

75. *It should ensure its mandate is carried out by its members, wherever they are located. It should be able to monitor and evaluate the implementation of its policies. When and where there are weaknesses – whether these are a result of poor policies, weak implementation or poor leadership – it should be able to act decisively.* (**Strategy and Tactics**, 2017)
76. To deal with the above debilitating practices requires a genuine and sincere commitment to execute the National Conference resolution on renewal, re-engineering and unification of the ANC without fear or favour. In this context, the movement will need to find the right balance between pursuit of unity on the one hand, and renewal on the other. Some may argue that these objectives are not inconsistent with each other. But, given the lumpen tendencies described above, the fundamental issue about unity being based on principle, on promoting revolutionary values and ethics, and on selfless service to the people should inform the process of organisational regeneration. It should be expected that there will be opposition from within our ranks to the cause of renewal.
77. Therefore, central to this work is the obligation of the NEC to establish an Independent Electoral Commission as a matter of urgency and unflinching support to the work of the ANC Integrity Commission.

THE OPPOSITION AND ELECTORAL POLITICS

78. In the early years of the transition, the trajectory of change in the broad body politic of South Africa pointed to the moral superiority of the struggle to end racial oppression. The main protagonists of minority rule and white privilege, the National Party validated this by their bold decision to fold up with some of them joining hands with the ANC. This marked the biggest victory of the struggle for human rights by South Africans as a whole. The overwhelming majority of political parties which existed in the former Bantustans joined the ANC too.
79. Beyond that historical point, the changes in South Africa's electoral politics suggested that our democracy is gradually outgrowing the earlier national sensitivity around injustice which was based on racism.
80. The legitimate question posed by the developing trends as suggested at the 2015 ANC-NGC is *"whether there are things that the ANC is doing which create fertile ground for, and in fact ironically legitimise, incipient revolt against it and the government it leads. Is it implementing the resolutions taken at the 53rd National Conference to correct its weaknesses and to renew itself; or when it finds itself in a hole, does it in fact dig deeper?"*
81. The phenomenon of political groups breaking away from the ANC since 1994, also presents an interesting picture. Everything remaining the same, it would have been expected that splinter groups from the ANC in parliament, because they all profess to subscribe to the historic mission of the ANC – that of ending national oppression by removing the remaining impediments to level

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the playing fields across the board – they would find common cause with the ANC on fundamental issues of transformation. Whether this has actually played out; and if not why not, is a question that the ANC needs to interrogate both in relation to its own posture and the character of the forces that broke away from it.

82. The recent national elections provide sufficient evidence that the ANC itself has the remedy to its own morbidity. In its analysis of the election outcome in which its percentage of support (57.5%) improved from the aggregate in the 2016 municipal elections (54.5%), and yet marked a decline compared to all general elections since 1994, the ANC asserted the following: ANC performance reflected continuing confidence of the people in the organisation; but it was also a warning that the movement needed to do more in speeding up social transformation and dealing with malfeasance within the state and in its own ranks. The question is whether there is the requisite courage by ANC members to drink the prescribed medicine.

83. In the 2019 elections the opposition parties could not grab the throne from a competitor who was literally on the floor from own debilitating weaknesses. Instead, the wheels are coming off the wagon of the marriage of convenience between the DA and the EFF. However, both the two main opposition parties face existential challenges.

84. The DA on the one hand has exposed its lack of principle and desperation merely to attain political office; and its lack of ethics has come out for all to see. At the same time, it has been unable to resolve the challenge within its ranks about the co-existence of 'clas-

sical' and 'socially-conscious' liberalism within one party, in a society that reflects racial fault-lines of apartheid colonialism.

85. On the other hand, the EFF seeks to exploit impatience and poor strategic acumen, especially among sections of the youth, to position itself as the genuine revolutionaries of our age. Yet, its most senior leaders are implicated in monumental acts of corruption and they evince the crudest manifestations of the lumpen tendencies elaborated earlier. With minimal possibilities for it to lay its hands on the leavers of power, the EFF is likely to become more desperate and more disruptive.

GLOBAL BALANCE OF FORCES

86. In this section, we briefly reflect on the global balance of forces, in the main, to the extent that it impacts on the domestic prosecution of our struggle. This is taking into account the fact that the analysis contained in the 2017 Strategy and Tactics document does not require much elaboration or an update, and that a separate NGC discussion paper deals with this matter.

87. Half-a-century ago at Morogoro, the ANC asserted the view that our struggle was part of the global movement in which more and more countries the world over, were moving from exploitative societies towards non-exploitative societies.

88. In the intervening period the world has witnessed events which have altered global affairs drastically. A new complex environment of international relations has emerged. This was acknowledged by the ANC back in 2002 at the Stellenbosch conference: "Our transi-

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tion to democracy is taking place in a world in which the system of capitalism enjoys dominant sway over virtually the entire globe. But it is also a world in which the agenda of the working people and the developing nations can find creative expression in pursuit of a humane, just and equitable world order."

89. This is the context in which we are called upon to continue the prosecution of the struggle to transform our country. But, how broad is national awareness about these challenges in South Africa today? Put differently, is the ANC still ideologically hegemonic in the way the broad public views the world? This is more than just about theoretical debates; but it relates keenly to the opportunities and dangers that our struggle faces at domestic level.

The twentieth century was remarkable for three major civilisation-shifting developments:

- The establishment of socialist orders in vast parts of the world;
- The liberation of formerly colonised countries, with the end of apartheid being the last major development. and
- The collapse of the Berlin Wall and the dismantling of socialism in many countries.

90. While Fukuyama's End of History may have trumpeted the dominance of capitalism over all other economic systems, critical developments in the early 21st century have shown up not only the weaknesses of the capitalist system but also ways in which it could be challenged and changed in a more progressive way. Some of the major defining moments in the evolution of the global environment are discussed below.

THE RISE OF NEOLIBERALISM

91. Neoliberalism is a system, characterised in the main by advocacy of "strong private property rights, free markets and free trade" (Harvey 2) and the relegation of the role of the state to the periphery of economic activity and a secondary one relative to the markets. In accordance with the precepts of neoliberalism the state is pushed to the margins of economic activity.

92. The rise of neo-liberalism and its framing of globalisation was not without dire consequences particularly for the poor and developing countries upon which structural adjustment programmes were imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

93. The dominance of neo-liberal ideological precepts brought about the influence of the "market society" a product of globalisation. The dominance of the market created a distorted dominant value system and frame of ideological discourse which encouraged "greed, crass materialism and conspicuous consumption".

94. "A market society is a way of life in which market values seep into every aspect of human endeavour. It's a place where social relations are made over in the image of the market. The great missing debate in contemporary politics is about the role and reach of markets."

95. However, even within the bastions of capitalism, there has been a questioning of the foundations of that system. For example, the United States' Business Roundtable in its August 2019 statement, signed by 181 CEOs, it pointed out that all previous statements have 'stated that corporations exist princi-

pally to serve their shareholders'. But in this year's issue it said 'we urge leading investors to support companies that build long-term value by investing in their employees and communities'.

CHINA BECOMES A GLOBAL ECONOMIC POWER

96. Within a period of roughly more than three decades China has emerged as a world economic giant. This is borne out by the following figures: In 2019 the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of China was estimated at 14.10 trillion U.S dollars. From 1979 until 2010, China's average annual GDP growth was 9.91%, reaching an historical high of 15.2% in 1984 and a record low of 3.8% in 1990. Such growth has enabled China, on average, to double its GDP every eight years and helped raise an estimated 800 million people out of poverty.
97. The US Congressional Research Service (CRS) of 25 June 2019 once again expresses concern stating that "China's growing global economic influence and the economic and trade policies it maintains have significant implications for the United States and hence are of major interest to Congress".
98. The growing hostility towards China as expressed in the US' so-called Asia Pivot, the designation of China as a strategic competitor by the European Union and trade wars has implication for the whole world and particularly the developing countries. How the US, the EU and Japan respond to the shift in global power balances towards developing Asia is one of the fundamental questions of our time. Any escalation of conflict "could have devastating effects on the world economy".
99. Contemporary imperialism marked by a vicious cycle of social energy and climate crisis, deprived of overt colonies and with emerging new regionalisms and tri continental alliances is a feature of geo-politics we must guard against. Imperialism has systematically deployed extra economic and violent force to commodify both labour and land and to offload the course of social reproduction onto the working people themselves especially women.

THE 4TH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

100. The 4IR has come to dominate every facet of global society. We can no longer talk of it as imminent, we are in the midst of it. Klaus Schwab of the World Economic Forum, in his publication, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*, underlines "hyper connectivity, data-science, Artificial Intelligence and robotics as key drivers of productivity".
101. The **2017 Strategy and Tactics** document characterises these developments in the following words: "Over the past three decades, the world has experienced an explosion of technological advances with massive potential to improve the human condition. Information and communications technology, bio-technologies, genetics and the science of small particles (nano-technology) have opened many frontiers of progress in health sciences, agriculture, space exploration and other sectors. Along with this, robotics, three-dimensional (3D) printing, the Internet of Things and artificial intelligence hold out the possibility of redefining, in a fundamental way, the nature of work. What overall impact the fusion of these advanced technologies in the physical, digital and biological spheres – the so-called fourth

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Industrial revolution – will have on humanity's quality of life is still a matter of conjecture.

102. *"In terms of their potential, these advances are boon for humanity. But how they are owned, managed and let loose on society can have devastating consequences. The danger is that these successes of human civilisation are being appropriated by a few, in spite of the fact that many of them originated from, or with the variegated support of, public institutions. They can be directed to benefit a small layer of society, with the mass of the people condemned as surplus to humanity. Many of the technological advances lend themselves to cynical military and intelligence applications."*

INEQUALITY

103. The debates about the future of capitalism arise in the context, not so much of particularly heightened left-wing agitation, but growing concern on the part of politicians, academics and business leaders around the effects of deep and fundamental flaws in the global economic system. These include the effects of climate change, rising inequality as well as threats to the global systems of governance and trade.
104. According to Oxfam (2017), more global wealth is owned by the richest one-percent than the rest of humanity; and 'eight men now own the same amount of wealth as the poorest half of the world' (Oxfam: 2017). In most developed economies, the working class has in the past two decades experienced stagnant incomes and a declining quality of life. Growing

inequality is also to be found even in some of those countries that have extricated hundreds of millions of people out of poverty.

105. The work by Thomas Picketty in **Capital In the Twenty First Century** served to highlight not just poverty and underdevelopment, which had been our focus for much of the 20th century, but also the level of inequality and the socio-economic impacts thereof. He argued that there is nothing natural about inequality but that it is a 'social, political and historical' construction due to a number of factors such as tax systems, political and economic factors etc.

POPULISM AND AUTHORITARIANISM

106. While populism and authoritarianism are bedfellows, it would be wrong to assume an equivalence between the two tendencies. Erica Frantz, in her book on authoritarianism, points out that of the 75% of the regimes which became authoritarian between 2000 and 2010, most took the form of a personal leader who exploited populist rhetoric. Such leaders are often 'hyper-masculinist and patriarchal rulers'. (Jillian Schwedler and Kevan Harris)
107. Frantz points out that a large part of these regimes saw democracy being eaten out from within, as the larvae of some wasps eat out host spiders. Amongst the features which authoritarian regimes display, include a narrow inner circle of trusted people; the installation of incompetent loyalists in positions of power; promotion of members of the family; and the creation of new security services loyal to the leader.

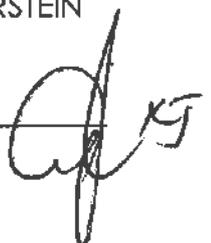
THE AFRICAN DIMENSION

108. The African continent is counted as one of the richest in the world in terms of its natural resources. These include diamonds, sugar, salt, gold, iron, cobalt, uranium, copper, bauxite, silver, petroleum, cocoa beans, woods and tropical fruits. It goes without saying that because of its natural resources the African continent will continue to occupy a strategic position in the global socio-economic and political arena.
109. All diplomatic, political economic and trade relations that Africa enters into will be guided and informed by what is in the national interests of those countries with whom Africa chooses to enter into partnerships. Some developed countries have deliberately sponsored wars and promoted chaos in Africa for purposes of destabilisation and to access the mineral resources that they so covet and would like to acquire by whatever means possible.
110. It is therefore in the best interests of the continent to promote intra-African trade which would be mutually beneficial to the member states. By implication, this means that Africa needs to develop a collective approach in terms of its relations with other regions of the world.
111. The continent also needs to take full advantage of its youthful population and ensure that the demographic dividend becomes a reality. According to the estimates of the United Nations, the population of Africa constitutes 16.72% of the world population. This makes Africa the second highest populated continent in the world after Asia with about 60% of the world population. Further, of the global number of young people between the ages of 15 and 24, about 20% are located in sub-Saharan Africa; and these are expected to increase faster than in any other continent, by about 89% between 2019 and 2050.
112. It goes without saying that, for the continent to advance – in terms of both its socio-economic development and its standing in the global community – it needs urgently to resolve the remaining conflicts that continue to dog some of its regions.
113. Needless to say, the multidimensional costs of these conflicts are enormous. According to IANSA, Oxfam and Saverworld: *"There are the obvious direct costs of armed violence – medical costs, military expenditure, the destruction of infrastructure, and the care for displaced people – which divert money from more productive uses."*
114. In this context, it is correct that, as South Africa assumes the Chairship of the African Union, it should put high on the agenda issues of economic integration, 'silencing the guns' and the advancement of women and youth.
115. Lest this is not fully appreciated: for South Africa, the emphasis on the Africa agenda is not a matter of solidarity or the convenience of contiguity. The positive attributes of the continent, outlined above, do stand South Africa in good stead to pursue higher rates of economic growth and development. A continental growth lag-gard in the current conjuncture, South Africa will increasingly rely on dynamics in the rest of Africa to lift itself up.

FG 17

Balance of Forces**CONCLUSION**

116. The attainment of democracy in 1994 fundamentally shifted the strategic balance of forces in South Africa in favour of the forces of national liberation and social transformation. This is underpinned by a democratic constitution with profound social content. This is an epochal achievement in centuries of South Africa's history.
117. Combined with this achievement is progress made in changing the lives of South Africans for the better in terms of access to basic services. Profound changes have taken place on such fronts as access to education, health services, water and sanitation as well as pursuit of gender equality.
118. Yet the breadth of access requires continuous improvement in relation to depth or quality of these services. Indeed, a major concern in the current period pertains to weaknesses and even reversals, especially at municipal level and the capacity of the state generally. Further, patriarchy still rears its ugly head, sometimes in the most abominable of ways as reflected in incidents of femicide and other forms of gender-based violence.
119. While much distance still needs to be traversed in breaking white dominance in critical sectors of the economy, the past twenty-five years have seen exponential growth of the black middle class and the steady entry of black entrepreneurs into various sectors of the economy. There have been profound changes in the class structure of South African society, especially within the Black community.
120. This process of post-colonial class formation has developed along with the emergence of lumpen elements
- littered across various areas of social endeavour, including the economy and the political sphere. These are dangerous forces that need to be confronted and defeated, if the revolution has to make progress.
121. All this is happening against the background of a contradictory global balance characterised by shifts in economic power and tendencies towards populism and authoritarianism. The conduct of the leadership, especially in countries that exercise immense global power, can tip humanity towards a conflagration.
122. The ANC remains, by definition, the vanguard of the National Democratic Revolution. Yet, as shown in recent elections, this status which has to be earned, depends on the movement's capacity to self-correct and implement programmes of organisational and societal renewal. The same applies to the Tripartite Alliance as a whole. This requires firmness in dealing with forces that seek to undermine and reverse the process of social change. As such, the pursuit of unity should be premised on the firm understanding that what is required is unity of principle and unity in action to take South Africa to a higher level of growth and development.
123. As experience since the 2017 National Conference has shown, this will be a titanic struggle.
- "Transition is not a friendly game. It is a fierce struggle for the future and will bring about sharp divisions among us. . . We are living in transition times and you must know which shore it is you want to swim towards, because otherwise you will drown". – I. WALLERSTEIN***



2

The Pursuit of Progressive Internationalism in a Changing World

*A Discussion Document for the National General Council
by the ANC NEC Sub-Committee on International Relations*

1. INTRODUCTION

- a) In the period since the 54th National Conference, many developments have continued to shape the international situation including the balance of forces globally, on the continent and nationally. These include the growing threat of rightwing extremism across the global North, now rearing its ugly head in the global South as well. The nature and impact of this will be discussed later, save to say here that this phenomenon threatens to derail the pursuit of progressive international agenda including such goals as the strengthening of global and African multilateralism, the reform of institutions of global governance and the search for a just and fair world order.
- b) There are developments on the African continent that, as we will show below, suggest the weakening of South Africa and ANC's influence of continental affairs. Some of these lead to questions being raised about the revolutionary character of the ANC and its commitment to a progressive Africa. Yet, we have also made some advances that continue to the realisation of the AU Agenda 2013, which we need to build upon.
- c) The project of building a global progressive movement is facing huge challenges. Some of them come from within the alliances and networks of progressive forces and within progressive movements like the ANC itself. We are reminded again of the words of Comrade Amilcar Cabral who in 'Weapon of Theory' argues that we struggle also against our weaknesses.
- d) The ANC is faced with an urgent need to critically self-introspect, assess its ideological character and review its posture in international affairs if it is to remain a crucial catalyst in the building of a progressive global movement. In this regard, it is being challenged to relook at both how it relates with its historical allies and how it harnesses new opportunities such as progressive civil society and social movements networks.
- e) The explosion of protests in the US and solidarity protests in parts of Europe and Oceania over the brutal police killing of an African-American, George Floyd, has turned the world attention to the dark underbelly of the US system built on slavery and post-slavery discrimination against minorities like the Afri-

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can Americans. The progressive voices throughout the world speak with one voice in an echo of the Black Lives Matter/ I Can't Breathe battle cries, calling for a fundamental transformation of the US society and state to make the lives of black people matter. We have not seen mass mobilization of progressive voices in Africa and South Africa though, which is a matter of great concern but may signal the need for soul-searching on our part in relation to our place among progressive forces of the world beyond the long-established traditional alliances. The new progressive platforms have opened up in hashtag social media activism led by young people, skillfully using new technologies to mobilize global public opinion.

- f) The National General Council is an opportunity both to review progress made towards the implementation of the resolutions of the 54th National Conference and to critically reflect on the conditions that will shape the period towards the 55th National Conference. While the international environment is yet to recover from the terrible effects of the global financial crisis that began in 2008, it now confronted with an even worse challenge as a result of the COVID19 epidemic that has devastated global health, economy and socio-economic situations, thus helping to make global economic recovery harder, the defeat of poverty and inequality even more complicated. This is presenting mammoth challenges for global multilateralism, African governance and our national governance.
- g) Guided by progressive internationalist outlook born out of the influences of pan-African, socialist, communist, rights and freedoms internationalism and the pursuit of the National Democratic Revolution, we have a duty to strengthen our revolutionary character and posture and improve our ability to imple-

ment resolutions while cognisant of the fluid international environment. In this regard, we need to reflect a lot stronger the gender and youth dimensions of our international relations, so that our foreign policy also enhances the role and contribution of women and youth in international relations.

2. BALANCE OF FORCES

2.1 International balance of forces

- a) As observed in 2017, growing challenges of poverty, unemployment, inequality, underdevelopment, violence/conflict, environmental degradation are the direct outcome of failures of the neoliberal international system. These are being exacerbated by the rise rightwing tendencies at national, regional and international levels across the world. The spread of rightwing extremism has displaced social democratic and centrist forces in Western Europe and North America. It has helped to sharpen the differences between the global North and the global South in international fora on anything from multilateral trade to climate change, and global governance to multilateralism. The right-wingers reject globalism because it constrains their ability to impose their will on the international system, undermine multilateralism and cooperation and weaken the principle of sovereign equality of states.
- b) The US-China trade war, the US attack on the Paris Accord on climate change, the World Trade Organisation, and recently the World Health Organization is a manifestation of this penchant for power games, unilateralism and masculine politics. Today, we witness heightened tensions between the US and China, not just over the origins of COVID19, but also over the role of the

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WHO, China's developing country status under the WTO, the status of Hong Kong, and the South China Sea territorial disputes. These tensions can weaken international cooperation, while they may present opportunities for progressive forces to push for a more progressive new world order.

- c) With this comes an inward-looking approach to trade and industrial development marked by sharper expression of national self-interest and reluctance to enter into multilateral economic arrangements. Under these conditions, we have also seen the rise of new politics driven by neo-Nazism, homophobia, islamophobia, xenophobic tendencies, ethno-religious nationalism, antisemitism, and masculine politics. The attacks on social democracy, socialist alternatives and left civil society platforms have become more pronounced.
- d) But these right-wing tendencies are not limited to the global North, but they have surfaced also in parts of the global South. It has manifested in the rise of conservative nationalism, xenophobic and even racist tendencies in crucial countries of the global South. While the Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa (BRICS) forum have continued to pursue global reform and deepen intra-BRICS cooperation, signalled intentions to build alternatives to Bretton Woods Institutions through the New Development Bank, the emergence of the right-wing in some of BRICS countries threaten the internal ideological cohesion of BRICS around progressive agenda for global change. Attempts to re-energize the India, Brazil and South Africa (IBSA) forum will confront the same challenge. There is insufficient coherence among emerging and developing powers within the G20 to effectively use this forum for the transformation of global governance. The weakness of the G7 component in the G20 as a re-

sult of internal contradictions presents opportunities for progressive emerging and developing countries like South Africa to build momentum for progressive change.

- e) The expectation that regional formations will champion progressive change is inadequate without concrete acts of mobilization on the part of countries like South Africa and its allies. Formations like the African Union (AU), MERCOSUR, Euro-Asian Alliance, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization; a China, India, the Middle East and Africa (CHIMEA) Indian Ocean nexus; a revived Zone of Peace and Cooperation in the South Atlantic; the Cuban-inspired Community of Latin American and Caribbean State (CELAC); South-Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC); ASEAN+3; the CARICOM and others have a potential to build momentum in support of the restructuring of global power. But this requires leading nations of the South to mobilize with intent and energy.
- f) The core of the neoliberal international order is fracturing due to the aggressive posture of the USA. Tensions have emerged within the governing structures of NATO, divisions within the G7 after the exclusion of Russia over Crimea continue to intensify along ideological lines. The differences between the US and the EU have increased in light of the US position on BREXIT. Contestations between rightwing and centrist forces in Western countries have deepened with the latter losing ground. Right-wing political forces have continued to gain electoral power, often with only critical civil society mounting serious resistance on behalf of the poor and progressive. In this context, the greater potential for blow-back comes from social movements and critical civil society formations across the world. These are crucial for the ANC's international outlook.

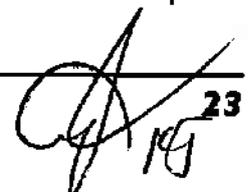
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- g) The US dollar, like its disproportionate dominance of arms supplies and military bases in the world, represents excessive US power that it wields on the world. The power of the dollar is evident in its being the dominant currency of cross-border transactions and the currency of the predominant amount of external debt developing countries have. This is a tool that enables right-wing president, Donald Trump, in the USA to increase unilateral coercive measures on some countries and now increasingly against institutions of multilateralism with some success. The sanctions against Iran, Syria, North Korea, Nicaragua and Venezuela, the economic blockade against Cuba are perfect examples of this bullying conduct that is intensifying. The withdrawal for the USA from the World Health Organization follows the unilateral defunding of the UN Relief and Works Agency and the UN Human Rights Council, withdrawal from the UNESCO and the Global Compact on Migration. The USA has also been intimidating the staff of the International Criminal Court to pressure it not to try cases involving US citizens. This conduct has intensified in the context of both the Covid19 pandemic and the Global Economic Crisis before it. The extra-territorial nature of international law enables the US to impose these measures with success, while the weaknesses of existing instruments for censure against misbehaving states enables it to act with impunity. This makes searches alternatives to the dollar-denominated financial systems ever more urgent if multilateralism and global governance is to transform.
- h) Imperialist designs continue to manifest in support of rightwing in Latin America. Nowhere is this felt more brutally than in Venezuela whose economy has wrecked through a combination of sanctions and sabotage, further deepening internal weaknesses and contradictions. This has led to a sharp rise in inflation, poverty and hunger. The country's political stability is severely weakened, its national security is fragile and its vulnerability to external machinations has increased. While onslaughts on Venezuela deepen, the solidarity with the government and progressive people of Venezuela has not improved. Russia and China have offered much-needed credit lines to the government of Venezuela and have joined forces at the UN Security Council to shine the spotlight on the USA's imperialist designs in Venezuela.
- i) A version of the USA's Munroe Doctrine of the Cold War designed to extend the USA imperial influence over Latin America and the Caribbean is widespread. The USA sponsors reactionary forces in Colombia, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia and other countries, while it is drawn closer to Brazil. Progressive forces are being displaced in society and government.
- j) There seems to be a lack of bridge builders working to cement linkages and build alliances among progressive movements across the world in defence of principles, values and vision of the just and fair world. Revolutionary formations like the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, ALBA, SAO Paulo Forum, World Peace Council, the Organization of Solidarity for Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL), and the World Social Forum are becoming weaker. So are such forums as the NAM, the G77+China, and the African Union faced by their internal challenges of lethargy and exhaustion of radical ideas within and preoccupation with procedural governance. In this context, the fight global against inequality, impoverisation, de-industrialization, environmental degradation, neoliberal food policies, autocracy

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and dictatorships, crass materialism, personalization of politics and such is on the decline.

- k) In this already complicated international environment, we witness the devastation wrought by the COVID19 pandemic since February 2020. It is aggravating weaknesses in global health, economy and social well-being. The pandemic is adding its havoc on the global economy, resulting in an astronomical rise in unemployment, poverty and inequality at national, regional and global levels. While both developed and developing economies are affected, the devastation is felt most acutely in the developing parts of the world. We also see signs that the short term emergency measures that some states have used through the army to contain the pandemic show signs that those measures will become routinised after COVID19. The pandemic will become a useful portal to increased militarization as lack of vertical and horizontal accountability become the new 'flattened' curve
- l) The post-COVID19 period is expected to present even tougher challenges for the recovery of the global economy and the achievement of longstanding development aspirations including the Sustainable Development Goals. It will thus make it harder to eradicate poverty, inequality and unemployment. It will require stronger international cooperation, international regimes regulating the behaviour of international actors, more robust and legitimate global governance and effective multilateralism. It presents an opportunity for revolutionary and progressive forces to seize the moment in generating fresh ideas to guide the reconstruction and restructuring of world relations and conditions going forward.
- m) The Middle East region is still suffering the devastating effects of the regime change agendas of the United States and its allies in Iraq, Libya and Syria, and their ongoing political, economic and other aggression against Iran and others. Using the pretexts of (non-existent) weapons of mass destruction, or 'humanitarian' support to local protests, or fighting terrorism, the US has continued to create political, economic and security havoc in the countries it has intervened in. Compounding this is the ever-growing aggressiveness of Israel (with the support of its US ally); through its support to terrorist groups in Syria; its increasingly brazen transgressions of international law, agreements and UN resolutions, particularly in relation to the Palestinians; and its total disregard for the territorial integrity of Lebanon and Syria. Turkey – under its current leadership – is attempting to escalate its hegemony in the region, some accusing it of trying to re-establish the Ottoman empire. Its continued disregard of UN resolutions on its occupation of northern Cyprus; its illegal invasion and occupation of Syria and support to terrorist groups there, and its intervention in Libya all point to the gestation of a new aggressor in the region. Syria itself can be described as at the centre of the global political storm. The growing resistance in Iraq to the US presence there and the successes of the Syrian army in retaking most of its territory, is slowly eroding the foothold of the United States in the region.
- n) On the other hand, Russia, Iran and China, in particular, are asserting their support for what is becoming known as the Axis of Resistance in the region. Now, as Turkey crosses Syria's borders in its pursuit of the oppression of the Kurds; and as ISIS attempts to regain the ground it has lost; so Syria becomes the military, political and economic battleground for the key global dynamics of the present period.



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- o) The United Nations and associated institutions remain the most legitimate platform for reversing these challenges to multilateralism, but it too needs transform in order to strengthen its management and the legitimacy of its Security Council. To this end, the reform of the Security Council and the entire UN system should not be allowed to collapse completely. The reform of international finance financials especially the IMF and the World Bank is a key part of the transformation of global economic governance as a whole. But these formations are also actively trying to present themselves in the positive light, offering interest-free loans to countries hit by COVID19 and want to divert the attention from the need for transformation. The IMF and World Bank have over the past decade introduced new subtle forms of conditionality focusing mainly on austerity measures, privatisation of state agencies and reducing the public wage bill, which weakens the ability of creditors to recover from crises over the long-term. This calls for extreme vigilance including among emerging powers to ensure that this does not sink developing countries even deeper into debt and economic malaise.
- p) The international balance of forces has a gender dimension with patriarchal systems remaining entrenched the world over, helping to deepen poverty among women. Women bear the brunt of global trends in socio-economic inequality, conflict and violence, environmental degradation, exploitation and oppression. The calls for women inclusion in the economy, politics and global governance have grown and the role of UN Women is critical in this. 25 years later, the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action remain unrealised and the need for a progressive feminist movement across the world has become even stronger.
- q) Young people have also become restless throughout the world as poverty, unemployment and inequality affect them in ever more negative ways. Youth uprisings continue to serve as a reminder that the future of the world cannot be built without their participation. Yet the youth formations globally, continentally and nationally are weak, poorly linked and inadequately mobilized towards a progressive global agenda.
- r) Under the conditions, the revolutionary credentials of the ANC have also suffered. The challenge of governing the country, which includes the inevitable compromises on strategy and tactics, the rise of factionalism, the inability to rally progressive social forces around an ANC agenda, and so forth have resulted in some global progressive forces questioning whether the ANC itself is progressive. Subsequently, the ANC has had to rely on a government-centred international programme and its role in progressive international formations has declined. Thus, the ANC has not been able to build a global progressive movement as it had hoped to achieve the post-Cold War.
- s) The implications of this for the ANC is that it has to sharpen its revolutionary and progressive character and improve its ability to build effective alliances with a broad section of progressive forces in and outside state power towards a shared desire for a more equitable, just and fairer world. This will require internal ideological and political cohesion as well as strong ability to mobilize and galvanize support for a progressive international agenda across the world, in Africa and Southern Africa especially.
- t) The task of keeping the progressive agenda alive now rests increasingly with social improvements and critical

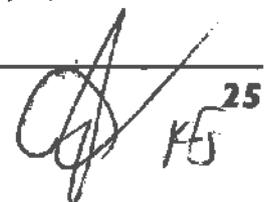
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civil society in some cases, which are also in need of support. The potential to build a global progressive movement, identified in 2017, must overcome fragmentation and signs of exhaustion among progressive forces. It must harness growing youth militancy and radicalization including among student movements.

- u) Our commitment to the vision of humane, non-sexist, non-racist and democratic world order is facing mammoth challenges. Yet there are many opportunities for the ANC as a revolutionary movement working with like-minded others across the world to build alliances for a progressive, just and fair world order. It will require strengthening the revolutionary ideological posture, strengthening progressive alliances at home, and reaching out to the social movements and critical civil society formations. In the process
- b) The pursuit of a prosperous and peaceful Africa and southern Africa remains strategic and principal. To this end, the commitment to strengthen the African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Community as platforms for a progressive African agenda is key. This has given rise to successful efforts to reform the AU, strengthen the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) agency, implement the African Common Free Trade Area (AcFTA) and achieve the African Agenda 2063. The signing and formal launch in 2019 of the AcFTA marks a major milestone towards an R50 trillion market for intra-African trade and investment.
- c) Our commitment to the AU Agenda 2063 as an expression of the aspirations of Africans is central to view that the silencing of guns on the continent is as much a security matter as it is a governance and development imperative. In this context, the full operationalization of the AfCFTA; the further strengthening of NEPAD and the operationalization of the trilateral mechanism between SADC, COMESA and EAC; and the presidential infrastructure initiative as an industrialization catalyst are crucial manifestations of the dream of African renaissance that remains deferred. The work strengthening of links with the African diaspora as the 6th region of the AU should not be allowed to lose steam.

2.2 The Situation on the African Continent

- a) The actual balance of forces on the African continent and the southern African region is linked to the conduct of the governing parties in the region. Just as the strengthening of historical relations among liberation movements in southern Africa is an important explanation for the region's dynamics, their weaknesses also explain such dynamics as slow implementation of the regional aspirations. The ANC has shown weaknesses in galvanizing the region and continent to maintain a progressive and revolutionary posture in Africa. The return of Morocco, Israel, France and some Gulf states as key motive forces in the African agenda can be blamed on the inadequacies in the way the ANC and its allies have pursued the African agenda.
- d) Yet, the impediments to the renaissance of Africa remain. The political economy of Africa has changed very little. The harmful effects of the global tendencies described above are seen in Africa's challenges of jobless economic growth marked by skewed income distribution, the volatility of national economic situations, fragmentation and uneven development across regions, resource dependency, political instability, and insecurity.

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- e) No impediments matter more than widespread poverty, unemployment, inequality and underdevelopment, which rise to violence, despair and uncontrolled migration. The inadequacies in capacity development, health care, housing, access to technologies and innovations, entrepreneurial opportunities undermine the ability of the continent to its demographic dividend in the form of a large youthful population into real economic value.
- f) Under these conditions, African youth swell the numbers of those involved in internal and external migration. While this contributes to the world-wide circulation of skills and capital inflows in the form of remittances, it is also associated with the deaths of refugees and migrants crossing the Mediterranean sea and the rise in xenophobic and racist tendencies in Africa and the world. In migration routes, wanton violence and violation are rife.
- g) The resurgence of violence in various parts of the continent is a recurring problem that has a negative bearing on African renaissance. Violence and conflict associated with terrorism, violent extremism, cross-border criminal networks and fights over grazing and cultivation land remain widespread. Parts of North Africa, the Sahel, the Horn, Central Africa, West, East and Southern Africa have seen this to a different extent remains a hotbed of a cocktail of militia and terror-driven violence, the collapse of governance and national security and imperialist designs of major powers. Somalia has yet to recover from similar trends, but terror incidents have increased in the past two years. Armed banditry is driving the proliferation of arms, which in turn fueling inter-necine violence all over the continent.
- h) The spike in terror attacks in Mozambique causes concerns that the terror problem will grip Southern Africa and cause long term damages to political stability and economic well-being seen in regions where terrorism has festered. This has a direct bearing on South Africa's national security and well-being. The evolving regional response and close observation by the AU hopefully mark a beginning of a holistic response.
- i) The Horn of Africa has continued to see growing militarization with external powers growing their military presence in Djibouti. With this comes concerns that this turns Africa and the Western Indian Ocean area into a zone for conflict and war instead of a zone for peace and development. The US has over 20 military outposts and is involved in more than a dozen other operations on African soil, thus bringing Africa within the orbit of the US war on terror and its devastating consequences for a peaceful and weapons-free Africa.
- j) While the Ethiopia-Eritrea rapprochement has continued, internal situations in both countries remain areas of concern. Ethiopia, in particular, has seen rising internal tensions arising from challenges in its ethnic federalism. South Sudan and Lesotho have benefitted from successful regional interventions. Burundi's peaceful change of government just took place marks the end of a protracted transition that has seen delays. Elections continue to be associated with violence and politics linked to the winner takes all tendencies in conditions where there are not many alternative routes to resources and prosperity for the political elite. The struggle for democracy in Swaziland has not made new headways.
- k) The struggle for the self-determination of the peoples of Western Sahara remains incomplete and is facing new challenges with Morocco's attempts

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to drive a wedge the AU away from its unity in support of UN resolutions calling for a peaceful resolution to the issue on the basis of the right of self-determination for the Saharawi people.

- l) The Morocco issue like the growing role of Israel in African affairs signals a waning influence of progressive African states including South Africa in African multilateralism. This fuels the perception that South Africa's sway in Africa has declined, its role in championing the progressive African agenda on the continent is seen as having weakened. In the context, Morocco and other forces not associated with progressive African agendas have taken a foothold and are weakening further the continental unity behind its long-established principles and values. While South Africa continues to enjoy the confidence of many as shown by its recent election to chair the African Union and the APRM, there is no doubt that its ability to work with others to lead a progressive agenda needs reinvigorating.
- m) The issue of the growing influence of Morocco is inextricably related to the continuing problem of FrancAfrique which sets French-speaking countries against others including English-speaking African countries in a manner that harms the cohesion of the African Union, its organs and programmes. This is also enabled by South Africa's poor handling of the Anglophone-Franco-phone dynamics. The role of monarchs from the Middle East is also key to these dynamics, linking up with Morocco, France and Israel move to influence African politics in their favour.
- n) South Africa has yet to put out for public discussion and discussions within the ANC the National Interest document adopted by the Cabinet. This discussion would aid in the coherence of policy and planning, strategy development, implementation and in projection not only on the continent but globally. It will be useful in rallying citizen support and/or participation in its progressive foreign policy agenda in pursuit of a just and equitable world order.
- o) While Africa is still reeling from the ravages of the Ebola epidemic, it now has to contend with the immediate and long-term effects of the COVID19 pandemic. COVID19 now affects 54 African countries with 100 000 cases confirmed, almost 4000 confirmed deaths, and 40 000 recoveries; South Africa as the epicentre. Health workers have been severely affected, while health facilities are stretched by a combination of COVID19 and general state of illness in many countries. This does not only undermine the already weakened health systems crucial for fighting the continent's battles with various infectious diseases and the rise of lifestyle diseases, but it also impedes economic recovery from the ravages of the global economic crisis after 2008. COVID19 followed a devastating locust infestation that severely damaged food and agricultural production and threatened livelihoods. Indications are the manner in which Africa is responding to this threat will in the long-term strengthen health systems, promote industrialization around the manufacture of essential health equipment, and lead to greater focus on resilience.
- p) Africa's response to COVID19 is also underlining the importance of cooperation, sharing of information, exchange of expertise and solidarity. This is part of a trend globally where we have seen the practical expression of solidarity mainly from the global South to the global North when the pandemic hit Europe very hard in March-April. We have seen international NGOs and

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countries like China, Cuba, Russia and others extending a hand of friendship through the donation of equipment and resources to Africa and other parts of the world.

- q) South Africa's position as the chairship of the African Union and the APRM Forum of heads of state and government presents an opportunity for South Africa and the ANC to build a progressive movement in Africa, harnessing influence in the Pan-African Women Organization, the Pan-African Youth Union and ECOSOC. The challenges facing women and youth in Africa have deepened as poverty, inequality and unemployment grows. While women and youth formations have continued to mobilise for gender and youth empowerment, the African progressive movements in this area remain weak and fragmented.
- r) South Africa has finalised the hosting agreements with continental institutions that are critical for the African agenda. The challenges facing POWA and PYUM epitomise our weakness as a motive force for the progressive agenda in regional and continental integration. The assumption on our part that the progressive agenda is a common-sense such as natural resource sovereignty is shared by other governing parties as well as challenges facing countries from external influence leads to disappointments as is the case on resource control.
- s) While regional platforms like the SADC and the Conference of Liberation Movements are critical for pursuing a progressive agenda in the region including developmental regional integration, we as the ANC have not given this sufficient strategic attention to turn the potential into reality. We have not acted with sufficient vigour to address the key challenges to the dream of developmental regional integration such as insecurity and instability, democratic reversals in some countries, weak implementation of the regional agenda as contained in the Revised Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (2015-2020), the Regional Industrialisation Strategy and Roadmap, the Regional Infrastructure Development Master Plan, and the Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ, and the inadequate strengthening of the SADC and its institutions. All these continue to be hampered fundamentally by insufficient political will on the part of regional states to give shared regional sovereignty a chance to work. This in effect is the failure to transcend the inherited notions of narrow national sovereignty that fragment the region. While liberation movements in the region have the potential to build the political movement for progressive agenda by turning the affinity among them into decisive collective action to achieve developmental regional integration now.
- t) To this end, the building of extensive party relations, relations with social movements and critical civil society, and its access to critical state power give the ANC a potential capacity to build momentum across Africa for turning consensus, policies and plans into concrete actions that bring about a progressive, prosperous and peaceful Africa in keeping with the African Agenda 2063.

3 IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS

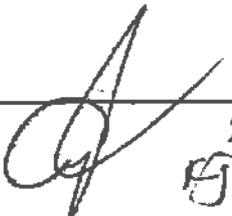
3.1 The Implementation of Resolutions

- 1) The extent to which the ANC has led the government in ensuring that resolutions

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are implemented without fail varies as evidence in the above tables show.

- 2) There is evidence of government integration of resolutions into the programme of government as reflected in annual plans and annual reports as well as progress reports above.
 - 3) There is no question that the government has shown a commitment to use resolutions in order to enhance South Africa's international relations and to express its transformational nature.
 - 4) The employees leading the appropriate departments have demonstrated leadership in ensuring that their departments fulfil the mandate given by the people of South Africa to the ANC by working towards the implementation of resolutions.
- 3.2 Conditions that Impact Implementation**
- 5) Yet, some crucial resolutions remain unfulfilled as a result of the inadequate focus on them. Conditions that affected the Implementation of Resolutions.
 - 6) The capacity of the ANC structures to hold the government to account in relation to the ANC mandate remains a grey area as a result of the disproportionate distribution of resources between the government and the ANC.
 - 7) The systems of monitoring and evaluation in the movement in relation to international relations are not sufficient.
 - 8) While employees participate actively in the Sub-Committee and provide regular updates on broad and strategic issues, not enough room is made for detailed progress reports on specific resolutions.
 - 9) The geopolitical shifts globally also have a bearing on the implementation of some resolutions as they affect the amount of resources available, change the realm of the possible in certain conditions and changing dynamics that informed some resolutions in the first place. For instance, the pursuit of UN Reform in the context of intense geopolitical tensions is harder to achieve. The push for the reforms of international financial institutions is easily overtaken by the need to deal with new crises like COVID19, putting action on longer-term issues in abeyance.
 - 10) Changing geostrategic dynamics on the African continent and in southern Africa have a bearing on the speed with which some resolutions can be realised. The resolutions on Western Sahara must now factor in the fact that Morocco is now an AU member, so the implementation needs new nuances.
 - 11) The national environment also has effects such as arise from the downgrading of the investment-grade of our economy puts pressure on the resources available causing re-allocation of budgets previously planned.
 - 12) The NGC presents an opportunity to enable the ANC to prioritise better on the resolutions that must be given higher attention than others based on a strategic calculus on costs and benefits or long term-short term gains.



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3.3 Special Resolutions

Resolution	Activities/ Progress to date	Challenges	Recommendations
<p>Resolution on USA Embassy in Jerusalem</p> <p>a. Condemn the decision</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ANC continues to participate in the week - long program on Israeli Apartheid Week in solidarity with the Palestinians. • ANC continues to participate in the Israeli Apartheid Week and also issues out regular statements in support of the Palestinian People and in condemning Israeli Occupation of most territories of Palestine. • The ANC continues to participate in solidarity campaigns that call on the release of political prisoners held in Israeli jails some of them being women and children. • The ANC continues to engage various stakeholders from the Region to facilitate various groups to come together and engage on peaceful engagements towards the resolution of the Palestinian issue. ANC met with various groupings from the Palestinian Liberation Movement including HAMAS and recently met with the new Palestinian Ambassador to discuss the new development on the annexation of Jordan by Israel. 	<p>Poor Coordination of the Continental and Regional Voice and action against USA unilateral decisions</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ANC must encourage its structures in the provinces to embark on campaigns for the release of political prisoners especially women and children and to rally support for Palestine, especially amid COVID-19. • Continue to monitor developments on the issue and to lobby progressive forces and the liberation movements to condemn the move and to encourage their governments not to move their Embassies to Jerusalem

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Resolution	Activities/ Progress to date	Challenges	Recommendations
b. Call on the US Administration to reconsider its unilateral and provocative decision.			
c. Call on other countries with a resident diplomatic presence in Tel Aviv not to follow suit but maintain their Embassies in Tel Aviv.			
d. To affirm the OIC position that East Jerusalem is the recognised capital of the future State of Palestine.			
Resolution on LIBYA / SLAVE TRADE	The ANC condemns in the strongest terms this abominable crime against humanity.	None	None
<p>a) To direct the SA government to work together with the Libyan authorities, the AU and the international community for an immediate end to these criminal practices and ensure the wellbeing of the migrants and refugees</p> <p>b) Welcome the ongoing efforts aimed at ending these criminal practices and resolved that the ANC directs the SA government to work together with the Libyan authorities, the AU and the international community to eliminate this scourge</p>	Government has further played a prominent influential role in the work of the AU High-Level Committee on Libya (AU HLC) since its establishment as a mechanism for supporting a sustainable and lasting political solution to the protracted and ongoing crisis in Libya	None	None

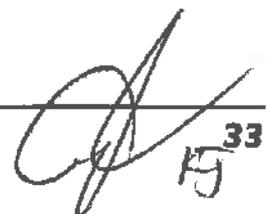
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Resolution	Activities/ Progress to date	Challenges	Recommendations
<p>Resolution on LIBYA / SLAVE TRADE</p> <p>c. Call for support to the Libyan authorities, through international co-operation, in undertaking immediate action to fight against the perpetrators of such crimes.</p>			
<p>Nelson Mandela Centenary, 2018</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop a year-long program of activities and events to mark the momentous centenary of Nelson Mandela in 2018 • Mobilize all sectors of society to engage and participate in activities and events celebrating the centenary of Nelson Mandela • Engage the International Community to organize events and programs that mark the centenary of Nelson Mandela 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nelson Mandela Centenary was successfully celebrated globally, nationally and in provinces. • Memorial Lectures in honour of Nelson Mandela were held highlighting the role He played in the struggle for freedom in South Africa and the values he upheld of human dignity, peace and solidarity amongst people and nations. 		

*International Relations***4 CONCLUSIONS**

- a) The ANC's resolve on the creation of a better Africa and the World remains key to its revolutionary objectives, taking cognisance of the ever-changing objective and subjective material conditions in a world that is not static.
- b) We will not attain our goals if the balance of forces is not in our favour, hence in ***"Pursuit of the Progressive Internationalism in a Changing World"*** as our new theme reads, all efforts must be to rebuild and strengthen the progressive movement nationally, continentally and globally.
- c) Some of the decisions are becoming difficult to implement as they are or are taking longer due to these complex changes. For instance, the African Union (AU) has resolved to: *"Reform or transform of the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the review of the Rome Statutes to be engaged with a view to strengthen without withdrawals"* rather than to withdraw from it, which means for us to withdraw would undermine the African consensus while being chair of the AU. In keeping with this AU position, a number of countries committed to withdrawing have changed their mind, also because Venezuela and Palestine have approached the ICC to challenge the USA and they will need the
- support of African countries. Further, the Malabo Protocol providing for an African alternative court to the ICC has been hampered by insufficient ratification. Therefore, this calls on the NGC to take note of these new developments that dictate a review.
- d) Indeed, the ANC's character and ideological orientation as a revolutionary liberation movement committed to the fundamental transformation of international relations are crucial. This enjoins the ANC to assess itself in this regard and arrive at ways in which this outlook may be strengthened. This historical duty of the ANC towards progressive internationalism also requires its ability to mobilise like-minded forces all over the world in pursuit of the transformation of the current world order towards one that is democratic, just and fair. To this end, the strength of the head office, the Department of International Relations especially, deserves utmost attention as a nerve centre from which solidarity, campaigns, party-to-party and multi-party relations, and the implementation of the plan of a better Africa in a transformed global order are coordinated, managed and monitored. The ANC needs to reinvigorate discussions and activities to pursue a progressive international order as its long-term goal.


 A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'A. J.', with the number '33' written below it.

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5 ANNEXURE

5.1 The ANC's Historical Commitment to Progressive Internationalism

- a) Two related forms of internationalism currently in vogue pose a serious threat to the ANC's pursuit of progressive internationalism:
- i. The first is neoliberal internationalism that wreaked havoc to the world for decades, extending the tentacles imperialist, capitalist, violent, and exploitative practices to the whole world.
 - ii. The second rightwing internationalism rejects cosmopolitanism, globalism, multilateralism, multipolarity, but advocates crude ultra-nationalism and the pursuit of raw national interests evident in the America First cry by the US president.
 - iii. Yet both of this internationalism is in continuity with the past five centuries of paradigms of violence, global racism, and crude forms of patriarchy, neocolonialism, capitalist exploitation and the domination of the periphery that explain the current inequality between the North and South, that the 2015 NGC document detailed.
- b) Progressive internationalism, on the other hand, rejects the current international order for perpetuating inequality among nations and within nations and the prosperity of the few through capitalist exploitation of the periphery. It opposes the continued dominance of the former colonial empires and imperialist forces evident also in the skewed distribution of power in decision-making structures of global governance, in the militarization of international relations, in hierarchical trade and investment relations with developing countries, and wanton disregard by these powers for the international norm of sovereign equality of nations. It espouses the radical transformation of global power relations, international regimes that regulate international cooperation, demilitarization and de-nuclearization towards regions as zones for peace and development, respect for international law and justice, and the conduct of international relations based on fairness, shared prosperity and solidarity. In the 2017 discussion document, we said progressive internationalism "envisages a just, equitable, non-racial, non-patriarchal, diverse, democratic and equal world system. It requires the building of alliances and solidarity with progressive forces in the South and North fighting for similar objectives in world affairs". It also requires bold and militant advocacy of fundamental transformation of the global balance of forces, a radical restructuring of global governance, and a progressive global movement in which the ANC's posture is that of a revolutionary liberation movement committed to finishing the work entrusted to it by history since 1912.
- c) The ANC's commitment to progressive internationalism as a revolutionary perspective begins in 1912 when it recognized the gravity of the link between the national question and the international situation represented then by the British Colonial Empire. As the 2015 NGC discussion documents details, the rise of an international system of imperialism was the basis of the making of the modern world from the 15th century and the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck in the Cape in 1652, almost two hundred years after Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape, was an extension of that system to southern Africa with catastrophic implications for the peoples of this region of Africa.
- d) The liberation struggles began in response to dispossession, exploitation

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dislocation, and domination that begins at this point, called primary resistance in mainstream history books. The Berlin Conference of imperialist powers in 1884-5 extended this colonial conquest and rule over the whole of Africa by consensus of western powers in an international conference, sparking liberation struggles all over the continent in response. The ANC was born in 1912 during a period of intensification of resistance to colonial rule throughout Africa and in the developing world.

e) As we said in 2017, these struggles had a strong internationalist outlook evident in the Pan-African Conferences that took place between 1900 and reached their heights in the 1950s, joining together African liberation movements and those of the African diaspora in what is sometimes called the Black Atlantic, which is North America and the Caribbean. This established pan-Africanism as a global perspective against colonialism and for the prosperity of black people everywhere in the world.

f) This was also a period of the ferment of critical traditions of internationalism that like the pan-African one influenced the outlook of the ANC on international affairs.

- First is the socialist internationalism committed to anti-imperialism and global peace in response to the paradigms of wars and imperial violence especially in the late 19th century, culminating in the birth of the Socialist International in 1889 consolidated at the International Socialist Congress held in Basel, Switzerland in 1912.
- Second, after the First World War, the paradigm of Communist internationalism or proletarian internationalism known by its famous slogan "workers of the world unite",

found expression in the work of the Communist International founded in 1919 following the Russian Revolution. It declared in its manifesto opposition to "imperialist barbarism, monarchy, the privileged estates, the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, and all kinds and forms of class or national oppression."

- Socialist internationalism championed by socialist and social democratic parties of Europe and Communist internationalism driven by communist parties are revolutionary perspectives of the world; they are anti-imperialist and foresee democratic world orders based on the solidarity of the oppressed.

g) Between the world wars, a rights and freedoms internationalism held the promise in its commitment to the rights of humans later enshrined in the Atlantic Charter. The ANC saw an opportunity in this as the struggle for liberation was also about the freedoms and rights of the oppressed. It is in this context that the ANC developed its African Claims in 1943 that the President-General AB Xuma who was also the organiser of the Atlantic Charter Committee in South Africa once called "The Atlantic Charter from the African's Point of View". The Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955 was also an expression of this commitment to the bill of rights idea born out of early liberalism.

h) The international unity and solidarity of liberation movements marked a high point in the liberation struggle, especially after the Second World War. It is in this period that tricontinentalism as a key feature of progressive internationalism emerged where liberation movements, socialist, social-democratic and other radical formations from Africa, Asia, and Latin America joined forces under

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the auspices of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) and the Organization of Solidarity for Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) to champion anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, global peace, shared development, and radical world democracy, among other ideas. They joined forces with radical forces in Europe and the Americas in the World Peace Council and other formations. It was also in this context that the epochal Afro-Asian Conference took place in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955 to cement South-South Cooperation and to oppose the hierarchical relations of the North-dominated imperialist/colonial order, culminating in the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 (today is known as G77 + China). The internationalism of the South was also a melting pot of various strands of radical ideas that expressed in paradigms of south-south cooperation, right to development, and the new international economic order between 1955 and the 2000s.

- i) All these strands of radical and revolutionary internationalism- pan-African, socialist, communist, liberal rights/freedoms internationalism, and south-south cooperation - coalesced to underpin the progressive internationalism of the ANC. This enables the ANC to play a critical role in the building a truly international progressive movement in pursuit of a progressive, democratic, peaceful, fair and just international order in place of the imperialist, exploitative, unjust and unfair liberal international order today. This positions the ANC as a revolutionary movement committed to the transformation of the current international order by building alliances across the world in pursuit of a new order. This must be understood in order to understand how the ANC sees the world.

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3

Discussion paper on Economic Transformation (DRAFT)

1 AIMS

The discussion document was asked to provide:

- A review of 25 years of economic policies and implementation, and why we are facing the current crisis.
- An analysis of the inability to address structural challenges and transformation (inequality, poverty, etc.).
- Historical injustice and the land question.
- A People's Path of economic transformation for next 25 years.

In March, the COVID-19 pandemic led to an unprecedented downturn in the global and national economy. Fighting the pandemic has fundamentally changed the context for economic policy, with events still unfolding rapidly. We here highlight some of the key challenges in this connection, based on the Alliance discussion document on the subject.

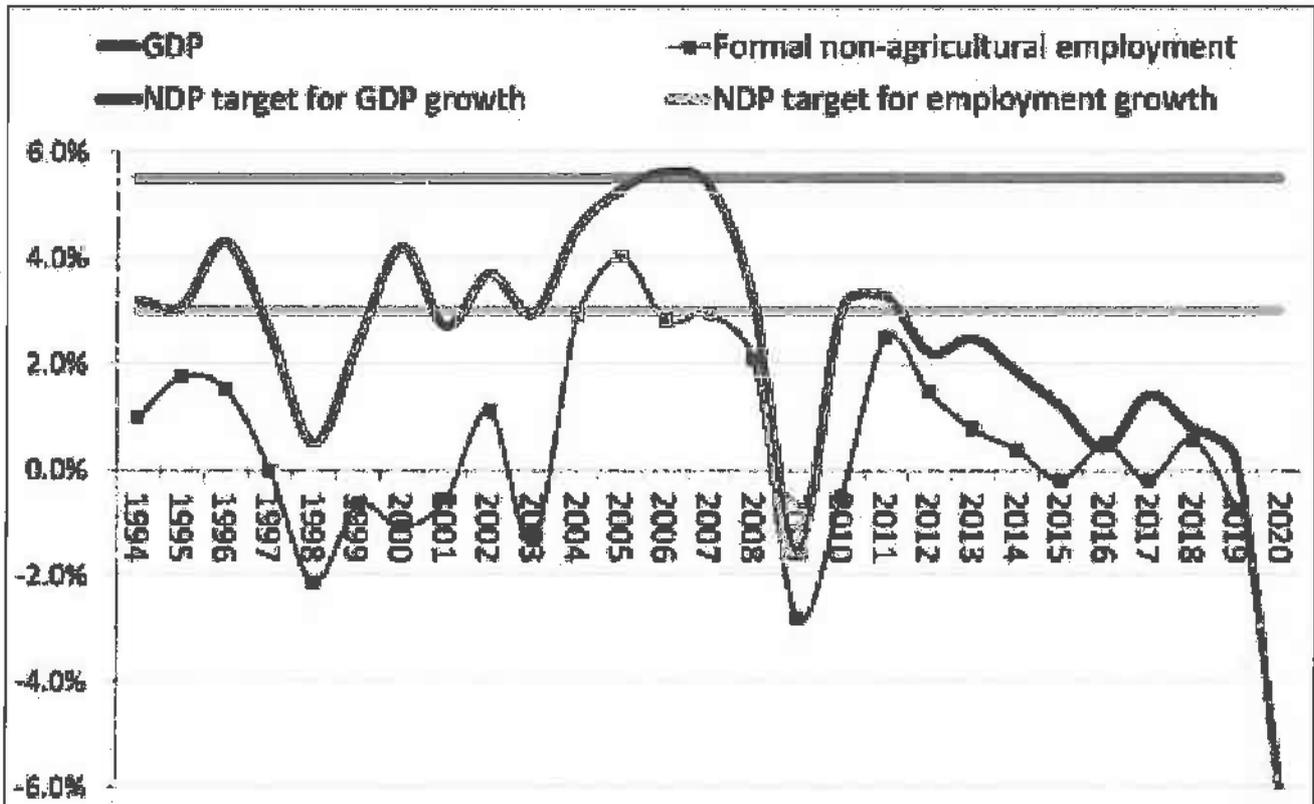
2 THE ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN AND THE COVID-19 RECESSION

In April 2020, the global COVID-19 pandemic pushed the economy into a deep recession, with growth forecast to drop by over 7% for the year. This sharp downturn came on top of slowing growth from 2015 in the economy and in job creation. The impact of slower growth is particularly harsh because, although there have been gradual gains, unusually high levels of joblessness and inequality have persisted since the apartheid era.

As the following graph shows, economic expansion accelerated from the early 2000s to around 2011, despite a sharp dip due to the global financial crisis in 2008/9. It then slowed significantly, becoming particularly volatile and low after 2015. Job creation has generally tracked GDP growth. As the graph indicates, even before the COVID-19 recession, growth in both employment and the GDP fell increasingly short of the targets set in the National Development Plan (NDP). Judging by the experience of the 2008/9 global financial crisis, it is likely that employment will decline even more sharply than the GDP.

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GRAPH 1. Growth from 2000 in the GDP (projected for 2020) and in employment compared to NDP growth targets

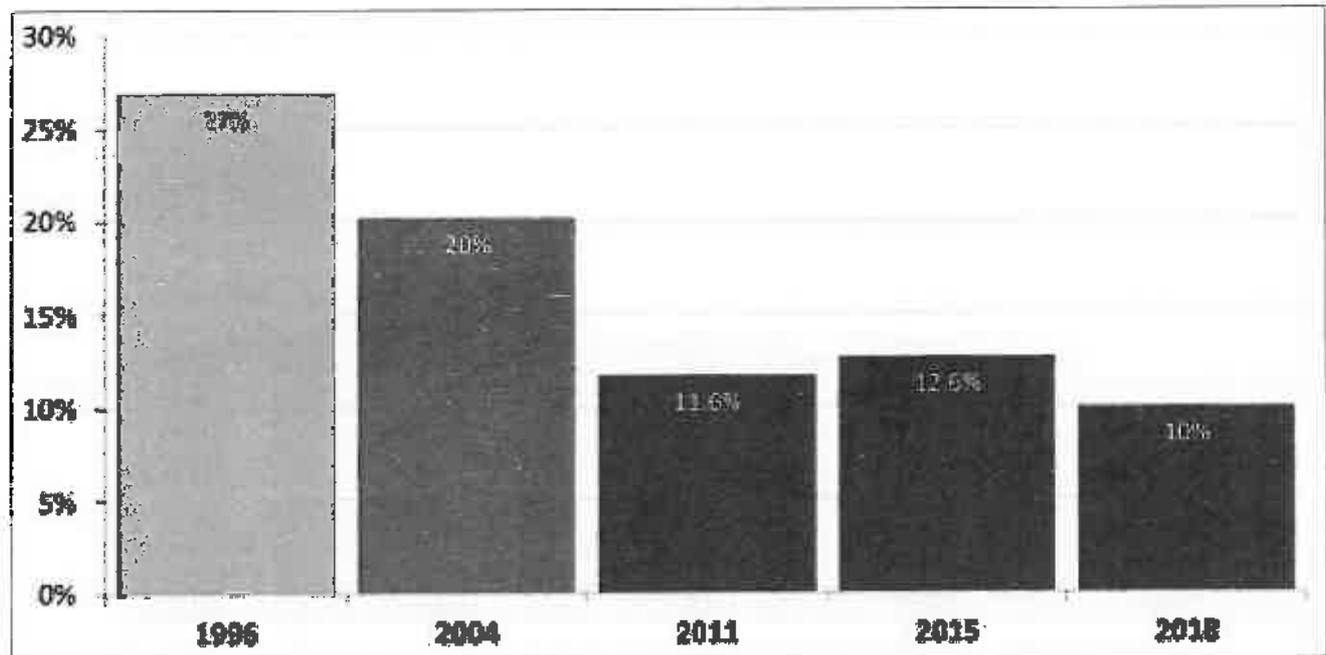


Source: GDP: IMF data; employment calculated from Reserve Bank data.

From the transition to democracy, the effects of slow GDP and jobs growth on low-income households were mitigated by extensive programmes to address poverty. Government supplemented these programmes in 2020 as the COVID-19 recession led to a large-scale loss of income for workers and businesses, especially in the informal sector.

In the late 2010s, around a third of all South Africans received some form of social grant. Because of high joblessness, social grants were the main source of income for a fifth of all households. They were targeted at people who physically could not work because of age or disability. In 2020, to address the loss of income from the COVID-19 recession, a new grant was established for unemployed people who did not already receive state support. Still, none of the grants were sufficient to lift families out of poverty. The old age and disability grants were twice the poverty line; the child grant was half of it until 2020, when it was increased to around 80% in response to the COVID-19 recession; and the new COVID-19 grant was just over a third of the poverty line for an individual.

In addition to grants, over the past 25 years millions of households have received upgrades in household infrastructure, improved education and healthcare, and access to formal housing, as well as a range of other benefits. Combined with the grants, the improvement in government services in low-income communities ensured a significant improvement in living conditions for the majority of South Africans over the past 25 years. To take a fundamental indicator, as **Graph 2** shows, the share of households where people went hungry at least sometimes fell from over one in four in the mid-1990s to one in ten in the late 2010s. Even as the economy slowed from 2015, the share of households suffer-

Economic Transformation**GRAPH 2.** Share of households where people went hungry at least sometimes, 1996 to 2018

Source: Statistics South Africa household surveys.

ing from hunger remained essentially stable. The effect of the COVID-19 recession on the level of food insecurity will only become available until 2021, however.

Redistribution through the state alleviates some of the worst effects of a deeply inequitable economy. Moreover, these systems have proven critical for social protection during the COVID-19 recession, as household incomes fell sharply with employment from March 2020. Still, even before the COVID-19 crisis, joblessness and inequality remained central socio-economic challenges for most citizens. Long after the transition to democracy, South Africa continued to lag behind other upper-middle-income countries in employment levels and income disparities.

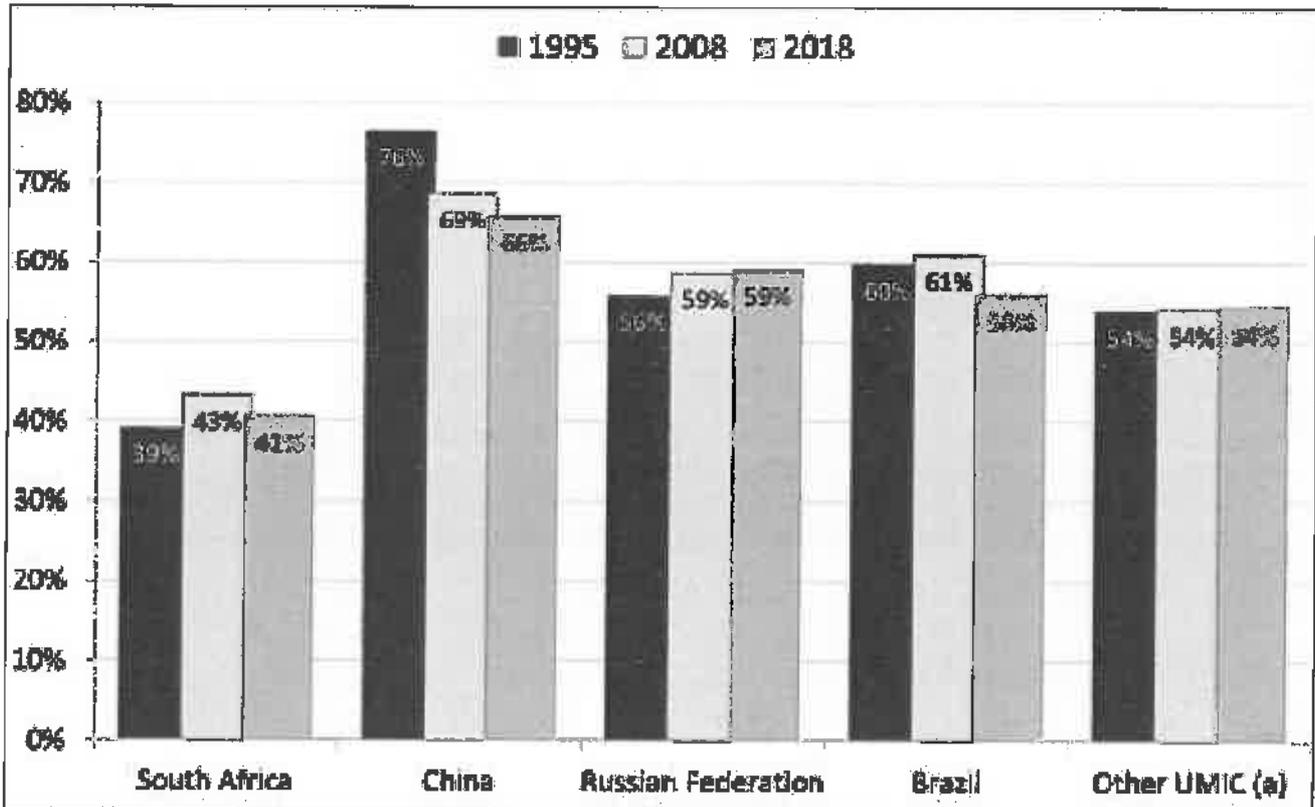
The long-run jobs backlog in South Africa emerges if we compare the share of the working aged population with employment with other countries. This indicator is known as the "employment ratio" or the "absorption ratio". It counts both wage workers and self-employed people as employed. As the following graph shows, the employment ratio in South Africa climbed from 39% in 1994 to 42% in 2019. The international norm is around 55%.¹ In South Africa, the ratio peaked a decade ago, but then, in 2008/9 around a million jobs were lost in the global financial crisis. Since 2008, job creation has fallen behind growth in the working-aged population, resulting in a decline in the employment ratio.

From the 1980s, South Africa has also consistently ranked as having the most unequal income distribution amongst countries that report on it using the Gini coefficient. A higher Gini coefficient means the distribution of income is more unequal. In South Africa, from

¹ The figures here are normed ILO data to permit international comparisons. Statistics South Africa gives an employment ratio that is around 1.5% higher, but the trends are the same and the gap from other countries would still be on the order of 15%.

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GRAPH 3. The share of employed people in the working-aged population, South Africa compared to other upper middle income countries, 1995, 2008 and 2018



Note: Average of 49 countries. Source: Calculated from World Bank World Development Indicators.

the 1980s the Gini coefficient has been estimated consistently at over .60; in other upper-middle-income countries, it averages around .45. (See **Graph 4**) The data likely overstate the gap between South Africa and peer economies, however, since many of the most unequal countries in the world do not report a Gini coefficient at all. Less than half of all upper-middle-income countries published a Gini coefficient from the mid-1990s through the late 2010s.

As of April 2020, absent government intervention, the COVID-19 recession seemed likely to aggravate inequalities because:

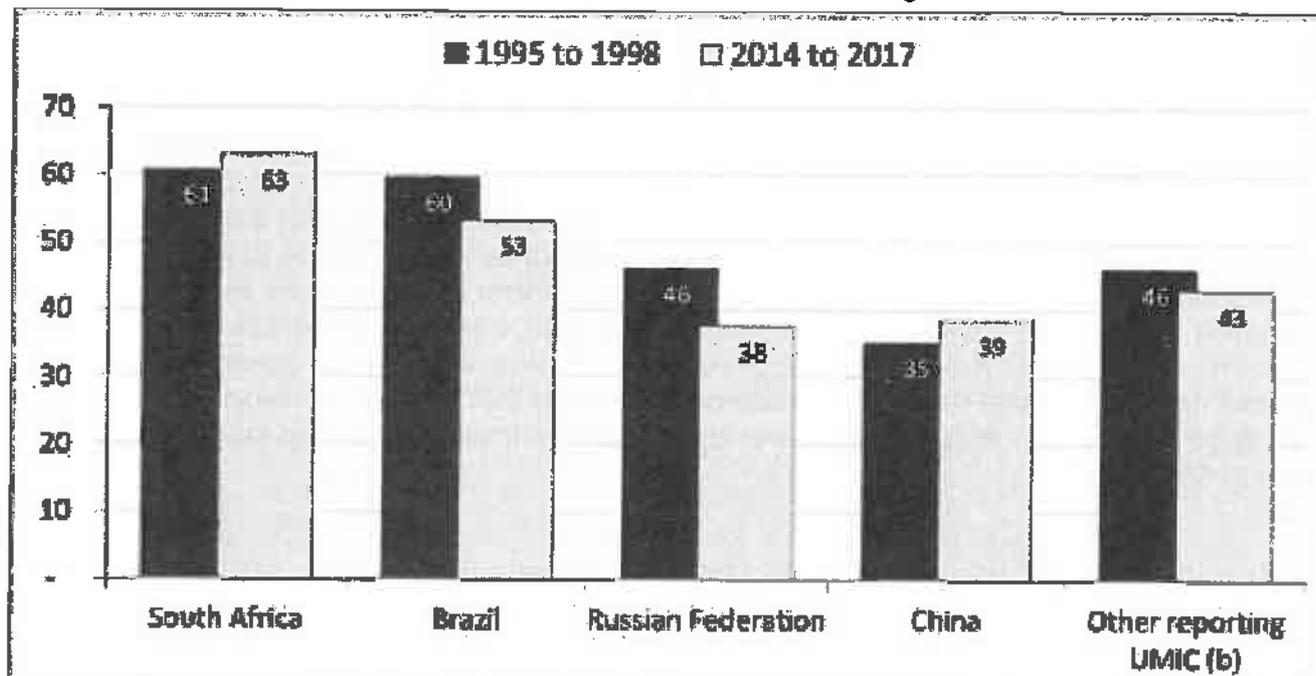
- Professionals and managers are more able to work from home, and consequently less likely to be laid off;
- People in personal and entertainment services, such as restaurants and hairdressers, were often unable to re-open fully because of the high risk of catching COVID-19; and
- Informal enterprises, which employed around two million people, faced particular difficulties both because requirements for physical distancing limited their access to consumers, for instance at taxi ranks, and because their customers were more likely to see job losses and consequently to cut back on purchases.

South Africa's economic growth depends on both international and domestic conditions. The slowdown from 2011 in particular correlated closely with the international prices of

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GRAPH 4. Gini coefficients for South Africa and the 16 other reporting upper-middle-income countries, mid-1990s and late 2010s (a)

Note: When the distribution of income is more unequal, the Gini coefficient is higher.



Note: (a) Figure for the earliest available year from 1995 to 1998, and the latest available from 2014 to 2017. (b) Population weighted average of 16 upper-middle-income countries other than South Africa, Brazil, Russia and China that reported a Gini in both periods. Source: Calculated from World Bank, World Development Indicators.

South Africa's main mining exports. Mining products, including refined metals and coal-based chemicals, account for over half of South Africa's total foreign sales. As the following graph shows, from the late 1990s the economic rate of growth has broadly tracked changes in the prices these products – mostly coal, platinum, iron ore and gold. Prices for metals hit a 30-year high in 2011, then dropped by between 30% and 50%.

While the slowdown from 2011 was driven largely by the sharp fall in export prices, a number of domestic factors also contributed. The following are most important.

- The electricity supply grew more and more expensive and unreliable from 2008.
- The climate crisis began to affect both agriculture and tourism, with more frequent and intense droughts and flooding.
- State capture and worsening corruption increased the costs of state-owned infrastructure systems and discouraged private investment.
- Government fiscal and monetary policies were generally pro-cyclical, although not to the point of austerity.
- Unusually deep inequalities and high joblessness fuelled increasing and unceasing contestation over policy priorities and strategies. That in turn tended to reduce private investment, since it aggravated investor uncertainty (as the ratings agencies invariably point out). Inequality also limited demand for basic consumer manufactures, making it more difficult to develop labour-intensive industries like clothing and plastics.

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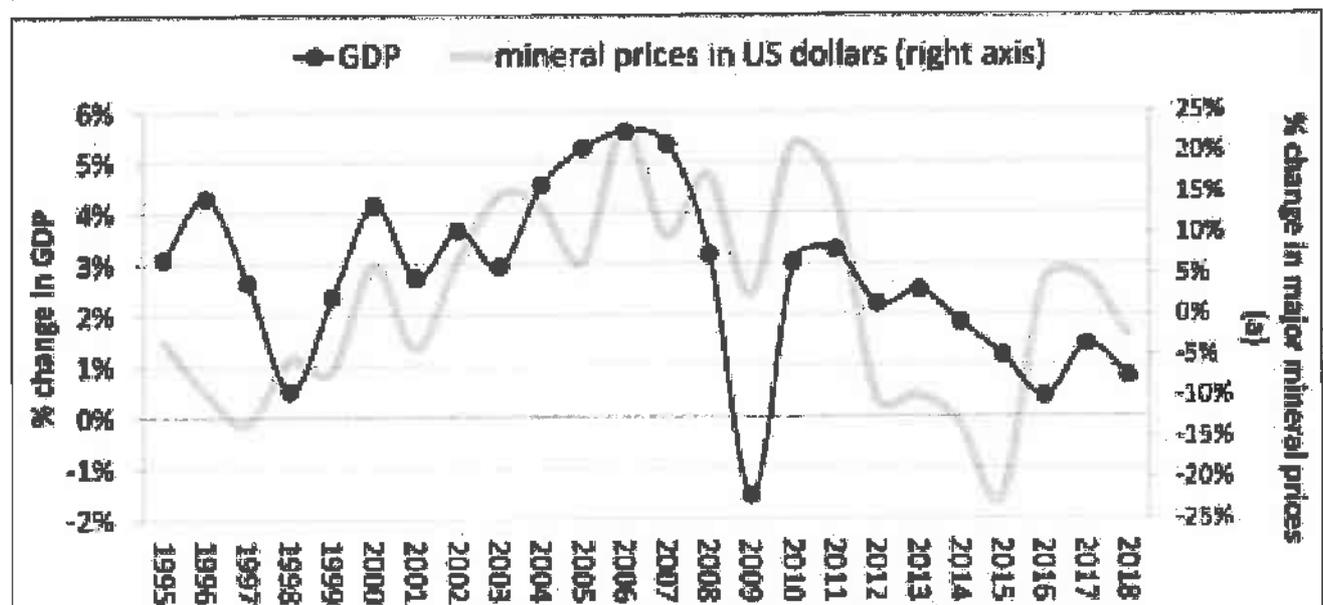
Taken together, these domestic and international factors led to relatively slow growth in South Africa compared to other upper middle income economies. As the following graph shows, since 2002 growth in South Africa has lagged most of these peer economies, although the divergence worsened after the metals price boom ended in 2011.

The COVID-19 recession brought a qualitatively different economic contraction. Because of the lack of treatments, immunity and vaccines to stop the pandemic, many countries imposed lockdowns to prevent physical contact between people, including in production. First China, in January, and then most other countries including South Africa from mid-March, restricted production outside of essential services. That in turn led to sharply falling incomes and rising joblessness, as well as a further drop in prices for South Africa's minerals and metals exports except gold. In addition, the auto assembly industry, which is South Africa's only major manufactured export, was effectively closed down as the global car companies shut down in Europe and the U.S. Finally, developing economies like South Africa saw a rapid outflow in financial investments, resulting in rapid depreciation of the rand.

The socio-economic impact of the lockdown was particularly harsh in South Africa due to the pre-existing inequalities in employment, incomes, savings and housing.

In theory, workers outside of the essential services were allowed to work from home at any phase of the lockdown. That is usually impossible for manual workers, however, as well as for retail. Formal employers, who account for four out of five jobs, generally tried to pay wages for the first month, but some applied no-work, no-pay rules. As of late April, it was not clear if they would be able to continue to meet salary costs for a second month

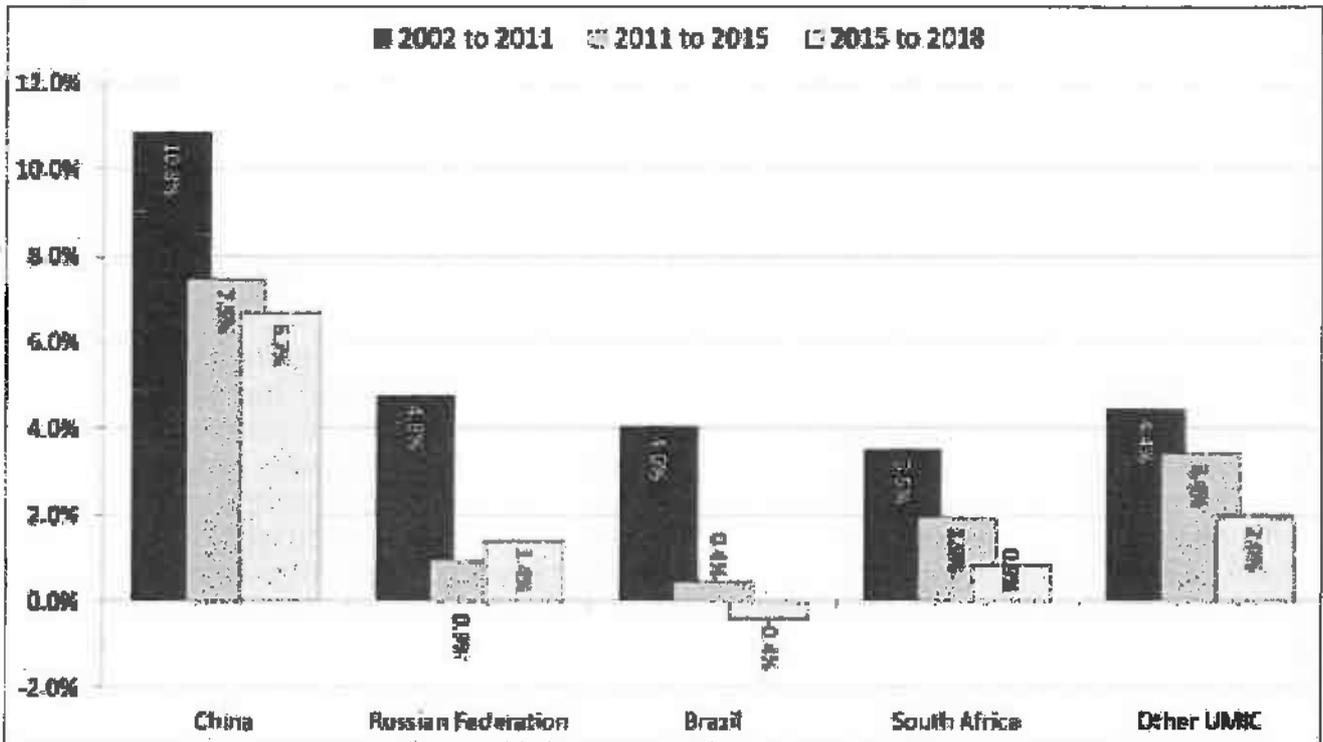
GRAPH 5. Annual percentage change in GDP compared to annual percentage change in international price of exported metals, ores and coal



Note: (a) Trade-weighted index of prices for coal, iron ore, platinum and gold.
 Source: For GDP, Statistics South Africa; for prices, Index Mundi/IMF commodity prices.

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GRAPH 6. Average annual GDP growth in South Africa compared to other upper middle income economies (UMIC), 2002 to 2011, 2011 to 2015 and 2015 to 2018



Source: Calculated from World Bank, World Development Indicators.

as long as they were unable to produce. The situation was even worse for casual and temporary workers, who mostly lost their employment. The 1,7 million informal entrepreneurs generally had to shut down.

Loss of income due to the shutdown had a vastly different impact on rich and poor households. The richest 10% of households account for over half of all household income and more than three quarters of financial savings. They could manage a decline in income for a month or two. In contrast, the poorest 60% of households lives on less than R6700 a month. Two out of five survive on less than the food poverty line defined by Statistics South Africa. These households saw a sharp decline in income even if they received increased social grants or food relief.

The personal and family burdens of staying in one's own residence also vary with income. The 1,2 million families living in informal settlements (8% of all households) inevitably share space and facilities with neighbours. For instance, three quarters of informal-settlement residents rely on communal taps and toilets, and two out of five live in a single room. Defining their lockdown space as their personal shacks alone imposed impossible choices.

In short, the economy faced deep structural challenges even before the COVID-19 recession. Above all, dependence on mining-based exports left it vulnerable to international metals price cycles, and deep inequalities led to slower growth and continual conflict over policies. In this context, the COVID-19 recession seemed likely to have the

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harshest impact on the poor; aggravate the downturn in commodity prices; and lead to even higher joblessness.

The next section summarises, in broad strokes, the ANC's strategies, achievements and shortfalls in addressing the structural economic challenges over the past 25 years.

3 STRATEGIES AND PROGRESS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The transition to democracy inevitably entailed some strategic decisions that shaped efforts to reconstruct the economy. In *Ready to Govern* and the RDP, the ANC essentially committed to avoiding extra-legal measures to transform individual or company ownership of economic, financial or personal assets (essentially businesses, company shares and government bonds, and housing), except to carry out land reform. Instead, it would work gradually to increase opportunities, wealth and incomes for black households. The aim was to ensure that big business and the wealthy would support gradual reconstruction of the economy in order to increase economic opportunities and jobs, incomes and government services for the majority, and reduce the profound inequalities entrenched under apartheid.

This approach led to a significant improvement in conditions for low-income households. But it did not generate the anticipated qualitative step up in job creation, equality and growth.

The strategy presumed that economic reconstruction would follow primarily from the institution of democracy, the end of discriminatory laws and legal segregation, improved government services for black communities, and expanded labour rights. In this context, government would support industrialisation, land reform and small business. These measures were expected to dramatically expand economic opportunities for the majority.

A core part of the approach was that government would respect the existing legal property rights of companies and individuals, with a partial exception for land. It also committed to maintaining individual employment rights – that is, no one would be fired based on their race or gender alone.

The ANC strategy reflected two hard realities. First, the immediate pressure was to avoid a flight of skills and capital with the transition to democracy. The RDP and other resolutions aimed to maintain space for real change while minimising the costs of the transition to a more democratic political and economic system. Second, the strategy accepted that the complex economies that have emerged over the past 50 years or so require a high degree of decentralisation. Enterprises, consumers and workers need to have the freedom to respond to changes in conditions, costs and prices. That in turn necessitates a mixed economy, with a significant private sector.

From this standpoint, the ANC approach aimed enable South Africa to move from a

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highly concentrated and exclusive mixed economy to a more inclusive, broad-based one. In particular, the aim was to make economic actors more accountable to the majority as well as ensuring more equitable incomes and wealth. Critical steps included improving the position and power of working people in larger companies; generating more opportunities for smaller businesses; strengthening social ownership (collective ownership through co-ops, worker and community groups; non-profit social enterprise; and government ownership on behalf of citizens); and generally promoting collective action socially, economically and politically in order to empower working people and their communities.

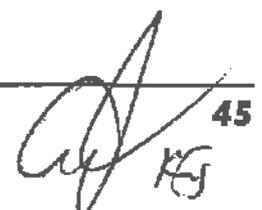
Despite the decision not to pursue extra-legal measures, the democratic state retained significant power to drive reconstruction. Critical instruments included:

- Extending finance and infrastructure for new entrepreneurs,
- Expropriating land in the public interest,
- Supporting worker and community organisation and mobilisation to promote economic transformation and to drive projects,
- Ensuring that low-income children and workers had access to quality education and training,
- Utilising preferential procurement, and
- Setting tariffs and regulatory frameworks including around pricing, ownership and control in companies, and employment equity.

In practice, since 1994 there has been substantial progress in upgrading and expanding government services (including social grants) as well building democratic and labour rights. Nonetheless, economic reconstruction has fallen far short of popular expectations. An analysis of progress on central economic strategies helps understand the problem.

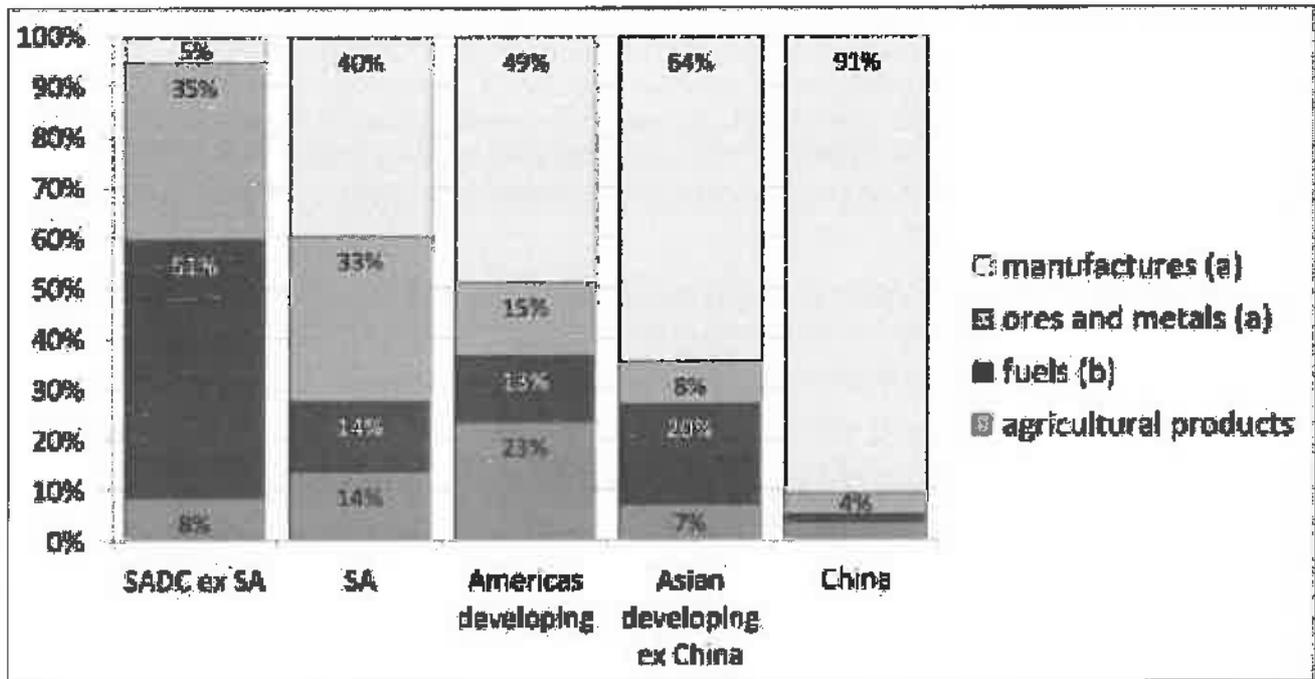
Starting with **Ready to Govern**, the ANC adopted seven core strategies to reconstruct the economy, which can be summarised as follows.

- Government would promote growth in manufacturing and value-adding services so as to accelerate the creation of decent work, increase incomes, take advantage of global markets, and reduce the risks of narrow reliance on mining exports.
- Basic municipal services, education, healthcare and social grants would be expanded and improved in black communities, increasing investment in our people and enabling them to take advantage of economic opportunities.
- Government would eliminate discriminatory laws around residential rights, business licences and finance.
- It would strengthen support for small businesses, including through the provision of finance, training, infrastructure and its own procurement.
- It would encourage greater workplace equality, replacing the unusually unequal, discriminatory and oppressive labour relations entrenched under apartheid.
- Large-scale land reform would improve livelihoods and promote broader agrarian reform, especially to benefit farmworkers and people living in impoverished and overcrowded areas of the historic labour-sending regions.

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GRAPH 7. Average annual GDP growth in South Africa compared to other upper middle income economies (UMIC), 2002 to 2011, 2011 to 2015 and 2015 to 2018



Notes: (a) Manufacturing excludes basic foodstuffs, which are included under agriculture, and iron and steel products, which are included in ores and metals. (b) Mostly oil and gas outside of South Africa, and coal for South Africa. Source: Calculated from UNCTAD, UNCTADSTAT. Interactive database. Downloaded from www.unctad.org in October 2019.

- Fiscal and monetary policy would support growth and job creation without fuelling excessive public debt or inflation.

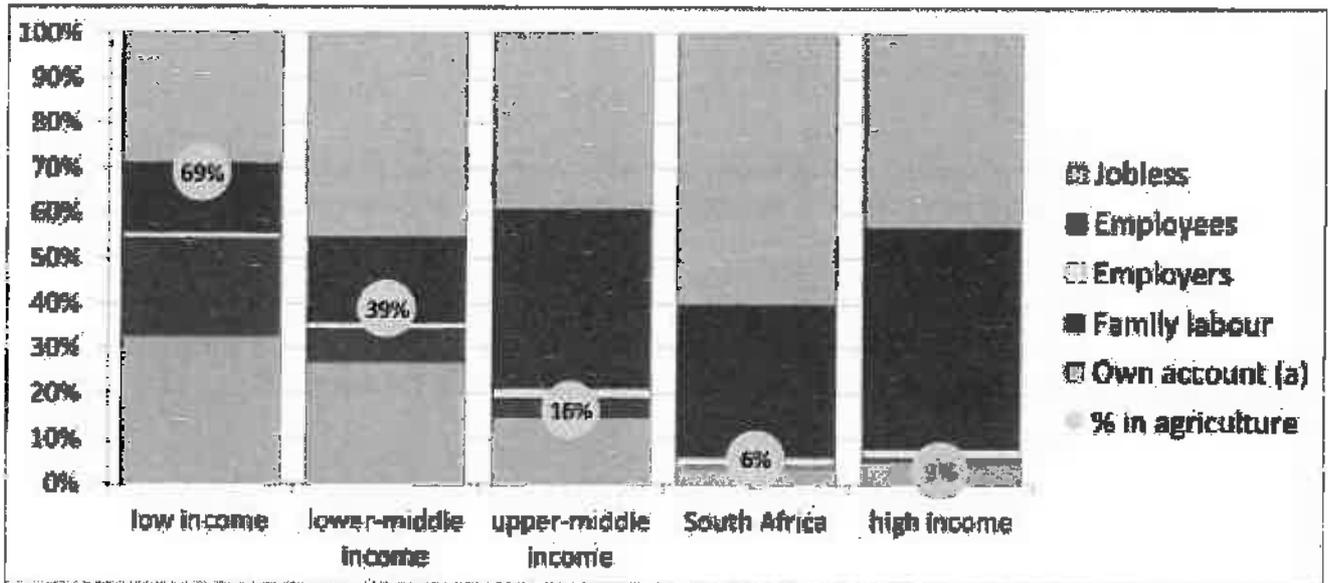
This section provides a broad outline of the main achievements and shortfalls in implementing each of these strategies over the past 25 years. A separate document reports on implementation of Conference resolutions.

Inclusive Industrialisation: The economy remained dependent on exports from the mining value chain, which in turn meant that South Africa's economy was buffeted by global commodity cycles. In terms of value add, the fastest growing industries were finance, telecommunications and construction. As for employment, almost all new jobs emerged in business and community services, largely security and cleaning. Over the past decade there has been no employment growth in manufacturing, although food processing has increased jobs while heavy industry has shed them.

Manufacturing growth and exports have been dominated by metals and coal refineries (including Sasol); the small but world-class auto-assembly and capital goods industries; and food processing. Other light industry, in particular clothing and electronics, remained very small by international standards. The dominance of heavy industry meant that manufacturing growth did not create many new jobs. In contrast, in industrialising Asian economies, industrial policies won popular support by generating employment on a huge scale in clothing, appliances and electronics, plastics, food processing and other light industries.

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GRAPH 8. Employment status in South Africa compared to other economies by income group, 2017



Note: (a) That is, self-employed. Source: Calculated from ILO, ILOSTAT, Interactive database. Downloaded from www.ilo.org in August 2018.

Government services, including education, municipal services and social grants, were vastly expanded from 1994 in historically black communities that had been largely excluded under apartheid. For Africans, the average years of formal education increased from eight years in 1996 to ten years in 2019. The share of African households with electricity climbed from 44% to 94%; with running water on site, from 47% to 70%; and with a flush toilet, from 34% to 58%. In the poorest 80% of households, one in five says they have received a housing subsidy.

While access improved, the quality of services for low-income households still lags far behind historically white areas. For instance, in the late 2010s there were around twice as many learners per educator in historically African schools as in historically white (but now mostly integrated) schools.

The RDP expected the expansion of services to provide a critical boost to the economy by enabling households to start small businesses. In practice, however, the effects were limited. In the late 2010s, self-employment remained very low compared to other upper-middle-income economies, as Graph 8 shows.

Overtly discriminatory laws on residence, access to finance and business licences were ended with the transition to democracy. From 1994, black people were legally permitted to live wherever they could afford, to start businesses and to accumulate assets, including financial investments, housing and land.

By 2018, Africans made up 60% of the highest-income 10% of households, compared to almost none before 1994. Still, even within that top 10%, white households had around

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three times as much wealth as African households. Their incomes were not much above African households in the top 10%, but most white families had inherited financial assets, houses and often businesses. Moreover, in 2017 over half of directors of listed companies and 80% of their CEOs were white men.

For the bottom of the pyramid, the main benefits were the ability to move to economic centres and, in the urban areas, a sharp increase in home ownership. The share of the population living in the mostly impoverished historic labour-sending regions fell from half in early 1990s to a quarter in 2018. In 2018 half of African urban households owned their own homes (as did 80% of households in the historic labour-sending regions). Still, most township and rural houses had a market value of under R250 000, and many could not be used as security for loans because they could not easily be sold.

Overall, the distribution of wealth remained heavily unequal. The lowest-income 90% of households owned at most a third of all financial assets excluding retirement funds.

Support for small business was expected to lead to both a more dynamic economy and greater opportunities and agency for the majority of South Africans. Government supported emerging enterprises mostly through loans, some training, and by including procurement from empowered, especially small, enterprises as an element in larger companies' BEE status.

Still, as **Graph 8** shows, in the late 2010s the share of small businesses remained small by international standards. In every major industry, a handful of large, often globally competitive companies dominates production and sales. In 2019, there were 700 000 formal small businesses (up from around 550 000 in the early 2000s) and 1,5 informal businesses, compared to 1,3 million a decade earlier. Black people owned almost two thirds of formal small businesses in 2019, compared to a third in 2002.

Policies to promote workplace equality were expected to reduce South Africa's unusually deep inequalities in pay and workplace power. Government introduced labour laws that set a floor for conditions, especially leave and working time, as well as protecting workers' rights to organise. It also established employment equity requirements, stronger occupational health and safety, the SETA system and minimum wages. As originally conceived, all of these laws aimed primarily to improve career mobility and incomes for shopfloor workers.

The labour laws transformed conditions for formal workers, especially in large, unionised companies and the public sector. By the early 2000s, a third of the formal workforce belonged to a union, including over four out of five miners and two out of three public servants (mostly teachers, nurses and police). Since then, however, unionisation rates have remained flat. This a core problem both because it limits the power of a central ANC constituency and because the labour laws depend on unions to monitor and enforce compliance.

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Minimum wages have had a visible impact on improving workers' conditions. In 2017, six out of ten farm and domestic workers earned under R2300. In 2002, when they first got minimum wages, the figure was nine out of ten (that is, 90% earned under R1000 a month in 2002 rand, which was equal to R2300 in 2017 rand). Moreover, even as pay has increased, both farm and domestic jobs have expanded substantially over the past decade.

Despite these gains, South Africa still has unusually unequal pay scales and hierarchical workplaces compared to the rest of the world. A third of formal employees, two thirds of informal employees and over four fifths of domestic workers do not earn enough to keep a family out of poverty (R3250 for a family of four in 2019). Most workers still have limited or no chance of promotion. Workers without matric are generally unable to get certified training on the job. This situation helps explain why South Africa consistently ranks amongst the countries with the most antagonistic workplace relationships in the world.

Land reform was expected to reverse the landlessness of the rural poor, especially farm-workers and people who had been pushed into the historic labour-sending regions. It remained a fairly small programme, however. In the late 2010s, almost a third of the 40 000 commercial farms were black owned. But only 0,3% of households nationwide, or 45 000, said they had received land as part of a land reform programme. In 2019, the national government planned to provide land to 89 emergent farmers and to support 8000 subsistence farmers. For comparison, 120 000 households depend primarily on their own farms for food or income.

Fiscal and monetary policies avoided austerity during downturns, except in the late 1990s. But they were generally aligned with economic cycles rather than compensating for them. From 2000 to 2009, during the height of the international metals price boom, public investment climbed from around 4,5% of the GDP to over 7%. It fell back to 5,5% in 2019, however, as international mining prices dropped and the economy slowed. Similarly, from 2002 to 2011, in constant terms government spending climbed 7% a year; from 2011 to 2015, it grew 3% a year; and from 2015 to 2017, it slowed to 2% a year. The trend reversed in the 2019 to 2021 budgets, as the GDP slowed. Government spending targeted a 4% annual increase above inflation, far outstripping tax revenues. But the increase in 2020/21 went mostly to bail out Eskom and SAA, while spending on the main social services lagged in real terms.

Similarly, monetary policy was pro-cyclical but not draconian. Real prime lending rates (subtracting inflation) dropped from over 10% in the late 1990s to 3% around 2011. Then, as the economy slowed, they began to increase again, reaching 5,5% in 2019. That compared to rates of around 4% in other upper-middle-income countries excluding China, and 1% in China.

Finally, the levies for the UIF and Compensation Fund were excessive compared to their pay-outs. As a result, they accumulated large surpluses, equal in 2019 to R160 billion at the UIF and R65 billion at the Compensation Fund. These resources effectively derived from legally mandated savings by workers and employers. They were, however, invested almost exclusively in listed companies and government bonds, rather than promoting economic reconstruction.

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Table 1 summarises key achievements and shortcomings over the past 25 years for each of the main strategies that sought to generate more inclusive and equitable growth.

Table 1 Outcomes of main strategies to achieve inclusive economic development

	Achievements	Shortfalls
Inclusive industrialisation	<p>Diversification of mining exports into platinum, chrome and manganese as gold reserves were exhausted</p> <p>Strong manufacturing capacity retained in the mining value chain (capital goods, coal and metals refineries) and in food production and processing</p> <p>Development of world-class export industries in auto assembly, fresh and processed fruit and vegetables, and in health, education, construction and other services</p>	<p>Formal manufacturing lost 225 000 jobs in the global financial crisis from 2008 to 2010, and its employment has fallen by a further 100 000 since then</p> <p>Mining products (ores, coal and basic metals) still account for over half of all goods exports</p> <p>Manufacturing strengths are largely in capital-intensive industries (auto, capital goods, refineries), which only generate around 5% of all jobs and account for most of the manufacturing job losses since 2008.</p> <p>The increasing unreliability and cost of electricity has hindered new activities and investments.</p>
Basic services	<p>Average years of education for Africans increased from 8 years in 1996 to 10 years in 2019</p> <p>From 1996 to 2018, the share of African households with electricity climbed from 44% to 94%; with running water on site, from 47% to 70%; with a flush toilet, from 34% to 58%</p> <p>20% of households in the poorest 80% say they have received a housing subsidy</p> <p>Social grants reduce inequality and are the main source of income for one in five households</p> <p>EPWP provided 865 000 work opportunities (mostly lasting several months) in 2018</p>	<p>Access to quality education still depends on class and location, which largely align with race</p> <p>Most working class townships are still located far from economic opportunities</p> <p>African access to municipal services lags behind other groups (which have between 95% and 100% access) and quality in townships often visibly worse</p> <p>Old-age pension and disability grants suffice to raise 2 people out of poverty; the child support grant is half the poverty line for a single person</p> <p>There are no social grants for jobless adults who are not disabled; EPWP provided opportunities to around 4% of jobless adults.</p>

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	Achievements	Shortfalls
End discriminatory laws on residence, finance and business ownership	<p>Share of population in historic labour-sending regions fell from half in early 1990s to a quarter in 2018</p> <p>50% of African households in urban areas own their homes (80% in historic labour-sending regions)</p> <p>Black households made up 60% of the highest-income 10% in 2018, up from an insignificant share before 1994.</p>	<p>Over half of directors of listed companies and 80% of their CEOs were white men in 2017</p> <p>Richest 10% of households get two thirds of income from financial assets outside of retirement funds</p> <p>For the poorest 60% of households, seven out of ten homes were worth R250 000 or less in 2018</p> <p>White households get three quarters of income from financial assets; in the highest-income 10%, white households have around three times as much wealth as African households.</p>
Small business	<p>Increase in formal small business from 600 000 in 2010 to 700 000 in 2019</p> <p>Black-owned share up from a third in 2002 to almost two thirds in 2019.</p>	<p>A handful of large companies still dominate every major industry</p> <p>One in 20 adults owns a business, compared to one in five in peer economies.</p>
Workplace equality	<p>In 2002, nine out of ten farm and domestic workers earned under R1000 a month; the share fell to six in ten in 2017, taking inflation into account (R1000 in 2002 had the purchasing power of R2300 in 2017)</p> <p>Laws established labour rights and floor on conditions</p> <p>Increase in unionisation to a third of formal employment in early 2000s, and over two thirds in public sector</p> <p>Over half of private managers and professionals were black in 2017, up from a third in 2002 (the figure was stable at four fifths in the public sector)</p>	<p>A third of formal employees, two thirds of informal employees and over four fifths of domestic workers do not earn enough to keep a family out of poverty (R3250 for a family of four)</p> <p>Since 2002, the share of union members in formal employment has remained stagnant at a third, with much lower rates for farm and informal workers</p> <p>SA still has unusually unequal pay scales and hierarchical workplaces compared to the rest of the world</p> <p>Most workers still don't have access to certified training, with SETA funded training mostly limited to those who have matric and very limited certification for informal learning (Recognition of Prior Learning, or RPL)</p> <p>Unjustified workplace inequalities generate distrust and conflict, harming productivity and investment.</p>

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	Achievements	Shortfalls
Land reform	<p>Almost a third of the 40 000 commercial farms were black owned in 2017</p> <p>Farming is the main source of income or food for 120 000 households.</p>	<p>45 000 households, or 0,3% of the total, said they had received land as part of a land reform programme in 2018 (0,1% in urban areas, 0,3% in historic labour-sending areas, and 1,9% in commercial farm areas)</p> <p>National government planned to provide land to 89 emergent farmers in 2019 and support to 8000 subsistence farmers.</p>
Fiscal and monetary	<p>Public investment climbed from 4,6% of the GDP in 1994 to 7,8% in 2009, although it fell back to 5,4% 2019</p> <p>Government revenues increased from 22% of the GDP in 1994 to 26% in 2019, and government spending is still growing faster than the GDP</p> <p>Real prime rates (subtracting inflation) dropped from over 10% in the late 1990s to around 5,5% in 2019</p> <p>Inflation fell from over 10% in the early 1990s to 4% in 2019</p> <p>The budget deficit fell from 6,6% of the GDP in 1993 to -3,9% in 2018/9 (but rose to 6,5% in 2019/20 and 6,8% in 2020/21).</p>	<p>Government spending and investment was broadly pro-cyclical, although not austerity. Government consumption grew at 4,6% a year (in constant rand) during the global commodity boom from 2002 to 2011, when the economy grew at 3,5% a year, but slowed to 1,5% from 2011 to 2019. Public investment (including SOCs) rose 10% a year from 2002 to 2011, but from 2015 to 2018 the state disinvested at 8,5% a year, with a further 2,4% disinvestment in 2019.</p> <p>Real interest rates fell from the late 1990s to 2002, but then climbed by 2%. In 2018, at 6%, real interest rates were higher than the norm for upper middle income countries (1% in China and a population-weighted average of 4% in other UMIC)</p> <p>Inflated levies for the UIF and Compensation Fund compared to pay-outs means they have accumulated large surpluses, which represent forced savings by workers and employers but are not being used for developmental purposes</p>

Source: Data provided by Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies (TIPS) based on information from Statistics South Africa and other official sources.

The government has adopted strong policies in response to the COVID-19 recession. It has had four main thrusts:

- Providing social protection and relief for low-income households and working people;
- Supporting businesses, especially smaller producers, in order to minimise bankruptcies and try to avoid retrenchments, so that the economy would not lose core capacities that would help the recovery;
- Reducing interest rates and using other measures to promote liquidity in an effort to sustain economic activity as far as possible; and
- Mobilising resources both domestically and internationally to maintain a large-scale economic stimulus, equal to 10% of the GDP, while accepting a sharp increase in the budget deficit.

In short, over the past 25 years, government went a long way in expanding services for historically excluded households, and in eliminating discriminatory laws and protecting citizens' and workers' rights. In contrast, it proved far more difficult to overhaul the economy in order to promote greater equality in ownership of businesses, financial wealth, land and other assets; incomes; and education and training. In this context, the immediate response to the COVID-19 recession was to avoid losing core economic capacities and jobs during the lockdown, and to mobilise resources for the recovery after growth was again possible.

4 THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

The ANC has long understood that once the colonial state had entrenched inequality and mining dependency, the market will tend to reproduce them. This section first unpacks why that happens. It then explores factors that have prevented the democratic state from intervening more rigorously and effectively to address the systemic pillars of inequality and mining dependency. A central problem is that in deeply unequal societies, it proves difficult to agree on disruptive actions. By definition, big changes impose costs on groups that benefit from the current situation. Moreover, policy innovations are risky and inevitably some will fail. In those cases, the blame usually falls on the state even if other actors actually caused the failure.

A variety of long-standing economic, legal, social and political relationships shape the balance of forces in the economy that continues to encourage dependency on mining and to deter growth in other sectors.

- In the private sector, South African companies have had 150 years to develop world-class capacity to support mining. These activities range from the initial finance and construction to mining itself; the production of capital goods and chemicals as inputs; downstream metals and coal-based chemicals refineries; and manufacture of metal products. The companies involved in the value chain often find it easier to look overseas for new opportunities linked to mining than to venture into light industry or value-adding services. Virtually all of South Africa's largest mining and construction companies have transformed themselves into international conglomerates, while many financial institutions have tried, with less success, to do the same.
- Support for mining is also embedded in decades-old regulatory systems. In infrastructure, deciding how and where to invest has long been shaped and largely funded by mining, from freight transport to water and electricity. During the metals price boom from 2002 to 2011, for instance, the SOCs increased their investments largely because the mines and refineries expanded, leading to higher demand. From 2011, however, the abrupt fall in minerals and metals prices fell from 2011 squeezed sales, however, and with it state investment. In addition, the regulatory frameworks for taxation, education and training, land use and support for research and development all incorporate long-standing concessions to facilitate development in the mining value chain.

Similarly, once inequalities in asset ownership, human capital, and work organisation and payscales have been established, they tend to persist. The reproduction of inequalities in ownership and control has obvious historical roots.

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- Under apartheid small businesses were largely suppressed, while the regime promoted concentration in many industries. This history means that physical infrastructure, financial institutions, procurement systems, market access, managerial experience and other skills, and regulatory frameworks developed to serve large, established companies. In the absence of major reforms, they often cannot accommodate smaller, newer and riskier enterprises. In consequence, emerging businesses face a generally unsupportive ecosystem.
- In this context, the low level of self-employment in South Africa is a direct consequence of the destruction of small-scale African agriculture. Before 1994, African farmers were limited to historic labour-sending regions. These areas were largely delineated to exclude access to agricultural water and land; have large backlogs in economic, household and social infrastructure; and are often overcrowded. Only 25% of working-aged adults in these regions are employed, compared to half of those in the rest of the country. Under 5% of their households rely primarily on their own farms for income or food.
- At the level of households, rich people have higher incomes and can afford better qualifications. That in turn makes it easier for them to take advantage of economic opportunities and pass privileges on over generations.

In the education system, apartheid established deep disparities. From an economic standpoint, it aimed to limit the pool of skills in order to increase pay for people with qualifications. It generated some world-class graduates but left most school leavers unable to compete for higher-level jobs.

After the transition to democracy, wealthy households were enabled to buy better education both inside and outside of the public sector. Increasingly, access to top-tier universities and degrees depends on the ability to pay both school and university fees. The ability to charge fees in turn enables private and historically white schools to sustain higher quality infrastructure, lower educator:learner ratios and better facilities. While many are more representative in terms of race than they were in 1994, they are still largely closed to learners from lower-income households. In 2016, a third of all white students, but only 12% of black students, went to Stellenbosch, UCT or Wits.

In the workplace, work organisation was also shaped historically to maintain "European" pay for managers and professionals at the cost of other workers. Production depended on a few highly skilled and formally qualified positions, while most lower-level jobs were deskilled. Once these structures are established, most people cannot envision a more equitable workplace or educational system.

After 1994, very few established enterprises or, in government, bureaucracies tried to reform their work organisation so as to upskill and empower lower-level workers; establish more supportive and creative management styles; or promote career mobility. For most workers, workplaces remained oppressive and often arbitrary, with improvements available only through the annual pay increment. That is a recipe for hostility and conflict.

The systems that reproduce dependence on mining exports as well as inequality are long-standing and resilient. Various factors make it hard for the government to disrupt them.

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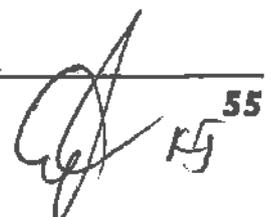
First, as noted above, modern economies are highly complex. The state does not have the organisational or personnel capacity to take over most producers. That means it has limited power to order action by private companies. It can regulate businesses in a wide variety of ways that reduce its returns or raise its costs. But if government requirements impose long-run losses on an enterprise, it has no choice but to close down or move elsewhere. In addition, government directives are only one amongst a range of factors influencing companies' behaviour.

Second, the democratic state has some core weakness. They largely follow from the deep inequalities in society, which make it virtually impossible to achieve full consensus on economic policy. As a result, government must navigate between the demands of its constituents, who want real change in the economy, and pressure from business, which on the whole would prefer to minimise the disruption, risks and costs that would follow from far-reaching economic reconstruction. Within each of these camps, moreover, major fractions often disagree with each other vehemently. The most obvious divide is between the leaders of emerging and big business, but the interests of the financial sector, manufacturing, agriculture and mining also often diverge. These divisions often underpin debates within the ANC and the Alliance, as well as between government departments and agencies.

Managing policy contestation is harder because of the institutional fragmentation of the state, which is illustrated in **Figure 1**. Different state agencies have mandates that align with divergent constituencies. Lobbyists and pressure groups are able to forum shop. In this context, instead of defining and pursuing hard objectives, the state often functions as a big-tent coalition united around vague priorities. That approach permits considerable variation and even contradictions in specific policies.

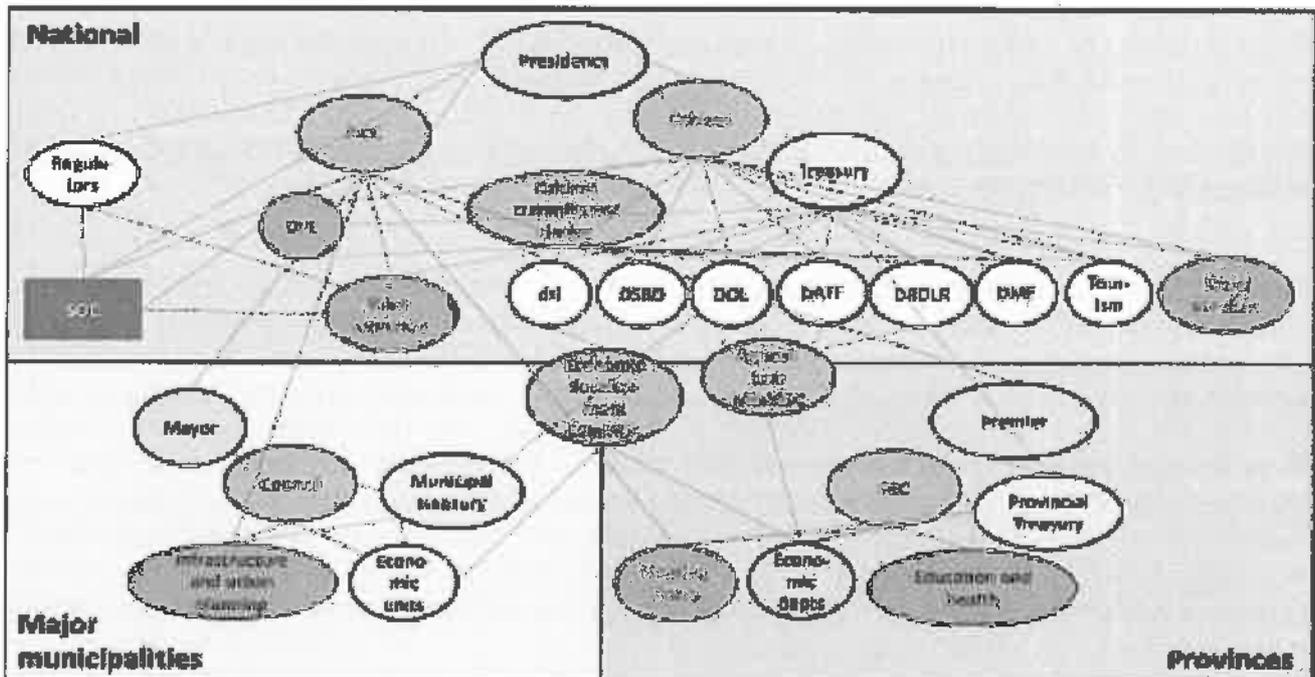
The fragmentation of the state appears in the strong independence that national departments and the spheres of the state assert in developing and carrying out policies. The central government has struggled to impose coherent quality control on both the design and implementation of new initiatives. In effect, the power to block or quality control departmental initiatives falls almost exclusively to Cabinet, the Presidency and Treasury. Both Cabinet and the Presidency need far greater technical capacity and stronger mandating systems to evaluate and monitor often highly complex economic policies. For its part, Treasury has generally seen disruptive proposals as excessively risky. In consequence, it often does not fund them at all, or limits their resources to the point where they are largely ineffective.

In sum, apartheid entrenched a range of systems that promote both economic inequality and mining-dependent growth. Policies to disrupt these systems necessarily run into opposition as well as posing risks. On the one hand, the current beneficiaries have the resources and power to lobby effectively in favour of the status quo. On the other, the state has been fragmented and indecisive and generally lacks the capacity for economic analysis. Overall, its policies have appeared designed more to avoid the risks disruption poses to growth, while downplaying the risks that arise from growing popular anger about inequality, joblessness, and slow income growth.

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Figure 1. Economic policy structures in the South African state, 2019



Source: Neva Makgetla. Forthcoming. "Economic institutions and the frustration of economic policy," in, David Plaatjes. *Making Institutions Work*. Forthcoming 2020.

In these circumstances, it has proven easier to focus on improving living standards through the extension of government services, without attempting far-reaching economic reconstruction. Continued dependence on mining exports, however, meant that the downturn in global metals markets from 2011 brought a sharp slowdown in growth. Moreover, the persistence of social and economic inequalities after 25 years of democracy has tried the patience of most citizens.

5 RESPONSES TO STRUCTURAL CHANGE

Even before the COVID-19 recession, South Africa was experiencing a difficult combination of depressed economic growth and rising popular impatience with the slow pace of change in joblessness and inequality. The COVID-19 crisis added to the challenges, with a sharp fall in production and high joblessness. The challenge was to ensure that the recovery from the lockdown delivered immediate benefits to key stakeholders, while laying the basis for restructuring the economy to ensure greater equality and dynamism.

Politically and socially, these measures can succeed only in the context of an enhanced strategy to manage the objective differences between powerful groups in the economy. The critical divides emerge in particular between both established and emerging business, on the one hand, and working people, including informal entrepreneurs, on the other.

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This section first reviews some policy options and capacity needs. It outlines options for a pacting process to manage the effects of economic and social inequality on economic strategies.

5.1 Policy directions

The key areas for economic policy after the lockdown are:

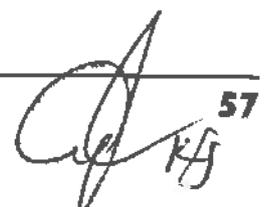
- A sustainable package to revive overall economic growth;
- Measures that visibly improve economic opportunities for working people on a significant scale; and
- Improved management of business needs and expectations so as to promote investment and job creation without simply giving up on reconstruction.

As noted above, government has committed to mobilising resources to support business in re-opening the economy. The challenge historically has been to balance the need to support existing competitive centres of the economy – in particular the mining value chain, auto assembly, industrial food production and professional services – against the imperative of promoting diversification and small businesses that can generate more equitable and inclusive growth.

In this context, the recovery strategy must provide short-run programmes to reassure the majority of South Africans that we are serious about strengthening their economic opportunities and agency.

- Government should vastly increase support for organisations that promote social mobilisation in working-class communities, such as labour unions and other constituency-based organisations, the Presidential National Youth Service, and community-based public employment schemes.
- The minimum wage should increase at least 1,5% above inflation annually. For 2019/20, the increase was only at inflation, or around 4,5% in nominal terms. In addition, stakeholders – especially unions, communities of faith and NGOs – should be assisted to improve monitoring and enforcement, especially for low-income, often unorganised workers.
- Access to elite educational institutions, from primary to tertiary, should be improved for low-income learners, including by setting a quota for places without fees for learners from low-income households.
- Larger companies should be encouraged to invite unions to participate in their boards of directors, and to expand employee and community ownership.

In terms of building confidence from established business, progress has already been made around the regulation of electricity generation, easing visas for skilled people, water licences, restructuring the SOCs and addressing corruption. In this context, the top priorities are visibly and rigorously dealing with corruption, and ensuring affordable, reliable electricity generation (which requires disciplining Eskom rather than just trying to salvage it).

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The most effective next step would be to introduce stronger systems for government to engage with business. That in turn requires both clear, efficient and disciplined mandating structures, and more rigorous quality control by the Presidency on policy proposals from an early stage. Government and ANC leaders need to have a well-defined understanding of what they want from engagements with business, their priorities in that context, and their leverage. They also need to maintain an analysis of the actual power, resources and objectives of different fractions within business.

The introduction of Master Plans to promote growth at the level of individual value chains represents a key opportunity to diversify the economy and promote more equitable growth while supporting the economic recovery. Their effectiveness will however depend on stronger quality control, alignment across relevant agencies, and technical resourcing. In particular, they require:

- Greater capacity at the level of the Presidency to prioritise and coordinate the process, monitor and unblock implementation, and where necessary ensure Master Plans are strengthened continually as implementation proceeds. A particular challenge is to ensure that all state entities, including SOCs and regulators, adequately support the Master Plans.
- A focus on actual or potential core industries rather than niche products.
- Greater capacity for departments to develop transformative, even disruptive, claims for the Master Plans. We need proposals that can decisively address the main constraints on competitiveness and growth in specific value chains, with realistic objectives, targets and alignment across the state, based on strong evidence-based economic analysis and effective, mandated engagements with organised business and labour. In many cases, a key challenge is to manage the rents on inputs, whether feed for livestock and poultry or iron ore for steel. Holding down upstream rents is often not a priority for business, but is critical for sustainable industrialisation.

The Master should be focused on industries that can generate employment on a large scale and/or meet new needs arising out of the pandemic. In line with this approach, the following industries should be prioritised; for several, Master Plans have already been initiated.

1. The auto industry
2. Steel fabrication (centred on bolstering producers downstream from AMSA and Columbus Steel)
3. Food processing, with separate programmes for maize and wheat products and for poultry and red meat (horticulture is a critical subsector but does not need additional support)
4. Appliances and white goods
5. Low-income personal transport – that is, light motorbikes, bicycles and tuktuks
6. Digital e-commerce and services (including software exports)
7. Clothing and textiles
8. Capital goods for infrastructure and mining
9. Furniture

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10. Hospitality and recreational services, which are highly labour intensive but will take long to return to their pre-pandemic level even with substantial support.

For disruptive change to be sustained and affordable, the state requires far stronger risk-management systems. Crucial elements are stronger monitoring of implementation, with capacity to deal with blockages, and where necessary to modify policies that prove undesirable or ineffective. It is counterproductive to refuse to accept any disruptive measures because their consequences cannot be foreseen in advance. Instead, plans must be continually reviewed and where necessary modified in light of new information and experiences.

5.2 Managing policy contestation

Uncontrolled contestation between different power groups in itself gets in the way of economic reconstruction. Continual destructive bickering about every initiative can lead to a stalemate. This poses a particularly high risk in South Africa because it is an unusually inequitable but genuine democracy. The majority has the vote, but a small group of companies effectively control much of the economy based on their institutional capacity, ability to attract skills and mobilise financing, and legal protections.

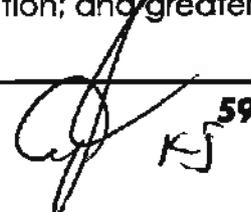
These factors underlie the call for a social pact to manage contestation between stakeholders. The process should ensure that all the parties take a long-term view, recognising that inclusive growth will ultimately benefit all of them. To be effective, a pact would have to promote systemic changes that would bring about visible shifts in workplace relationships, asset ownership, employment, education and training, and the ecosystem for small business in five to ten years. It could not simply involve expressions of good will or cooperation on relatively small projects.

As with any other constructive engagement, success requires analysis of the realities of divergent interests and power. Specifically, pacting only works where:

- The parties broadly agree on the desired end state,
- They are clear about what exactly they want from each other – that is, what changes in behaviour they want to achieve,
- They know what they can compromise on, and
- They know what power each party can exercise, so that they can decide when to make concessions and when to hold firm.

From this standpoint, current proposals for pacting essentially incorporate the following trade-offs.

1. Established business would commit to higher investment especially in new, job-creating activities and efforts to promote more equitable workplaces and pay. In return, government would commitment to legal and regulatory certainty; toned down rhetoric about big business; improved management of SOCs and in particular to fix electricity challenge; a more effective industrial policy to support diversification; and greater

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access to foreign skills. In that context, business would agree to support measures to improve equality in education and other government services; the Master Plans; and more progressive, less conflictual workplace relations.

2. All the parties would commit to promoting constructive engagement and win-win outcomes in the workplace and municipal disputes. The government would support the process through large-scale state support for employment creation, workplace transformation and improvements in social programmes and municipal infrastructure especially in low-income communities.
3. Business and labour would agree that social security funds could be tapped, responsibly, to address social and economic needs, in particular to deal with Eskom, promote small business, provide industrial financing, upgrade basic education in poor communities, and increase incomes for the working poor. They may also be needed to deal with the likely coronavirus outbreak.
4. The state could contribute the following.
 - a. A commitment to make explicit its vision for the end-state of reconstruction, defined amongst others by a broad view on the lead industries, the distribution of assets and income across households, the nature of education, and the regional allocation of production.
 - b. Immediate measures to deliver tangible, large-scale progress in working class communities, and to improve conditions for established business to promote growth and job creation.
 - c. Stepped up technical competence, risk management and consistency in developing and implementing economic policies and providing infrastructure and education, starting with improved capacity for economic analysis in the Presidency as well as a commitment to set and stick to unambiguous priorities.



4

Addressing the legacy of colonialism, apartheid and post-1994 violence through social cohesion, nation-building and gender equality:

2020 the Year of Unity, Socio-Economic Renewal & Nation-building

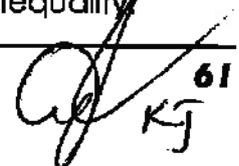
1. INTRODUCTION

Social cohesion has been proposed as the antidote to the trauma which grips our society. Not social cohesion which papers over the various fault lines but that which forthrightly addresses poverty, unemployment, indebtedness, racism, sexism and inequality. At its essence social cohesion requires restoration of trust between state and citizenry. It will need to be facilitated through social dialogue and a social compact encompassing all those who live in South Africa.

Multi-generation trauma is an affliction which runs through the body politic of South Africa, largely as a result of apartheid and colonialism, but compounded by persistent poverty and a lack of accountability in the present. There are underlying conflicts South Africans do not speak of, so as not to upset the democratic transition and as the fragility of the transition becomes more apparent, so too does the likelihood of its disruption. As Ramphela pointed out: *'What is overwhelming and unnameable is passed on to those we are closest to. ... This is how traumatic events can be passed on to the next generations.'* This "intergenerational" trauma manifests itself in the different forms of violence— racial attacks, violent crime,

gang wars, gender-based, vandalizing of public property, cyber bullying and hate speech. Those who are most vulnerable to such violence are women, farmworkers, infants, children and the elderly, LGBTQI+ communities, and migrants. The violence is not only physical – it takes the form of verbal attacks, racial tensions, breakdown of family structures, and outbreaks of chauvinism. It also takes the form of political assassinations, corruption and the looting of both the state and private sector coffers at all levels. This ultimately leads to a sense of hopelessness, depression and ennui.

Such manifestations were prevalent even before the Covid-19 virus attacked the very foundations of humanity – an assault which our country could not resist. While there is great uncertainty in how the world's community of nations will emerge, there is no doubt that it represents a cataclysmic moment. With large sections of the world population infected, rising mortality rates, and economies devastated, we will see our very social fabric having to be rethreaded. The tapestry which emerges could see the assertion of global solidarity and the glorification of our humanness or it could see the continuation of pre-Covid-19 parochialism, rising narrow nationalism, inhumane levels of exploitation and inequality.

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In the midst of the pandemic we have the resuscitation of the re-invigorated Black Lives Matter (BLM) which has become a global phenomenon. Unlike earlier incarnations, the current BLM has been joined by an array of causes as well as by a range of forces and peoples. It has put systemic racism in many parts of the world under the spotlight, as well as exposed countries like the US to the brutality of their police force. Not unexpectedly, right wing forces and racists have come to condemn and forcibly oppose its various manifestations. These developments have emphasized how the world still remains divided along the 'colour line'. The Covid-19 pandemic has served to magnify the socio-economic dimensions of racial behaviour – the discovery of the initial cases outside of Asia sparked a wave of irrational violent Sinophobia.

This paper will look at social cohesion and related terms such as social covenant, social compact and social dialogue as an antidote to the socio-political and economic challenges our country faces and which humanity will have to grapple with. Next the national question and how this relates to issues of national identity and the state will be addressed. In this context issues of sovereignty, citizenship, national identity, nationalism and the impact of race, ethnicity, language, history, civil society, the state and constitutions will be examined. The gender question will be viewed through the lens of the emergence of patriarchal societies and the impact this has on the position of women, as well as LGBTQI+ communities. It will entail examining gender along two tracks:

- The suppression, exploitation and disempowering of women, the struggle for women's liberation, and the strategies available for the liberation of women, and
- The discrimination faced by those who do not conform to the binary gender identities imposed by our cis-heteropatriarchal society.

A major part of the paper is devoted to understanding why the national question remains unresolved and the leading role the ANC can play in creating a prosperous, non-racial, democratic, non-sexist, healed society, at peace with itself and where gender differences are the basis for celebrating diversity and not imposing discrimination.

2. GLOBAL CONTEXT

Globally, pre-Covid 19 democracy was in retreat as was living standards with tensions increasing almost daily between nations and within nations. Currently there are low levels of trust in public institutions and representatives. It is also argued that we are living in a post-democratic era where societies call themselves democratic where people feel powerless to keep their representatives accountable, once the act of voting is over.

Dani Rodrik talks of an exponential increase in inequality of the populace who have entered a process of pauperization and precarization. This 'precarity' is due to increased use of technology in short-term contracts resulting in non-standard employment that is poorly paid, unprotected, and in its inability to support households, leads to increasingly precarious living conditions for workers. Referred to as the gig economy it is drawing in more and more women into increasingly exploitative work relations. Another feature of the global context is the rise of far-right populism and "nativism", which is an ideology stating that "states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (the nation), and that non-native people and ideas are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation-state" (Cas Mudde).

From a continental perspective, Africa's star seems to have been ascendant with the "Africa Rising" narrative gaining mo-

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mentum a few years ago. This period coincided with high economic growth rates, improved democratic governance, etc. One of the key factors was the global commodities boom. The economic slowdown in China appears to have had a negative effect on the growth rates of African countries, which may be exacerbated by the effects of the coronavirus. In global affairs, the voice of Africa has become almost non-existent compared to the previous decade. Africa does not seem to feature in the worldview, projections or configurations of the West anymore; at best in a marginal sense. South Africa's chairing of the AU for 2020 offers opportunities to advance the cause of Africa and build upon earlier efforts.

One of the global phenomena which we need to note for the South African context is the impact of evangelical Pentecostalism. Perry Anderson, writing of the ambiguous nebula of new religion, pointed out that 'more than a fifth of the population of Brazil are now converts to one variety or another of evangelical Protestantism. In the pattern of the Unification Church of the Reverend Moon, many – certainly the largest – of these are business rackets milking the faithful for money to erect financial empires for their founders'. In such situations the link between politics and pulpit is uncomfortably close.

The onset of Covid-19 pandemic has in the short-term exacerbated many hardships and caused immeasurable distress as illustrated by the large-scale unemployment and related socio-economic and psychological devastation. The world as we know it will change on the social and health fronts and the world of work. Working from home will remain where possible and the use of technology and telecommuting will be speeded up. This will become the "new normal" of working and socializing. This will in all likelihood further solidify the distance between the privileged and the

excluded. The various measures undertaken within countries has, in the developed world, been accompanied by closed borders and further anti-foreigner sentiments. Global trade is being severely impacted, having implications for our exports.

Globalisation will be further curtailed and substituted with a deepening emphasis on national production mechanisms and less reliance on global value chains. Most countries have responded with unprecedented stimulus packages to support workers and ameliorate the deprivations suffered by the general populace.

3. SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

South Africa is currently facing compounded crises. Our general malaise has been aggravated by the onset of the devastating Covid-19 pandemic. People are facing increasing immiseration as illustrated by official unemployment, poverty, indebtedness and inequality figures – with rural based, young, African females being most affected. The South African socio-economic reality stands in sharp distinction to the lofty proclamation in the preamble in the Constitution, to "*heal the divisions of the past and, establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights*".

Key features of the South African situation, pre Covid-19 but some of which have become worse, include:

- **Population patterns:** According to Stats-SA, in 2019 our country's population was 58.7m people, made up of 47.45m Africans ((80.7%), 5.176m coloured (8.8%), 4.65m whites (7.9%), and 1.5m (2.6 %) Indians.
- **Migration to SA:** South Africa is an attractive destination for migrants seeking better economic opportunities. According to the UN's Department of Economic

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and Social Affairs (UNDESA) 2019 data on international migrants, South Africa's share (7.2% of total population) far exceeds the global rates (3.5%) and Sub-Saharan Africa rates (2.2%).

- Persistence of racial inequalities:** Today, after 26 years of democratic rule, a two-tiered population has emerged in terms of income growth, level of poverty and education qualifications with Indians tracking whites in an upward trend, while coloureds track black Africans in downward trends. In addition to having worse employment outcomes, black Africans also earn the lowest wages when they are employed. The mean real income of whites is more than three times as high as amongst black Africans.
- Gender inequality:** We see a similar pattern in terms of differences between males and females as was observed for population groups. Female workers earn approximately 30% less on average than males. 11.4% of men and 12.85% of women borrow from financial institutions. Women borrow more from friends and family (74%) than men (67%) and store credit (21% women and 18% men). In addition, 51% of women borrowed money for food.
- Poverty:** In 2015 more than half our population lived in a situation where they could barely afford the minimum living standards - 41.7% of females and 38.2% of men lived below the poverty line in 2015, a persistent trend since 1994. More than a quarter of our population had to survive days without food. In general, black-African females, women in rural areas, and those with no education are the main victims in the ongoing struggle against poverty. Poverty after decreasing since 1994, has increased since 2011.
- Unemployment:** The 38.6m people of working age (15 to 64) are as follows: 16.4m are employed; 6.7m (29.1%) are unemployed; 2.8m are discouraged work seekers while 12.7m are not economically active at all. Women are more likely than men to be unemployed due to lack of education and skills.
- Indebtedness:** 10 million people in South Africa have bad debt — meaning they have missed three or more monthly repayments. On average those in bad debt spend 63% of their after-tax income on repayments. For some income levels, the debt to income ratio is as high as 135% (those earning more than R20,000 a month).
- Youth dynamics:** Millennial women in 2018 had outpaced men in secondary school completion and in achievement of tertiary qualifications. The ratio of female to male tertiary enrolment is 58% of women and 42% men in 2018. This is a positive development which we must ensure leads to the continued empowerment of women. However, the racial gap in tertiary educational attainment had increased between black Africans and whites (from 28,4% in 2002 to 35,7% in 2018).
- Govt delivery:** The number of social grant beneficiaries is expected to reach 18m this year – and that before the onset of Covid-19. In housing we have constructed 3.5m houses but not adequately addressed the apartheid legacy spatial inequalities. Since 1994 we have achieved near universal access to schools at entry level, but schools built in the townships do not have all the facilities as found in the suburbs. The health system is largely bemoaned in the public narrative and the media and concerns around the National Health Insurance (NHI) has not adequately been addressed; with many of our health personnel going to work overseas. How this will be impacted by Covid-19 in the medium to long term needs to be factored into our strategy for social cohesion.

Amongst the aspects which we can see worsening as a result of Covid 19 is that of multi-generational trauma.

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4. The impact of Covid-19 on social cohesion

Covid-19 pandemic is unprecedented in our recent history, surpassing the impact of the 2003 SARS virus or the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC). Comparisons have been made with the current situation and the Great Depression of the 1930s, which took the US almost five years to recover from. The SA economy went into recession in 2008/09 for the first time in 19 years. Nearly a million jobs were lost in 2009 alone and the unemployment rate has continued to remain high since then with 29% in 2019. SA reached junk status in 2020, meaning that we face a triple challenge: dealing with Covid-19, reviving our economy in the context of a global slowdown.

Various scenarios indicate that the impacts of Covid-19 is going to be deeper and wider. Business for South Africa (B4SA) for example pointed out that there are three possible scenarios:

- **Mild:** a one-month full lockdown with a nine-month gradual improvement in the economy,
- **Medium:** a three-month full lockdown with a seven-month gradual improvement in the economy, and
- **Severe:** a three-month full lockdown with a seven-month gradual improvement in the economy, with the exception of the business confidence and supply chain components within the transmission channels that remain suppressed throughout the remainder of the calendar year and beyond.

After factoring in the effect of monetary and fiscal policy responses, for the mild scenario, South Africa could experience a real annual GDP contraction of 8.4%, -13.8% for the medium scenario and -20.4% for the severe scenario. The figure that was projected at the beginning of 2020 was 0.2% positive growth.

From South Africa's baseline unemployment rate of 29.1% in February 2020 unemployment would increase to 33.3% under the mild scenario, 39.6% under the medium scenario and 47.6% under the severe scenario. The various policy interventions government was rolling out was expected to have a limited impact: scenario unemployment would be reduced to S1 32.8%, S2 38.5% and S3 46.2%.

Covid-19 will deepen the faultlines which were prevalent before the virus hit our shores. For example, SA's densely populated, overcrowded and poor communities face the greatest vulnerability. Social distancing (SD) measures, while necessary, are difficult if not impossible to enforce in townships given the spatial realities. SD is also equivalent to isolation when people are forced to stay indoors during the lockdown. However, human beings are social beings and have a primordial need to socialise and be in public spaces.

Projections indicate that most of the workers who will lose their jobs in this period will be women (women are the majority in the service, hospitality and care industries), so the gender aspect will have to be addressed ever more urgently. In the words of Prof Jayati Ghosh: "*Women workers are more likely to lose jobs and experience major pay cuts, more likely to be rationed out of labour markets when jobs do become available, more likely to suffer during lockdowns because of enhanced possibilities of domestic abuse, and more likely to suffer from inadequate nutrition in a time of household food shortages.*"

While global figures show that since Covid-19 lockdowns have been implemented, there has been a marked increase in GBV and domestic violence cases, South Africa seems to be bucking the trend. Chandre Gould, Senior Research Fellow at ISS has speculated the possible reasons for this including the impact of the ban on alcohol or simply because people may not be

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able to make the calls they can to report abuse because of being under the eye of their abuser. She argues there *'is the possibility that lockdown and the crisis caused by the coronavirus has changed abusive patterns, for the better, and there has actually been a decrease. As unlikely as this scenario is, researchers and activists would make a mistake not to consider all possible options'*. To understand this, it will be useful to unpack the latest statistics on contact crimes such as murder, rape, attempted murder, and assault which have all decreased compared to April 2019. Gender activists have pointed out that it is extremely difficult for women to make a phone call during the lockdown period, being in close proximity (24/7) to a perpetrator. Contact crimes are mostly gendered and the granular detail of the proportion of women affected by the reduced number of reported crimes could shed light. Africa Check reported that in 2019, a total of 87,000 complaints were received, while during the first week of the lockdown alone, 2,300 complaints were received and after three weeks, 120,000 victims used the national helpline.

There is as yet no clear indication of what the mortality rates would look like. Much is going to depend on the specific health profile of South Africans, with its burden of HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria. According to the Dept of Health's modelling, South Africa's COVID-19 deaths, currently among the lowest in the world, could reach, according to pessimistic projections, 48,000 by November and the country could run out of ICU beds as early as June. But its optimistic scenario is not much better, with a projection of 40,000 deaths by November, with the ICU bed capacity, which stands at a mere 3 300, exhausted in July.

5. SOCIAL COHESION

The Indlulamithi Scenario Project was launched in 2017 and is an independent, multi-stakeholder project, which aimed to spark a national conversation on *"what would a socially cohesive South Africa look like, and to what degree is it attainable by 2030"*. According to this initiative, social cohesion refers to the levels of integration and inclusion in communities and in society at large. It reflects various measures of participation or non-involvement in social organisations or institutions. It is shaped by disparities in income and wealth as well as by levels of interpersonal and intergroup trust. Crime rates and frequencies of violence, as well as the overall wellbeing and the general health of populations are often mirrored in measures of social cohesion. It is often encapsulated via expressions of common values and expressed in senses of nationhood and of shared ethics and ideals. The project identified institutional capacity and leadership; resistance, resentment and reconciliation (RRR), and social inequality as the three key drivers impacting on social cohesion in South Africa.

According to the IJR's SA Reconciliation Barometer, the legacies of apartheid continue to have an economic and psychological impact on South Africans and in the absence of memory, a society is likely to repeat its costly failures. South Africans also do not have enough of a shared understanding of their history, and the country is replete with 'silent non-agreements' underlying conflicts that are not spoken of, so as not to 'upset' the democratic transition. Some have argued that South Africa emphasized truth at the expense of justice. The challenge of reconciliation (or lack thereof) has increasingly become more pronounced lately. It is in this context that the social cohesion agenda is said to have failed and this is evident in the growing mistrust and anger among young South Africans in particular. Trust is often regarded as an important indicator of the 'glue' that binds a society together, acting as

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the foundation for relationships needed to overcome tensions and create an environment favourable to sustainable ties within a society. Trust also functions as the basis for contractual agreement and cooperation in a society.

During the period leading up to 2030, race will most likely continue to carry the greatest weight in defining disadvantage. However, resentment and resistance around issues of class, gender and age may increasingly gain greater prominence. Land reform in particular, has taken long and will remain unresolved for some time to come. Negotiations around land will be among the urgent issues that need to be attended to in the period leading up to the next two elections.

The results of both the IJR index and the Indulamithi Barometer confirm that South Africa is very far from attaining social cohesion, with the most significant driver of this being inequality. Although the country has removed most apartheid legislation and a social wage created as an anti-poverty security net, inequality remains deeply rooted and unresolved. This can be detrimental in the democratic era and research by the World Bank suggests that inequality can exacerbate crime, violence and political unrest, thus fuelling other threats to social cohesion.

There is no doubt that SA's laudable response to Covid-19 has seen many positive elements:

- Government has placed the South African people at the centre of its concern, reflecting a return to our *ubuntu*-based core values. As President Ramaphosa said: 'While the nationwide lockdown is having a devastating effect on our economy, it is nothing compared to the catastrophic human, social and economic cost if the coronavirus could spread among our people unchecked.'
- Mobilisation of the country around a common enemy. We have seen rare

moments of cross-party support for the ANC-led government, and in particular for the President and Cabinet. Every part of society has not just been impacted but also been expected to respond. And this can be seen in the very many large and tiny initiatives to help the vulnerable in society – food for the hungry, assistance for the infirm.

- There has been an unprecedented mobilisation of civil servants and public resources. This has helped reduce the rates of crime – though sadly GBV continues unabated – and even from behind closed doors and gated entrances. The coronavirus pandemic equally presents us with an opportunity to effect systemic changes that could protect women in future.

However, there have been several negative developments as well. These include the conduct of the security forces, especially the army, in enforcing aspects of the lockdown. This may be due to the army not used to playing a civilian facing role. As the lockdown continues it is inevitable that there will be differences between government and key role players in business, labour and sections of civil society over the question of the relaxation of the restrictions. It was always going to be difficult to sustain a severe lockdown in South Africa, given our geo-spatial realities, characterised by relatively high population densities. The president and cabinet will have to continue to emphasise the need for a collaborative effort, around the slogan of 'saving lives and saving livelihoods' so as to avoid the political and social fallout after the pandemic.

The historian John M. Barry in his book about the 1918 pandemic *The Great Influenza* (2005) advises that the main lesson from that catastrophe is that "those in authority must retain the public's trust and the way to do it is to distort nothing, to put the best face on nothing, to try to manipulate no one."

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6. CONCEPT OF A NATION-STATE IN 21ST CENTURY

Ernest Gellner, (modernist school), saw nationalism playing two roles: meeting the needs of industrial society by ensuring cultural homogeneity, leading to the second role of creating large units of society which can be serviced by standardized services such as education. Anthony D Smith and John Hutchinson (ethno-symbolist school) emphasize the ethnic root of nations. They argue that nations were a community of common descent, often relying on traditions and customs in its constitution. John Breuilly suggests that it was 'political entrepreneurs' and the political interests they represented which led to the creation of national entities. The postmodernist school, such as Homi Bhabha, prefers seeing nation as formed and transformed continuously.

6.1 National question

The origins of the National Question go back to the struggles for national liberation and the formation of nations in Europe. It was taken up again in the early 1900s this time in debates amongst nascent national liberation movements and parties of the left. The debate resulted, in 1929, in South African communists taking up the slogan of an independent native South African Republic which Moses Kotane explained '*in essence means a bourgeois republic ... must necessarily pre-suppose a democratic workers' and peasants' republic ...*'. This was the first expression of a two-stage national democratic revolution (NDR)– the first stage bringing universal democracy, the second giving rise to the advance to power of workers and peasants.

Colonialism actively sought to deny the colonies their sovereignty, which was understood to be a distinctly European institution. As far as our continent is concerned, Pan Africanism was the response. An example of early pan-African mobilization is

that of Henry Sylvester Williams who was responsible for the first pan-African conference in London in 1900. W.E.B Du Bois declared at the conference: 'The problem of the 20th Century is the problem of the colour line – the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea'. Marcus Garvey on the other hand saw the problem in cultural, economic and psychological terms. Booker T. Washington's ideology of entrepreneurship was taken up with gusto by John Langalibalele Dube, first president of the ANC, in his philosophy of self-sufficiency. The Bandung Conference of April 1955 represented the apogee of anti-colonialism. These leaders led the demand for 'political and intellectual decolonization' that emphasized modernization. Its ideology was rooted on the nation-state which was going to uplift its people through education and ambitious development projects.

6.2 State, sovereignty and citizenship

In looking at state sovereignty two key principles need to be borne in mind: the idea of sovereignty is that there is a final and absolute political authority in the political community and no final and absolute authority exists elsewhere. In many parts of the postcolonial world there are two aspects to contemporary politics: contest over the sovereignty of the state, often taking the form of insurgent movements; and claims on governmental authorities over services and benefits, impacting on the very nature of the state.

Nationalism is distinguished from other identities because it locates the source of individual identity within a 'people' which is the bearer of sovereignty, the central object of loyalty, and the basis of collective solidarity'. In SA, as elsewhere, we must acknowledge that some prior forms of political authority persisted alongside new emergent locations of sovereignty. As far as the African context is concerned, writers

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such as Mahmood Mamdani have shown that the postcolonial state must contend with its dual heritages of precolonial state formation as well as that created through the colonial legacy. Achille Mbembe argued in a similar vein that 'African regimes have not invented what they know of government from scratch, their knowledge is the product of several cultures, heritages and traditions of which the features have become entangled over time'.

6.3 National Identity

In dealing with its apartheid legacies there is a national identity emerging in South Africa which has been crafted by leaders of the ruling nationalist movement or to use Breuilly's term "entrepreneurs", drawing on elements of precolonial history, colonial and apartheid period resistance, the constitution-mindedness of the modern state as well as South Africa's culture and social life. This prevailing identity is spawning its own subalterns creating autonomous domains along linguistic/regional lines. Traditional leadership arena is one such example. The subaltern approach inserts the overlooked classes such as the unemployed, the youth, as well as rural dwellers.

As far as race and ethnicity is concerned Ake is amongst those who argued that in Africa "No project of social transformation can succeed by ignoring it (ethnicity)". The devastating effect of race was captured well in Fanon's opening line of *Black Skin, White Masks* 'I will say that the black man is not a man'. This was due to the crushing impact of colonialism, which had destroyed the self-worth of black people.

The relationship between culture and national liberation has been discussed over the past century. Amilcar Cabral, in a 1970 speech celebrating the life of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, leader the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) assassinated by Portuguese agents on February 3, 1969, said:

'we may consider the national liberation movement as the organized political expression of the culture of the people who are undertaking the struggle. For this reason, those who lead the movement must have a clear idea of the value of the culture in the framework of the struggle and must have a thorough knowledge of the people's culture, whatever may be their level of economic development'.

6.4 Nationalism

Nationalism is a process binding sovereignty and national identity. Working within colonial defined boundaries, which contained ethnic/tribal entities which had often been hostile to each other, nationalist leaders and their ideologies had to act as crafters of a new identity. In South Africa's case the entire idea of a country is a product of colonialism, without real indigenous foundations. It has been up to the liberation movement to wield all the people living in this country into a single entity, called the South African nation. India had a similar experience as captured in Khilnani's suggestion that 'The possibility that India could be united into a single political community was the wager of India's modern, educated, urban elite...It was a wager of an idea: the idea of India'. India is the world's largest democracy with the liberal-secular Indian National Congress (INC) – the leader of the liberation struggle – remaining dominant for decades post-independence. INC was replaced by an era of coalition governments, and the dominance at the polls in 2014 of a new formation of virulent Hindu nationalism, under president Modi and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

India's experience embodies perfectly concerns of Frantz Fanon when he acknowledged that nationalism did provide a vehicle for social unity but raised the dangers of a post-liberation scenario when he wrote: 'From nationalism we have moved to ultra-nationalism, to chauvinism, and finally to racism'. He argued that national-

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ism had to be enriched by 'a consciousness of social and political needs' lest it be reduced to 'sterile formalism'.

7 EVOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

7.1 Native question versus national question

The history of South Africa to 2020 can be considered as the history of two key nationalist narratives, i.e. the 'Native Question' and the National Question. The former referred to the framework which the colonizers used to develop responses to the question of how to manage and subjugate the numerically overwhelming indigenous population. The latter referred to how the response of the colonized was to be articulated in what evolved to be a search for national unity and liberation.

Until the end of the 19th century opposition to colonialism took the form of wars of resistance led by the various 'tribal' groupings. The longest lasting of these were the 'frontier wars' of the eastern Cape and those in Natal. From the 1850s onwards the efforts of Christian missionary education saw the emergence of the amakholwa. With the excursions many of the educated elite made to the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US), it was inevitable that they linked up with the nascent Pan-Africanist movement, as well as the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The Africanist perspective thus garnered, combined with the internationalism experienced, and permeated with Christian values, was to be the birthmarks of the ANC – which remain written in the DNA of the ANC to this day.

Until 1910 the endeavours of several colo-

nizing groups had led to the creation of four republics in the southernmost tip of Africa. The South Africa Act consolidated them into one political entity in 1910 called the Union of South Africa, with four provinces. The 'Native Question' came to be formally addressed as part of the process leading up to the Union through the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC). One of the results of this was the eventual replacement of the Christian missionaries as interlocutors with the indigenous population by an emerging state apparatus, especially the Native Affairs Department.

The period from Union in 1910 to the 1948 elections saw the increasing bureaucratization of the management of the African majority accompanied by violent forms of suppression. The movement of the 'natives' to meet the needs of mining capital and then the manufacturing sector was the avowed aim of this system of administration. It was legislated through the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, which legislated denial of the indigenous people's access to almost 87% of the land, as well as the legislation passed in 1923 and 1937, aimed at urban segregation and control of urban/rural movement. The Native Affairs Department became a state within a state meant to control all aspects of 'native' life.

The initial decades of the ANC's existence saw the organization struggling at many levels: internally working out how best the provincial formations it was based upon could be aligned, externally how it should articulate with the new political realities where the African elite found itself even further marginalized economically and politically as well as the emergence of new classes within the African community. Under John Langalibalele Dube, the ANC's first president, a moderate line in keeping with the political traditions established in late 1800s, was followed. Outside of the ANC there were moves afoot to achieve greater 'non-European' unity, but a nar-

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row Africanism prevailing within the ANC ended the ANC's involvement in such initiatives. The unity of all South Africans and the creation of a democratic society dominated African nationalism's approach to the national question. The roots of the democratic constitution can be traced to the first few decades of the previous century when the founding fathers of the ANC sought to create a society free of tribalism and racism. It can also be seen in the assertion that South Africa could be an independent, predominantly black, republic.

These various changes saw a radical ANC Youth League under Anton Lembede emerge. Armed with a programme, **African Claims**, it pushed for a drastic change in the kinds of actions the ANC engaged in. Its efforts began bearing fruit in the form of various mass actions by the time the National Party (NP) took power in 1948. This was also the period in which South Africa came to be increasingly characterized as a 'colony of a special type', which Nyawuza explained as 'the situation where the colonizer and the colonized reside "side by side" in the same territory, which has been the case since 1910 when Britain granted political power to the whites in South Africa who used it to further oppress the black majority'.

With the electoral victory of the NP in 1948, apartheid became the official foundation of state policy, resulting in the deepening of the segregationist policies of previous governments. It saw the NP foster Afrikaner capital in various parts of the economy and promoting the use of Afrikaans in all aspects of society. With increasing radicalization of black (African, Indian and coloured politics) it soon realized that it had to draw the English-speaking whites into its fold.

The ANC, working closely with several anti-apartheid organizations, led what came to be known as the Congress Alliance and

engaged in increasingly militant opposition to apartheid. The alliance was consolidated in 1955 when the **Freedom Charter** was adopted as its Programme of Action. The Pan Africanist Congress was created as a breakaway from the ANC with members protesting the increasing non-racialism of the Congress Alliance. This was the result of increasingly heightened debate about the form of Africanism the ANC was espousing, a debate which had sharpened with the question of 'non-European' unity. The PAC members were also taking exception to the influence of the CPSA over the ANC.

The clampdown of the early 1960s, in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre, resulted in resistance going underground and the adoption of the armed struggle. Open, anti-apartheid political activity started re-emerging amongst intellectuals and students in the mid-1960s, especially under the banner of the Black People's Convention and the South African Student Organization – both espousing an ideology of Black Consciousness. The ANC's non-racial policies came to the forefront again in the eighties, finding its organizational manifestation in the United Democratic Front (UDF), which was created in 1983.

The critical issue to deal with here is the way the ANC has managed potential tension between its non-racial position, and its commitment to African leadership. The former has been the core policy position of the ANC, especially since the 1950s. In 1957 Chief Albert Luthuli, as ANC president, and in the midst of debates with the Africanists, argued that 'the ANC believes in a society in which white and non-white peoples of the Union will work and live together in harmony for the common good of the fatherland' (1977:101).

Non-racialism became a core principle of the ANC reiterated by the ANC at every turn. The ANC's Morogoro conference held in Tanzania in 1969 was significant in

Handwritten signature and initials, possibly 'AJ' or 'KJ', with the number '71' written next to it.

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that it admitted non-Africans to join the organization as individuals. Non-Africans were admitted to the National Executive Council (NEC) at its Kabwe, Zambia conference in 1985. This approach was evident in the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines, a set of pre-negotiations proposals drawn up in 1989 by the ANC, where it declared "It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity...the state shall recognize the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people".

The ANC had a clear understanding of the role of culture, as reflected by President OR Tambo when he said: *"let the arts be one of the many means by which we cultivate the spirit of revolt among the broad masses, enhance the striking power of our movement and inspire the millions of our people to fight for the South Africa we envisage."* Cultural events, performances and productions were part and parcel of the exile experience as well as part of peaceful mobilization inside the country. However, the post 1994 experience has not maintained that fine history.

7.2 The Unresolved National Question in Post-apartheid South Africa

The period 1990 to 2004 represents the phase in our history when South Africa as a recently created postcolonial, democratic nation-state was consolidated. The period could be divided into two phases: the first began in 1990 when the ANC alongside other political organizations was unbanned and Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released, until the formal adoption of the new South African Constitution in May 1996. This was the period of the 'rainbow nation' – an attempt to project an inclusiveness towards all South Africans.

The second phase is from 1999 to 2004 - it is marked by an attempt to focus on the economic position of the majority of the

South African population, the African people, who had seen limited improvements in their lives since the first democratic elections in 1994. In 1998, Thabo Mbeki pointed out that through the period of colonial domination and apartheid South Africans had been carved into two nations: *the one black, the other white... [the latter] is relatively prosperous and has ready access to a developed infrastructure, and larger, nation of South Africa is black and poor, living under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped infrastructure'.*

The third phase has been that of the past decade which has been marked by a drop in economic growth and the increasing level of poverty, unemployment, indebtedness and inequality mentioned above. This is the phase we find ourselves in today.

The 1997 ANC Conference was a watershed with reference to the national question, since it was the first after the ANC had ascended to power in 1994. In a 1997 ANC discussion document, Pallo Jordan wrote that *'the ANC has always maintained that democracy, national liberation and non-racialism are inseparable. Jordan argued that 'the electoral behaviour of Coloured and Indian working-class people is less likely to change until visible delivery on the part of the democratic government demonstrates that there could be sufficient resources for all the disadvantaged'.*

As far as race is concerned, there has been much commentary on the stubbornness of racism. While South Africa's identification system is based on people self-declaring their race, this practice will still be required for a while to come to measure the extent to which the different apartheid defined races have fared under democracy. Bass et. al. conclude that *'non-racialism is improbable unless inequality is addressed'.*

Cabral's observation on different cultures needs to be recalled: *'It is true that the*

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multiplicity of social and ethnic groups complicates the effort to determine the role of culture in the liberation movement. But it is vital not to lose sight of the decisive importance of the class character of the culture in the development of the liberation struggle, even when class structure is or appears to be in embryonic stages of development'.

In discussions around reconciliation, the successes or limitation of the TRC are brought into sharp focus. Its goal was to work within the provisos of the Constitution, adopted in May 1996, to help achieve national unity, proclaiming national reconciliation to be its essential prerequisite. The relevant Constitutional provision states that there shall be understanding instead of vengeance, reparation instead of retaliation, ubuntu instead of victimization. Ultimately, one of the largest achievements of the TRC was the capturing of a major part of South Africa's history. The ANC has to acknowledge that the TRC, far from completing a process, in fact is only the start of a process yet to be accomplished. For that to happen there needs to be agency. This has not been particularly forthcoming especially from the side of the state.

In the democratic era, the ANC has had to be even more sensitive to linguistic and ethnic issues.

For example, the redrawing of provincial demarcations saw the strengthening and emergence of 'ethnic entrepreneurs', often with violent consequences. The opposition by residents of Bushbuckridge being incorporated into Limpopo is an early example of this while the more recent example is that of violence around the incorporation of Vuwani into the Malamulela municipality. Ratshitanga pointed out that notwithstanding the fact that Vuwani and Malamulela were kept apart by apartheid design, to date there had been no acrimony between the Venda and Tsonga speaking communities (2016).

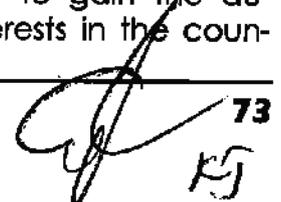
A further question which needs to be answered is: from where do these multiple identities arise? Jordan argued that under apartheid 'the revival of African ethnicity had little to do with nostalgia for past greatness on the part of the Africans. It was even less the articulation of a 'psychological urge', as the theorists of ethnicity claim. He argues that it was encouraged by the state to justify its policy of segregation and discrimination (1997:10).

Masondo (2015) has pointed out that '(y) earning for ethnic belonging also enables ethnic political entrepreneurs in our ANC-led movement to make demands for representation in public institutions. They start by supporting or joining ethnic based civil society movements. ...translate power accumulated within their ethnicised civil society environment into a political society and demand ethnic representation in the name of an ethnic balancing act and addressing the 'national question'. Consequently, nation building simply gets reduced to an ethnic numerical equation'.

To what extent can a South African culture emerge, transcending the divisive effects of narrow ethnic and racial chauvinism? This is critical to the process of crafting a national identity. The Fees Must Fall and Rhodes Must Fall Movements had as their targets symbols which reflect the cultural vernacular of the colonisers and the oppressors – a focus repeated by the Black Lives Matter movements.

7.3 The state in third decade of democracy

By 2000 the ANC had adopted the concept of the developmental state to frame its approach to governance. Mkandawire (1997:36) explained that the state must have some social anchoring that prevents it from using its autonomy in a predatory manner and enables it to gain the authority of key social interests in the coun-

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try. The political purposes and institutional structures of developmental states are developmentally driven, while their developmental objectives are politically-driven. Political factors have always shaped the thrust and pace of the development strategies through the structures of the state. These factors have normally included nationalism, regional competition or external threat, ideology and a wish to 'catch up' with the West (Mkandawire 1997:38).

It is clear that in 21st century South Africa there have been developments which could be seen as challenging its sovereignty. The prevalence of corruption in the various echelons of power, especially as it has been leading to 'state capture', has been cited as an example of challenges to sovereignty of the state. Further challenges to sovereignty has been the process the ANC-led government has been undertaking to grant additional power to traditional authorities, because of the control traditional leaders will continue having over access to land and work, and the loss of rights women and children will suffer. This has been quite correctly seen as part of the ANC's maneuvers to lock in the rural vote.

The ever increasing number of social protests, and the increasing turn to violence, can be seen either as the existence of a robust civil society, the strengthening of 'political society' or the erosion of the authority of the state. Chatterjee's notion of political society has been useful in appreciating a domain of politics which is occupied by the subaltern and which challenges the state to meet its demands for amelioration. While some of these activities may be initiated by disaffected members of the parliamentary parties, in many cases attempts by these parties to connect with this domain have been rebuffed. Undoubtedly this sentiment is borne out of a deep disappointment at the lack of service delivery in the context of increasingly dire economic

circumstances and suspicion of the interests represented by formal politics.

8. SOCIAL COHESION AND WOMEN'S STRUGGLES

When the ANC was formed, it did not accept women as members. In 1918, when the Union government threatened to re-introduce pass laws for women, the Bantu Women's League (BWL) was formed, as a branch of the ANC. The League was mostly involved in passive resistance while continuing to campaign against passes for black women under the leadership of Charlotte Maxeke. The ANC only accepted women as members at its 1943 conference and the ANC Women's League was subsequently formed in 1948. The first official president of the League was Ida Mntwana.

Women increasingly became active in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 playing a leading role, through the Women's League, in organising the 1955 Congress of the People, where the Freedom Charter was adopted – giving women an opportunity to lobby for the incorporation of their demands into the charter. On the 9th of August 1956, the women of the League confronted Prime Minister J.G. Strijdom, under the auspices of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) with a petition against pass laws. However, the banning of the ANC in 1960 disrupted the activities of the League as its leaders were forced to go underground and many fled into exile.

The women in exile, under the leadership of Gertrude Shope, organised themselves into the ANC Women's Section which mobilised international solidarity. Soon after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, the ANC Women's League lobbied all the women's organisations to set up a National Women's

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en's Coalition (NWC). The task of this coalition would be to do research, co-ordinate, and draw up a women's charter, based on the priorities and concerns of women, from all walks of life throughout the country. The NWC ensured their inclusion in the process of writing the Constitution. This in turn enabled the institutionalisation of gender within the legislature, with Frene Ginwala appointed as the Speaker of the National Assembly and the passing of a number of laws that sought to attain gender equality in South Africa.

In addition, independent bodies such as the Commission for Gender Equality were established in 1996 and the bureaucracy also became increasingly gendered. By 1997, Cabinet had approved the establishment of the Office on the Status of Women in the Presidency. Local governments were also encouraged to follow a similar path to ensure that gender is mainstreamed across all tiers of government. While the establishment of a Ministry for Women was rejected in 1994, the ministry was eventually established as the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities (DWCPD) in 2009.

Women currently hold 44% of parliamentary seats compared with 25% in 1994. South Africa has achieved gender parity in enrolment in primary and secondary education. The current statistics in South Africa's private sector paint an even worse picture. About a third of corporates have no female representation in senior leadership¹ roles; 22% of board directors are women, but only 7% are executive directors. Furthermore, only 10% of South African CEOs are women, and if we look solely at companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE), this number drops to 2.2%. South Africa is on par with the rest of the African continent, where 29% of senior leadership roles are held by women, and performs better than some developed countries, such as the UK (19%) and Australia (23%). However,

the percentage of CEOs who are women in South Africa (10%) is lower than the global average of 12%.

The South African government has declared gender-based violence (GBV) a national crisis. In 2017, 39,633 rapes and 6,253 sexual assaults were reported in the country – with a low conviction rate of 8.4%. According to the 2016 SA Demographic and Health Survey, 21% of women aged 18 years and older have experienced violence by a partner. In 2015 one in five (21%) women experience physical violence by an intimate partner in 2015. Femicide in South Africa is a crisis; the killing of women because of their gender is five times the global average.

Gender-based violence is rooted in patriarchy that gives rise to gender conditioning and stereotypical attitudes. This results in misogyny and gender-based violence. Women and girls are subjected to high levels of rape, sexual offences, femicide, domestic violence and intimate partner violence. The LGBTQI+ sector is subjected to inhuman and violent crimes as a result of their sexual orientation.

While South Africa may have made strides forward towards gender equality in the public sphere, such as increased representation of women in government and some, albeit limited, progress in corporate leadership, the biggest challenge is the significant gendered power imbalance, especially in the private sphere. A key effect of the violence has been the prevailing culture of silence that has normalized violence, making perpetrators invisible and encouraging short-term responses. A historical National Presidential Summit on Gender Based Violence (GBV) was convened on 2 November 2018 where a Declaration was drawn up.

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9. THE PREVALENCE OF VIOLENCE

Morbid symptoms of gender-based violence, violent crime, and xenophobic attacks emerge out of a confluence of socio-economic factors. It is a sign of desperation and despair, leading Karl von Holdt to describe South Africa as a violent democracy. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) and the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWODI), in a 2015 report titled *The Smoke that Calls* argued that increasing levels of inequality lies at the root of community protests. It highlighted that 'Many of those who participate in the violence are unemployed, live in poverty, and see no prospect of a change in these circumstances. There is a half-life, as they are unable to participate as full citizens in the economy and society. Impoverished young men experience this as the undermining of their masculinity' (2015:3).

This must be located within SA's high levels of insecurity, and unequal access to justice for the most vulnerable and marginalized. Homicide rate in South Africa is more than five times higher than the global average of 6.2 per 100,000 people. Crime disproportionately affects the disadvantaged, the poor and marginalized. The underlying causes of violence are often related to the general violent history of the country during the colonial-apartheid era, which normalized the behaviour and this is in addition to high levels of poverty, unemployment, alcohol and drug abuse. A 2020 Institute for Security Studies (ISS) report suggests that for citizens, violent protests are one of the few effective means of political participation.

According to the World Bank (2018), while internal migration reduces poverty, it can increase inequality. This inequality is a result of pressure on the public service network that can also in turn fuels social ten-

sions. Xenophobic attacks in townships are a symptom of this oversubscribed reliance on the public service network. With a continually widening gap between the rich and poor, foreigners including refugees and asylum-seekers become vulnerable to violent attacks. Such attacks can be said to be triggered by the rampant unemployment, challenges with service delivery and unequal access to material resources. Perceived as competing with locals for resources, social services, jobs and for spaces in cities for economic activity, migrants in the urban informal economy are often viewed with suspicion by local South African traders claiming similar space.

The ANC needs to address the issue of migrants at several levels. It must firstly acknowledge the waves of migrants who have become part and parcel of the rich tapestry which makes up South African society. These include those who arrived from Southern Africa as part of migrant workforce who worked on the mines, and settled here. Ramphela suggests that the impact of the migrant labour system as one of the many wounds inflicted by colonialism and apartheid system especially on African society, uprooting families and took men away from their homes and treated them as sub-human boys. This impact 'will not vanish because we ignore it'.

The ANC as the most progressive thought leader in the country must address the question of migration and the violence meted out to migrants. We need to recognize that the South African nation has to date included the waves who arrived from Eastern Europe and played progressive leadership roles in the SACP, ANC and trade union movements. It included those who arrived from India as far back as the 1860s and are now, in many cases, 5th generation South Africans. We have tended to see migration at best as a law and order issue, when in reality we need to see it as an issue that illuminates the hybrid nature of

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our society, as informed by our history as a people.

In the Refugees Act of 1994 we have really progressive legislation. However, the government's progressive ideas are seldom reflected by the officials entrusted with implementing them. Officials, particularly in the departments of social development, education, home affairs and the police stand accused of bias, prejudice and unprofessionalism. Refugees also face many challenges in accessing their rights to social protections such as legal documents, social grants and security of stay.

Sikanyiso Masuku in his PhD research recommended: *'The most immediate interventions would be to streamline the workings of its asylum application system and the Refugee Appeal Board. Their technical capacity needs to be improved to cope with the volume of applications.'*

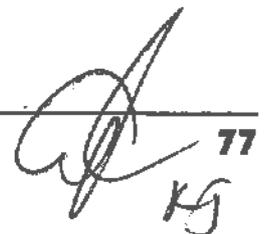
Stakeholders like academics, faith leaders and nongovernmental organisations can also play a part, as recommended by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework' (<https://theconversation.com/how-south-africa-is-denying-refugees-their-rights-what-needs-to-change-135692>).

10. ELECTORAL POLITICS, THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND GENDER

The 2019 elections showed certain trends which require urgent attention for future elections. The turnout was 89% of registered voters in 1999, declining to 66% in 2019. National suburban turnout was 74.1% (a decline of 3%), while national black turnout was 62.7% (down by 7%). That's a +11.4% substantial differential turnout in suburban areas, benefiting parties that perform well in the suburbs, primarily the Democratic Alliance (DA).

For this last election, among the youth there was a 40% decline in registration among 18-and 19-year-olds, and 4% for those in their 20s. We need ask to ourselves if social distance between the electorate and the representatives is contributing to decline in participation in elections and leading to the kind of violent protests we see in our country? The 2019 election has also confirmed the following:

- The ANC won the 2019 election with 58% of the national vote, compared to 62% in the 2014. While turnout was down everywhere it was disproportionately down in the black electorate. This influenced the election outcome significantly, especially for the ANC.
- The DA sought to appeal to a wider electorate and thus to shift its strategic positions leftwards. A significant part of the losses the DA suffered arose from the shift among its core support base towards the FF+, which campaigned based on protecting 'minority rights', laced with Afrikaner nationalism.
- In terms of the rural/urban support bases, the 2019 results show the ANC's 'rural base' can no longer protect it from losses in urban areas. Comparisons generated by CSIR show the ANC's urban support dropped from 55 to 51% from 2014 to 2019 and rural support declined from 76 to 71%. DA urban support dropped from 31 to 20%, and its rural support remains stable at 4%; and EFF urban support improved from 7 to 11%, and rural support up from 5 to 10%.
- Women are the most loyal portion of the ANC's support base – 63% support ANC in elections, as opposed to 54% for men, yet are still disempowered and underrepresented at all levels.
- The ANC lost support in all provinces with KZN being the highest at 10%.



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11. SOCIAL DIALOGUE AND COMPACTING

In the 2020 SONA speech, President Cyril Ramaphosa said that the social compact 'is a covenant rooted in the strategic objective of our National Development Plan, which is to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030'. Admitting that the government cannot solve economic challenges alone he pointed out that compacting has been taking the form of the 'mini-compacts' approach he had articulated on many occasions before. This signalled the placing at front and centre the challenge of achieving social cohesion and developing a social compact. South Africa has a long history of trying to achieve the unity, trust and vision which, as we noted above, is required for social compacting.

This theme was re-emphasised in his address to the nation in the midst of Covid-19 on 21st April 2020, when the President said: "We are resolved not merely to return our economy to where it was before the coronavirus, but to forge a new economy in a new global reality. Our economic strategy going forward will require a new social compact among all role players – business, labour, community and government – to restructure the economy and achieve inclusive growth."

A key debate on the realisation of social compacts concerns NEDLAC: is it a bargaining forum where decisions are taken or is it a forum for consensus building. The ANC needs to take a long hard look at the role and future of NEDLAC. There are many challenges that NEDLAC faces; fossilised in its approach; each constituency pursues frozen mandates; representation has been "juniorised" and the interactions technocratic. The President has set the right example by leading his administration to hold meetings with social partners under the auspices of NEDLAC. However, when Cabinet members depart from such

engagements, it is left again to junior officials to continue the work.

Two important milestones towards compacting have been the 2012 and the 2020 Social Cohesion Summits hosted by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). The declaration which emerged from 2012 took as its starting point the well-known principle in the South African Constitution that '**South Africa belongs to all who live in it, both black and white, united in our diversity**'. However, speaking at the 2020 conference Minister Mthethwa noted: "*The privilege attached to race, class, space and gender has not yet been fully reversed*". On the same occasion, Netshitenzhe crystalized the basis for a social compact where he said: "*Four pillars of a social compact are identified, with emphasis on economic issues because of their catalytic effects*". Apart from economic growth, he identified "*a floor for a decent standard of living – in addition to employment, this requires an appropriate social wage (read social grants) to help address multi-dimensional manifestations of poverty and inequality*". The third element was a capable and ethical state and the fourth is ongoing social dialogue.

In 2006, the trade union movement Solidarity set up Afriforum, which campaigns for '*the protection and consolidation of civil rights*' and gives the Afrikaner community '*a voice in a society where minorities are increasingly being ignored*'. It works together with Solidarity's new centre on constitutional rights. Jacob Boersma (2012) argued that 'In a constitutional democracy like South Africa, it might not be surprising that the ANC's opposition phrases its arguments in a discourse of rights... Solidarity's trope of rights functions through a series of three oppositions: the domination of (black) majority rule is posited against (white, Afrikaans) minority rights; the gain of blacks' rights comes at the cost of whites' rights; and racial integration threatens the

right to be Afrikaans' (2012:415).

Faith based organisations have often been looked at as providing a base for social compacting. Religious freedom is enshrined in section 15 of the constitution. South Africa is home to a plethora of Christian denominations which does not have any particularly dominant denomination. This is not surprising given the various missions which impacted on the population here, as well as the emergence of the independent churches. It can be broken down broadly into:

- Mainstream Protestant which is about 32% of the total number of self-professed Christians. It includes the Methodist, Dutch Reformed, Anglican, Lutheran, and Presbyterian churches.
- Pentecostal, second largest at about 26%, which includes the Charismatic churches and the Apostolic Faith Mission.
- The total African independent churches represent about 25% of adherents, with the Zion Christian Church the largest at almost 14%, the Ethiopian and Shembe/Nazareth churches.
- Catholics make up about 9% of the total.

Bompani (2008:666) argues that the African independent churches, although hardly 'new' participants in public debate in South Africa, have much in common with 'new social movements'. André P. Czeglédý of Wits University pointed out how Pentecostal churches reflected the democratisation of 1994 that restored a collective authority as the representative of the population with the restoration of an 'original' Christianity closer to God. Similarly, a truly representative community of representatives framed by universal franchise is paralleled by a community of the faithful unblemished by ceremony, dogma or a mediating theocracy (2008).

12. THE WAY FORWARD

Social cohesion can be a critical element of our attempt at uniting the country, deepening our democracy and making it safer for all who live in it. Such social cohesion has to address the underlying causes contributing to the lack of social cohesion:

- The post-colonial, post-apartheid, post-1994 and post-Covid-19 sense of woundedness which different parts of our nation experience in different ways. This requires the ANC and its government to act as the 'healers in chief' so that we confront the realities of SA with a commitment to making our land a peaceful and prosperous one. For the ANC to play that role it must be united and resolute in leadership. As Abraham Lincoln put it: 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' This becomes ever more urgent as South Africa struggles to emerge from the devastating impact of Covid-19.
- Such a leadership can help develop a national identity by encouraging the cultural diversity of this country, by reigniting the 'RDP of the soul' project and by celebrating the various progressive elements of our heritage.
- Race will continue being a faultline running deep into the South African psyche. It has to be addressed in a manner which is informed by what the Indlulamithi Scenarios 2030 call the Triple Rs of Reconciliation, Resentment and Resistance.
- It would require us to develop a social compact of business, government, labour, and the unemployed on the basis of commitment to growing the economy, enabling an ethical and capable state, and providing a durable social net. The ANC-led government must consolidate the social compacting we have been seeing in our society's response to Covid-19.
- The addressing of the position of women in SA needs the urgent attention of

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the ANC: patriarchal practices within the organisation and within the government if leads, must be dealt with severely. At the societal level, we must initiate a multi-stakeholder dialogue aimed at addressing the root causes of gender-based violence and the disempowerment of women in all spheres of society.

- Social dialogue and conflict resolution require compromise and the conviction to communicate difficult decisions to our constituencies – decisions that may be unpopular in the short-term; but that lead to mutual benefit in the long-term:
 - o intellectuals, the religious community, traditional leaders, workers, youth, women, people with disability, LG-BTQ+ and the rest of civil society need to play their role. Besides pursuing interests of their own constituencies, leaders of civil society should also seek to identify the intersection between their own interests and those of society at large.
 - o More investment is needed to attract, train and deploy social work-

ers, psychologists, councillors and mentors to support the most vulnerable groups to be better able to become self-confident critical thinking citizens.

- At the centre of the social compact must be the involvement of the youth and the notion that we want them to inherit a better South Africa.
- Such a compact will be the product of and underwritten by robust social dialogue, a commitment to conflict resolution and the strengthening of social dialogue platforms.
- It would require the mobilisation of all leaders to commit to a united South Africa, where ubuntu prevails, as we have seen during the Covid-19 pandemic

We should be positive in the face of the current confining conditions and project hope for a better future as we continue to grapple with the fall-out and negative consequences of the novel coronavirus disease.

"Building a non-sexist society: The struggle against patriarchy and the emancipation of women."

INTRODUCTION

1. This document is a contribution to the ANC National General Council policy discussions. It highlights some of the key interventions that the ANC, as both a political party and ruling party in government, has made on the question of gender transformation and gender equality. In November 1983, the ANC declared 1983 as the year of women. This being a recognition of the role that women played and continue to play in the liberation movement, and is a sentiment echoed in the following words by President Oliver Tambo:

"The liberation of the land of our birth and all its people will materialize as a genuinely popular victory on the basis of the involvement of the masses, including women in their millions, as a conscious and active part of the anti-racial and anti-colonial democratic movement of South Africa. One of the fundamental tasks that this process of national liberation confronts is the liberation of the women of our country from their triple oppression on the grounds of sex, race and colour."
2. These words demonstrate the important role that women have always and continue to play in the life of the ANC and the country at large. The ANC, through its constitution, Strategy and Tactics and documented policy conference resolutions, display a commitment to addressing gender inequality in the party and society in general. It is also important to note that women remain the most loyal to the party in proportion to men, this seen in the ANC's support base showing 63% support of the ANC in elections, as opposed to 54% for men.
3. Embedded in the history of colonialism and apartheid, the ANC understands the country's socio-economic and political context as underpinned by the systemic oppression of Africans in general and Black people in particular; a system which is still entrenched in our society today. Such an understanding is one that also recognises that the South African society, like many others, is patriarchal and anchored on the historic marginalisation of women and the perception that women are not equal to men, specifically that they are inferior to men.
4. The ANC's theoretical approach to gender transformation and equality remains one that is influenced by Black women's experience of triple oppres-

Building a non-sexist society

sion on the basis of their sex, race and class position. In the current conjuncture it is also important to recognise that women [and men] who are gender non-conforming are further disadvantaged based on their sexuality. This therefore necessitates the recognition that across sectors of society, gender relations, are power relations, and how individuals identify with a certain gender generally informs their level of participation, inclusion, control and influence in a sector.

5. In an era where political awareness, activism and advocacy are thriving, masculinity and patriarchy have also evolved, presenting different variants of hyper and subtle masculinities that can be considered as allies to the struggle for gender equality. The process of deconstructing gender roles and norms in society has seen women's participation in politics, governance, business, religious and other sectors, thus proving the superiority of men to be false. Nonetheless – sexism, toxic masculinity and patriarchy are persistent and continue to stifle women's progress in these spaces, refusing to recognise women beyond the required quotas and affirmative action principles.
6. This policy document thus aims to critically review and shape the discussion on gender transformation and equality as understood in the ANC. Its premise is that which understands that, in order to change gender relations; gender stereotypes, gender norms and patriarchal practices, it is important to adequately respond to women's strategic and practical gender needs. This referring to; how women's lives are positioned to improve in terms of their positioning in the gendered power relations at a macro institutional level, but also to how women and other marginalised groups are able to address their day to day needs regardless of the context of their socio-economic status and relation to power.

BACKGROUND

7. This NGC takes place in the year that marks the 65th anniversary celebration of the adoption of the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter is anchored on the principles of freedom, equality and justice and must be the compass directing the policy discussions and resolutions that will be taken in this National General Council.
8. The point of departure must be a recognition of women's rights as human rights, affirmed and protected by members of the ANC in our communities as enshrined in the constitution. Understanding that South Africa is a largely patriarchal society, that has for many years recognised men as superior to women and custodians of all institutions in society, from the family to governance is important. This is so since it is this understanding is what will shape the platform for a critical analysis of gender transformation and equality in South Africa thus far.
9. A lot has been done over the years to deal with patriarchy and encourage women's rightful recognition as actors at the forefront of both the anti-apartheid struggle and the building of South Africa's democracy. There is however an entrenched patriarchal perspective in South African society, that manifests itself through a justice and economic system that doesn't adequately affirm women as equal citizens to men. This specifically as it relates to; the land question, traditional authorities, women's intellectual property, the gender wage gap etc.
10. This therefore calls for the ANC to consistently align itself with the evolving perspectives around a progressive type of politics that finds at its core political

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values of justice, freedom and equality specifically as this concerns making systemic and impactful changes in the lives of women and other marginalised groups. This also necessitates that the ANC to be robust in its consideration of what its theoretical posture on gender is, by taking into consideration the character of the ANC today, and the multiple theoretical frameworks on gender politics that exist in the current political conjuncture. The ANC being a mass-based organisation with multiple schools of thought that shape the thinking of its membership, it is critical that it re-enforces its position as having a biased to the working class, in this regard a specific bias to women from vulnerable backgrounds, including the poor, youth and gender non-conforming people.

11. In the year of **'Unity, socio-economic renewal and nation-building'**, it is important that we elevate the gender discussion by re-affirming it as an issue that cuts across all sectors including in the ANC itself. It is therefore critical to challenge the tendency in politics to treat the issue of gender equality as a secondary issue to what is considered as mainstream political questions like the economy, governance, land reform etc. Consequently, the issue of women's emancipation and bringing women to the centre must be taken seriously and re-affirmed as a priority issue for both the ANC and the country. It is not enough that policy reflects a commitment to transformation, while at the practical level there is only a marginal reflection of this.
12. Affirmative action, the country's gender machinery and institutions established for the advancement of equality, are outcomes of women having played an important role in the struggle

for liberation in South Africa and across the globe. The call for the emancipation of Africans and women continues to serve as the basis upon which many current struggles against racism, sexism, class oppression and others are founded. It is thus important to appreciate the importance of history in the building of the liberation movement and the women's movement specifically.

13. Women have played an important role in ensuring that, at a global and national level women and girls are prioritised; this is seen in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 on **achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls**. Women organising themselves politically remains an important aspect of the gender struggle, this in the African context anchored on the existence and historic role of the Pan African Women's Organisation (1962). The NGC must take into consideration that women's organising, still advocated for today, is founded upon multiple declarations, protocols and strategies such as the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1985), The Beijing Declaration and its Platform for Action (1995), the UN Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2007) and the revised Southern African Development Community, Gender and Development Protocol (2018).
14. Gender activists must realise how far we have come with advancing the gender struggle. They should appreciate the contribution of women's struggles in other countries, particularly those from the global south, and continue to affirm a women's liberation narrative that is informed by the daily struggles and specific gender needs of working-class women primarily.



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15. Regarding this, it is important that we also remember the role that the Women's Movement in South Africa has played in shaping the discourse of representation and participation by women in structures of leadership. This includes articulating the deliverables for women, specifically – access to resources, employment and decision-making platforms among other things. In the next 25 years of South Africa's democracy, the ANC must look back to the political work done through the adoption of the Women's Charter for Effective Equality in 1994. Specifically reflecting on the where the gains are, and on areas where there has not been significant strides and achievements for gender transformation and women's effective inclusion.
16. It is necessary that this NGC assesses how women's lives have been improved by resolutions on gender responsive budgeting, gender mainstreaming and women's access to decision making platforms. The litmus test on gender transformation policy must rest on this, and on assessing the sustainability and consistency of policy interventions that have improved the lives of working-class women in rural areas and townships. The yardstick must as such be the extent to which all women's lives have changed and improved, assessing the sustainability of that change, and closing the gaps where needed.
17. The context of the novel coronavirus COVID-19 pandemic has already shown evidence of unequally affecting women and men, and in some instances reversing the gains towards gender equality and sustainable development more broadly. Available evidence according to the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, suggests that global crises such as this pandemic have more adverse effects on women than men. From an economic point of view, women make up 57% of temporary workers and 40% of employed people globally. This therefore implies that; regression in the economy as a result of the pandemic, will further disadvantage women through job losses and pay-cuts, this in a world where most women are without financial safety nets.
18. The reality of the pandemic, is such that it leads to women becoming even more vulnerable and susceptible to domestic violence, especially given that there is mounted pressure in how they undertake their responsibilities in the home – including housework and child rearing. This NGC should consider and discuss the possibilities that can be explored towards shaping a gender equal future that includes systemic changes with specific contributions on how both the informal and care economy can be modelled to better protect women from being further disadvantaged by future health, climate change and other shocks.
19. The current conjuncture also offers the ANC an opportunity to take stock of the gains of the past 25 years and chart a way forward towards the National Development Plan's vision 2030. This discussion document must be informed by the understanding that even though the status of all women in South Africa has improved, gender equality has not been fully achieved.
20. It is important to recognise that over the past few years the political landscape in the country has seen South African women from all walks of life speak truth to power and exercise their democratic right to advocate for and mobilise

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against issues that affect them as women in the work, political and domestic sphere. The emergence of women's movements across the country organising for gender justice especially around the issue of Gender-Based Violence in South Africa is quite significant.

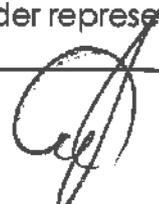
21. The contribution of the ANCWL and its Young Women's Desk in this regard is of utmost importance, especially considering how the YWD has been able to speak out against gender injustices and Gender-Based Violence in society. The ANCWL plays an important role in the life of the ANC and the country, and its contribution to strengthening efforts towards gender transformation is valuable. It is notable that through the YWD there has been a broadened scope of gender issues to the extent that the voice of the LGBTQIA+ has found space within the party. It is however important that the ANC should also lead on the campaign to end violence against women and all marginalised groups.
22. As the people's organisation, it is important that the ANC be considered as a voice that represents most women. This NGC should therefore, also reflect on the extent to which the ANC, ANCWL & YWD and the ANCYL remain relevant structures for women to participate in. The NGC must contend with the extent to which ordinary South Africans feel heard and accommodated by these structures.

commitment anchored on '...advance[in]g the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of all humanity.'. The African National Congress anchored on its' pursuit for a National Democratic Society (NDS), which is a society that has done away with class, race and gender contradictions, must continue to serve as a champion for gender equality and the empowerment of marginalised groups in society.

1. The Beijing 25+ anniversary report coincides with the review of 25 years of South Africa's democracy. Both the 25-year review and the Beijing 25+ report offer an objective, and accurate perspective of how the lives of South Africans has changed over the years. It is through the perspective of these reports that this NGC should reflect and inform policy resolutions moving forward.
2. In reporting on the progress made in addressing gender transformation, equality, and women's representation, it is important to acknowledge the ANC's leadership and deployment policy as progressive and having played an instrumental role in the current representation of women in all structures within the organisation and governance where the ANC exists.
3. This must however be followed by an assessment of the extent to which responding and addressing gender equality through the existing quota and affirmative action policies translates to women's issues being prioritised, and women being able to meaningfully play a role in the country's democracy and strategic leadership. This assessment must reflect on the role of the ANC Gender Committee and its function, as well as scrutinise gender representation

A REVIEW

The year 2020 marks a very important year for women's empowerment globally as it is the year that commemorates 25 years since the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, a global

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in structures of the ANC specifically at the office bearer and working committee levels from the branch to the national executive committee (as reflected in the table below).

4. This assessment must assist with determining whether women's political participation has been enabled or improved as a result of women holding leadership positions in the ANC or not. It must specifically look at the unequal representation of women in office bearing positions in ANC structures across the country and consider how this contributes to the status of women and the extent to which the voices of the majority of women in South Africa are heard and their issues attended to.
5. Regarding women's economic transformation, progress has been made by the ANC government's introduction of policies and programmes that facilitate women's equal participation in the economy:

*'...to provide business resources, information and opportunities for South African women entrepreneurs, as well as a range of interventions designed to achieve women's empowerment and gender equality in the agriculture sector.'*¹

Weak economic growth has however limited the success of the interventions to achieve the economic emancipation of women, this therefore hindering the process of most women becoming financially secure and coming out of poverty, and oppressive social contexts.
6. Black African women still represent those with the highest burden of poverty in the country. *'In 2017, although women constituted 51% of the total population of South Africa, they made up only 44.3% of the employed workforce, which is often concentrated at lower levels of organisations.'*². Women dominate the small business sector, and struggle to enter the mainstream economy, or break the ceiling of senior management especially in the private sector.
7. It is in the interest of the ANC to ensure that economic inequality does not persist in the next 25 years, and that there are re-enforcements in policy and practice aimed at integrating women in the private sector, especially in previously male dominated fields like manufacturing, mining, construction, agriculture, science, technology engineering & mathematics (STEM), finance etc.
8. Regarding women's access to basic services, specifically access to water, electricity, sanitation, housing and food security, affordable transport and access to information – it has been critical that government make the needed interventions and programmes to support women, as those who mainly bear the brunt of poverty in South Africa.
9. The inroads that have been made in this regard include:
 - 9.1 Increasing access to piped water at approximately 60% of women headed households. Access to services and interventions addressing poverty in South Africa remain disaggregated according to gender, with educated white men having the most access, while Black African women have the least access.
 - 9.2 Improved access to safer and more convenient sources of energy especially for women in rural areas, although energy access remains unequally disaggregated among

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male and female headed households. This is linked to the education and economic security that exists in those households. Whereas access to reliable electricity has generally been stable, the context of challenges in ESKOM further disadvantage women the most, as they carry the additional burden since they already carry the responsibility of cooking, child rearing and household responsibilities.

- 9.3 Providing convenient sanitation and hygiene minimises vulnerability and risk to Gender-Based Violence for women and promotes dignity. In this regard, women's access to sanitation and hygiene has improved such that in '...2016, 49.5% of toilets were located in the yard of households; 45.6% in the dwelling and 4.9% outside the yard.'³.
- 9.4 Access to housing and security of tenure for women remains an important aspect in bringing about women's emancipation and gender equality. While there have been increases in government housing subsidies allocated to female headed households, as well as in offering security of tenure for female headed households, it is still insufficient. Towards the next 25-years, it is important that policy processes and interventions reflect on the role of customary law and traditional leadership, and the limitations that exist for young women professionals looking to secure property.
- 9.5 On the question of women and health, the South African policy on

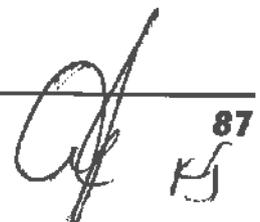
Universal Access to Primary Health remains the main gain for women's health, especially women from vulnerable backgrounds.

9.5.1 Pregnant women and children under the age of six years continuing to receive free health care and access to reproductive health care programmes and ante-natal care services are amongst the achievements of the health care system. The life expectancy of women has increased from 54.8 years in 2005 to 65.1 years in 2016, this underscored by a decline in adult mortality rate from 38% in 2012 to 33% in 2016 as result of the extensive roll-out of Antiretroviral (ARV) treatment. The global challenge of high maternal mortality rates persists, and as a country, specific interventions to reduce maternal deaths need to be strengthened.

9.5.2 Access to contraceptives and family planning for women has increased over the past 25-years. Persistence in unplanned pregnancies, especially among youth and more vulnerable women is largely associated with socio-economic factors such as the rural-urban divide, women's economic status, education levels, cultural norms etc. Strategies must be put in place to address the misconceptions and misinformation about contraceptives especially in rural areas. Early pregnancy

Notes

- 1 25 Year Review (2019)
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid



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plays a role in determining the future of a girl child and must as such be prioritised as a gender and health issue.

9.5.3 Adequate support for the 90-90-90 HIV strategy campaign will yield specific gains for reducing the impact of illness on women and female headed households, this important in alleviating the burden on those vulnerable to disease and its impact on livelihoods.

9.5.4 With all the interventions that have been made regarding women and health, it is important that the resolution on the implementation of the National Health Insurance (NHI) be re-enforced. There is a direct relationship between improved quality of healthcare and Universal Health Care coverage. Women being the most burdened by the quadruple burden of disease, will particularly benefit from the NHI.

While the context of the COVID-19 pandemic undermines the improvement of health outcomes, it does also more broadly offer an opportunity to improve on health infrastructure and the overall access to quality healthcare.

9.6 Significant gains have been made in addressing the issue of women and education in South Africa, specifically regarding both enrolment in basic and higher education. There are however still challenges that persist in relation to school completion, and enrolment in STEM courses by women and girls.

9.6.1 While academic success in basic education has, since 2008,

seen better performance by males, tertiary education enrolment and success at the undergraduate level favours women with more males being enrolled for Master's and Doctoral degrees. The ratio of female to male tertiary enrolment (%) in South Africa was reported at 1.4319 % in 2017, according to the World Bank collection of development indicators, compiled from officially recognized sources. According to Professor Ahmed Bawa, CEO of Universities South Africa (USAf), whose members comprise the heads of the country's 26 tertiary education institutions, 58% of the students in South African universities are women and 42% men (2018). Education remains a contested and gendered terrain which cannot be addressed without applying an intersectional lens to better understand the conditions leading to varied academic outputs.

9.6.2 Socio-economic factors such as the urban-rural divide, vulnerability to rape, sexual crimes, harassment, trafficking, inadequate access to sanitary towels, the high female dropout ratio in secondary schooling and teenage pregnancy among secondary school-going girls further create a stumbling block for women's success in education. It is therefore critical that this NGC further deliberates on the kind of interventions required for equitable access and success in schools and institutions of higher learning. The declaration that the 'doors of learning must be

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open for all' must be assessed based on the extent to which access to education improves the lives of women and girls.

9.7 The scourge of gender-based violence and femicide continues to reverse the gains of South Africa and threaten the freedoms of many women and girls across the country. The declaration from the Presidential Summit against Gender Based Violence and Femicide in 2018 must be used as the basis upon which eliminating GBV and femicide can be made possible.

9.7.1 There is a need for the ANC to critically reflect on and prioritise interventions on Gender-Based Violence – including the specific discrimination against the LGBTQIA+ community and sex workers. Having highlighted the areas where significant strides in fighting patriarchy, emancipating women and creating a non-sexist society have been made, the ANC must wage the battle against Gender Based Violence and femicide more rigorously.

9.7.2 In line with the resolutions of the 54th National Conference, the ANC must re-affirm its stance on applying stricter punitive measures for perpetrators of any form of violence against women and the LGBTQIA+ community. The position to utilise the full might of the criminal justice system to the extent that includes denial of bail and the sentence regime must be implemented urgently.

9.8 Having generally highlighted the broad gains and gaps that exist with

regard to the progress made in the 25-year democracy, it is important that this NGC deliberate further on the kind of policy interventions that may be required to re-enforce the work that has been done thus far.

9.9 This includes assessing how institutions that have been established to strengthen women's voice and advance the plight of women have been successful. To do this, it is important to look at the Department of Women, Youth and People with Disabilities in the Presidency, the Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa, the Commission for Gender Equality etc. and establish how these have influenced and improved the lives of all women. Attention must be given to addressing the specific needs of young and working-class women from rural backgrounds.

9.10 Strengthening gender sensitive responses to addressing gender inequality is important.

The need to further mainstream gender and use gender disaggregated approaches to policy is fundamental for the emancipation of women and breaking the hold of patriarchy over society.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

1. Considering the areas where gains and challenges exist in the pursuit to building a non-sexist, equal society which has addressed systemic and deeply entrenched patriarchal social values, norms and behaviours.
2. This NGC should further identify the areas that require specific interventions and immediately put in place mecha-

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nisms to address these. This requires that an in -depth assessment takes place, where we not only ask if a policy exists, but also how it has improved and benefitted the lives of the majority working-class women of the country.

3. Building on the already established foundation in the various sectors, at the core of engendering change must be a more robust and community-based approach to processes that include but are not limited to; consultation for the purposes of implementation, monitoring and ensuring accountability.
4. The ANC must define its role and facilitate further implementation of strategies for gender equality especially in the following areas:
 - Strengthening capacity in the ANC and governance structures for implementation of gender mainstreaming, gender responsive planning, budgeting, monitoring, evaluation and auditing as per the existing government framework. This includes in depth gender disaggregation of data to ensure proper reporting and interventions as guided by the mandate from the Office of the Status of Women (2008).
 - Prioritisation of areas such as health, education, housing and land tenure; this including campaigns aimed at prioritising sexual and reproductive health, towards addressing stereotypes around career choices, creating a conducive environment for women's economic participation, land ownership and tenure.
 - Transformation of business leadership and governance in the private and public sector resulting in more representation of women in senior positions, and championing of a gender sensitive agenda that is inclusive and meaningfully contributes to the advancement of women and women's issues.
5. Thus far, the gains that have been made are notable but still require that we further build on them. ANC branches must begin to identify areas in their communities that need specific interventions. It is also important to recognise that efforts towards gender equality require partnership with relevant stakeholders in government, civil society, religious organisations, academics, labour etc.
6. The international partnerships with other countries and partner's such as the Beijing Platform for Action, the Pan African Women's Organisation, the Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa also play an important role in furthering the agenda for women's emancipation and gender equality, and relations with these organisations must be strengthened to achieve the objectives of a non-sexist society. In this regard, women in the ANC and the country must further define their role in the global political landscape, and what approaches can be used to elevate their voice.
7. A consolidation of the efforts that the ANC at a national level and across its structures have made is important in order to chart a way forward on how to adequately respond to the persistent challenge of gender equality in South Africa. While this requires an in-depth understanding of the theories of gender, power and development more broadly, they also require specific attention to be placed on better understanding the material conditions in branches of the ANC and communities more broadly. In the work that is to be done towards gender equality and

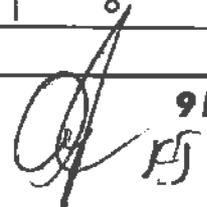
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gender transformation, the litmus test of the extent to which lives of all women, specifically marginalised, elderly, youth and rural groups must be transformed, and sustainable solutions im-

plemented. Achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls in South Africa, is indeed an integral part of strengthening our democracy, and should as such remain a priority.

GENDER BREAKDOWN OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN ANC STRUCTURES

Achievements	Committee	Male	Female
NATIONAL	National Office Bearers	5	1
	National Executive Committee (Direct)	44	45
	National Working Committee	13	13
PROVINCES			
Gauteng	Provincial Office Bearers	4	1
	Provincial Executive Committee	15	15
	Provincial Working Committee	8	8
Limpopo	Provincial Office Bearers	4	1
	Provincial Executive Committee	34	17
	Provincial Working Committee	10	7
Eastern Cape	Provincial Office Bearers	4	1
	Provincial Executive Committee	19	17
	Provincial Working Committee	9	8
Western Cape IPC	Provincial Office Bearers	2	1
	Interim Provincial Committee	16	15
	Provincial Working Committee	7	7
Northern Cape	Provincial Office Bearers	4	1
	Provincial Executive Committee	18	17
	Provincial Working Committee	9	10
Kwa-Zulu Natal	Provincial Office Bearers	4	1
	Provincial Executive Committee	20	20
	Provincial Working Committee	9	8
Free State	Provincial Office Bearers	3	2
	Provincial Executive Committee	18	19
	Provincial Working Committee	9	8

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Building a non-sexist society**GENDER BREAKDOWN OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN ANC STRUCTURES**

PROVINCES (CONTINUED)			
Achievements	Committee	Male	Female
Mpumalanga	Provincial Office Bearers	2	1
	Provincial Executive Committee	18	17
	Provincial Working Committee	9	7
North West IPC	Provincial Office Bearers	1	2
	Provincial Working Committee	5	5



A Discussion Document for the National General Council on

Youth

BACKGROUND

The youth of South African are important assets in the building of our envisaged national democratic society. Youth are a driving force for change and social transformation. The youth of South Africa has been significant to the history of the ANC and their role continues to be important in the life of the organisation. Under Apartheid, it was South Africa's youth that drove mass mobilisation and the organisation of the oppressed to oppose the Apartheid state and fight for national liberation and democracy.

The United Nations gives a clear definition of youth as "a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to the independence of adulthood."¹ However, there are necessities that enable the transition from dependency of childhood to independence of adulthood, which include access to education, health care, land and employment.

Each new generation has its own mission of social emancipation and its own dynamism. This is true for the young people of South Africa. The generation of the mid-1940's formed the ANC Youth League and brought radicalism into the ANC. This subsequently resulted in the formation of the armed-struggle – Umkhonto we Sizwe. Currently the youth of South Africa is confronted with the surge of gender-based

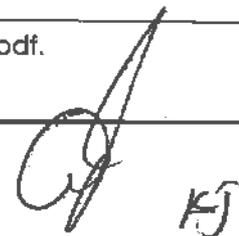
violence, a climate crisis, that impacts their future, high levels of poverty, limited access to quality education, and very high unemployment. However the youth of South Africa also have the potential to shape social and economic development and challenge current social structures.

INTRODUCTION

1. The year 2020 marks 26 years since the end of apartheid's white minority rule and the ushering in of a post-apartheid democratic dispensation. From inception, an ANC-led post-apartheid South Africa identified disrupting and redressing the intergenerational legacy of gender, class and race-based poverty, inequality and deprivation as its apex priority. To achieve this mammoth task, the RDP policy framework widely held that South Africa's transition from apartheid's white minority rule to democracy requires that all existing policies, practices, institutions and values are reviewed and rethought in terms of their fitness for the new era. At the heart of the new era remains our resolve to create a better life for all, by developing a pragmatic national reconstruction and development program. This program is aimed at addressing the the social, economic, spatial and political legacy of our colonial and apartheid past.

¹ <https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-definition.pdf>.

The United Nations giving clear definition of the Youth.



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2. The ability to deliver on a better life for all remains entrenched as a yardstick against which the African National Congress assesses itself and earns its political legitimacy as a vehicle that carries the hopes and wishes of all South Africans; the poor and working classes, blacks in general and Africans in particular. In other words, to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty, underdevelopment and inequality underwrote and guarantee the political legitimacy and appeal of the ANC in the eyes of the poor and the marginalised who are its motive forces, as well as the intended majority shareholders of a post-apartheid South Africa.
3. With the above background in mind, the wellbeing of the Youth (aged 18-34), who currently constitute almost a third (17,84 Million) of South Africa's population, and their prospects of a socially, economically and politically secure future, is a yardstick against which the ANC is measured by this constituency.
4. South Africa's youth population is a blessing that can also turn into a curse. A largely unemployed, idle and economically inactive youth population presents the most immediate threat to South Africa's socio-political stability, the country's productive capacity and the possibility of equitable social mobility. Paralysed social mobility not only adversely affect the achievability of national development goals but further weaken the image of the ANC as a genuine custodian of the youth's hopes and wishes, making the achievement of a national democratic society and total liberation seem a distant reality.
5. Due to a widening in educational, information and technological/digital gap between working-class youth and their privileged counterparts, much of South Africa's potential human capital and productive potential is lost; as many talented young South Africans living in rural and township communities are unable to access and succeed in post-schooling opportunities. Consequently, 26 years later, the majority of the unemployed and those in the NEET (not in employment, education or training) category remains largely rural, black, female, young and of poor and working-class origin.
6. This trend continues to feed into a widening trust deficit between the youth and the African National Congress. As witnessed during the #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall protests, the youth see the ANC as an animal that speaks left and walks right, bemoaning the gap between the movement's transformative policy positions and its practice. It is this widening trust deficit between the movement, the youth and to a certain extent their parents, that poses an existential threat to the image and appeal of the African National Congress. It must be addressed with urgency to halt the widening trust deficit.
7. Evidence from parts of Europe and North America show that, if left unattended to, the extent of intergenerational injustice and inequality leaves the youth constituency vulnerable and drawn to waves of right and left wing populism. The ANC needs to study and understand the youth and the prevailing balance of forces, which should guide how the movement organizes itself around and mobilises within this critical constituency.
8. Lastly, post-apartheid South Africa's pre-occupation with university education as a single pathway to desired social and occupational destinations

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has led to a gross underutilisation of the military's capacity to massify sector-specific skills development and job creation for the youth. The poor uptake and graduation from TVET colleges that offer occupational skills training is also a matter of major concern. The higher education and training sector and its ever-rising cost has and continues to exclude an overwhelming majority of poor and working-class youth. This group is ultimately condemned to the NEET Category and all the social ills that accompany it. Given the social and economic devastation that will likely be left behind by Covid-19 and the well documented role of militaries in recovering from pandemics and recessions, there is an urgent need for the ANC to commission a study into the feasibility of an SANDF led Mandatory Military Service. At the same time we need to ensure that the government strengthens the TVET sector and aligns it more closely with societal and economic needs. Key reforms needed include government playing a stronger role to get TVET students access to internship opportunities to complete the practical part of their training.

Do not homogenize youth

Youth is a commonly misapplied concept that assumes a uniformity of conditions experienced by young people. It overlooks the often-profound importance of a difference in gender, social status, class, ethnicity, religion and other demographics. Often the only youth voices heard are those of the student, economic and political elites.

The voices of all youth matter. As part of re-engaging with the youth constituency, the movement must avoid elevating the voice of certain youth over that of youth whose voices remain on the margins of society. The voice of the youth must carry the

same weight regardless of gender, race, class, geographic location or educational status. The #FeesMustFall protest raised the voice and challenges of Youth in Universities above those of youth in TVET Colleges. Similarly, the spotlight was shone on the voice and challenges of youth in elitist institutions, such as Wits University and the University of Cape Town, at the expense of the youth in historically black institutions. In order to restore trust and arrest the widening trust deficit between the movement and the youth constituency, the ANC must meaningfully engage with the immediate challenges and wellbeing of rural and township youth across language barriers, educational and occupational status.

It is important to recognise that as a political party that represents the majority, the ANC must ensure that they can relate to, and represent every young person in South Africa, and that it remains the space where young people's ideas can be formulated and contested in order to influence the policy debates in government.

Youth and the balance of forces

The democratic transition during the past 1994 period, has as its central content the erosion of the national, class and gender barriers that previously determined access to economic, social and political opportunities. This consists of not only removing the legislative framework of the colonial and apartheid state but also any transforming exclusion based on race, class and geographic location. It seeks to overcome the deep and pervasive fault lines of inequality, unemployment and poverty.

South Africa's youth have been concerned with transformation since the inception of the ANC Youth League in 1944. We have also in this epoch witnessed the

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rise of numerous new social movements, many of them organised and led by the youth of South Africa – recent examples are the #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall and #MeToo movements.

The ANC has been advocating for the inclusion of young people in decision-making processes, particularly in the area of policy. However, the youth of South Africa needs to organise and mobilise more effectively in order to play a dynamic and powerful role in influencing and building a national democratic society.

The youth of South Africa need to understand that they are an integral part of a society that evolves every day. Hence, Algerian revolutionary contended that, “each generation must discover its mission, fulfil it or betray it.” The Youth of today face serious challenges in terms of employment and pursuing education and work opportunities under the COVID-19 lockdown. Young women for example have been massively impacted by the shutdown of almost all childcare and ECD centres in townships.

The youth need to discover their mission in advancing youth interests and building a national democratic society that address the challenges faced by young people.

In addition, South African youth make up about 60% of the unemployment rate. There is great frustration and impatience within the youth of South Africa – mainly because of the struggles of unemployment, poverty and violence. COVID-19 has worsened the impediments faced by youth of South African, as unemployment continues to increase, and this disproportionately affects young women in rural and township areas.

It must be noted that being young does not translate into being progressive. Therefore, it is the role of the ANC to build progressive youth that strive to reclaim their space in building the envisioned developmental state. Such youth need to understand the weak economy and its constrained capacity to create jobs, that causes the crisis of youth unemployment.

National Democratic Society and Youth

“Such a society should be premised on the obvious fact that workers' rights are human rights; and these rights should find expression in law-governed measures to ensure decent jobs, job security and a living wage”.²

South Africa's youth rallied by the ANC Youth League in line with the ANC must campaign for greater participation in, and influence on, the strategic sectors of the economy. The youth of South Africa need to lead the charge in influencing government to impose a living minimum wage and a basic income grant.

Intra-class inequalities in South Africa are persistent, and inequality between the black African middle and working class has increased dramatically due to the rapid growth of this middle class since the end of Apartheid. This predominantly urban middle class seem to be the drivers of political discourse, whilst the marginalised youth from informal settlements and rural areas do not have expression in South Africa's discourse due to lack of organisational and institutional platforms as well as media access.

Some of the middle class youth have ascended to political leadership in the ANC

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and as public representatives in councils, national parliament and legislatures. Our young leaders need to be rooted in the struggles of youth in our country. We need youth leaders who are schooled in the values of the ANC and who question the conspicuous consumption of a capitalist and celebrity culture. Joel Netshitenzhe contended that:

"Standing in the eyes of peers, possibilities of entering intimate relationships, followership on social media... all this and more increasingly depend on and in turn to feed that celebrity status, with money and conspicuous consumption at the centre of it. The greatest danger, in my view, is that young cadres are emerging into positions of more serious responsibility within the context of a value system that may be corrosive of the humanism and selflessness that fundamental social transformation demands."³

The building of the National Democratic Society and the developmental state needs to be inclusive of all the youth of South Africa regardless of political affiliation, class, race, gender, and religion etc. Throughout South Africa's youth appear to be in the midst of an existential crisis – driven by the social media discourse of individual aspirations, and neglecting the struggles of downtrodden youth in our rural areas and townships.

Speak Directly to Youth Issues

A notion that must be dispelled is that young people are unaware of what they want and need. Young people are very clear on the issues that affect them and even have many potential ideas on how to solve them. The approach that the older generation has taken by trying to tell young people what is good for them, has

never been and never will be the correct approach. Young people do not feel listened to nor do they feel like they play a meaningful role in decision-making, both by the ANC and the government. Hence the growing agitation on the ground of young people demanding a seat at the table.

Amongst the most important issues that face young people are education, unemployment, support for small businesses, land redistribution, corruption and the economy. These matters must be the focus of our work and our campaigning. Young people want their issues to be directly and specifically addressed. It is not sufficient for the ANC and the government to say it will create jobs. The governing party needs to say **"We will be able to secure 'x' amount of jobs by doing the following things. We plan to do more next year by tackling that sector, that sector, etc."**

Youth and Education

By the time people reach young adulthood, the public institution that they have most interacted with is the school system. This makes school and tertiary education the most important site of mobilisation of the youth toward public participation. To this end, schools ought to cultivate a culture of responsibility and citizenship within the learners. It is schools that must inspire faith in public institutions.

It is also schools that must enlighten the youth on their responsibilities as citizens and not merely produce work-ready individuals – work-readiness is only one measure of the schooling system and not the most important one. This is because where our country cannot afford opportunities to those who

³ Joel Netshitenzhe "THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE PARTY AND EXPECTATIONS OF ANC PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES" 22 June 2019

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are work-ready, those people will look elsewhere for that opportunity and potentially leave the country to pursue that. This is evidenced by the level of graduate relocations on the continent and to other parts of the world for employment.

Whereas if we successfully cultivate a culture of national pride and citizenship, individual career pursuits will not be the only consideration in the youth's consciousness. Youth innovation and energy are needed to ensure the growth of local industry and local opportunities for others. A youth that is set on finding or creating local opportunities from a sense of pride for their country will naturally engage with public and political institutions.

In South Africa however, we have a drop-out rate of 60% between grade 1 and grade 12. Likewise, Grade 12 numbers often reflect about 52% of the age-appropriate youth still enrolled in schools and many more drop out after failing their matric exams.

These dropout rates inhibit the attempt to mobilise the youth to participate in public and social life and exercise their social responsibility. Research indicates that the way the youth spend their leisure time has a huge impact on whether they stay in school or not. Leisure time spent in boredom is more likely to produce negative results i.e. school dropouts and substance abuse.

Engagement in healthy leisure time can act as a mitigating factor against this kind of negative behaviour and increase an adolescents' self-esteem, academic performance, peer-group affiliation and overall school engagement. All this may reduce the likelihood of dropping out.

What then must the education system do

in order to cultivate healthier practises?

- Firstly, before we change anything, we must ensure that learners' school experience is pleasant and enriching.
- Schools must prioritise History and introduce "Citizenship" studies into their curriculum, either through the existing course structure (i.e. into the Life Orientation program) or as a separate subject. This will allow learners to leave school with an understanding of what their social responsibilities are and why they are important. Currently, education is focused on how the individual can survive in the world as opposed to how cooperation can make it better.
- Basic education must ensure that learners willingly remain in the system all the way from grade 1 to completion, minimising the drop-out rate. This is because losing a person at a young age alienates them from the development of social inclusion cultivated by merely being present in the social context of a school. Without such inclusion, we cannot hope to achieve social responsibility because the individual is not invested in a society from which they feel excluded.
- The schooling system must teach young people the skills to change boredom during their leisure time to something more interesting. This may mean ensuring the ability to read as early as possible – a skill South African pupils acquire much later than much of the peaceful world. There may be a need to introduce an aggressive and systematic curriculum of cultural and recreational activities – the learning of music, theatre and sport. This will allow the youth to have more skills at their disposal for use during their leisure time and for creative upliftment.
- There is also a need to instil in learners the importance of what they are learning so that they can motivate themselves to improve and not have to rely solely on external motivation. This will become easier as we attempt to widen the ar-

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ray of skills at their disposal as they are more likely to develop a passion and specialise.

- This must also feature in our tertiary education institutions. Students in TVETs and in Universities must have social responsibility cultivated in their learning. Note that this does not have to mean teaching everyone "Citizenship" as they did in high school. The program could teach students how to build local industries in their field and how to make a social impact with their work. So that there is no need for deviation from the core subject that would result in an additional workload.

Youth unemployment on the Continent - Putting it into context

Africa has the youngest population in the world. Angola, Mozambique, Niger and Uganda have a median age for their population below 18 years. With the great efforts and success against infant mortality rates, this translates into a continent-wide "Youth Bulge" where youth between 16 and 35 become the largest age-group in the overall population.

Each year millions of young people enter the labour force across the continent. While this is positive, it is difficult for Africa to maintain the rates of economic growth and generation of productive jobs needed to absorb new work seekers.. Youth unemployment and underemployment remain very high. As a result, many youths end up self-employed, in vulnerable occupations, or in the informal sector. Additionally, a large proportion of university graduates are finding it difficult to find jobs, as they lack employable skills or face skill mismatches with labour market requirements.

Youth Unemployment rates in North Africa are above 25% in countries such as Egypt

and Tunisia. While sub-Saharan Africa displays the highest youth and worker poverty rates in the world at about 70%.

Nigerian youth unemployment rapidly rose from 15% in 2015 to 35% in 2018, with more than 55% of young people being unemployed or underemployed. Nigeria thus has the double problem of staggering unemployment and crippling worker poverty. This is a problem that South Africa is all too familiar with, with youth unemployment remaining persistently around 40%. The Covid pandemic has pushed youth unemployment over 50%.

Youth Unemployment in South Africa

South African youth are very vulnerable in the labour market. Those aged 15–34 years are considered as youth. There is a need to identify the type of youth unemployment that the country is faced with – that is whether it is structural or cyclical in nature. This identification will create a path for the solution i.e. if the problem is structural and we are creating youth who have outdated skills, we can address the tertiary education sector. If the problem is cyclical, and a consequence of economic conditions, we address the greater macro-economic issues.

South Africa has, roughly, 20 million people between the ages of 16 and 35 which makes up about 34% of the population. More than 30% of young South Africans between the ages of 15-24 are not employed (narrow definition – actively looking for work but not employed), or in education or training opportunities; 46% of young South Africans aged 25-34 fall into this category. This equates to 7.9 million young people. In 2018 close to one in three young South Africans between the ages of 15 and 24 years were disengaged with the labour mar-

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ket and were not in the process of upskilling themselves to engage in the market. This indicator is important as these young people are likely to remain structurally unemployed in the long run. The economic devastation brought about by Covid-19 has dramatically impacted the employment figures for youth and may have taken youth unemployment over 50% for the foreseeable future.

Job seeking costs about R500 per month, according to a UJ study published in 2016.

89% of the Class of 2019 Matriculants were child grant beneficiaries. The majority are now over 18 which means that they are no longer eligible for the grant. This coupled with the consideration that 30% of them are likely to fall into the NEET category (see above 18-24 stats) and that they no longer receive the grant leaves them with no jobs and not enough money to effectively look for work.

All of this leads to a reliance on government, a financial burden that government cannot bear, thus failing to support this group of South Africans. It is vital that youth engage in the current discussion on a basic income grant.

It is important to note that the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) does not fund postgraduate studies – it only funds undergraduate. However to practise and be employable in many sectors e.g. psychology or economics, one now needs a postgraduate training (which is not funded). Therefore there is a creation of unemployable graduates coming through the system who are not able to build on their skills base through education and training – they are not in employment, education or training.

The NEET rate, seen in conjunction with the

unemployment rate suggests that young South Africans face extreme difficulties engaging with and entering the labour market. Many face a lifetime of unemployment or under-employment.

Certain factors such as lack of experience and length of unemployment may increase the vulnerabilities of these young people in the difficulties they have in finding decent work.

The burden of unemployment is also concentrated amongst the youth as they account for 63,5% of the total number of formally unemployed persons. The unemployment rate among the youth is higher than other age groups regardless of educational level. The graduate unemployment rate was 33,5% for those aged 15–24 and 10,2% among those aged 25–34 years, while the rate among adults (aged 35–64 years) was 4,7%. Just over 30% of the youth have jobs and about half of them participate in the labour market. Within the youth, those aged 15–24 years are more vulnerable in the labour market with an unemployment rate of over 52%, an absorption rate of about 12,2% and a labour force participation rate of 25,6%.

When young people are employed in the South African labour market, they work mostly in agriculture, retail and services, finance and other business services. Youth with higher skill levels are mostly employed in community and social services (including government) as well as finance and other business service industries.

The bottom line is that it is very difficult for young people to get jobs and sustain themselves. This must be directly addressed in a solution orientated fashion if we hope to gain the support of young people more broadly.

DISCUSSION PAPER ON YOUTH**Youth and Organizational Renewal**

From the 53rd National Conference in 2012 through to the 54th in 2017, the ANC recognised the need for Organisational Renewal. This need arose, from the realisation that the ANC is losing credibility among ordinary South Africans. Noting that this is due to the ANC's perceived and real /alienation from society, poor service delivery in some areas of government, along with other issues such as corruption, elitism, arrogance and manipulating organisational processes. These can be generally referred to as the "sins of incumbency" commonly suffered by governing parties that stay in power for a long time and become complacent and arrogant.

Importantly, in the 54th National Conference Resolutions, it is noted that many organisations and thought leaders in society have become critics of the ANC and its leadership, leading to a massive loss of influence and appeal among South Africans, and more specifically among young intellectuals and students. This is an unfortunate development as the ANC is built on and has historically cultivated intellectualism among its members and leaders and losing the support of students and intellectuals is the loss of the very resource that built and sustained this organisation through the years.

The ANC is not just losing students and intellectuals however, there is also a large cohort of urban youth that do not find the ANC attractive for the same reasons as the more fortunate youth. In addition, given the rural to urban migration that occurs in pursuit of work, many of the rural youth also experience urban discontent. This is on top of the discontent they may carry from their rural homes such as not yet having adequate access to resources and services. The lack of analysis of working class, rural and poor youth is a massive blind spot in the analysis made in the 53rd and 54th

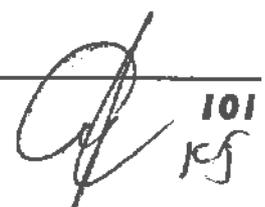
National Conference about the character and nature of the youth the movement is losing. It is not just students and young intellectuals – it is the youth as a whole. The students and young intellectuals could be considered the loudest voices as well as the cohort with the most access to media and the largest social capital to successfully express their discontent with the ANC.

It is therefore important for the ANC, in order to attract the youth, to make bold and swift steps toward Organisational Renewal and addressing these issues. So that it can achieve the ends it set forth in restoring integrity and ethics in the ANC, building its resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capacity and its adaptability to changing situations; so that it can continue to serve and lead the people" of South Africa.

Social Cohesion and Youth

The ANC aims at harnessing social cohesion and nation building for the building of the national democratic society. It is important for the ANC to influence and help shape the consciousness of the youth. However, the consciousness must stem from the core values of the ANC and contribute to social cohesion, the national question and uniting South Africans for nation building.

Like the majority of countries in Africa today, modern South Africa is a product of European colonialism, liberation and independence movements and the various challenges and opportunities experienced by new states in an era of neo-liberalism and globalization. South Africa continues to carry the distinct social formation and historical legacy of an economy based on the extraction of resources, institutionalised racism, and colonisation of the special type which continues to influence our post-apartheid development.



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South Africa's development continues to be racially embedded – it is troubling that 1% of South Africans own 95% of the economic production. However, in order to build social cohesion and nation building that is rooted in the national democratic society, it is important that the wealth of our society be more equitably distributed. Wealth and poverty correspond neatly to racial demographics. The face of wealth is white and the face of poverty is black. Alternatively, we can say that blackness is cast in reality as a synonym for poverty and underdevelopment whereas whiteness is cast in reality as a synonym for wealth and prosperity.

Youth Alienation

The concept of alienation identifies a psychological (subjective) and social (objective) ill, and it involves the problematic separation between the Self and the Other that actually belong together. Subjective alienation is the psychological feelings of separation between Subject and Other, whilst objective alienation is the material fact of the separation of subject and other. Alienation allows us to analyse the actions of the youth in terms of the context of the youth's problematic separation from public and economic life, and the resulting political actions/expressions.

This separation is problematic, in that it either frustrates the two entities or causes conflict with the harmony of the two objects. For example, being alienated from public institutions is in conflict with the youths proper inclusion and participation in greater society and thus leads to a socially alienated youth who cannot identify with, and find no place for themselves within public institutions.

There is widespread acceptance of the youth's separation from public institutions. The youth are not organised in traditional

modes of political engagement. Young people are not very active in the leadership of political parties, they tend to be difficult to unionise and often find themselves in informal and unprotected economic sectors, they vote in much lower numbers than their adult counterparts. This is problematic because, while the youth do not feel represented by these institutions, their vote is still very important in terms of political participation and building the future national democratic society.

We therefore need to change the youth's attitude toward formal political engagement and the appropriateness of our organisational and institutional structures and programmes in their aim to attract and meet the challenges of young people.

Many begin to identify with their alienation and accept their lives as marginal in that community or country. In response to their marginality, they find other ways to express their humanity that do not need approval from formal political institutions. These forms of expression may range from benign forms like an obsession with popular culture, to very harmful forms such as the potential for drug abuse or socially destructive behaviour. The objective of the ANC should be to have our citizens as the central concern of our public institutions and this must be reflected practically.

The Silent Drug Epidemic

South Africa over the years has experienced a rise in the abuse of substances among youth. Townships are ravaged by drugs like "nyaope", tik and "dagga" as well as alcohol (this is true for most of the country). The socio-economic impact is devastating - from the dangers of addiction and drug-related illnesses, to increases in crime, violence in general and violence against women and children in particular, to family and relationship breakdown.

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Climate Change

If there is one threat that has the capacity to decimate the future of our country and the world as we know it, it is the climate crisis brought on by greenhouse gas emissions and the resultant global warming.. The issue of climate change is one that plays a frontline role for young people both globally and locally. Young people are forcing this issue onto the agenda of lawmakers, politicians and decision makers. In South Africa the movement for climate justice has begun to play itself out in grassroots level organizing. It is prominent in the fight for food security (exacerbated by the current COVID-19 crisis) and features in the land discussion in terms of sustainable agriculture in a warmer and dryer climate.

The green economy also presents a unique opportunity for job creation, new skills development and sustainability in the country. With the correct policy interventions that are driven and based on research and clear evidence, we can address the crisis of youth unemployment, climate change and even our energy crisis all in one. Therefore we cannot discount the positive ripple effect that these elements can create.

The climate crisis has already taken hold and crippled many parts of our society. Carbon and other greenhouse gas emissions are the biggest contributors to global warming which is the source of the massive changes in the earths' climate patterns.

Youth have a very direct interest in the future and climate change is one of the biggest threats to our sustainability as a country.

Day Zero - South Africa's Water Challenges

Cape Town was the first modern city to experience an imminent loss of water. The

drier period associated with the El Nino weather phenomenon was exacerbated by the effects of warmer global temperatures and poor management of water resources in the region. What we witnessed in 2018 was a dangerous drop in the potable and usable water resources in the Western Cape, specifically affecting the City of Cape Town. Currently, the Northern and Eastern Cape provinces are crippled by drought. While South Africa may not be the driest country, the geography of our landscape means that localised dry areas are severely affected by insufficient water resources. This means that at a national level, we may not be experiencing huge water crises but at a local level, we are experiencing big challenges when it comes to water.

Johannesburg, the economic jewel of the African continent, cannot meet its own water needs and as a result, has to pump water from Lesotho to supplement the Vaal Dam catchment areas. The citizens of the City of Johannesburg are consuming 530 million litres more than they should be. The rapid rate of urbanisation is worsening the situation in all of South Africa's big cities.

What is needed is a systemic shift in our storage and management of our water resources so as to prevent a water crisis from befalling our country. We also need to educate our population on the importance of using water sparingly. In some instances, we may even need to regulate water usage to protect this precious resource.

The Rising Sea - The regional weather crisis

South Africa is located in an area which is impacted by the climate patterns in Antarctica. This past year, a record temperature was measured on Seymour Island in Antarctica at 20.27 degrees Celcius. This

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is some 10.27 degrees higher than the upper average range of 10 degrees Celcius. This massive rise in temperature could affect what we call cold fronts, which are vital weather phenomena that contribute to our rainfall. While this may see an increase in the amount of rain we get, the violent storms that it could bring could lead to a severe loss of life as well as severe damage to property and vital infrastructure.

As a result of rising sea levels coastal erosion will soon become a problem. The warmer sea temperatures in the Indian and Atlantic oceans are a threat to fishing grounds and will bring more droughts on the west coast and more hurricanes and floods in the east coast.

The Burning Planet -

South Africa's contribution to the Climate Crisis

South Africa is unique in the context of the developing world. Despite being a developing country, South Africa's contribution to the global carbon pollution numbers is on par with some developed countries and is higher per capita than China. Our contribution of 460 million tons of Carbon to the atmosphere puts us 14th on the list of biggest polluters in the world This is mainly due to our reliance on coal for energy production. We have recently signed the Paris agreement which committed us to peak emissions by 2025 and plateau them for a decade and then begin to reduce its emissions. This is simply insufficient to address the crisis that is upon us. We are blessed with an abundance of natural resources that can be used to produce energy. Solar and wind power are our most valuable assets for power generation and the shift must be made.

A Just Transition - what we need

Climate change, both the science and the social implications thereof need to be added to the national curriculum, from primary to high school. School children need to understand the up-to-date, relevant and solid science, that is available. (South Africa, specifically Wits university has some amazing climate scientists who have even been part of writing reports for the UN, namely the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.)

Among the urgent steps we should take are the following:

- We need to strengthen our disaster prevention and emergency services, improve their numbers and capacity to deal with not only more intense but also more frequent crises.
- We should place a complete and immediate ban on any new fossil fuel projects. This means no new explorations of oil, gas or coal. No new licenses should be issued to any companies planning to embark on extractivist projects that will harm the environment further. An important balance must be struck. This must be done in consultation with communities including workers and young people.
- A conscious, focused, rolled out a move to renewable energy. This must be done as a phase-out to a just transition. An effort must be made to make sure workers are not left behind, it must be just.
- Immediately set up funding mechanisms to fund the just transition, to make provisions for Climate Jobs in a way that the One Million Climate Jobs Campaign covers. It is important that we do not replicate what is referred to as "greenwashing" or green neoliberalism. This must be a truly transformative process where work itself is transformed.
- The establishment of a climate/green fund to be used to move the country to

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ward being more climate just. This could be funded from Carbon tax and other taxes placed on companies that continue to harm the environment.

- Rethink spatial planning of cities and towns to make sure our buildings, roads and institutions can cope with the destructive nature of the climate shocks to come. The poor must be prioritised in this. Informal settlements cannot stand the destruction of floods, strong winds and storms. We need to be building houses and buildings which are equipped with renewable energy, strong structures that can stand a storm and flood as well as built with eco practices and materials.
- Take a strong stance internationally on climate issues. South Africa is the biggest polluter on the continent and 14th in the world. We have a responsibility to act. the climate crisis is a deeply political issue which poses the most severe threat to the most vulnerable in our society, and South Africa can be a leader on this issue. On the continent and beyond, we must show that it is possible to make the transition to a climate just state, one that prioritises people and planet over profit and takes seriously the existential threat of the climate crisis.

The Youth Perception of the ANC

The current perception of the governing party amongst young people is largely negative. Granted, there is growing positivity since NASREC but it does not have sufficient momentum to win a resounding victory at the ballot box. There are many who celebrate the fundamental role that the ANC played in the liberation of our people, however many also believe that that generation has now passed and are no longer in leadership positions of the ANC.

Amongst the greatest negative percep-

tions of the ANC is that it does not take young people seriously enough due to a lack of youth representation. The ANC is not perceived as a young person's party and therefore the majority of youth do not relate to it. There is a need to create more space for young people to take up serious positions in the ANC and in government to influence policy and its implementation. There are many young people who can be utilized within the movement for this purpose.

Another perception is that it is anti-womxn because of the gender reality in the ANC's top six as well as the multiple scandals that have plagued the ANC over the last few years. It is perceived that the ANC has not taken a strong enough approach to have womxn and young people in their structures, especially not young black womxn. There is also the negative perception that the ANC is an old-aged home or retirement centre. Our leaders and the imagery of the ANC does not inspire or appeal to young people.

What is lacking is inspiration about the vision and the society we want to build, and demonstration that we have the political will and the leadership capacity to take us there. Young people feed on role models and the ANC does not have enough young role models in positions of power whether it is in the party or government. Where this is the case, it must be demonstrated and shown to the country. This is another battlefield that we do not need to lose to the opposition. We have many talented, inspiring and competent young leaders but need to include and showcase them more actively.

The perception of how the organization functions in terms of patronage networks and the politics of gatekeeping, contributes further to driving the wedge between young people and the ANC.

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There is a need for us to revive the ANC Youth League as it can serve as an antithesis to the above perceptions as well as be a fighting and mobilising force to meet challenges faced by the youth of this country. Perhaps one of the reasons that the EFF has been able to capture many young minds could be the dormant ANC Youth League that has lost its radical and militant approach on issues pertaining to the youth. At the moment, the youth league and youth structures of the ANC are not considered as structures that represent young people. In the upcoming congress, it will be important to include strong womxn representation as well as educated youth leaders to make the youth wings of the ANC more inclusive.

Ultimately there is a need to create a younger ANC, one that is more appealing to young people and the issues they face. There is also a need to tackle the concept of what is the identity of the ANC post-apartheid, especially given the current political landscape. The task after reimagining the ANC is to take that fresh look at the ANC and how it relates to society at large. The ANCYL has to be in touch with young people and their struggles – be it around education, employment, access to services, childcare, support for substance abuse and survivors of GBV, access to grants, loans and opportunities. It is this ANC that can and will recapture the imagination of the youth.

State leadership and Micro-economy

As we call for expanded access to capital for the black youth, we also recognise the need to campaign for expanded developmental markets that support the enterprises that we want to develop. Currently, the established white companies have monopoly over market access. This is through

their established monopoly over the production value chain and capital access that enables high scales of production at a cheaper rate. By implication, it is established capital that shapes markets in the South African economy. Therefore, there must be set asides in both government and private procurement for enterprises owned by young people and support to young business people to scale up production and reduce costs. We have already made progress with this campaign, with government currently institutionalising a minimum of 30% set-asides for youth owned enterprises in its procurement expenditure. We must escalate this campaign to demand a 30% procurement set-aside for all big businesses that operate in this country.

Employment creation and Decent Work

A radically improved South African economy also needs us to fight for the promotion of decent work. This is why we have also pointed out the urgent need for the demolition of labour brokers that continue to abuse our people who are desperate for jobs. These casual workers are mainly young people. We must also struggle for the removal of experience-requirements for entry level positions and the introduction of a retention policy at the end of Internship programmes.

The Marikana situation in the platinum belt resuscitated debates around the question of a living wage. We need to hold the political position that the wage structure in South African industrial relations retains its colonial Apartheid core elements. This is justified by the historic fact of particularly the mining sector being founded on the exploitation of cheap migrant labour recruited from the former homeland areas. The siphoning off of super-profits by big industrial corporations in a semi-colonial economy like ours has visited devastating effects on

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the livelihood of workers and has led to the reproduction the migrant labour network - feeding off the industrial backwardness of our rural provinces from which the cheap labour is drawn.

What do we (the ANC) do to Captivate the Youth

The ANC has lost favour with young people and this has led to a fall in its electoral dominance, and a hostile online and physical attitude among the youth.

Part of the problem is that, as noted previously, young people are not interested in formal public participation and some even display poor social responsibility. Young people vote less and are less likely to participate in mainstream politics and formal political institutions. This is attributable to the fact that young people feel that their interests are not being safeguarded and taken into account by those in charge of those institutions. There is a global trend of youth disengaging with formal politics and organisations, while increasing expression of individual political opinions on social media.

An important part of the analysis that is missing is that the ANC itself has become so suspicious of criticism that it has pushed young people, often a critical demographic, away from itself. In being so resistant to criticism, the ANC runs the risk of permanently alienating itself from the youth. When the ANC should have been listening and watching with a sharp and critical eye, progressive young critics in the professional and academic space, were dismissed as representing "middle-class", "capitalist" or "imperialist" interests.

The ANC is either right in its assertions or it is wrong. The result of the ANCs heightened

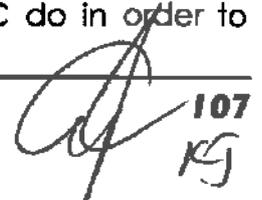
suspicion to criticism and dismissing these concerns is that it loses the opportunity to have an open discussion that engages the youth and other disgruntled citizens. The ANC, therefore, shuts its ears to the concerns of the public and the youth thereby alienating them from the ANC and the ANC from them. Of course, the ANC has opponents, but the lack of discernment between political opposition and good faith criticism from progressives is hurting the ANC.

This is a major reason why so many progressive South African youth organise politically but distance themselves from the ANC. This means that the ANC not only loses potential voters and members but they also make it difficult for our progressive ideas to permeate society and form part of the modern social consciousness among youth.

This places the ANC apart from and seemingly unaccountable to the public. This causes disillusion among many and distance between those who are politically engaged but do not want to put their credibility into question by being associated with an unapproachable and unaccountable ANC. There is no chance under these circumstances that the ANC can attract the youth.

Internally there is a significant amount of gatekeeping in the ANC that frustrates meaningful member participation (particularly youth participation). This practice will disproportionately affect the youth as most newcomers to the organisation will be young people. Thus the ANC loses otherwise engaged young people. This culture of gatekeeping exists even in ANC youth formations and thus condemns them to dysfunction, as evidenced by the paralyzed state of the Youth League.

What then must the ANC do in order to



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gain the trust of the youth:

- The ANC must at all times stay true to principles of democracy and freedom of expression, both internally and when dealing with members of the public. This means taking seriously concerns that arise about the ANC's conduct from its members and the public. Elections are not the sum total of democracy, it involves constant participation. Stifling that participation will inevitably lead to an unpopular ANC.
- The ANC needs to govern effectively with integrity and honesty. Delivering services to people, and being honest about its own failures – people know them, they just want to know that the ANC also knows and will address them. Unlike the older generation, the youth have little to no allegiance to the ANC for its anti-apartheid achievements so this is much more important in order to attract them.
- Many young people are not interested in mainstream politics and many of them are single-issue activists. We need to reconsider the manner in which the ANC organises itself and its members (existing and potential). Given the reality that young people are not engaged and have little allegiance to the ANC, we need for the ANC to reach out to them in the spaces in which they exist and not just in spaces the ANC would like them to exist.
- Young people have causes that they pursue and this is evident from the amount of criticism and protest against the government. We must ensure that the ANC is responsive and complementary to all progressive causes being pursued by young people. Many young people are not interested in mainstream politics and may never even join. It is much more important for them to feel that their issues are seen and heard by the ANC than to sign a membership form.
- In allowing for this complementary relationship, the ANC must enable the existence of progressive causes without always attempting to be at the centre. We should allow the space for young people to take the lead on the issues that concern them and their future. This approach to listen and support also needs the political maturity to not dismiss every critical or dissenting view as anti-ANC.
- The youth in the ANC, and the ANC itself, need to pursue socio-political causes beyond the corridors of formal power structures. It is surprising that the organisation that has perhaps sacrificed the most in the struggle for social justice, is today often found wanting on issues of social justice. We have become suspicious and antagonistic to movements that arise in pursuit of some or other social justice issue. Instead of seizing the moment when society may be mobilised for change, we become defensive and criticize those who challenge the status quo. When a member of the public pursues a progressive issue, they should be able to see the positive track record of the ANC with regard to that issue, not simply what the government has or has not done.
- Curb conspicuous consumption among its members and leaders. The ANC leadership behaving like popular celebrities and being known for big bills at night clubs, and luxury cars and clothing, only serves to hurt the ANC as a political organisation. We attract people who are excited by two-metre-long alcohol bills for tens of thousands of rands. More dangerously, it says to the public that the ANC leadership get rich and spends the people's money on expensive alcohol and fancy cars. This hurts the ANC's credibility, among poor South Africans and others who find the behaviour crass. Challenging this behaviour is also important if the ANC is to lead the country out of its drug and alcohol problem.
- In curbing the distance between the

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youth and politics, and specifically the ANC, we must meet young people where they are. Young people are constantly participating in political causes and many of them are involved grassroots organisations on those causes. Organisations spring up when people have a common interest and realise that together they can pursue their interest more effectively. The ANC has left the grassroots space fallow by turning the focus of branches inward and away from our constituency. Many branches are mere voting proxies for factions and slates for ANC elections. Community activist youth should be our first target to engage and get into the formal political space. They are already involved and we should at least lend support to their causes and encourage them participate in elections and make their voices heard.

- There are however youths who do not care at all for any social initiatives. They will be especially difficult as they are an even bigger distance away from the ANC and formal politics. However their challenges and problems remain real and as the representatives of the people we have to serve them and their needs beyond trying to just recruit them. Part of our mission has to be to influence consciousness and social transformation through the way we organise and the way we deliver and act in government. It is only when we inspire hope and confidence among the youth that we will attract more youth votes.
- We need to consider more flexible ways for people who do not want join an organisation but are passionate about a particular issue, to participate in campaigns and social movements.
- Many young people will be truly inspired to participate only by a good government, and good and responsive representation by public representatives. At the moment they have nothing that inspires them and drives them to the

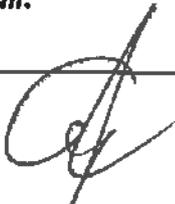
ballot. Older people are also abstaining from the vote and good, honest political work, across the board, might be much of what the youth thirsts for from the ANC.

- In the context of Organisational Renewal, it is necessary for the ANC to reconsider its configuration. Inspired by the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944 as a recognition that not only were the leaders of the ANC frustrating youth ambitions but that the structures of the organisation themselves were also an impediment.

We must ask the question, have we not reached a similar impasse as the pioneers of the Youth League? If we have, the conversation of Organisational Renewal needs to seriously consider whether the architecture of the organisation is suited for the 21st century and the kind of organisation the ANC aims to be. Is the current configuration of the structures appropriate for what the ANC wants to achieve? The current architecture has got us here, the question is, can it take us into the future?

In closing, all is not lost. In fact, there is a very bright future for the ANC if we can navigate this difficult time in our history. If we are able to re-orientate the party to be more youth focused while not losing our credibility, there is a great possibility that the ANC will have new life injected into it. There are dedicated, committed and passionate young people within our ranks who are ready and willing to do the necessary work. We have the tools at our finger tips to reach out to young people – all we need to do is actually utilize these tools. The ANC must be able to again drive the political narrative of the country and not be doomed to follow or chase it.

Young people are crying out, let it be the ANC who answers the call.

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ARTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE:

The Strengthening of the Link in ANC Policy and Strategic Repositioning in the Post-apartheid Era

Policy concept document of the ANC Archives Committee

"In our country a new social and political order is being born. Our artists have to play an even bigger role as midwives of this glorious future."

(OR Tambo)

"The present is the past rolled up for action, and the past is the present unrolled for understanding"

(The Lessons of History by Ariel Durant)

"The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened. The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life."

(Freedom Charter)

A. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

South Africa has reached a milestone of 26 years since the transition to democracy. There is, therefore, sufficient evidence to assess the performance of the ANC as a party that has been in government since 1994. Most of reviews that are documented have tended to focus on economic and political indicators to the exclusion of the arts, culture and heritage sector. This paper is a brief overview of this knowledge gap as it focuses on ANC performance in

this sector. This paper is mindful of extensive material on this subject but it settles for a modest and yet important task of a critical self-introspection that is meant to highlight key areas of ANC performance, strategic importance of arts, culture and heritage in challenging dominant ideologies or hegemonic systems as well as outlining key areas of possible interventions going forward.

The current unexpected black swan global pandemic, Covid19, is expected to unleash an economic and social disaster

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across the world. This further heightens the need for an urgent attention with regards to the arts, culture and heritage sectors as they are often the first victims of funding cuts or austerity measures when there is an economic distress in a society. A constructive reflection on the future of the sector becomes a preemptive and strategic conversation about the future of the sector that will potentially forestall negative effects of post-Covid19 interventions by providing innovative ways of advancing the sector. There have been numerous pronouncements that this crisis also present an opportunity to do things differently and revisit our socio-economic trajectory. Factoring in arts, culture and heritage becomes an important opportunity after many lost opportunities in the past two decades of our democratic transition

There are social numerous pathologies that indicate a society whose social fabric has been severely weakened or ravaged. The scourge of gender-based violence, children abuse, rise of child-headed families, rampant crime and gangsterism, collapse of families and communities as institutions of social security, drug and alcohol abuse, spread of violent crime, increasing tolerance of corruption, environmental pollution and degradation, tensions in relations between locals and foreign nationals. There is also a growing realization of a society that is experiencing an acute crisis in its social and cultural fabric right from family level to communities up to a national level. Many other social forces have sort to fill this vacuum as shown by the rise of charismatic churches which have occupied what once were retail shops and factory warehouses to receive a captive audience of distressed people who are being promised instant miracles to solve their problems. There is also resurgence of primordial identity politics which are being exploited by some as a mobilizing tool mainly to access resources and positions. It is argued that, the absence of an articulation and implementation of a well-thought progres-

sive position on arts, culture and heritage including indigenous knowledge systems, has created a vacuum that is being exploited by all kinds of reactionary and retrogressive forces.

The above-mentioned justifications for reflection on the performance of the sector assume a new level of importance and urgency as the ANC is going to be holding its 5th National General Council to review its performance and policies. It is against this backdrop that this paper is presented. Its critical introspective stance is meant to stimulate rigorous discourse on this often-understated strategic area with the aim of generating concrete policy interventions and programmes to protect, promote and preserve our arts, culture and heritage. In the final analysis, it is argued that it is inconceivable that ANC's National Democratic Revolution (NDR) would fully succeed without elevating arts, culture and heritage (social power) to the same level as economic and political power.

B. AN OVERVIEW OF ANC PERFORMANCE IN THE ARTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE SECTOR

As mentioned in the foregoing narrative, this think piece is a synopsis that examines some observed weaknesses in the ANC's stance on culture and heritage during the post-apartheid transition. It is argued that the ANC had deliberately utilized culture as one of the most effective weapons of resistance against the apartheid regime and it had prominently profiled its envisaged cultural policy for a democratic dispensation. This included a range of international conferences for the enforcement of the cultural boycott and the utilization of artists as a platform for mobilizing people and international solidarity movement against the apartheid regime. Conferences and festivals of anti-apartheid cultural workers were

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organized in 1982 in Botswana (themed Culture and Resistance) and the same year in Netherlands (themed Cultural Voices of Resistance) as well as the 1987 Culture in Another South Africa, held in Netherlands. During the exile years, the ANC seemed to have a good grasp of the strategic importance of arts, culture and heritage as demonstrated by the reflection of President OR Tambo when he proclaimed that "let the arts be one of the many means by which we cultivate the spirit of revolt among the broad masses, enhance the striking power of our movement and inspire the millions of our people to fight for the South Africa we envisage." (OR Tambo)

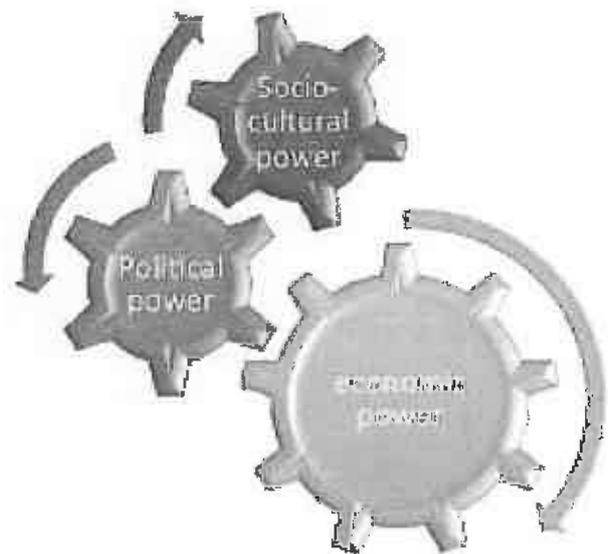
During the democratic transition, however, the ANC almost exclusively focused on political and economic issues in its policies and strategies, leaving arts, culture and heritage as a residual segment of lesser importance. It is argued that this robbed the ruling party of one of its most potent weapons in challenging the dominant ideology, mobilizing the masses and defining an alternative society in a programme of nation-building.

Success or failure of transformation that defines the character of political transition in a society always depends on deep understanding of hegemonic power in all its manifestations. Understanding of the dominant ideology and locus of power in its obvious and subtle pervasive forms is key to developing an effective strategy and tactics to dismantle and dislodge the inherited system. In most social science literature power is classified as residing in three spheres and these are:

1. Economic (dominance of the means of production and the value chain of economy from production, distribution and consumption)
2. Political (control of government and public policy)

3. Social (Arts, culture and heritage)

The interplay of these different components or levers of power are illustrated below.



In South Africa's negotiated settlement and transition, the ruling ANC attained, to a large extent, political power in 1994 and has dominated this space since. This political lever of power was meant to be used to transform the economic and social levers of power in a deliberate counter-hegemonic struggle as guided by the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The ANC's position on culture and heritage during democratic transition has been, in the main, ad hoc, tentative and poorly expressed in its policy documents. It is often subsumed under a range of other policies with no dedicated focus. It is telling that ANC has had no dedicated arts, culture and heritage policy commission in its conferences since 1991. As a consequence, much of arts, culture and heritage policies were developed and implemented by public servants or technocrats with little authoritative input from the ANC's policy position. Very often, Government Green and White Paper policy blueprints on this sector are an expression of and diffusion of diverse stakeholders in the sector, distilled and synthesized by consultants or technocrats, with little policy directive or input from the ruling party.

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In early 1990s, the ANC's RDP policy document was more focused on economic issues and social infrastructure as well as social security issues. Resources were then injected in building and sustaining democratic institutions (new constitution, chapter 9 institutions, parliaments, provinces and local government institutions, election policies and processes etc.), economic and social infrastructure (roads, electricity, water, sanitation, transport system, hospitals, schools) as well as social security (social grants of all kinds, poverty alleviation, trade and commerce). Little attention was given to arts, culture and heritage in form of institutions and resources at all levels of government. When the transitional Government of National Unity (GNU) was formed and cabinet constituted, the Arts and Culture portfolio was the first to be given to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as it was deemed to be of lesser strategic value at the time.

C. RICH HISTORY OF THE ANC IN ARTS AND CULTURE

As already mentioned, ANC had a better coordination and articulation of anti-apartheid cultural workers' resistance. Leaders such as Barbara Masekela, Mandla Langa, Wally Serote, and Willie Kgositsile had played a prominent role in leading these efforts with the support of ANC leadership. It is also noteworthy that Nelson Mandela helped to secure a partnership with Fort Hare University to host repatriated ANC archives from the early 1990s onwards. With less clarity or clear guidance on what Fort Hare was supposed to do beyond hosting of a significant segment of ANC archives, there has been no significant work done to enhance or upscale the value of these collections. [There has been an ongoing process of digitizing the archives and ensuring their online presence]. Outside this positive decisive intervention, ANC seem to have had a fragmented and opaque idea of what it was to do with its own rich history

and archives leaving this to different individuals and institutions to help themselves on this treasure trove. It is for this reason today that ANC archival material is scattered across the world, often as a consequence of individuals who negotiated portions of what they had in their possession at the time.

It is not clear today that the ANC has intellectual property rights to most of its own material, some of which still need to be repatriated. This painful picture repeats itself in terms of diverse and rich SA heritage and archives strewn across the world, some of which has featured in auction sales at breathtaking prices. The SABC, the national South African public broadcast had accumulated priceless archival material on the country's colonial, apartheid and liberation histories as well as archives on the democratic transition but again these were barely protected when allegedly sold to Multi-Choice.

D. DOES CULTURE REALLY MATTER IN A COUNTER-HEGEMONIC STRUGGLE WITHIN A TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY?

A compelling theoretical and conceptual expression of the importance of culture was articulated by an African intellectual and liberation leader, Amilcar Cabral, when he delivered a lecture in memory of assassinated Mozambican liberation leader, Eduardo Mondlane. In his lecture, titled "**National Liberation and Culture**" (1970) he presents a compelling argument when he asserted that

"History teaches us that, in certain circumstances, it is very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination on a people. But it also teaches us that, whatever may be the material aspects of this domination, it can be

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maintained only by permanent, organized repression of the cultural life of the people concerned...The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation on the ideological or idealist plane of the physical and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated. Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive or negative influence which it exerts on the revolution of relationship between man and his environment, among men or groups of men within a society, as well as among different societies. Ignorance of this fact may explain the failure of several attempts at foreign domination-as well as the failure of some liberation movements"

It should be noted that virtually all powerful nations, empires, colonial powers in history understood the importance of culture and heritage and deployed a considerable amount of resources to effectively use these as tools to gain hegemonic control of people. Even current emerging and modernizing regional and global powers such as China, India, Turkey and South Korea have effectively deployed and projected their cultures (histories of their struggles, museums, languages, cultural symbols, cuisines, traditional healing methods, ancient civilizations and set of values and norms) as the core element of their soft power and cultural diplomacy.

During the anti-apartheid liberation struggle, ANC understood the potency of culture as a mobilizing and conscientizing tool for the masses and the world as shown by cultural struggles deploying music, poetry, theatre, and dance. Groups such as Mayibuye and Amandla Cultural Ensemble as well as musicians such as Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, Abdullah Ibrahim, Letta Mbulu and Caiphus Se-

menya as well as a range of similar cultural formations within the country are indicative of a liberation movement alive to the potency of arts and culture as a weapon for propaganda work and a rallying point for the people. In late 1980s, together with international anti-apartheid movement solidarity partners, the ANC organized a conference to outline a blueprint of post-apartheid arts and culture landscape. This momentum or focus was lost during democratic transition.

The ANC produced more reflective arts and culture documents in late 1980s and early 1990s before taking its eyes away from this strategic portfolio, as shown in this ANC Draft Arts and Culture Policy document of 1989.

Arts and culture policy deals with custom and tradition, belief, religion, language, identity, popular history, crafts, as well as all the art forms, including music, theatre, dance, creative writing, the fine arts, the plastic arts, photography, film, and, in general is the sum of the results of human endeavour.

Culture is an integral component of the processes of development, in that it contributes to such processes, but also that it can play a facilitative or destructive role in the unfolding of the developmental process. Culture also seeks to inform and contribute to nation-building efforts. These two processes are of the highest priority in our country at present, and culture has a central role to play in the successful unfolding of these.

A cursory assessment of South African social and cultural landscape immediately reveals that, though a numeric majority, Blacks, (particularly black Africans) remain a weak cultural minority whilst the dominant culture that defines and regulates

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public spaces and consciousness as well as memory, is that of a minority. Black culture is still behind the dominant ideology that also links to the global neo-liberal and western ideological outlook of the global system and values.

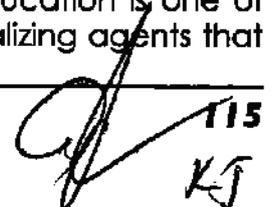
It should also be emphasized that culture and heritage are a double-edged sword that can be used as a progressive force of mainstreaming unity in diversity as espoused by the constitution or it can rekindle corrosive chauvinistic identity politics if not well conceptualized and articulated. Some of provincial boundaries coincide with dominant ethnic groups and this has, in some instances, been abused as a mobilizing base of primordial identity politics which militate against ANC's effort to forge a broader national identity which recognize and affirm diversity especially of previously marginalized black cultures (languages, music, cuisine, health systems, philosophies of life, dress etc). Effort to rejuvenate arts, culture and heritage should be mindful of these potential pitfalls while at the same time not fall into a default path of embracing the current dominant hegemonic culture of dominant ideology of the west. ANC's progressive stance on arts, culture and heritage could ensure that regressive elements of culture and heritage such as patriarchy, tribalism or any form of ethnic chauvinism or theocratic tendencies are effectively nullify and also help to amplify ties that bind diverse cultural communities including those which were forged during the course of liberation struggle. Absence of the ANC in this public discourse or programmes will increase chances of re-introduction of some of conservative and regressive aspects of our diverse cultures in direct contradiction to our constitution which has enshrined the principle of embracing unity in diversity.

It should not have come as a shock when the 2015/2016 student protest movement targeted statues, place names, language

es, history and institutional culture of public universities. It is also the case that name changes for streets, towns and geographical places in general, has met fierce resistance from those who are custodians of the dominant cultures. Indigenous languages are largely missing in public participation in our democracy and in commerce and education. English and to a lesser extent, Afrikaans, still dominate the space with few cosmetic changes. Ultimately, it is for this same reason that South Africans do not have a shared memory of history, something that is a pre-condition for social cohesion, unity, collective memory of a nation as well as basis for understanding tradeoffs necessary for building an inclusive society. It is also against this backdrop that there has been a persistent and a growing call for decolonization of this cultural space especially from the youth which is demonstrating a new sense of political consciousness and activism. ANC is losing ground in this socio-cultural public discourse especially among the youth agitating for genuine transformation and other political forces are taking advantage of this weakness.

Key policy documents such as the **National Development Plan** and leadership policy pronouncements often invoke social cohesion as an intended goal of our society, something that our constitution also emphasizes. And yet, arts and culture, the essential ingredients of social cohesion, have not found prominence in its articulation and resourcing. It is often invoked in the aftermath of a serious tension in a society only to be put in the back banner once the temperature has gone down; often without the underlying issues being resolved.

In some notable instances there are policies as well as blueprint government policy documents on the sector, but poor implementation, lack of resources and poor coordination among departments conspire to cripple the sector. Education is one of the most important socializing agents that

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shape the character, consciousness and outlook of the youth in its formative years. Yet, this lever of power and influence has not received a deliberate and dedicated attention on how a new south African personality is developed beyond the cliché of preparing learners for the market. It is in our education system that the ANC government weaknesses in driving a transformation agenda is clearly demonstrable. There is general failure to enforce transformation programmes on language of instruction as well as the introduction of an authentic history of the country. At tertiary levels there was a time when the shift to focus on science and engineering was done at the expense of social science such as history, philosophy, anthropology, which are essential in unmasking societal dynamics and instill critical understanding of theory. There are promising developments such as the introduction of a new authentic history as a compulsory subject at schools. However, this cautious optimism is tempered by a history of poor implementation of policy decisions.

Archie Mafeje's observation is instructive on the importance of culture in fueling the dominant ideologies and hegemony:

"As Gramsci would put it, hegemony belongs to those who enjoy the greatest ideological resonance in society. It would be foolish to deny the fact that in Southern Africa the English-speakers have the greatest intellectual capital and ideological influence than any other group. They are the undisputed representatives of the international order in the region; they have the greatest and the longest influence on the education system; their political values have universalistic pretensions and enjoy supremacy in the region, as is shown by their general acceptance among what is considered to be more credible black nationalists i.e. those who fit into the liberal mode; and they are recognized custodians

of western culture and civilization which is seen as an epitome of development globally."

An almost exclusive focus on economic and political power has missed the cultural and heritage realm of power which permeates and influences both political and economic discourse and policies, defining parameters of inclusion and exclusion. It is in the cultural space that public perceptions, prescriptions of what is acceptable and unacceptable norms, values, etiquette, collective memory of history and legitimization of certain ideological positions take place. It is this reason that the African philosophy and worldview of Ubuntu/Botho never gained traction and had to be removed from the SA Constitution preamble of 1996 after making a brief appearance in the earlier version of the interim constitution. Thereafter, Ubuntu/Botho was mainly invoked by those who never believed in it, but only invoked it when they wanted to instrumentally use it to ask for forgiveness after which they would dispose it.

In all probability, Nelson Mandela was triggered by an observation that government had almost exclusively focused on the RDP of institutions, economy and infrastructure and neglected the cultural and social dimension of nation-building that he made a clarion call for "the RDP of the Soul" emphasizing the need for Ubuntu as a humanizing perspective of nation-building. It is worth noting that both the dominant white English-speaking neoliberal establishment and Afrikaner formations have developed advanced socio-cultural tools for their hegemonic projects which often find expression in their ideological articulations.

It is also in this context that Seretse Khama (1970) reminds us that:

"We should write our own history books to prove that we did have a past, and that it was just as worth writ-

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ing and learning about as any other. We must do this for the simple reason that a nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past is a people without a soul."

Efforts of government to implement some policy decisions on this sector are, as indicated earlier, crippled by lack of coordination among departments that have arts, culture and heritage components in their work. These include but are not limited to the departments of basic education, higher education and training, environmental affairs, social development, defence and military veterans, and cooperative governance and traditional affairs. Arts and Culture is likely to suffer even more marginalization as post-Covid19 SA slides to recession and possible depression as resources will be taken away from what is seen as non-essential "song and dance" portfolio as technocrats fail to appreciate the value of the sector in nation-building.

The ANC, as a governing party that also led the liberation struggle, is charged with two main historic tasks that seem to be contradictory and yet essential for realization of the promise of liberation: addressing the injustices of the past through some form of redress and uniting South Africa towards a common purpose and destiny. Currently, South Africa remains a divided society to some degree, because various communities have a different understanding of the past, the interpretation of the present and expectations of the future. In his Mandela Memorial Lecture, Chilean author Ariel Dorfman captures the essence of this when he observes that "*Enemies remember the past differently and until they agree in some way on the past, are unable to forge a memory common to both sides, their rivalry will refuse to vanish.*" It is in the realm of arts, culture and heritage that such memory is located though it may manifest itself in material conditions of our economy or political sociology. Nelson Mandela had

also articulated the importance of memory as a tool of domination and oppression when he stated that "*at the heart of every oppressive tool developed by the apartheid regime was determination to control, distort, weaken, and even erase people's memory.*"

Taking all of the above into account, the ANC's Battle of Ideas as a strategic lever for challenging dominant ideologies or hegemonic systems can never be complete if it does not take into consideration the centrality and potency of culture and heritage. It is for this reason, and also with the assistance of hindsight, that the ANC's failure to successfully challenge dominant ideologies and the precolonial establishment should, to a large extent, be understood.

WHY DID THE ANC OVERLOOK ARTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE DURING DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION?

There is a complex interplay of various factors that seem to have cumulatively led to marginalization and de-emphasis of arts, culture and heritage. The most prominent factors included the following:

1. Oppressive colonial and apartheid regimes had used culture to oppress and divide people according to their ethnicities and races, so some within the ANC were uncomfortable to raise culture and heritage with the fear that it would militate against unity and invoke primordial identity politics. It was the failure to conceptualize an alternative progressive view and model of cultural diversity that is not divisive.
2. A misconception that real power was in the political and economic realm and not in culture and heritage. In many ways this has been shown to have been a misdiagnosis of power as previous sections compellingly demonstrate the potent force that is culture in shaping

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public consciousness and, therefore, national character.

3. The misconception that culture and heritage is about distant past issues which are traditional and conservative, which pose a hindrance to efforts to modernize and deal with unfolding future such as the 4th Industrial Revolution. And yet many advanced modernized and modernizing global powers such as Japan, China, India, South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and many others have demonstrated that enhancing and infusing their culture and heritage does not become an obstacle to their advancement instead it is used as a source of inspiration.
4. The complex and pervasive nature of this sector has made it difficult to assess and quantify its social and economic value or contribution to societal well-being. It is for this reason that lack of proper conceptualization and delineation of arts, culture and heritage has led to a caricatured view that this is merely an entertainment "song and dance" area of no strategic importance and value in nation-building and in pursuing a revolution or transformation in a transitional post-colonial society.

Ironically, the ANC's avoidance of empowering previously marginalized culture and heritage as well as liberation heritage has led to a default embrace of culture of groups that were dominant during colonial and apartheid past as default South African cultures. Dominance of English and to a lesser degree, Afrikaans, of neoliberal ideologies and western cultures can be attributed to this neglect of arts, culture and heritage as strategic levers of the battle of ideas and counter-hegemonic struggles. As stated above, different political formations have made good use of culture and heritage to dominate discourse on transformation and decolonization. They are using these cultural and heritage tools to rally

the black majority and youth in particular, and to some degree they have succeeded to set an agenda for public discourse on areas such as indigenous languages, place names, statues and monuments in public spaces, honouring of heroes/heroines, indigenous knowledge systems, and pre-colonial history. Every indication is that mobilization of culture and heritage as a tool for public discourse and actual social transformation is cumulatively gaining momentum with or without ANC input or guidance. It would be prudent for ANC to be involved in directing this wave in a progressive direction or it could risk being marginalized and social transformation taking on unpredictable form in a global system which is witnessing resurgence and weaponization of culture and identity by populist nationalist movements.

If the ANC is to renew itself and reproduce its power and scope of influence, it has to deliver on improving the material conditions of the poor, mainly black people, on the one hand, and, on the other, it must also master the art of profiling the liberation heritage through sustainable high profile programmes and work towards the transformation of the sector through empowerment of the previously disadvantaged majority.

E. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

PROPOSED INTERVENTIONS

Again, some notable government programmes that are meant to address the promotion of previously marginalized arts, culture and heritage are commendable even though they emanate from efforts of individual departmental and bureaucrats than from a clearly articulated ANC policy position. There are some notable exceptions as development of indigenous knowledge policy framework which was coordinated and led by ANC cadres.



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The ANC is the oldest liberation movement in Africa and one of the oldest in the world. It presided over the most internationalized anti-apartheid liberation struggle in the world as well as a home-grown experiment in resolving political conflict and a world-acclaimed model of peace and reconciliation. South Africa has a rich tangible and intangible culture and heritage which is globally recognized. All these are heritage treasures which could ignite and rejuvenate arts, culture and heritage emanating from a unique South African experience that has a potential to capture national and global imagination. More important is a deliberate effort to involve the youth as key agents who will also transmit this to future generations and also utilize it as part of creative industry. Such mainstreaming of culture and heritage will also assist in decolonizing the public social spaces and education system. Flowing from the aforementioned narrative observations, there are proposed steps which are briefly outlined below even though it is crystalized into few key policy interventions and programmes that have catalytic impact hence it deserve prioritization.

A. **ANC should establish a dedicated policy commission that focuses on arts, culture and heritage** as a focal point for policy development to guide government. If one takes the above compelling arguments on why culture and heritage matter and how it has been used for mobilizing collective consciousness across the world, then it would make sense to have a dedicated policy document on this sector. The coming ANC National General Council and subsequent national conferences should be the target spaces for launching this new policy focus.

B. **Ubuntu/Botho is widely embraced as a worldview and way of life for Indigenous African and yet it has a universal appeal** for its humanist and emphasis

on human solidarity and social justice as well as reconciliation. The central pillar of Ubuntu/Botho is the notion of mutual coexistence. This concept has been devalued, misused and grossly misunderstood, hence the need to elevate and amplify it as a societal and possibly a continental value system which could be infused into many spaces such as family values, industrial relations in workplaces, foreign policy and conflict resolution mechanism.

C. **New funding methods** should be established to ensure sustainable resourcing of the sector even during the period of economic challenges. The last 26 years of our democratic transition have demonstrated that art, culture and heritage always receive small residual funds and struggle to attract non-governmental sponsorship as well. The aftermath of Covid19 economic hardships will further worsen the funding and resources for this sector, hence the need for innovative mechanisms to keep the sector and rejuvenated.

D. The ANC **should lead and champion the creation of a liberation memory bank** that transcends partisan lines, thus bringing on board different strands of liberation movements such as the Pan-Africanists, black consciousness, communists and the Unity Movement. The size and scale of the ANC's liberation history will always guarantee its dominance of these collections and programmes. Such a liberation memory bank could be in a form of a **Liberation Heritage Resources Centre** as a hub of vibrant interactive space of not only storage of archives but of continuous education, tourism and continuous harvesting of new and emerging material on past and current struggles. It should craft a funding and operational model for self-sustenance of this resource center. Such a Centre should also help de-

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velop its own capacity to migrate the archival material into the 21st century format such as digitization. This intervention should also take note of the renewal of a memorandum of understanding with Fort Hare University and guide the process of enhancing and full utilization of the archives already at the university.

- E. A clearly articulated **position paper on how culture and heritage are dynamic to reflect the past, present** and position a people for the future as it has been the case in many other developed and developing nations. In the era of the 4th Industrial Revolution or mass digital platforms and the internet of things, it becomes essential to upscale archives and all resources to new digital and online platforms including the creation of virtual and augmented versions of resources for multi-dimensional experience and wider access across the world.
- F. One of the most sensitive and important elements of healing and closure has been the identification, **repatriation and reburial** of the people who died in exile or in prisons and places away from their homes or countries. Lack of coordination and commonly used protocols for such repatriation has a potential to achieve the opposite as it may generate conflict and misunderstanding of different interested parties or families affected by repatriation. There should be repatriation and centralization of liberation material with arrangement of shared custodianship in some specific circumstances. Currently this is an uncoordinated exercise undertaken by various departments and sometimes individual families. In some instances, national figures buried in places like Gauteng are exhumed and repatriated to their village homes and there is no common approach to guide such programmes and factor in family wishes and national interests. There also a need for the ANC to pronounce on **the concept of a place where struggle icons are buried or honoured in a form of a Heroes' Acre.**
- G. **Aggressively drive and advocate for authentic prescribed history in schools, culture and heritage emphasis in Life Orientation programmes,** more culture and heritage content in our broadcast media, rapid transformation of public spaces (names and statues) with emphasis on public education for such steps.
- H. **Development and adoption of the Southern African Liberation Heritage Route as an anchor flagship project of promoting and preserving liberation history.** Champion the project of declaration of Southern African Liberation Heritage Route as a World Heritage Site just like the Silk Road or other similar trails. The African Union has also expressed its support for this project. The embrace and adoption of this SADC-focused heritage project will go a long way to symbolically express gratitude to countries that hosted South African exiles and, in some form, address perceptions of South Africa as a xenophobic country that has no regard for the history of international and frontline state solidarity during the anti-apartheid struggle. It will be a significant manifestation of cultural diplomacy for the region and the rest of the continent. It is worth noting that some work towards realization of the liberation heritage.
- I. Ensure that the merger of Sport and Recreation Department with the Arts and Culture will not eclipse and unnecessarily disadvantage the arts, culture and heritage which do not have the same clout and pull for resources and sponsors as sports.

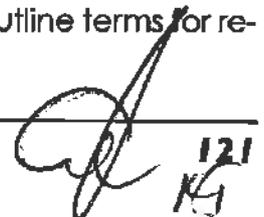
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- J. Family is the basic foundation of any society and when family values and systems crumble then the community follows and ultimately this domino effect weak the social fabric of society. ***The erosion of the African family as a consequence of decline of our cultural and heritage fabric.*** ANC policy position on culture and heritage should put a spotlight on this crisis and provide dedicated innovative solutions.
- K. ***Infusion of indigenous knowledge systems and craft including medicines into the mainstream life.*** Oriental alternative health and medicine is a prominent example of dual systems of health and wellness.
- L. Development of a framework for Greater coordination of departments that have a bearing on arts, culture and heritage. These include but are not limited to Arts, Culture and Technology, Environmental Affairs, Basic and Higher Education and Training, Defence and Military Veterans, Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs and social development.
- M. ***Development of a concept of how to realize economic value of culture and heritage from tourism to development of creative industries.*** This include development of tools to assess and quantify performance and economic contribution of arts, culture and heritage as an industry as well as reflections on intangible benefits of the sector in the well-being of a nation.

PRIORITY POLICY INTERVENTIONS AND FLAGSHIP PROGRAMMES

All of the above-mentioned areas are important and worthy of intervention. But it is argued that at this historical moment it is important to single out and identify only a few flagship programmes and policies that have a catalytic impact on others as well as a huge symbolic importance for the liberation struggle. In terms of policy intervention, the following areas are in need of urgent attention:

1. **Repatriation policy for mortal remains of South Africans abroad and those in the country away from their places of birth:**
Development of a clear policy guidelines for repatriation that will take into account the both the national interests and family requirements as well as symbolic link to the country or community where the person was buried. This policy will also assist with the development of a well-coordinated approach among different government departments, different levels of government and political formations. So far, repatriation of liberation fighters and leaders from outside the country or from one location to their birthplace within the country has not been guided with any clear policy hence the current fragmented approach which sometimes militate against effort to have a standardized manner of honouring liberation heroes.
2. **Archives policy:**
ANC archives and liberation struggle archives in general are scattered all over the world and the country. Even where they are currently located, there seem to be no clear strategy to promote, preserve and protect them and even up-scale them for better utilization and access in the digital era of the internet of things. This policy will outline terms or re-



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patriation of archival material as well as intellectual property rights issues as well as access and utilization. It is not conceivable how liberation memory and public consciousness or memory about the epic anti-apartheid and anti colonial liberation struggle without a well-articulated policy position and strategy on both external and internal liberation archives especially at the time when there is a policy pronouncement on making history compulsory.

3. Indigenous Knowledge Systems and language policy:

There is a whole body of indigenous knowledge systems that range from health, agriculture, craft, and home consumer industries being recognized and upscaled for the current epoch of social development. Development and promotion of indigenous languages is one area which is proclaimed in our constitution but does not find expression in its practical application. This will help revisit both the IKS and language policy which mainly exist on paper but have struggled with implementation. The work on indigenous knowledge system spear-headed by Dr Wally Serote is a firm basis to build on especially for the purpose of implementation.

4. Promotion and mainstreaming of Ubuntu

Ubuntu has a universal appeal to diverse cultural and religious communities and it already has resonance to the majority of the population as a value system that has been passed on from generation to generation. It holds the greatest potential for new national consciousness which could be at the core of social cohesion and national unity. It may also be part of South Africa's cultural diplomacy in its foreign policy. When Mandela spoke of the RDP of the soul he was mainly referring to Ubuntu which had been eroded. Such a policy

intervention would assist research and policy elaboration of Ubuntu as a world-view that has application in various parts of society from labour relations, foreign relations, citizens' duty and service culture of human solidarity, public service orientation towards customers or people, conflict resolution in form of restorative instead of punitive justice.

There are specific flagship projects which are underway but can be formally adopted and endorsed because of their potentially profound impact on the liberation struggle in public memory and national consciousness. These projects are:

1. Southern African Liberation Heritage Route.

AU and Unesco's World Heritage Committee have already endorsed development of this liberation heritage route as a unique multi-national historical experience of global significance for current and future generations to treasure. This would also create an avenue of expressing everlasting symbolic appreciation of the SADC/Frontline States support rendered to the anti-apartheid struggle and also provide story of solidarity among various liberation movements in their various anti-colonial struggles.

2. Liberation Memorial Multi-purpose Centre

Such a centre would accommodate all liberation material and become a learning and research centre to utilize all archival material. It could also be a point of collecting and coordinating all repatriated liberation archives.

3. Establishment of a National Heroes Acre

Establishment of a national heroes acre as an iconic piece of land to memorialize all those who fought against colonialism and apartheid. This could become a national liberation shrine.

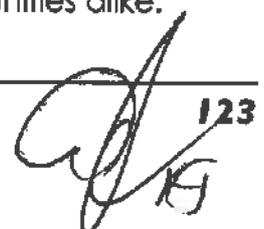
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THROUGH THE EYE OF A NEEDLE: CHOOSING THE BEST CADRES TO LEAD TRANSFORMATION

Identifying contextual issues to inform a review

Introduction

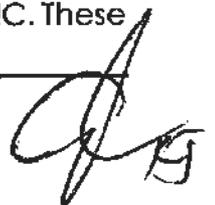
1. It has been 30 years since the unbanning of the ANC. It has been 26 years since the democratic breakthrough. It has been more than 19 years since the ***"Through the Eye of a Needle? Choosing the best cadres to lead transformation"*** document was produced. In these years, the ANC has grown in membership and yet the quality of its cadres is fast diminishing.
2. It remains a key political force in South Africa's democratic dispensation and yet its electoral fortunes are waning.
3. Much as there have been advances in the socio-economic and political arena, much still needs to be done.
4. The early period of our democracy was characterized by sustenance of the political stature of the movement and its leadership – deriving from its leadership of the liberation struggle and its management of the political transition.
5. Parallel to this process was a waning counter-revolutionary trend, which constituted a victory for the broad democratic forces.
6. Over time, a new set of challenges began to negatively impact on the ANC's revolutionary morality and ethics. Most members began to have a sense of entitlement to leadership. It had become easy to be a leader of the ANC. Experience, talent and longevity in the movement began to count for little. The ANC was captured by political careerists.
7. This new era saw a clear shift from adherence to the values and norms of the ANC to personality politics akin to cults and loyalties to factions than movement.
8. Members were no longer driven by the desire and commitment to serve. There was no track record appreciated by the ANC and communities alike.



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9. In responding to this developing situation, the ANC adopted the document, **Through the Eye of a Needle**. The aim of the document was to guide members in choosing the best cadres to lead transformation. Through this, the movement sought to strengthen its electoral processes and empower ordinary members – to play their role as articulated in the ANC constitution.
10. The document looked at the challenges we faced then, discussed what kind of ANC is required to meet these challenges, addressed the principles of ANC organizational democracy, and suggested constitutional guidelines for elections and the broad requirements for leadership. It looked at how the base of leadership had widened in the immediate period after unbanning.
11. This included cadres from prison, exile, underground formations and the mass movement who had occupied different leadership positions and also had varied experiences of organizational cultures.
12. The leagues of the ANC were to be important source of leadership for the movement. From the underground, the ANC had to adopt a culture of open mass participation that had helped, during the transition and early years of constitutional democracy, to root the ANC in all areas of the country.
13. The document called on the membership to take charge of the affairs of the organization. It outlined leadership selection processes. In this regard, it asserted the right and primacy of members and branches in deciding the leadership of the ANC.
14. It is now acknowledged that something deeper has gone wrong in the movement. Deviant behavior is finding protection and is thriving inside the ANC led liberation alliance. Is it perhaps the fact that the document is dealing with a needle and not the needle? Is it the size of a needle? Sizes of needles determine the kind of focus and attention you will have in pushing an object through the eye of any particular needle. A needle is sharp pointed but is of no use in sewing if it is not threaded. But the thread must go through a narrow eye which require clear vision or it will keep missing the eye and delay sewing of revolutionary garment. The assumption is that the smaller the needle, the more focused the attention and efforts of finding the path, crafting character and directing an object through the eye. A huge needle allows for lesser focus and attention, so anyone can pass through as a leader at any point.
15. At the core of the need for a review of the Through the Eye of a needle document is the manifest lack of revolutionary morality and disrespect of the movement's values and particularly its character. This has led to the loosening of the glue that binds its members and consequently compromising unity and cohesion of the movement.
16. The aim of this review process is to re-establish and position the movement back to its revolutionary soul, values, culture, character and its identity. It is to place the ANC as a revolutionary vehicle for our people to realize the broad objectives of our national democratic revolution – a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.
17. In developing a new document, the National General Council (NGC) must take into account the totality of factors internal and external to the ANC. These



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include new objective and subjective conditions without compromising the mission and values of the movement. The new guidelines must be rigorous as to stand the test of time.

Terms of Reference

18. For almost two decades now the document **Through the Eye of a Needle: Choosing the Best Cadres to lead Transformation** has played an important role in guiding the internal processes through which the ANC elects leaders and deploys as public representatives. The National Executive Committee decided at its meeting on 26-29 July 2019 that, given the changes in the subjective and objective conditions under which the ANC is operating, and in particular the role that money is playing in internal ANC processes, the document needs to be reviewed and updated to assist the movement in dealing with these challenges.
19. The review of this document is taking place under a historical conjuncture where humanity globally is faced with a scourge of Corona virus pandemic (Covid-19).
20. It is an epoch which is dictating to human kind to focus and reflect on the possibility of the new demands or dynamics in the aftermath of Covid-19. It is expected that the global system will undergo major changes, as the extent of which is not yet fully known except to say the VUCA world of volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity is upon us.
21. In order to deal with these unfolding complexities, the ANC will need astute cadres who will be agile, responsive, tactical and strategic.
22. The movement still has a considerable number of quality and dedicated cadres who might have been displaced and marginalized by political opportunists. A deliberate effort to open up the ANC to these cadres will demonstrate our commitment to the unity and renewal of the movement.
23. Taking cue from the terms of reference it is clear that money politics has put the ANC in a precarious position of risk being auctioned at all levels. It will lead or it is already happening that the state and private resources are being used thus making corruption to be an essential modus operandi of these transactional politics.

A brief analysis of key clauses of *Through the Eye of a Needle*

24. *Through the eye of a needle* covers all aspects of the revolutionary movement which include the following amongst others:
- what the ANC stands for;
 - what it seeks to achieve;
 - how it seeks to achieve it;
 - the motive forces of the liberation struggle;
 - who can join the ANC;
 - the conditions of joining the ANC;
 - the character and moral standing of a member of the ANC;
 - who can be elected into a leadership position;
 - the criteria for suitability of being elected into leadership;
 - and the culture of the organization regarding campaigning for leadership.

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25. Below are extracts obtained from the documents – that are relevant to the matter of the quality of the membership and the selection of leaders within the organization. They are by no means exhaustive; but they highlight the key issues relevant for the purposes of this exercise.
26. **Section 14:** "A mass movement: The ANC seeks to bring into its ranks as many South Africans as possible who accept its principles and policies. As a legal organization, it does not target only particular advanced political activists for recruitment. As long as one accepts its policies and takes its oath, anyone can become a member".
27. **Section 22:** "Criticism and self-criticism: It is expected that in leading social activity, leaders and members will from time to time make mistakes. The most important thing is that these individuals and collectives should have the capacity and humility to honestly review their work critically and correct the weaknesses".
28. **Section 34:** "An ANC leader should understand ANC policy and be able to apply it under all conditions in which she finds herself. This includes an appreciation, from the NDR stand-point, of the country and the world we live in, of the balance of forces, and of how continually to change this balance in favor of the motive forces of change".
29. **Section 43:** "As it developed from being a movement of cadres thoroughly processed and systematically educated in its policies, it attracted huge numbers of people many of whom developed its ranks. Many of them were prepared to face the might of state-sponsored violence for "the last push". However, some individuals may have joined for the prestige associated with the changes happening at the beginning of the decade; as well as the personal opportunities that would arise when the ANC came into government".
30. **Section 64:** "How then does selection of candidates happen? Is it a "natural" process where leaders emerge out of some mysterious selection, or is it a conscious act on the part of members? Should members canvass for those they support and /or should individuals promote themselves/ is there a place for lobbying in the ANC?"
31. **Section 65:** "To answer these questions, let us go back to the basics. In the first instance, the ANC constitution asserts the right for individuals to stand for and be elected into formal positions of responsibility. But waving a constitution does not excuse unbecoming conduct. Thus, we need to understand and follow the constitution; but also learn from the movement's culture while adapting that culture to current realities".
32. **Section 66:** "Members are not discouraged from canvassing for those they support. And, technically, an individual is not prohibited from canvassing for him/herself. But it is a matter of profound cultural practice within the ANC that individuals do not promote or canvass for themselves. Historically, this has justifiably been frowned upon as being in bad revolutionary taste. One of the main reasons for this is that when cadres of the movement do their work, this is not meant to be an eye on leadership positions or some other personal reward; but to serve the people. When cadres are not in formal leadership positions, they should not will others to fail, but assist everyone in the interest of fundamental change".

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33. Though *Through the Eye of a Needle* was developed as a framework to guide the selection of leaders within the organization, the ANC has continued to experience deterioration in the quality of cadres that emerge as leaders, accompanied by conduct in internal campaigns that leaves much to be desired.
34. Were it an entrenched practice to apply the criteria outlined, among others, in the foregoing extracts in maintaining the quality of the membership and the selection of leaders, the ANC would have been able to mitigate against a number of negative features within its structures and the broad democratic movement that have emerged since the 1990s. It is clear that the guideline provided in the document has been ignored.
35. With political activism having become a career for the overwhelming majority of the movement's middle-level and senior cadres, there has emerged a strong tendency for the emergence of leaders whose sole objective is to use the membership of the ANC as a means to advance their personal ambitions to attain positions of power and access to resources for their own individual gratification.
36. The many challenges concerning the deterioration of the quality of the membership have been identified by successive conferences. In this regard, the political report to the 50th National Conference observed that:
"During the last three years, this has created such problems as division within the movement, conflicts based on differences among individuals, the encouragement of rank indiscipline leading to the undermining of our organizational integrity, conflict within communities and the demoralization of some of the best cadres of our organization.
"In reality, during the last three years, we have found it difficult to deal with such careerists in a decisive manner. We, ourselves, have therefore allowed the space to emerge for these opportunists to pursue their counter-revolutionary goals, to the detriment of our movement and struggle..."
37. The organizational report to the same conference (1997) echoed similar sentiments. *"The competition within the organization for positions in government has added a new dimension to the contestation for ANC leadership positions. Election to an ANC leadership position is viewed by some as a stepping stone to positions of power and material reward within government."*
38. This problem persisted even after the development of the *Through the eye of a needle* which was drafted precisely to deal with these challenges.
39. The organizational report to the 2005 National General Council observed that:
"The picture of our branches is very uneven. In general, across all provinces, the best-organized branches are in the minority, with the vast majority functioning according to the basic minimum of constitutional requirements. In many of our branches there are no sustainable political programs and community campaigns. They are conflict-ridden and unstable and, in many instances, fraught with fights over leadership positions, selection and deployment of councilors, tendering and control of projects and recruitment of membership in order to serve factional or selfish interests."

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40. Similar sentiments were also carried in the Political report presented at the 2007 National Conference, which observed:

"All of us are aware of the poisonous phenomenon foreign to our movement, which many of us have characterized as the ownership of some members by other members. These are people who, while holding ANC membership cards, do not belong to the ANC but belong to those who paid their subscriptions.

41. *"This includes unqualified people who get appointed to such positions as Municipal Managers, placemen and women who serve as the pliable tools of their political masters, and who are used to advance the commercial and political interests of their handlers and patrons.*

42. *"We are aware of members of the ANC whom our Secretary General characterized as destructive elements which tarnish the image and effectiveness of our movement. These are people who abuse their positions in government consciously, purposefully and systematically to engage in corrupt practices aimed at self-enrichment.*

43. *"We have been horrified to hear reports of ANC members who occupy positions in government, who have murdered one another as they competed about who would emerge as the victor in the process of awarding government tenders to private sector companies in return for financial and material kickbacks paid by the winning bidders..."*

44. The question that arises is: Why is it that the ANC has not been able to deal with these challenges that have been clearly identified?

New Developments in the socio-economic and political landscape

45. *Through the Eye of a Needle* did not anticipate the massive developments that would negatively impact on the integrity, reputation, standing and leadership role of the ANC in society. This is characterized in the ANC Strategy and Tactics (2018) thus:

"The ANC faces declining fortunes. Internal squabbles, money politics, corruption and poor performance in government all conspire to undermine its legitimacy in the eyes of the broader public. Some progressive formations and individuals who historically have been part of the broader front of forces for change are challenging the movement on important current issues, particularly corruption".

46. The base from which the ANC has historically derived its leadership corps has massively narrowed. Key formations of the movement such as the youth league, women's league and student organizations find themselves in a weaker position politically. The trade union movement is equally weak; and the SACP has itself played a diminishing role of providing ideological support to the rest of the congress movement. All these developments have combined to cripple the ANC, organizationally, politically and ideologically thus denuding it of its leadership role.

47. An update of *Through the Eye of a needle* document should take note of the developments inside and outside the ANC since 2001 when the document was drafted. These developments have been carefully noted in various documents and resolutions of the ANC.

48. It can also be argued that the 2001 document addressed itself in the main

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to the role of members and branches without sufficiently emphasizing the role of the leadership and its obligations. It did not look at the issue of accountability by members and leaders. As a result, little emphasis has been placed on consequence management for dereliction of duty and the undermining of the value system of the movement.

49. Besides the fact that people have parroted the content of *Through the Eye of a Needle*, without much commitment to its essence, an air of impunity has reigned across the organization – with some leaders and cadres openly and defiantly violating the organizational precepts that define the movement. Paralysis has seeped into the organization. Members and leaders openly act against the interests of the ANC without any fear of repercussions.

What is the problem?

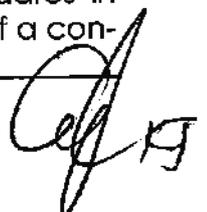
The Objective Factor

50. The problems that the movement is confronted with are both objective and subjective. The ANC's **Strategy and Tactics (2002)** document asserted that we live "*in a world in which the system of capitalism enjoys dominant sway over virtually the entire globe*". South Africa is very much part of that world. The strategic task of our movement remains that of eradicating a system of colonialism of a special type (CST), whose fundamental basis is an exploitative system of capitalism.
51. In 2007, in a pamphlet titled, '**Revolutionary Morality: The ANC and Business**', the ANC observed that "*The challenge of deepening the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and its transformation agenda in the context of a capitalist economy has been recognized and debated within the ANC and Alliance for more than a decade now. The impact of aberrations such as careerism, personal enrichment and corruption on the revolutionary morality of the ANC has also been observed and debated*". The value system of capitalism and its local manifestation is antithetical to the end point we seek to achieve: a just, humane and equitable world order. The task of our movement is to help its members, supporters and society to transcend selfish capitalist values.
52. These values are characterized by greed, crass materialism and conspicuous consumption. This has resulted in many in our society as well as some in our organizations seeking shortcuts to wealth. In order to effectively review the document, we need to acknowledge the negative societal influences on the ANC and its membership. Accordingly, the process of reviewing the *Through the eye of a needle* document puts the obligation to challenge the value system of CST on the shoulders of the ANC and its allies. The critical challenge for the ANC is to continuously work for higher civilizational values of human solidarity, social justice, revolutionary morality and ethics within a system that is exploitative and corrupt.
53. Added to the value system of capitalism, are the accumulated negative tendencies acquired in the process of building a new society. This refers to the bureaucratization or what has come to be known as the 'sins' of incumbency. In this regard, rent-seeking activities by some among us have contributed to the decline in the movement's prestige amongst our people and society as a whole.


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54. The ANC's, **2007 Revolutionary Morality** document: **The ANC and Business'** document says that, "The section on '**Character of the ANC**' in the Draft Strategy and Tactics produced in July 1997, raised questions about the ethical principles that should underpin our conduct as a political party in power: "The fact of being in government has also thrown up challenges which were either not pronounced in, or foreign to, the previous epoch. For instance, the approach to deployment in the current phase cannot ignore mapping out career-paths for, and with, ANC cadres; to enable them to play the most effective role, and to advance in a systematic way, in the varied terrain of transformation. Such cadre policy has nothing to do with careerism of the opportunistic variety, which a governing party should always guard against".
55. This is not just an exercise of reviewing the document, but is at the same time a soul searching endeavor against negative tendencies like the use of money in internal organizational processes. The irony of it is that we engage in such negative actions while simultaneously referring to ourselves as a revolutionary movement prosecuting a revolutionary struggle. Comrade Fidel Castro clarifies this point in this way, "In a revolution there are moral factors which are decisive. Our countries are too poor to give men great material wealth but they can give them a sense of equality, of human dignity".
- The Subjective Factor**
56. The *Through the Eye of a Needle* and other subsequent documents and conference resolutions have given us a conceptual framework of an ideal revolutionary movement, the ANC. Yet, in practice, the reality on the ground is different. Political opportunists have infiltrated and seized certain parts of the organization. In some cases, even the leadership organs of the organization have been affected by these developments.
57. In this review, we also take stock of our current subjective weaknesses against the core values of our movement which have been tested in the crucible of struggle over more than a century of its existence. The power is within us to rise to the occasion or stall to a halt. Coupled with this is the ever increasing need to further develop and strengthen the capacity of the motive forces for change to grasp the essence of our epoch.
58. The key challenge is the subjective factor – that is, the absence and or the erosion of the necessary political consciousness in our ranks. While ideological training and political education have, to some extent, put the ANC in good stead, it is also true that ill-disciplined behavior and the undermining of the value system of the ANC have also come from individuals who have undergone such training and who occupy leadership positions.
59. And so, bad and corrosive conduct manifests itself from the leadership level, to the cadres and then to ordinary members of the movement. We have, in fact, reached a stage where a toxic leadership has poisoned the rest of the ANC; and it has set the tone of what is meant to be acceptable conduct within the organization, including deviant practices.
60. Experience has shown that, selecting the best amongst us cannot be seen outside intensive political, ideological and organizational work. The recruitment and development of cadres in the organization is a product of a con-



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scious and deliberate action. Without a plan, accidents will happen and consequently, the ANC will present the people of South Africa with public representatives who are not steeped in the ideas, culture, the value system, vision and mission of the ANC.

61. The failure of the ANC to fully implement the guidelines in *Through the Eye of a Needle* and other documents arises from, amongst others, the inability to exercise political and organizational leadership functions. It is the inability to act when members deviate from established policy positions and ill-discipline. The tone is not being set from the top. The ANC is engulfed with paralysis in decision-making. The notion of democratic centralism suggests that while there is a need to allow for democratic expressions at different levels of the organization, the exercise of leadership is an important variable in the mix. The preponderance of factional activities has resulted in the emergence of what can be characterized as **organizational populism**: that is, the inclination to shy away from taking difficult decisions and to cave in to the conduct and demands of rogue elements.
62. Related to the above, there is a lack of accountability for our actions as leaders and members, in terms of owning up when we deviate from the values/culture of the ANC and our struggle for the attainment of a new society. And arising out of this is the inability to effect consequence management. The organization is ceasing to act as an integral whole, but a collection of individuals pursuing their own self-interest.
63. Accountability also means holding our leaders, cadres and general member's feet to fire. It is to ensure that they do what they were elected to do – serving
- the people of South Africa. It is also to ensure that everybody is accountable for his or her actions.
64. Related to this is the need to clarify the fundamental concept of unity in the context of the programme of **organizational renewal** we seek to undertake. Renewal seeks to reassert the principles that inform the ANC's organizational principles as captured in *Through the Eye of a Needle*. To recapitulate, these cover the following spectrum of issues: what the ANC stands for; what it seeks to achieve; how it seeks to achieve it; the motive forces of the liberation struggle; who can join the ANC; the conditions of joining the ANC; the character and moral standing of a member of the ANC; who can be elected into a leadership position; the criteria for suitability of being elected into leadership; and the culture of the organization regarding campaigning for leadership. This is the framework within which unity should be pursued – not as an amorphous and unprincipled closing of ranks; but unity informed by revolutionary principles that define the ANC.
65. The real question is what sanctions we could impose as a movement if regulations or even guidelines that we bring into effect are violated by our members. Such sanctions will need to be punitive, be applied timeously and firmly, and thus become a deterrent to deviant behavior. The measures that are put in place should also respond to a worsening situation in the movement. In the NEC Statement (30 July 2019), "the NEC further noted and strongly condemned the use of intimidation, violence and even killings, to access positions in the ANC and government, resources and patronage". The ANC seems to be engulfed by inaction and paralysis in the face of activities of the

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forces of reaction and rogue elements within its ranks. We are unable to act to save the movement from self-destruction. There are many cases of ill-discipline that are not acted on in the provinces, municipalities and branches. This leaves the ANC weak. The tone is that of impunity across all levels of the organization.

66. Related to this are the questions: is the profound cultural practice within the ANC that individuals do not promote or canvass for themselves, still a sustainable mechanism for selecting leaders?
67. Is the reliance on the assumed culture of the organization, as outlined in the document, still a reliable mechanism for sustaining cohesion within the organization?

The role of money in the internal election processes of the ANC

68. The political economy of capitalism is premised on the culture and values of individualism for its sustenance and survival. Consequently, its political culture is informed by such logic. The American system is a case in point. Whilst our political economy is that of capitalism, our political culture as a movement is manifestly contrary to that of capitalism. As a movement, we have strived to inscribe this political culture into our constitutional dispensation. The question is whether we as a movement can transcend the inner logic of a capitalist political economy?
69. Faced with today's challenges where money has become the prime determinant on who becomes the leader of the ANC, the document does not prescribe a mechanism for regulating or eliminating this tendency within the organization. With regard to the use of money in the campaigns for leadership, the movement is faced with two options. The first option is to insist that, the ANC is a revolutionary movement whose creed is based on progressive value system, revolutionary morality, selflessness, comradeship amongst its members and its general orientation to uplift the poor and the working people. Informed by the preceding statement, the notion of money changing hands for personal election purposes is an anathema to the movement. It is at the heart of ANC's moral crisis. It has begun to slowly change the nature and character of the movement as we know it. Accordingly, we have to revert to the core values of the movement, where money has no role to play in determining leadership outcomes. This very much depends on a membership that has high levels of political consciousness and is capable of holding leadership to account. **Is it realistic to insist in this direction?**
70. The second option is to create an institutional framework within which campaigning for election into elective positions should be regulated with the associated resources that this comes with. The ANC will thus be led by those who have money/resources and cease to be biased towards the working class and the poor. The reality is that, there is no free lunch in any human endeavor. Those who paid for the candidate to secure a leadership position will very soon determine policy positions and expect to be first in the queue for tenders in government. In some instance, it becomes a **Faustian Pact**. There is still the responsibility to deliver/pay your end of the bargain.
71. If we follow, the American system of inner party campaigning, the whole po-

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litical institutional fabric/arrangements and culture of the ANC led revolutionary movement will have to change. The key question is whether the ANC is ready for this change. Presently, there is a tension between the objective developments within the movement (implications of working with a capitalist system with its attended value system) and the social, ideological and governance clothing of the ANC. This tension may result in rapture in the organization (remember the notion of the relationship between the forces of production and the relations of production – if they come into conflict, a revolution sets in).

72. Yet, there is a view that the ANC has to be realistic and accept that we live in conditions that are not of our making. That to ignore, the presence of money in our internal election processes is to live in a fool's paradise. That to ban this phenomenon altogether, will result in driving these activities underground. The option is therefore to regulate the issue of individual campaigning and the use of money in the process. The ANC has to be clear on the basis that should form the platform for campaigning, is it based on policy/platform purposes. In recent times, the campaigning inside the ANC has nothing to do with policy positions. So, the reality is that, we should confront the usage of money in our processes.

Lessons from the Communist Party of China

73. One of many ANC delegations on the exchange programme with the Communist Party of China (CPC) unearthed many lessons which we should learn from. The experiences of the CPC throw the light on how we should confront our organizational challenges. Relying on the level of political consciousness

of its members, the CPC places great importance in education and training of its cadres. Key principles that guide the Party in these areas are:

- Putting people first and teaching according to realistic demands.
- Training the whole party and ensuring quality.
- Development of all round competence and stressing practical activities.
- Keeping up with time and continuity reform and innovation.

The party school permeate all levels of the party including the one specifically for senior leaders. There is a National Party School at a national level and several colleges at provincial levels. The party school nationally focusses on researching philosophical and social sciences for the party and it is the main agency for the training of leading cadres and party members.

74. Combating corruption in the CPC is directly linked with upholding the integrity of the party. For the CPC the struggle against corruption is not just a moral question but also a major political task that acquired a systematic and programmatic approach within the Party (from highest to lower levels of the structures), the state and society as a whole. It has laid out the principles of combating corruption and upholding integrity. It seeks to fight corruption in a comprehensive way – that is both its symptoms and the causes. Many leading cadres have been caught up in corruptive behavior (since the introduction of market forces and 'opening up' policy) occurring at the intersection between the state officials and the private sector, especially at the procurement of government services and investment actions

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75. The CPC made it very clear that uprooting corruption is part and parcel of maintaining and enhancing public support for the prestige of the Party. It has done without fear or favor and its actions included punishing senior cadres of the party including members of the Central Committee and Political Bureau. The CPC has also invested a lot of research into the scourge of corruption – e.g. the process of appointing of cadres in the state, in this case the CPC found that some senior bureaucrats have actually bribed their way to get such positions. One innovation by the CPC was to establish a special agency to monitor mega investment/ construction, such as the Beijing 2002 to ensure a corruption free environment.

Aligning to the values of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

76. Is it not opportune to realign the document with country's constitution and its values, so that its implementation does not lead to the violation of the constitution resulting in litigation?

77. Does the document provide an adequate mechanism for getting rid of rogue members and counter-revolutionaries that have infested the organization as observed by various leaders of the ANC? If not, how can the document be updated to meet this challenge?

78. Further, inserted in the document should be the requirement for lifestyle audits at least for leaders; and clear guidelines on how leaders and members in conflict with the law should conduct themselves in relation to organizational structures.

79. Arising from all these observations is the assumption that revision of Through the Eye of a Needle should deal not only with the desire to encourage positive and appropriate conduct (the do's); but also, the firm assertion of sanctions that need to be imposed when principles are violated (the don'ts).

Where to from here?

80. The ANC **Strategy and Tactics (2018)** has identified key areas of strategic interventions in order to raise the overall efficacy of the movement and ensure that it reasserts its status as a leading and respected political and ideological force in South Africa and the rest of the African continent. These interventions include amongst others the following:

- Revitalizing and shoring up the visionary and policy integrity of the movement
- Implementing an intensive programme to restore the integrity of systems of managing membership and leadership
- Building up leadership integrity (this refers to the criteria to qualify as well as processes of selecting leaders
- Strengthening the integrity of technical systems including modernization of the membership system and interactions among members.

81. The implementation of these four interventions together with other measures such as political education and ideological training could help in enhancing the quality of ANC members and cadres and make them effective community leaders and public representatives.

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82. When *Through the Eye of a Needle* was first formulated, the current challenges were in their initial stages. An updated document must respond comprehensively to this fast-developing situation which is threatening the future of the ANC. In order to send reassuring signals and positive messages to South Africans, we need to show through the leadership selection processes that the ANC can act decisively to stem the tide of anarchy. We have to act without fear or favor!
83. As both a liberation movement and a governing party, we need to find and nurture cadres who possess a combination of attributes and skills that relate to political acumen and experience, ethical conduct and academic training. As asserted in conference resolutions since Mangaung (2012), these attributes and skills will have to be in keeping with the challenges of our times.
84. Addressing the issues of the selection of candidates must be seen in the context of a general milieu that exist in the movement today. This is set out in the 54th National Conference resolutions which call for renewal of the ANC and the democratic movement as a whole. Selecting candidates should be seen as part of the renewal process. In embarking on this process, society and communities must get a sense that the ANC is breaking with a toxic past. The tone in this undertaking must be set from the top. We must enforce accountability by leaders and members. We must implement consequence management.
85. As part of the renewal process and actualizing new ways of working, conditions must be created to allow the exercise of free will by ANC members in deciding their candidates for the coming conferences and municipal elections. Factional lobbying and the use money have not abated. The ANC must consciously endorse effective, experienced and professional candidates from within its ranks and that of the broad liberation movement. Our candidates must be **popular** and not **populist**.
- To be popular means that our members are rooted in communities, have earned their stripes by working honestly with people and by taking up people's concerns and advancing their aspirations. Such leaders do not take shortcuts by hiding the truth from the people – they provide leadership; however difficult that may be. Taking from Amilcar, Cabral's teachings, they hide nothing from the masses of our people. They tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. They must no difficulties, mistakes, failures. They claim no easy victory. Yet they work with people to solve complex problems confronting communities. In this way, they derive their popular standing amongst the people. Unlike populist, they don't inflame people's emotions and problems but work with them to find solutions.
- Are these measures adequate to put a stop to organizational implosion?**
86. In the words attributed to Albert Einstein, "we cannot solve our problems with the same level of thinking that created them".
- The ANC needs to be turned around and repositioned to its core purpose. National Conference has adopted resolutions on the renewal of the party. Conditions need to be created to make renewal possible. The ANC leadership must be willing to take drastic decisions to stem the tide of a rapidly deteriorating situation in the organization.

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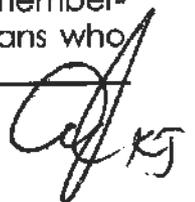
87. At its July 2019 meeting, the NEC "... noted and strongly condemned the use of intimidation, violence and even killings, to access positions in the ANC and government, resources and patronage". If this assessment of the NEC is accurate, reflecting the most barbaric and counter-revolutionary conduct infusing various levels of the movement, firm and decisive action is urgently required.
88. In this regard, some form of 'organizational state of emergency' needs to be imposed on the ANC. We cannot start the process of renewal under conditions of anarchy.

What measures?

89. In the implementation of the new digital membership system, initiate a campaign to get every ANC member to re-apply for membership (over a period of, say 2 years)
- Introduce a vetting mechanism for all members of the ANC, which – in addition to principles contained in the ANC constitution – should include a police clearance certificate and an acceptance that any false declarations on any criteria would lead to declining or termination of membership
 - Strengthen the role and place of the Integrity Commission in line with the resolutions of the 2017 Conference, and ensure that its recommendations are respected: going forward, this should include pre-conference 'integrity checks' for all those availing themselves for leadership positions
 - Through a mechanism that enjoys universal confidence, conduct Lifestyle Audits and 'integrity checks' starting with national and provincial leaders, and later regional and branch leaders
- Strengthen, in any other ways, the frameworks for heightened accountability by all deployees
 - Ensure swift and decisive action against wrongdoers.
 - The movement must openly discuss the issue of campaigning for leadership positions in the organization and the use of money that accompanies this phenomenon. How do we regulate campaigning? Very often the campaigns are not based on the difference in policy positions or the how we look we take the ANC forward but it's always personality based. The reality is that, campaigning and the use of money cannot be ignored. Otherwise it will be driven underground and allow the organization to be captured by unsavory characters. So, what is the process that has to be established by the ANC. This phenomenon needs to be regulated, or does it?
 - No member of the ANC should assume the position of leadership at all levels without having undergone a structured political and ideological education process.
 - This means that the Through the Eye of a Needle document must be brought to speed with other documents (such as the constitution) where it is lagging behind.

On the matter of tone, style and format

90. Very often, ANC documents are seen to be made for a cadre-based party. This is a function of operating in exile, prison and underground. The reality is that the ANC is now a legal mass-based organization, whose membership is open to all South Africans who



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agree with its aims and objectives. These members and supporters have varying level of political consciousness. The ANC consist of ordinary members, activists, organizers, cadres and different levels of leadership. Most of our members have not been tempered and steeled in struggle and have in most time operated in open mass political conditions. The challenge for the ANC is how, while retaining its central revolutionary concepts and ideas is able to communicate its view of the world to its multiple layers of membership. Therefore, the tone, style and format of the new document should take this into account. It must be easy to read and grasp. This is in no way suggesting that the ANC abandons its own language or nomenclature but a call to be conscious of the fact that its base has widened over years.

Conclusion

91. It is common cause that the organization is in crisis and has difficult choices to make: either let the downward spiral continue or work towards a new beginning. The review of *Through the Eye of a Needle* must be conducted with the view to amongst other:

- Reassert the ANC's historic values and principles at all levels of the organization
- Implementation of decisive mechanisms to root out the rot within the

organization including getting rid of rogue and counter-revolutionary elements

- Adopt a clear and practical framework to renew and regenerate the ANC.
- Develop modernized mechanisms for developing and identifying leadership and for selecting leaders across the organization

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSIONS

- **Is the current *Through the Eye of a Needle* document sufficient to guide ANC members in the current period?**
- **Which areas of the document need to be strengthened?**
- **What measures should the ANC put in place to address the issues of the usage of money in the internal ANC candidate selection processes and that of choosing cadres for leadership in the movement?**
- **Are the current disciplinary processes swift enough?**
- **Do you agree with a raft of recommendations contained in this document?**

ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES

NGC 2020 Discussion Paper

"In a crisis, what was once unthinkable can suddenly become inevitable." Rutger Bregman

Introduction

1. The 1994 transition meant a fundamental shift in how the ANC carried forward its mission, as it emerged as governing party after the first non-racial democratic elections. For the first time in its history, it had the responsibility and opportunity to put into practice its policies of a different South Africa, envisaged in the **African Claims of 1943**, the **Women's Charter of 1954**, the **Freedom Charter in 1955**, the **Harare Declaration (1988)**, **Ready to Govern (1992)**, the **Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994**; and a host of other policies it developed over the decades. This was captured in its **1994 elections slogan of A Better Life for All. Sekunjalo**.
 2. Twenty five years later, our movement face an existential crisis, which countless national gatherings since the 1997 National Conference in Mahikeng warned against. The 54th National Conference, and the Policy conference that preceded it, spent much of deliberations on this existential crisis.
- At the end of Conference, the Declaration called for a *"deliberate and sustained programme of unity and renewal"*, based on what **Strategy and Tactics (2017)** calls 'strategic interventions of re-engineering, renewal and regeneration'.
3. 54th Conference identified the problems which renewal must address, in order to carry forward its mission as a liberation movement and as governing party:

Problem statement 1: A distant inward-looking ANC unable to be agents of change and connect with communities, the motive forces, and sectors of society, out of touch with our constituency, and not schooled in the values and goals of the ANC. Leaders and members who lack basic leadership, organising and communication skills, and are unable to motivate and mobilise activists, civil society, supporters and voters. This is reflected in the ANC's declining electoral support, including the loss of a majority in five out of eight metros.

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Problem statement 2: An ANC that is increasingly losing credibility and trust from the people because of our performance in delivering a better life for all, corruption and state capture, and because we are not seen to be "managing state resources for the benefit of our people, effectively, efficiently and economically". We undertook to build a developmental state as a major instrument of transformation, and yet our people no longer believe that we have 'good plans to create jobs and change the economy.'

4. Many of these issues are not new, but the general agreement is that it has reached such a stage, that it has led to an existential crisis for the ANC. Existential, not so much that the ANC may cease to exist, but that its historic role in the South African polity, its unity of purpose, values and standing amongst the people have been battered to such an extent due to the sins of incumbency, that its very character as a peoples movement and agent for change is under mortal threat.

A Movement of Renewal

5. The ANC since its inception has been a movement of renewal, that adapts to external and internal challenges and changes. Few political organisations and parties survive for more than a century, weathering local, continental and global changes. Born at the turn of the last century, the ANC was formed against the backdrop and in response to the Union of South Africa of 1910 and the 1913 Land Act, the growth of the mining-energy industrial complex, the consolidation of colonialism of a special type and patriarchy, the growth of volkskapitalisme in tandem with grand apartheid, becoming a mass movement in the 50's, banning and exile, and the transition of 1994. It lived through two World Wars, the consolidation, struggles against and dismantling of colonialism, through the 1917 Russian Revolution and the 1918 Spanish Flu, the Great Depression of the 1930's, the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the war on terror, unilateralism, multilateralism, structural adjustment programmes, globalization, rising neoliberalism and the growth of regional blocks.
6. Organisationally, these 108 years were challenging, with ebbs and flows, and sometimes with its very existence in question. And yet, the ANC continued to renew itself, even after a range of factors placed its survival as an organisation and leader of progressive forces into serious doubt during the late 1920s and 1930s. It survived the severe repression, mass detentions, banning of its allies and leaders, treason trials and the steady advance of grand apartheid and consolidation of apartheid colonialism and patriarchy in the 40s to 60s. The ANC adapted to and emerged intact after illegality and thirty years of exile – from its banning in 1960, with large numbers of its leadership and activists in prison or banned – to its unbanning in 1990.
7. The various elements which made it possible for the movement to renew itself over the decades include: a commitment to its progressive ideals and mission; selfless and courageous leadership and cadreship; putting the interest of the people and the country first; understanding of the balance of forces, and strategy and tactics; and continually building the capabilities of cadres and the organisation to implement and account for the tasks at hand.

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8. As we face this existential crisis, we must ask therefor ask the question whether we have what it takes to pull the movement from the brink, and drive a successful programme of renewal and unity, as urged by Conference.

A Revolutionary movement, with a Revolutionary mission and tasks

9. Despite these existential challenges, there is ironically agreement about the mission, character and tasks of the ANC in the current period.

10. **Strategy and Tactics (1997/2017)** articulates the central mission of the ANC as the liberation of Africans in general and Blacks in particular from socio-economic bondage, by resolving the fault lines created by apartheid colonialism and patriarchy and the creation of a National Democratic Society. In this regard, the ANC has national and democratic tasks, listed as:

- A united, democratic and non-sexist state based on the will of all people.
- A dignified and rising quality of life among all people by providing for equal rights and opportunities for all citizens.
- The restoration of the birthrights of all South Africans with regards to access to land and other resources.
- A thriving mixed economy, which reflects the natural endowments of the country and the creativity that a skilled population can offer, and that address the political economy of the distribution of income and assets, and the reality of white and patriarchal dominance in the economy.

11. The NDR seeks to build the best in human civilisations, in terms of political and human freedoms, the realization of socio-economic rights, value systems and identity. Such human civilization should firstly be based on our ability to continually improve the use of our natural endowments, to turn it to collective human advantage, and ensure its regeneration and sustainable use for future generations. It is secondly based on the management of human relations on the basis of political equality and social inclusion.

12. It is indeed the continuity of this mission of a National Democratic Revolution, social and economic emancipation and the building of a National Democratic Society, that still defines the ANC as a *'disciplined force of the left.'*

13. Arising from this mission, there is also agreement on the ANC tasks during this phase of the NDR:

- (a) To represent, organise and mobilise communities and the motive forces and win their support and elections.
- (b) To win and use state power, by building a capable, developmental state, to better the lives of the people and advance towards a National Democratic Society.
- (c) To make policies, win broad support for them, implement them through the state and monitor implementation and the impact on our people and transformation.
- (d) To transform society through our programmes, values, our integrity, exemplary leadership in society and by winning the battle of ideas in a convincing manner.
- (e) To select and deploy capable leaders and public representatives, with integrity, capacity, the

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correct orientation and expertise to drive and implement our programmes.

- (f) To develop cadres, schooled in our values and policies, with the capacities to be agents of change wherever they are deployed.

14. We shall again argue that these tasks in the current phase are indeed revolutionary. As an NGC, we will review

the progress, we've made in each of these tasks. It will have to honestly reflect on whether we are tackling the organisational challenges identified in the problem statements (para 3), which consistently undermined our capacity to effectively implement these tasks, continues to endanger the building of a National Democratic Society and therefore our character as a revolutionary movement.

SINS OF INCUMBENCY AND MANIFESTATIONS (54th National Conference)

- (a) *A loss of confidence in the ANC because of social distance, corruption, nepotism, arrogance, elitism, factionalism, manipulating organisational processes, abusing state power, putting self-interest above the people... and loss of support amongst sectors such as the middle class, civil society and social movements, and sections of the intelligentsia.*
- (b) *Leadership weaknesses and loss of integrity, characterised by competition to control state resources, factionalism, conflict, ill-discipline and disunity, and the use of state institutions to settle differences. States and vote buying have delivered leaders who have difficulty driving our programmes or commanding respect from society and our supporters.*
- (c) *A lack of planning, coordination, implementation and accountability for our work in government and the achievement of our policy goals to create a National Democratic Society. We have serious weaknesses in achieving economic growth (and transformation), overcoming education challenges, and in the effective combatting, prevention, investigation and prosecution of crime and corruption.*
- (d) *Organisational work, outside of elections campaigns, focused more on mobilising members to support specific factions or individuals with increasing negative practices like gate-keeping and buying of membership.*
- (e) *Loss of trust in organisational integrity because of practices like membership and vote buying, factions, using state institutions against each other, and factional violence and killings, and members resorting to courts to settle internal organisational disputes.*

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IMPLEMENTATION OF 54TH CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

16. The National General Council is a forum for review of implementation of the resolutions adopted at National Conference to date. 54th National Conference resolutions on Organisational addresses two core issues: (a) Strengthening the Organisational capacity and structures of the ANC, and (b) Strengthening the Integrity of the ANC and its role in society. The main actions and how far we have implemented these are summarised in this table below:

ACTION IN RESOLUTIONS AND STATE OF IMPLEMENTATION
<p>A. Resolutions on Strengthening Organisational Capacity and Structures</p> <p>A1. Work of the Branch in the Community</p> <p>The resolution spells out the tasks of rebuilding branches, their role in communities, and the annual plan of the BEC. The process of rebuilding branches, over the last 30 months, have focused on the introduction of the new Membership system, Induction of BECs and ensuring that BBGMs take place. The Mass Political Education programme saw the training of trainers on the Branch Manual, but the training for BECs were held back by their mandates expiring and delays with the Membership system implementation.</p> <p>Despite these challenges, most branches during 2018-2019 participated actively in the 2019 Elections campaign, although once again we only managed to reach 20% of voters through our outreach, using the voting district system.</p> <p>During the Covid-19 pandemic ANC branches were initially demobilized, but a Covid-19 Action plan was developed and distributed to structures, and on 15 April 2020 we started a ward base Covid 19 reporting system on the ANC Cloud. Within three months, we managed to have 64% of branches reporting on the system, working with ward councilors.</p> <p>Branches also participated in the various national programmes, including political seminars, and commemoration days.</p> <p>The technical details of the Branch Functionality Audit have been developed, but this is delayed by the focus on getting branches to be in good standing, delayed by the Covid 19 pandemic.</p> <p>Aspects of the resolution still to be implemented:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop training on the ANC Branch manual as an online course; • Branch Functionality Audit and reporting • Establishment of ANC international structures in countries with sizeable SA diaspora <p>A2. Member Recruitment and Induction</p> <p>The resolution calls for a <i>“modernised, technologically enabled, membership system, speed up membership cards, online renewal and discourage gatekeeping and encourage transparency.”</i> Further calls for a branch recruitment strategy, allocation of the membership fee to branches, probation period, branch audits involving BECs.</p>

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The ANC procured a new service provider, and development of the system started, with Phase 1 completed. The system is live, and has the essential elements: allowing members to manage their own membership system, transparency in state of membership at all levels, key role for branch secretaries, and audit trail throughout the system. It also makes the physical counting of forms, which made gatekeeping and other fraudulent activities such as membership buying more difficult. The initial development phase had its difficulties, including the need for the Ziveze campaign in 2019, but the system eventually went live in February 2020. Training on the membership system started in December 2019, and we were starting with training branches. The pandemic halted this, but Organising has since June 2020 started to train Branch secretaries and others virtually.

The delays with the launch of the system, though necessary, had an impact on BBGMs due over the last two years, with a knock-on effect on regions and some provinces.

The next steps for 2020 is to complete the Branch training on the system, resolving teething issues, review Phase 1 and to move towards phase 2 and 3 development of the system.

Aspects still to be implemented/strengthened:

- Resolve issue of allocation of membership fee to branches: recommendation from Finance Committee.
- Recruitment strategy for branches part of the ANC Branch manual
- Complete Phase 1 evaluation and roll-out of the MMS.
- Ensure production of regular Membership reports to NWC, PECs, RECs and BGMs.

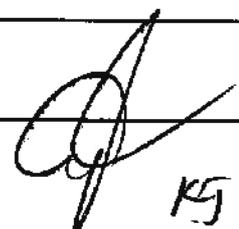
A3. Clear ANC POA at all levels

As per the injunction of the Resolution, the NEC since 2018 each year adopted and Annual POA, based on Conference resolutions, which provinces and regions then use to develop their own POAs. Annual budgets have also been presented to the Finance Committee each year, however, there remains a serious problem in our capacity to fund our programmes and structures. The POA are discussed at Makgotla at the beginning of each year, and we also had a special Lekgotla in May 2020, after the NPE to plan around the Manifesto.

POA implementation has been inconsistent, as has been the reporting on the implementation of the POA. We have produced Annual reports for 2018 and 2019, but this has not been discussed by the NWC or NEC. For 2020, we also have to revise our POA in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Areas of resolution to be improved or implemented

- Capacity in SGO to monitor and coordinate POA, and to ensure discussed by structures.
- Programme funding.



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A4. Cadre Development

The resolution calls for Induction of membership; RECs, BECs and PECs; and Councilors. Expansion of the Political school online courses to assist ANC study groups and individuals to complete the courses. Encourage leaders and deployed cadres at all level to develop their skills, qualifications and enhance capacities and ANC to run compulsory schools for leadership collectives and deployed cadres. Develop virtual and real discussion forums on current debates; use radio and podcasts.

The NEC adopted the Mass Political Education programme, aimed at training 1000 cadres capable to help with political education in branches, especially supporting branch study group and Induction. To date, less than half of this number have been reached, due to resource constraints, with similar restrictions on more general Induction.

The OR Tambo School of Leadership was finally launched at the beginning of 2019, and is now up and running with its board and staff. To date over ... have enrolled and passed the current Online ANC courses, and funding has been sourced for the remaining 5 modules.

During 2018-19 we celebrated the Centenaries of cdes OR Tambo, Mandela and Ma Sisulu, through memorial lectures and other events. Ironically, the 2020 pandemic forced us to do more virtual Umrabulo session, and we have seen especially ANC Youth League structures being very active in this regard, followed by the ANC and the WL. We have, however, not been able to use this to influence national debates nor engage sufficiently in the battle of ideas.

Areas still to be implemented/strengthened

- Mobilising sufficient and sustainable resources for Cadre development and the OR Tambo School
- Online Membership induction course
- Complete remaining 5 Modules of the Online political school.

A5. Elections

The resolution notes the declining electoral fortunes of the ANC as a serious concern, and we need to build permanent and professional elections capacity; building the ANC Cloud to track campaign and organisational work; strengthened communications capacity at all levels; engage the demarcation processes; culture of respect for fair and free electoral processes; monitoring capacity; involve communities in councilor selection processes.

The 2018/2019 Elections campaign was well coordinated, although our fortunes went below 60% for the first time, but we did win back some of the ground lost in 2016. Resources remained a key problem, as well as continuity in elections management. The 2019NPE also saw little distinction made between national, provincial and local government issues, unlike in previous elections, and with many hotspot issues. The Thuma mina campaign in 2018 helped to orientate our structures towards service delivery, although we need a better mechanism for consistent monitoring and follow-through.

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We have continued with Elections house, albeit under difficult resource restraint with a small staff complement. By-elections have been mixed, with a blow in Maluti a Phofong, and doing much better in other by-elections, notably Mamusa. The election strategy process for the 2021 local government elections (LGE) has been done, we are involved in the demarcation processes, although the pandemic has set back deadlines.

During 2020, the following issues with regards to our electoral system came sharply to the fore, including some the issues which we should have dealt with much earlier:

- Synchronised elections – for national, provincial and local government elections to happen at same time.
- Constitutional ruling on individual candidates standing for national and provincial government;
- issues of a mixed electoral system at national and provincial levels.

A6. Alliance

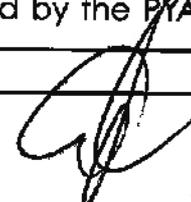
The Resolution calls for building a strong on a minimum programme of action, and to ensure that Alliance structures so meet, so that we avoid public spats. It further calls for the strengthening of COSATU in the context of one industry, one union; one country one federation, and engage with the broader trade union movement towards working class unity.

The Alliance over the last 30 months have met more frequently at the level of the Secretariat, as well as the APC. During the Covid 19 pandemic early days, regular APC meetings took place to discuss this national crisis, resulting in the development of an Alliance Framework document on Covid-19. Amongst the other issues which the Alliance structures have been dealing with include the 2019 National and Provincial Elections Campaign, SOEs (especially Eskom and SAA), Energy strategy, and a range of other national issues. Alliance structures at provincial level have also been engaging, although in some provinces the relationship have been fractious based on specific issues, e.g. VBS in Limpopo, Letsemahole, Maluti a Phofong in Freestate. The issue of the Reconfigured Alliance, a paper by the SACP is still on the agenda and being discussed with provincial structures.

There have been intermittent engagements with unions outside of the COSATU; the dream of one union one industry, one federation one country, remains elusive, given the political and other issues giving rise to the split from COSATU.

A7. On Sectoral Work

The resolution emphasized the following: the role of the Youth and Women's Leagues as mass formation of youth and women, their role in their respective sectors and society. Specifically on the Youth League, the resolution called for the YL to consider its cut-off age, and for the YL and SASCO to work together when contesting SRC elections on campuses, to unite behind SASCO in contests, supported by the BYA. The

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resolution also urged organisational work amongst national group and focused programme to build non-racialism; engaging with civil society and for ANC members to be active in community and sectoral organisations in the country; to engage motive forces in their organized formations, including those not part of the Alliance; affirmed the role of traditional leaders in advancing development and transformation, gender equality, social cohesion, deepening democracy, and the participation of rural motive forces.

The Women's League structures over the last 30 months have active programmes around the Molo Mkhawane campaign, mobilizing in the NPE campaign, the fight against gender based violence, and more recently during the Covid-19 period, its weekly Umanyano programme to reach out to women virtually, on a range of issues.

The NEC disbanded the NEC of the YL following its legal liquidation, and appointed a National Youth Task Team to assist to take the ANCYL to Congress, but the process has been very slow. The YL structures have risen to the occasion during the Covid-19 organising virtual political lectures and seminars on issues of the day, and have also been more active during Youth month in 2020.

Most sectoral work have centred around elections, with outreach to various sectors. NEC Committee who also have responsibilities to reach out to sectoral formations in their area of work have not been as pro-active as they should be. Outreach to business and professional organisations also continues through the Progressive Business Forum. A national task team was established to coordinate activities on the mobilization Coloured and Indian communities.

A8. Policy Development and Implementation

The resolution calls for the establishment of a Policy Institute and to explore public funding for political party policy institutions. In the later resolution on Provinces, it calls for provinces to also develop policy monitoring capacity. Extend the policy cycle to a decade, rather than the hitherto five-year cycle. Emphasised the need for macro policy planning and coordinated implementation in government, with the Presidency as the central driver of the developmental state.

This is still work in progress.

A9. Selection Process for Public Representatives

The resolution called for strengthening our guidelines, to ensure we select candidates with good standing in communities, screening and other processes, in the context of having a permanent ANC Electoral Commission.

Work in progress:

- NGC to discuss the issue of a permanent Elections Commission;
- Review of Through the Eye of the Needle and Guidelines for Selection of ANC Councilors at NGC

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The resolution calls for the establishment of a permanent ANC Electoral commission, with its roles, that will oversee the elections of leadership. It also highlighted areas to strengthen electoral rules, including outlawing slate voting, candidates to contest elections to declare interests, including campaign money and sources, conflict of interests and lifestyle audits, a youth quota (25-40%), consider gender equity in elections of Officials. The resolution also required the NEC to manage the two centres of power.

The Electoral Commission has not been formed, because it was not adopted as a constitutional amendment; the ANC Constitution (2017) still makes provision for the NEC, PECs and RECs to appoint elections commissions for conferences. The NGC therefore needs to discuss this matter.

A11. Regions, Sub-Region/Zone

The resolutions deals with the role of ANC governance committees, at these levels, as a space for accountability between the councilors and the ANC structures, involving the Troika and MP/Ls.

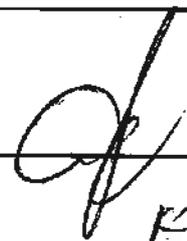
A12. Veterans League and Council of Elders

The resolution mandated the NEC to engage with the Veterans League with regards to options on its role, and to investigate the possibilities of a Council of Elders.

A13. Champion an Education, Skills and Creative Revolution

All ANC members and leaders are called upon to take practical steps to improve their literacy rate, skills, levels of education, support and participation in the arts and creative sectors, and general knowledge on matters relating to global and domestic socio-economic and political issues. Every ANC, Youth and Women's League branch shall strive, through the education and skills revolution, to improve the literacy rate, the work of cultural and creative sector and general level of education and skills among the people in the ward. Every ANC member should be involved in a project or programme to improve the quality of learning and teaching in all schools, promote the culture of reading, and raise the level of education, skills, entrepreneurship and literacy rate in a specific community.

A14. Create an ANC Accountability Framework, which outlines the roles and responsibilities and performance management of cadres.



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ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL**A15. Finance and Fundraising**

Legislation on funding of political parties to be amended to provide for increment and transparency in party funding, and apply to all three spheres of government, with separate funding for political foundations. Strengthening ANC fundraising and building its resource and sustainability base; maintain professional management and accountability and financial systems; and settle longstanding debts and liabilities.

B. STRENGTHEN THE INTEGRITY OF THE ANC AND ITS ROLE IN SOCIETY**B1. Social distance**

The resolution calls for a change in how the ANC relates to the people, especially the gap between ourselves and the people, leaders and cadres doing grassroots work, and encouraging the values of humility, discipline, hard work, ubuntu, empathy and respect for people. This resolution is closely linked to the role of the branch in communities and the role of leadership, and restoration of the values of the ANC.

B2. ANC Credibility and Integrity: Dealing with Corruption; Integrity Commission and Discipline

Strengthening understanding of values, ethics and morality; cadres accused and Integrity committee to present themselves; publicly disassociating ourselves from any person accused of corruption or criminal activities; cooperate with law enforcement; strengthen state capacity to investigate investigation; strengthen capacities of state law enforcement; ban all states and enforce code of conduct; implement NEC resolution on special commission on state capture.

On the Integrity commission resolve that the NEC to conclude the terms of reference, its powers and that it reports directly to NEC and NGC, National Conference. On Discipline, to introduce dispute resolution capacity, discourage and defend organisational court cases; and investigate and act on gate keeping.

The Officials and NWC have been consistent in their message of unity, starting with the pilgrimage to different provinces; during the 2018/2019 conferences encouraging PECs to bring in comrades excluded using the cooption clause. At the same time, NEC members have been guilty of breaches of the Communications Protocol, and the coherence of the NEC took time to build. The appointment of the National and Provincial Dispute Resolution Committee has also helped during the run-up to the elections to resolve mainly internal disputes; on the whole it has reduced the number of court cases, although there have been still quite a few.

The NEC after lengthy deliberations adopted the Terms of Reference of the Integrity Commission, and consistently look at how to strengthen its work and make it more effective and fair. However, as expected, the matters which the Integrity Commission has pronounced on to date, with recommendations to the NEC has been difficult, most notably the review of the Lists for National and Provincial public representatives in 2019 and the VBS matter. Provincial Integrity Commission have also been estab-

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lished, and we need to get a report from the provinces on how these have performed their tasks.

The President established the Zondo Commission in 2018, and it has been a grueling period for the ANC and its image. The consistency on the principled position which the ANC has taken, that it supports the commission, encouraging its members to cooperate with the commission; will not give a blow by blow response, but instead intervene for the record when matters affect the ANC have been adhered to on the whole.

On the overall issue of the image of the ANC with regards to corruption, there are worrying signs that this is not improving, especially with regards to public expenditure.

B3. Dispute resolution and Discipline

Establishing the National Dispute Resolution Committee and mechanism, respond to complaints timeously and give feedback to structures and individuals, so as to discourage organisational matters taken to and settled in courts. This should include training on conflict resolution methods as part of our mass political education and induction.

B4. Communications and the Battle of Ideas

Social transformation requires the production and dissemination of progressive ideas for a National Democratic Society. This struggle for hegemony takes place in a heavily contested terrain, with increasing interconnectivity, use of social media; growing civic and social activism, sometimes anti-establishment, but more often combining tactics of protest and cooperation. It is recognizing that ideas in society are disseminated through media in all its forms, the education system, the political apparatus of the state, and a range of faith based, cultural and other institutions and practices. Within this, the women's movement plays an important role in contesting the ideas and dominance of patriarchy, and its intersections with poverty, inequality and unemployment, as well as race and class. We must therefore strengthen the ANC's engagements in and with all facets of ideas, values and culture, in contributing towards social cohesion as well as its own internal capacity for the battle of ideas

B5. Non-racialism and Non-sexism

These are two key organizing principles of a National Democratic Society, the ANC must be at the forefront of progressive ideas to advance a non-sexist and non-racial South Africa, and itself become the political school for non-racialism and non-sexism, setting an example for our society, and active in the fight against the scourge of racism, sexism and gender-based violence.



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PART 2: A SUSTAINED PROGRAMME OF UNITY AND RENEWAL

The COVID-19 Moment: Challenges and Opportunities

17. The global Coronavirus pandemic has been a black swan event warned about, but very few in the world were prepared for how quickly it would engulf and affect every country in the world. It has challenged many "established truths", about the superiority of western systems, or that any institution but the nation state can act when nations are under threat. And indeed, that societies with capable developmental states, with universal health coverage and social safety nets, are in better positions to deal with this global disaster and its aftermath, than countries without these systems. At the same time, like with other seismic global events such as the Spanish Flu, the Great Depression or World Wars, it provides a window or windows of opportunities for progressive 'turning of the tides.'
18. In South Africa Covid-19 showed us the ugly face of the structural fault lines of poverty, inequality and unemployment, and the festering sores of hunger and food insecurity, the precarity of livelihoods of the majority and how little it takes to tip them below the poverty and hunger line. The ANC government must continue to lead the fight against the Covid 19 pandemic, and to deal with the social and economic crisis, exacerbated by the pandemic, supported by ANC structures at all levels.
19. The pandemic has an impact on all forms of human activities, including our organisational activities, and we therefore have to adapt. We had .
20. In the 2000 NGC document, "**ANC Revolutionary movement and Agent for Change**" we identified one of the unique characteristics that sustained the ANC over the decades, as its ability to "*identify and seize decisive moments...when the combined elements (for) qualitative movement forward (are) evident.*"
21. Decisive moments for organisational renewal can be driven by a number of factors, or one lead factor that provide opportunities for others. These include a burning platform such as losing elections; pressure from below or within like was done by the ANC Youth League in 1944; re-engineering of organisational culture or structures, like becoming a governing party and the impact of the close alignment of ANC structures and governance structures on leadership in the ANC; leadership changes, although we commit to collective leadership, the vision, quality, experience/capabilities, and style of leadership matters; and lastly, an external event or situation, like the Nationalist Party coming to power in 1948, which prompted the 1949 ANCYL Programme of Action or having adoption of armed struggle when the regime closed all peaceful avenues in 1960.
22. Indeed, the social and economic impact of Covid-19, its impact on human interaction, on work, governments and business, on national and global fault lines, on generations, and on how societies interact, is such an external decisive moment.
23. The moment also coincides with other '*cumulative quantitative conditions and factors*' – the leadership outcomes of

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NASREC, finally moving forward on the OR Tambo Political School as well as the new online Membership Management System, the potential and push for renewing our other organisational systems, including the system of leadership selection and election; and the strong Conference mandates on issues such as restoring integrity and fighting corruption, and on radical socio-economic transformation.

24. The Covid-19 crisis forced us to be outwardly looking, to practice community activism and solidarity, to read, to analyze and to engage, to act local and think global. The crisis also mobilised and raised the profile of key government departments, of course Health and COGTA, but also Water and Sanitation, Human Settlements and Housing, Education, and Social Development and economic departments such as Trade and Industry, Employment and Labour, and Small Businesses. Local government and ward councilors are also more visible, there is potential to generalize the District Development Model beyond the initial pilots, and a critical institution like NED-LAC re-engaged.
25. Of course, we must expect some internal resistance to change, and external interference to keep us in the perpetual state of internal conflicts. The reports of abuse of Covid 19 funds and of racketeering, the recent Auditor General report on municipalities, are worrying indicators. But now is the time to build the momentum and implement a sustained programme for organisational renewal!

A Decade of Renewal

26. The 53rd National Conference (2012) raised the issue of a **Decade of Renewal**, in order to strengthen the following

capabilities, capacities and urgent tasks of the ANC:

- a) Capabilities to act as a strategic centre of power and influence, organised along, and effective, in the five pillars of social transformation.
- b) Capacity as a vanguard movement for social transformation, to organize and mobilise the motive forces and lead grassroots and sectors in a programme of participatory and mass-based community and sectoral transformation, empowerment and development.
- c) Fast-track a coherent and targeted Cadre policy: recruitment, cadre development, deployment, accountability and cadre preservation. Through the political school and other programmes, prioritise the political education, general education, academic skills and capabilities of ANC leadership and membership, with special focus on the ANC Youth and Women's Leagues, with a view to build and cultivate the New Cadre..
- d) Speed up Economic Transformation by fast tracking the development of entrepreneurs, small-medium entities, including large-scale infrastructure development and enhancing the capacity of the state to intervene in key sectors of the economy in pursuit of inclusive economic growth and development, employment creation and broad-based empowerment.
- e) Build a democratic and capable developmental state, with the agility and resolve to drive and implement the programme of social transformation and the creation of a National Democratic Society.
- f) Restoration of the core values of the ANC, ethical conduct and integrity in society, rooting out factionalism and corruption in its ranks.

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- g) Education, skills and the development of human capabilities, creativity, dignity and well-being of all at the centre of social transformation.
- h) Our participation in the African renaissance and agenda, and as part of the global progressive forces, towards a peaceful, more just and equitable social, political and economic world, and that is environmentally sustainable.
- i) Urgent and practical steps to professionalise and modernise the operations of the ANC, its membership system, introducing technology and progressive management sciences to improve its operations.
- j) Political and ideological work amongst the new generations of young people, in all of different sectors and social strata, to reproduce a cadre of responsible citizens and active participants for social transformation.
27. *"At the core of the ANC's tasks in the current period is the renewal of the organisation for it to exercise societal leadership in a changing environment, the consolidation of democracy and the speeding up of programmes of fundamental transformation to attain shared prosperity, social justice and human solidarity..."*
28. *A strategic centre of power should command both legitimacy and authority, deriving from the quality of its collective ideas and the discipline of its members. It should ensure that its mandate is carried out by its members, wherever they are located. It should be able to monitor and evaluate the implementation of its policies. When and where there are weaknesses – whether these are a result of poor policies, weak implementation or poor leadership – it should be able to act decisively." (Strategy and Tactics, 2017*
29. The NGC must review the detailed Conference resolutions set out above, and deliberate on how we strengthen their implementation. In addition, the following issues require emphasis and attention of the NGC, as we develop this **Decade-long Programme of Renewal**:
- a) **Agreeing on a vision of a Renewed ANC:** what would a "renewed ANC" in the current period look like, in relation to the current tasks of the moment and having rid ourselves of the negative tendencies?
- b) **The role of leadership in renewal:** the impression is oft created, that because leadership are affected when we deal with renewal, unity and integrity issues; and they are responsible for deciding on action as per Conference resolutions. Is this ascertain correct, and if yes, how do we then address this, so that the organisation are able to act decisively to restore integrity and discipline in the movement? How do we build a critical mass in all structures, that are committed and working towards renewal?
- c) **Dealing with Corruption:** Corrupt practices across government, and the perceptions of widespread corruption have become a serious blight, undermining transformation and the trust of the people. How do we draw a line on this matter, so that we can turn the tide?
- d) **An Accountability and Performance Framework:** what should be the main elements of such as Accountability framework, towards building a developmental and effective state, and how do we ensure it works and is adhered to?

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- e) **Role of Leadership Collectives:** The ANC Constitution sets out the tasks of the NEC, PEC, REC and BEC – are these structures living up to these tasks, and what roles should be given to each member of these collectives, for example each BEC members assigned a block of streets and to report on issues, etc?
- f) **Membership system and Recruitment:** how do we ensure conscious recruitment and development of members from amongst the motive forces?
- g) **Strengthen system of leadership selection:** Is it not time to review the system of proportionality branch representatives to conferences, which leads to branch processes being subverted and delegates being wooed, simply to add voting numbers? How do we deal with money in our leadership elections processes? Should we give membership a more direct role in electing leadership, beyond just nominating and electing delegates to represent the branch at elective conferences?

Conclusion

- 30. The paper deliberately avoided adding to an already comprehensive and relevant set of areas and actions around which renewal must take place. This does not mean that within each of the proposed areas, there are not further innovations that should be proposed.
- 31. As we prepare for the next twenty five years of democracy, we want to see a South Africa celebrating its Golden Jubilee by 2044 as an example of the African renaissance we so deeply desire: a country that is thriving and prosperous, where the land and other resources and assets are shared, which is free from hunger, poverty, racism and sexism and want, that is creative, innovative and entrepreneurial, has a capable, legitimate developmental state and that represents the best of human civilizations.
- 32. The starting point is the renewal of our revolutionary movement. We do know the tasks at hand. Let us get to work.

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ANNEXURE A**Growing concern about Organisational Culture and Values of ANC, since 1994**

Extract from paper on "Organisational Renewal, Unity and a Common Programme of Work" (2018, B Hofmyer)

"In **1994 Conference in Bloemfontein** we recognised the centrality of political education and cadre development especially as we lost many leading cadres to positions in government and had recruited hundreds of thousands of new members unschooled in the values of the ANC. In 1995 we set up a political education unit and an organising department to focus on building the organisation. The last time mass national BEC training was done in the ANC was in 1998/9. Since then resources have been restricted and used mostly for election or pre-conference training. From being the foot soldiers of building branches driving implementation of ANC programmes, organisers have evolved to bureaucrats and auditors who check compliance of nominations, membership and other ANC processes, rather than driving programme implementation.

As a governing party in most of SA our focus shifted to the many challenges we faced in government. We were still negotiating the final constitution, setting up new local municipalities, managing an apartheid debt close to the size of the annual budget, and dealing with the untransformed apartheid public service. In spite of these challenges

and our inexperience, we made quick progress and managed to deliver massive improvements within the first 100 days. Free health care was extended to pregnant women and all children under 7. School feeding was introduced in the poorest schools. 26 000 community land claims were settled. A massive infrastructure improvement plan was developed and started. Eskom started the electrification programme in townships and informal settlements as well as rural areas. The RDP housing programme was conceived. Every government department was focussed on delivering efficiently and economically. A combination of political will, clear goals (RDP), a united ANC and capable and committed leaders and managers in government enabled these successes

In our **50th Conference in 1997, Mafikeng** we came to terms with the remaining challenges we faced in government and recognised our weaknesses in building a dynamic and responsive government in touch with the people. It had become clear that expectations were very high and that government alone could not address all problems fast enough. We passed resolutions to build people's participation, ward committees, community police forums, school governing bodies, government communication and stronger coherence and oversight between ANC structures and government deployees in local government. Twenty-two years later all of these remain on our wish list without much evidence of widespread

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successful implementation. We recognised the “reality of the scourge of rape, the battering of women and the abuse of children” and resolved to address these evils within society, in our communities and in our own ranks. While we have improved policies and laws we have failed to effect fundamental social change and eliminate either patriarchy or violence in our communities and in our organisation.

In **2000** at the **Port Elizabeth NGC** we confronted the changing face of the ANC and the development of a political elite with growing access to personal wealth and government resources. We discussed revolutionary morality and the dangers of political careerism and resolved to use political education to develop cadres who are agents of change wherever they are active, clear about our values, the NDR and programme of the ANC, and accountable to the ANC. The same 2000 NGC highlighted the roles of the Youth and Women’s League as leading agents for change with regards to the two sectors they organise.

In **Stellenbosch, 2002** we noted the need to sustain and strengthen the mass character of the ANC and ensuring the implementation of our cadre development policy as a means of sustaining the revolutionary culture and traditions of the movement among new generations of cadres and members. We also noted the need to enhance organisational democracy and discipline as well as strengthening the Leagues of the ANC, giving leadership to the struggle for women’s emancipation and assisting the Youth League in increasing its mobilization of youth in all sectors of our

society. Maintaining and enhancing the unity of the Alliance and ensuring that the historic relationship continues in the implementation of the important tasks of the National Democratic Revolution as well as building a broad movement for national transformation that draws together democratic forces in a range of sectors and unites them in this important task that is led by the ANC, supporting the ANC’s efforts to remain the largest mass political movement in South Africa.

In **2007, Polokwane** the **Organisational Report** was brutally frank about our continued failure to build the kind of ANC we needed to lead transformation and development in our society. The 2007 Strategy and Tactics sharpened our focus the internal challenges we faced and we resolved to set up a political school and a policy institute to address some of our ongoing weaknesses in the organisation and the state. We agreed to increase public participation and strengthen relations and accountability between our structures and public representatives, as well as deployment strategies, and monitoring evaluation of public representatives and deployees.

In **2012, Mangaung** we developed a comprehensive **Organisational Renewal** discussion document that recognised increasing social distance between the ANC and the people, a breakdown of relations with civil society, increased factionalism and corruption, and weakness in leadership and structures. We resolved to rebuild our relationship with key sectors of society and to strengthen the Alliance, declared a decade of the cadres that would focus on developing


 A handwritten signature in black ink, followed by the initials 'RS' and the number '157' written to the right.

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the cadres we need to implement our programmes and achieve our goals in government and in the organisation. We also resolved to set up an integrity committee to deal swiftly and decisively with lapses in integrity and morality.

In the **2015 NGC**, we took a hard look at **leadership election** and **candidate selection** and strongly condemned practices of slates and factions, membership bulk-buying and ghost members, money politics in securing votes within the ANC, and the impact of all these negative practices on the lives of branches and the quality of leadership and public representatives. We resolved to ban slates and take strong action against vote buying.

We decided to strengthen the Integrity Committee and act more decisively on allegations of corruption. We also

resolved to set up an internal election committee and to review our candidate and leadership selection processes.

In **2017 at Nasrec** we focussed on many of our weaknesses, passed the strongest resolution yet on corruption, clarified the role of the branch, outlined the community and sectoral work expected from every branch, made political education and induction compulsory for leadership at all levels, and set up the framework for an Electoral Committee to guide and run candidate and leadership election processes. In every Conference, we have resolved to improve coordination in government, especially at the local level, monitoring of implementation, the ANC's own policy and monitoring capacity, and our capacity to hold deployees to account and recall them if needed."

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized initial 'D' followed by a flourish, and the initials 'KS' written below it.

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TOWARDS A RECONFIGURED ALLIANCE**A joint Alliance reconfiguration platform****CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION**

1. This common Alliance reconfiguration paper is anchored in four initial discussion documents and responses by the Alliance formations. The first discussion document on the reconfiguration of the Alliance was produced by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the second by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The third discussion document was produced by the African National Congress (ANC) in response to the SACP and COSATU papers, while the fourth was produced by the SACP, replying to the ANC's response. The South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) made an oral representation at an Alliance Political Council that considered the papers, as did the other Alliance formations in addition to their discussion documents.
2. What the above indicates is that this has been an extensive process of engagement within the Alliance towards its reconfiguration. At the heart of this process lies the unity and organisational renewal project, thus the necessity to move with the times. The process involves a conscious effort to guide the evolution of the Alliance and maintain and deepen its strategic relevance towards the fulfilment of its historical mission.
3. The main historical and theoretical basis for the Alliance is noted in the four initial Alliance formations papers and the subsequent engagements that took place. This paper is therefore a synthesis towards a common reconfiguration platform. The paper is arranged into four chapters, including this brief introductory chapter.
4. **Chapter 2**, entitled the '**Revolutionary Alliance**', presents summaries on the nature and character of Alliance formations and their historical missions, and thus those of the Alliance.
5. Entitled the '**Shared strategy of struggle and basic programme**', **Chapter 3** covers the subject of its title.
6. **Chapter 4**, which has already been presented to, and considered by the Alliance Political Council, is entitled the '**Success Model and Organs of Consensus-Seeking Consultation**'. The chapter looks at the success model and organs of consensus-seeking consultation as essential components of improving the functioning of the Alliance, as part of its reconfiguration.

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7. The reconfiguration is a deep-going process, rather than an event. It is guided both by the continuously changing conditions and, within this context, the necessity to continuously build, strengthen and reposition the Alliance towards realising its ultimate objectives.
8. In addition to the initial documents, this paper briefly highlights the rationale for building a united, well-functioning, strong and cohesive Alliance. The old established premise that revolutionary organisations are necessary to resolve fundamental societal contradictions and social antagonisms rings true to the effort to reconfigure the Alliance as part of our collective unity and organisational renewal project.
9. The Alliance is involved in the national democratic revolution (NDR), our shared strategy of struggle, transformation and democratic transition. The NDR is aimed at destroying the legacy of colonialism, inclusive of colonialism of a special type and apartheid, and replacing it with a society based on democracy and the principles of redress, equality, non-racialism, non-sexism and collective prosperity. The NDR is an anti-imperialist strategy in terms of its content, worldview and goals. The minimum programme of the Alliance is aptly captured in the policy lodestar of the movement, the Freedom Charter, as discussed in the next sections. The Alliance is a practical expression of unity of purpose by its formations, of which all are formations of the Left. Thus the Alliance constitutes a Left pole or an axis of the Left in our national spectrum and its position in the international arena.

CHAPTER 2: OUR REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE

1. The Alliance is a national democratic revolutionary front. The shared characteristics and principles of the formations of our strategic Alliance are unity, non-racialism, non-sexism, democracy, collective leadership and accountability to the movement as well as the people as a whole, and all other principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter, our shared programme.
2. The roots of the Alliance date back to 1928 following the adoption of a resolution on the South African Question by the Communist International (Comintern). The resolution was ratified in South Africa by the Communist Party in 1929, a few months after its first adoption, leading to the establishment and development of our liberation Alliance. As the resolution states, the development in South Africa of capitalist relations of production, imposed from Europe through colonial expansion, 'led to British imperialism carrying out the economic exploitation of the country with the participation of the White bourgeoisie of South Africa (British and Boer)'. The general colonial character of South Africa was not altered when the Union of South Africa was established, in 1910, since British-controlled capital continued to occupy the principal economic positions in the country (banks, mining and industry), and since the South African bourgeoisie was equally interested in the merciless exploitation of the oppressed majority. In its Strategy and Tactics the ANC refers to this merciless form of exploitation as super-exploitation.

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3. Based on the history of South Africa and its internationalism, our liberation Alliance is anti-colonial and anti-imperialist in its nature and character. In our region and continent, the Alliance stands for the African Revolution, towards wider continental independence and progressive integration. Globally, the Alliance stands for a peaceful world order and international justice, economic, political and broadly social. The history, nature and character, aims and objectives, and therefore goals and historical missions of our Alliance formations are detailed in their respective founding documents, constitutions, programmes, strategies and tactics. By way of brief summaries, the Alliance comprises the following independent formations but which need the dependability and therefore support of each other through the Alliance.
6. The ANC is also the leader of our society. It has earned its leadership role through decades of struggle, as well as electoral contests as the leading force of the Alliance's common electoral platform. This leadership position is not leadership by decree. Hence the ANC as well as the Alliance should continuously build and earn its leadership role.

The Communist Party**African National Congress**

4. The ANC, the oldest national liberation organisation on the African continent is the formation leading the Alliance, which is at the head of our national liberation movement. The process of consultation that led to the founding of the ANC dates back to between 1908 and 1909 in protest against the Whites-only dialogue that was held towards the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, a decade after the end of the Anglo-Boer War.
5. The ANC was established in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress, with the historical mission of unifying the African people against their exclusion, and for equality before the law, thus liberation of the oppressed. It gained its current name in 1923 and evolved to include Black people in general as well as White democrats.
7. The oldest Marxist-Leninist formation on the African continent and second oldest political organisation in South Africa after the ANC was founded in 1921 as the Communist Party of South Africa. The roots of the Party in South Africa date back to the founding in 1914 of the War on War League in opposition to the imperialist First World War and participation in it of South Africa. The War on War League was succeeded by the larger International Socialist League (ISL) in 1915.
8. The Communist Party was subsequently formed by the union of the ISL, the largest component, and other, mostly regional or city-based, Communist and Socialist organisations that existed in South Africa and sought affiliation to the Comintern. The unification was one of the conditions of affiliation to the Comintern, which accepted only one Communist Party per country. The Party gained its current name in 1953 as part of its underground reconstitution in response to its banning in 1950. It was formed with the historical mission of achieving liberation and social emancipation, systematically ending the system of economic exploitation of one person or group by another and ultimately replacing the exploitative system with a socialist revolution.

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9. COSATU is a progressive movement that brings together prime mass organisations of the workers in the form of trade unions. To fulfil its purpose, it is as broad as possible and seeks to unite, on an industrial basis as well as in the public sector according to its organisational structure, all workers, at whatever level of their political consciousness, who appreciate the elementary need to come together and defend and advance their conditions of employment. The federation was formed in 1985 in the context of widespread township uprisings and intense repression unleashed by the apartheid regime.
10. COSATU's roots date back to the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), its predecessor, in 1955, and before then to the preceding progressive trade union formation processes. SACTU became part of our Alliance and the struggle for liberation and social emancipation. As a class-conscious trade union centre, and taking into account its origins and history, COSATU appreciates that the state as well as its apparatus and therefore state power has serious implications for workers.
11. The federation therefore embraces the necessity to be involved in the broader political struggle. COSATU was accordingly formed with the historical mission to achieve freedom from oppression and economic exploitation. Its objectives include organising unorganised workers and building effective trade unions on a democratic basis, as well as fostering democratic worker leadership in all spheres of society working together with other progressive forces, hence its engagement in the Alliance.

South African National Civics Organisation

12. The development of our Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in the 1980s became one of the important innovations in the history of Alliance reconfiguration, evolution and adaptation to changing operating conditions. The United Democratic Front (UDF) was added to the equation and played an important role towards the final dislodgement of the apartheid regime from power.
13. SANCO was formed in 1992 as part of the MDM. The progressive civic organisation took the form of a unitary formation replacing pre-existing local and regional civics. Some of the civics SANCO replaced emerged in the previous decade of the 1980s as characterised organisationally by the development of the MDM and the consolidation of the progressive trade union movement. While the UDF was later dissolved, SANCO continued organising and was later recognised as an Alliance formation.

Progressive formations

14. The Alliance earned the support of an array of progressive formations in our society.
15. Internally, the leagues of the ANC, namely the ANC Women's League, ANC Youth League, ANC Veterans' League, form part of this wider progressive movement. The movement includes the Young Communist League of South Africa, youth wing of the SACP, and COSATU affiliates. The associations of the veterans of the joint ANC and SACP military formation, uMkhonto we-Sizwe, are also part of the wider progressive movement.

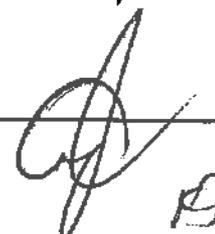


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16. The Alliance also earned the support of the progressive student movement, which comprises the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the South African Student Congress (SASCO). These together with the ANC Youth League and the Young Communist League of South Africa form the core of the organisations constituting the Progressive Youth Alliance (PYA).
17. The last chapter refers to the Alliance as 'the sum (total) of its formations'. What the emphasis in this section is placed on is the fact that, as the Alliance Political Council concluded at its plenary session held from 10 to 11 November 2019, the total strength of the support earned by the Alliance as well as its formations in the course of our struggle plus the sum its formations is much greater. This analysis is crucial to an appreciation of our organisational and political tasks both with regard to the reconfiguration of the Alliance, our collective organisational renewal and unity project, and the necessity to continuously build, strengthen and grow its wider support base as inextricably inseparable objectives.
- of the NDR is to transform South Africa into a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society. A major achievement of the NDR as a process of struggle for liberation and social emancipation was the dislodgement of the apartheid regime through the 1994 democratic breakthrough. This shared milestone laid the foundation for the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist democratic society in pursuit of collective prosperity based on the Freedom Charter, the basic programme of the NDR adopted by all Alliance formations and other progressive organisations.
2. In the 1950s, with the SACP existing as an underground formation following its banning by the apartheid regime in 1950, the configuration of the Alliance publicly assumed the form of the Congress Alliance, comprising the ANC, SACTU, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation, later re-named the Coloured People's Congress, and the Congress of Democrats. Members of the underground SACP were active in all the Congress Alliance formations. The banning of the Party had the effect of deepening the dual membership principle of the Alliance. In terms of the principle, the Party required communist cadres to be active in mass democratic formations, and the ANC as a national liberation organisation that accepts members into its ranks from different ideological persuasions provided they accept its historical mission, aims and objectives. It is the Alliance that co-ordinated the convening of the Congress of the People and preceding processes of consultation, leading to the drafting and adoption of the Freedom Charter by the historic gathering in 1955.

CHAPTER 3: SHARED STRATEGY OF STRUGGLE AND BASIC PROGRAMME

1. The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is our strategy to complete the liberation of the formerly oppressed, Africans in particular and Black people in general, and to overcome persisting racialised, gendered and class articulated inequality, as well as uneven development, unemployment, poverty and the associated social consequences. Thus the strategic objective



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3. The achievement of the goals of the Freedom Charter, which is our minimum programme, lies at the core of the intersection of our historical missions, NDR, and our aspirations.
4. Since the 1994 democratic breakthrough, we have achieved commendable social progress benefitting millions of our people. In this regard a major contribution also came from our enshrinement of human, including workers and socio-economic rights, in our country's post-1994 Constitution. It is within this framework that, through the ANC-led government involving other formations of the Alliance, we were able to massively extend access to housing, clean drinking water, electricity, social grants and education at all levels, among other programmes. The Alliance formations remain categorical in their unwavering historic support, defence and advancement of the human rights we enshrined in our Constitution following decades of our liberation struggle.
5. Notwithstanding the social progress we have achieved since our 1994 democratic breakthrough, we are still in the midst of many challenges to overcome. Others are old, systemic and reinforcing, while others are new and compounding the old ones. The intercourse between the two categories of challenges and their multiplication increases their enormity on, and negative implications for the Alliance and the NDR. In this regard, state capture and other forms of corruption, bad governance and incompetence are, among others, a serious threat to our movement as whole and the NDR. Combating these deviant tendencies is crucial in defence of the revolution, our democratic transition, and the integrity of our movement as a whole, that is, its legitimacy to lead our national democratic revolutionary programme and democratically earn growing and high support.
6. In essence, it is a key organisational, political and ideological task of the Alliance to foster democratic revolutionary values centred on serving the people selflessly, and to build universal strategic discipline, unity and cohesion based on the shared values. This includes attaching great importance to building and deepening revolutionary moral high ground, binding on our members both within our Alliance as a movement and the state, as well as in society in general. The latter presupposes that, also in their personal conduct, our cadres should carry themselves in a manner that will bring credit and attract support to the movement, rather than repel support or either expose the movement to unfair criticism or attacks.
7. There remains a lot of work to be done towards fulfilling the historical mission of our shared struggle, including securing our national independence and thus safeguarding our policy space, a key instrument of effecting change to achieve the objective aspirations of our people. To this end there are at least three key strategic national tasks arising from the '**National**' (N) in the **National Democratic Revolution (NDR)** that merit underlining: **(i) NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION**: resolutely safeguarding our democratic national sovereignty; **(ii) NATION BUILDING**: building the united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society that we seek to achieve, including by fostering social cohesion; **(iii) and strengthening our REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM**, while at the same time deepening our internationalism, our international solidarity and anti-imperialism.

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8. In its pursuit of revolutionary nationalism, and of course the NDR, the Alliance stands in contrast to ultra-leftism, chauvinism and narrow nationalism. As eloquently captured in the body of our shared theory of struggle, for instance, in the Strategy and Tactics adopted by the ANC in Morogoro, Tanzania, in 1969:
- '...our nationalism must not be confused with chauvinism or narrow nationalism of a previous epoch. It must not be confused with the classical drive by an elitist group among the oppressed people to gain ascendancy so that they can replace the oppressor in the exploitation of the mass.'*
9. The Alliance seeks to build a capable national democratic developmental state that serves the people wholeheartedly. The attainment of the goals of the Freedom Charter and completion of the NDR remains firmly rooted in the heart of the shared strategy of the Alliance, in the Alliance as an active expression of our unity of purpose. This is the guiding lodestar of our common policy direction in relation to, but not exclusively, the role of the state in our society and therefore the primary mandate of our public representatives.
10. The NDR is a revolutionary process of transformation to rid our economy and society of colonial and apartheid features, as well as imperialist domination, and to implement democratic economic transformation as well as broader social development towards its full potential. In the present period, the Alliance is striving to move the NDR into a second radical phase and further advance, deepen and defend the revolution towards resolving the primary contradictions of the South African society, as captured in the strategic objectives of the NDR.
11. To that end, the NDR in the here and now has to be a process to transform the dependent-development path of our economy and the chronic underdevelopment that this unresolved colonially created path still reproduces. This process of change is for the right of everyone to work and contribute to nation building, and for the wealth of our country to be shared, as the Freedom Charter declares.
12. Thus meeting the material and social needs of the people is an essential component of the NDR and central to our efforts of fundamental change. This means uplifting the quality of life of all our people, especially the poor, the majority of whom are Africans in particular and Black people in general, female and the youth, and in class terms the working class. In this regard rural areas, townships and peri-urban areas require greater development policy attention.
13. The Alliance will strive to ensure that the above find theoretical and practical expression in the role of the state within the framework of our constitutional democracy. This is based on collective recognition that post-1994 the state has become one of the key pillars of our struggle and transformation to complete the liberation of the formerly oppressed and achieve social emancipation for all South Africans regardless of race, gender and other arbitrary grounds.
14. However, ascendancy to the key levers of state power, especially legislative and executive organs, and therefore the exercise of their powers and functions (which has wider implications in relation to other key levers of state power), is subject to the outcomes of the constantly unfolding democratic

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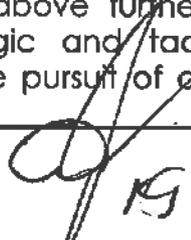
contestation and regular elections. In this regard the declining support of our ANC-led common Alliance electoral platform between 1994 and 2019 indicates that electoral victories are not necessarily guaranteed. The unity of the Alliance and independently its formations is crucial, and is also the basic condition of electoral victories, but which in turn require the Alliance to forge broader unity of all the motive forces of the NDR and widest possible unity across the length and breadth of our society.

15. Therefore the importance of winning the decisive-to-overwhelming majority of our society to our side and continuously earning their support by democratic means cannot be overemphasised. This requires active involvement of the Alliance in the day to day struggles of the people. The Alliance has to reach out with its positions to wider sections of our society and their respective forms of organisation through consistent processes of democratic engagement. This should be destined for laying the basis and building and expanding conditions for a wider partnership towards national unity, in line with our country's Constitution.
16. The exercise of state power, where ascendancy to the respective organs of state has been achieved, is alone not enough. In many respects it still requires to be supported by ongoing and deepening popular mobilisation of all the constituencies of Alliance formations and the motive forces of the NDR. This is crucial towards giving the Freedom Charter's first clause, 'The people shall govern', full play. Moreover, as the Alliance Political Council stated in its post-meeting statement of 13 November 2019, it is essential for the national democratic developmental state that we seek to build, and indeed for the Alliance itself, to mobilise our people in their communities and other areas of transformation and development to act as their own architects of change. This requires an articulation of the structures, programmes and strategies through which the state plays its democratic developmental role to involve direct democratic participation of the people.
17. In addition, post-1994 a new reality of engagement in politics through court processes and particular non-governmental organisations also emerged and grew, for better or for worse. A part of this is foreign driven or funded, or both, and is not always underpinned by good faith, while the other part is driven genuinely by real concerns and democratic interests of the people. What is clear is that the Alliance has to organise its presence in all key sites and forms of struggle and significant centres of power.
18. Democratic mobilisation of all sections of our people, with greater attention placed on the overwhelming majority, the working-class, and therefore working-class and popular struggles, are an important determinant in the advance and defence of the NDR. This must, in order to succeed, be guided by clear strategies and tactics, as well as effective organisation, targeted and mass political education and capacity building. NDRy hegemony within the state, the economy, our communities, the battle of ideas and, of course, within our organisations, is the critical factor for developing a purposeful, strategically clear, and practically effective NDR.
19. In pursuit of non-sexism, the NDR seeks to overcome the vicious impact of patriarchy, not just in some generalised

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way, but a patriarchy that was sharpened and integrated into the economic base of our country and its social relations of production in general over centuries of colonialism, inclusive of colonialism of a special type (CST) and apartheid. This deep-seated, systemic patriarchy has generated varied forms of social reproduction problems, including the scourge of violence in general and gender-based violence in particular. The Alliance is resolutely determined to bringing an end to the problems, altogether with their root cause, entrenched economic and broader social system patriarchy.

20. In our pursuit of non-racialism and a national democratic revolution we will continue to combat racism and the ideology and attitudes of white supremacy. The NDR has the effect of, and is therefore also about emancipating those among White people who harbour, and therefore from the false ideology of racial superiority and the insecurity attached to oppressing others or benefitting from the oppression.
21. The process of change requires investment resources. At present not all the investment capital, technologies and technical capacity required are in the hands of the people as whole or the state on their behalf. Neither are they all controlled by South Africans. At the same time, the resources that are in the hands of the state are not sufficient to meet all the goals of our shared project of broader social transformation and economic emancipation.
22. What the above necessarily dictates is the strategic mobilisation of the resources that are neither in the hands of the people as a whole nor in the hands of the state on their behalf for investment, particularly but not exclusively in the productive sector of our economy. This should however be guided by clear objectives, concrete tasks and targets, and meaningful consultation. The objectives, tasks and targets should include a priority on decent work and employment-creating investment; skills transfer; appropriate and sustainable development of the forces of production; the elimination of compradorist, parasitic, corporate-capture of the state and the movement and other corrupt tendencies; and an active contribution to a strategic, high impact industrial policy that overcomes CST sectoral and spatial imbalances.
23. Quite how various strata of capital, Black and White, or, rather, the immense resources controlled by them, get to be mobilised into such an agenda will vary according to circumstances. The measures available in this regard range from enforcing effective strategic discipline, increasing worker democracy on the shop-floor and systematically building worker-control, state-led strategic planning, and state-provided incentives and economic and social infrastructure development, effective state and also popular regulation. Where appropriate public-private participation arrangements based on mutually beneficial outcomes and fair agreements for workers, to straightforward compulsion and even expropriation, to the extent it is necessary, should be considered. All of these require consensus-seeking, meaningful consultation based on the principles of collective leadership and accountability, as it is equally fundamental with regard the overall pursuit of the NDR through state power.
24. The tasks outlined above further require sound strategic and tactical calculations and the pursuit of a de-

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velopmentally oriented and strategically driven professional cadre in the state, in boards of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) as well as other public entities, and in industry. In this regard at least one thing is certain. We will never achieve broad national democratic mobilisation, including of capital that is neither in the hands of the state nor the people as a whole on a mutually-beneficial-outcomes-basis, if, as the liberation movement, we are unclear ourselves as to what the R in the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is all about. One thing it is certainly not about is veering into a path of reformism. What it stands for, as we pronounce it in the full text of the NDR, is REVOLUTION. It therefore remains crucial to maintain the distinction between strategy and tactics; strategic consistency without veering into tactical rigidity; tactical flexibility without losing connection from strategy; and analytical alertness. To this end the goals of the Freedom Charter remain emphatically fundamental!

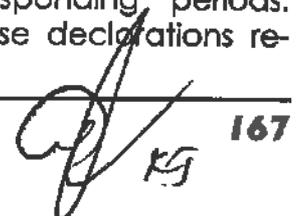
CHAPTER 4: SUCCESS MODEL AND ORGANS OF CONSENSUS-SEEKING CONSULTATION

1. Central to reconfiguration of the Alliance is the necessity to strengthen and deepen its purposeful organisational unity, adapt to the continuously changing conditions and thus move with the times, towards fulfilling the Alliance's historical mission. This requires consistent evaluation of the changing nature of the operating environment, both domestic and global, and its implications for the organisation and co-ordination of the Alliance as well as its strategy – the national democratic revolution, basic programme – the Freedom Charter, and the model, levels of operational efficiency and political discipline it needs to successfully carry out its strategic objectives.
2. For that cause, the Alliance recognises that consensus-seeking consultation (premised in the Alliance's minimum programme) as a standing process, and its associated collective organs have a central role to play. At the heart of this recognition lie the democratic revolutionary principles of unity of purpose – unity not just in words but also in perspective and action, thus principled and programmatic unity, cohesion, collective leadership and accountability. The Alliance will continuously develop, seeking to perfect, and exercise these and other shared revolutionary principles and values, in theory and practices, necessary for the successful implementation and completion of the national democratic revolution. This includes improving the co-ordination, functioning, capacity and impact of its collective leadership organs.
3. In its evolution the Alliance has created a number of consultative organs, and even defined the frequency of their sessions. It was in this process that, at its National Summit held in May 2008, having summed up the experiences of the past period, both positive and negative, the Alliance Political Council was created. This was based on recognition of the continuing strategic relevance of the Alliance and its centrality to the national democratic revolution, thus its primary position, as stated in the declaration of adopted, as the strategic political centre of the revolution. In this regard the Alliance represents the organisational unity of the independent components that constitute it and the intersection of their historical missions in terms of strategic perspec-

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five, thus the strategic political centre of their shared strategy in the form of the national democratic revolution and its basic programme, the Freedom Charter.

4. The Alliance is therefore the sum (total) of the unity and strengths of its constituents, which, as independent formations, remain strategic political centres in their own right, based on the underpinnings of their independent existence, in relation to their respective members or affiliates, aims, objectives and goals. The Alliance recognises, however, that there are other key centres of power existing in our society, including the community, the economy (inclusive of the workplace and sectors), and the state, to mention but a few.
5. Common Alliance mechanisms, approaches and platforms in relation to the state, for example, in the post-1994 period as a key centre of power in the context of multi-party democracy and related contestation, are necessary in view of principled and programmatic unity as a weapon of victory. The electoral victories since the first in 1994 have added the key levers of the state ascendable through winning elections, and the others associated with subsequent decisions, as the pillars of the implementation of the national democratic revolution.
6. Accordingly, the state has become a pillar of our struggle, to complete the liberation of the formerly oppressed and advance social emancipation of all, and therefore for the implementation of the national democratic revolution. Conversely, electoral losses do have the effect of subtracting from the pillars of the struggle those levers of state power that we lose in electoral battles. While independent, in this and other regards Alliance formations are also interdependent, in a variety of ways. To this end the importance of common Alliance mechanisms, approaches and platforms, as well as joint programmes and campaigns, cannot be overemphasised.
7. The Alliance comprises the following organs at its disposal to function more effectively as the strategic political centre of the national democratic revolution.
 - **Alliance Political Council** at the national level as the central leadership of the Alliance, and **Alliance Office Bearers Councils** at each sub-national level.
 - **Alliance Secretariat** at the national level, and at each sub-national level.
 - **Alliance Summit** at the national level, and respective summits at each sub-national level.
 - **Alliance Bilateral Sessions** between Alliance components and the leaders of their respective decision-making organs at all levels.
 - **Alliance Deployment and Accountability Commission**
 - **The class leadership of the working-class as the main, and thus not the sole, motive force of the national democratic revolution, and the organisational leadership of the ANC.**
8. Existing Alliance declarations, such as the Ekurhuleni I and II Alliance National Summit declarations and the May 2008 National Alliance Summit declaration delved into details in relation to operational aspirations of the Alliance during the corresponding periods. In many ways these declarations re-



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main a key source of reference. A few broad principles regarding minimum standards of operation merit underlining in relation to the way a reconfigured Alliance should function. To that end, the following minimum standards of consensus-seeking consultative processes take into account the fact that each Alliance component has its own key meetings, as part of democratic consultation. To this end practicability is crucial, as big ambitions without regard to it may result in disillusionment about the functioning of the Alliance while the problem their practicability.

Alliance Political Council

9. The Alliance Political Council was established by the May 2008 National Alliance Summit to give practical effect to the recognition of the Alliance as the strategic political centre of the national democratic revolution. This was the first of the steps that were identified as needed, as the declaration states, 'to be taken to strengthen the capacity of the ANC and the alliance to play this role'.
10. The Alliance Political Council was assigned to ensure that the Alliance engages 'actively and dynamically with its deployees in government', both with regard to the implementation of its programmes and ensuring medium-term strategic guidance. The convening of the Alliance Political Council to manage potential or real crises as the *main modus operandi* is not a characteristic of revolutionary organisation or a reconfigured Alliance.
11. As the standing leadership core of the Alliance, and thus the chief representative of its centrality to the national democratic revolution, the Alliance Political Council needs to meet regularly but according to proper planning, comprising a clearly defined purpose, objectives and expected outcomes. This should include a review of the progress in implementing the national democratic revolution since the last meeting according to its outcomes.
12. The Alliance Political Council should therefore at least hold Quarterly Sessions to guide the implementation of the national democratic revolution and serve as the standing platform for consultation on all major policy questions and considerations. The Alliance Political Council may directly, or indirectly through the Alliance Secretariat, establish any Alliance Working Group on a specific matter or specific aspects and determine its tenure, mode of operation or any necessary conditions for successful work.
13. Established practice has seen the Alliance Political Council play the role of the deployment organ of the Alliance. This is epitomised by the consultative process that was followed before the Cabinet was appointed following the 2019 May general election. This role has to be strengthened. The preceding provisions refer to quarterly evaluation of progress on the implementation of the national democratic revolution. These functions effectively make the Alliance Political Council the Alliance's custodian of deployment and accountability, including recall.
14. Each Alliance component has internal deployment and accountability mechanisms and/or organs. These should be strengthened and convergence should be built in the form of an **Alliance Deployment and Accountability Commission** which will perform its work in consultation with the Alliance Secretariat while, as an advisory

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body, reporting also to the Alliance Political Council. The Deployment and Accountability Commission requires Policy Monitoring and Evaluation capacity, technically and professionally, and therefore training and other necessary equipment to perform its functions. The Alliance Political Council, directly or through the Alliance Secretariat, should ensure that these and other necessary measures required for successful Deployment and Accountability Commission work are put in place.

Alliance Secretariat

15. The Alliance Secretariat is responsible for the co-ordinating functions of the Alliance Political Council and its strategic guidance as well as leadership role, including in relation to the convening of the Alliance Summit.
16. The Alliance Secretariat is, however, also a consensus-seeking consultative organ of the Alliance on day-to-day matters and has the duty to implement all such tasks assigned to it by the Alliance Political Council.
17. The Alliance Secretariat should therefore meet frequently, at least once per month.

Alliance Summit

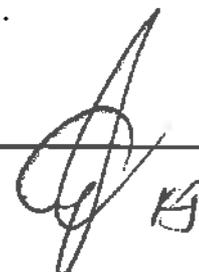
18. The Alliance Summit has a key role to play as the 'parliamentary-wing' of the motive forces of the national democratic revolution and therefore responsible for its overall direction, including legislative direction and associated policy development.
19. At the national level, at least one Alliance Summit per annum, preceded

by thorough preparations, research and performance evaluation under the direction of the Alliance Political Council and co-ordinating functions of the Alliance Secretariat suffices, provided it is convened based on the basis of proper planning. The Alliance Political Council may convene joint consultative conferences or other Alliance Summits, such as the Alliance Economic Policy Summit and Alliance Governance Summit, if the Alliance deems it necessary, and may similarly also establish any working group and technical task team.

20. The Alliance Political Council may extend the Alliance Summit to other progressive formations within the ambit of our broader movement and the necessity to unite the key motive forces of the national democratic revolution.
21. As a matter of principle, and to give play to the widest possible democratic consultation within the Alliance, election manifestos and guidelines should pass through the mechanisms of the Alliance Political Council and Alliance Summit, each in accordance with its role vis-à-vis the centrality of the Alliance to the national democratic revolution.

Alliance Bilateral Sessions

22. Alliance components do convene bilateral sessions from time to time on an as and when necessary basis or as agreed upon in joint planning session. The Alliance encourages this as part and parcel of its consensus-seeking consultative processes. The terms and agenda of the bilateral sessions are agreed upon by the respective Alliance components.



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ALLIANCE**Class leadership of the working-class as the main motive force of the national democratic revolution and organisational leadership of the ANC**

23. The Alliance is headed by the ANC organisationally, while the working-class has a class leadership role to play with regard to our project of broader social transformation, an indispensable part of the national democratic revolution. Alliance components¹ are at one with regard to this dialectical articulation of the Alliance and its leadership as well as that of its shared strategy, the national democratic revolution.
24. A conscious effort is required for the ANC and the working-class to play their organisational and class leadership roles, respectively. However, all Alliance components share the responsibility to ensure that the organisational leadership role of the ANC and the class leadership role of the working-class are played to the best of the required standards and objectives of our shared strategy of struggle.
25. Co-ordination of the Alliance is particularly important with regard to the organisational leadership of the ANC. This includes ensuring that electoral processes are Alliance electoral processes, both in form and content, theoretically and practically, led by the ANC, rather than exclusive ANC organisational processes. This requires adherence to both the letter and spirit of consensus-seeking consultation with other Alliance components, and in a proper manner within the framework of the Alliance's collective leadership organs.
26. Thus the architecture of our electoral processes, with elections as a common platform organisationally led by
- ANC, should be a collective outcome. The makeup of electoral lists should reflect the composition of the Alliance, and this necessarily requires all Alliance components to engage in internal democratic processes and present their determinations for finalisation by the Alliance as led organisationally by the ANC. The manifestos and subsequent policy direction should reflect the content and strategic tasks of the national democratic revolution and also be an outcome of consensus-seeking consultation as well as wider mobilisation of, and therefore consultation with the motive forces of the national democratic revolution.
27. Similarly, leadership to parliamentary, legislative and council representatives should be exercised by the Alliance as led organisationally by the ANC. This collective leadership process requires engagement and consensus-seeking consultation before all major decisions, including voting on major questions within these parliamentary, legislative and council bodies.
28. In a similar manner, the Alliance should foster joint programmes and campaigns, including but not limited to cadre development, community development and policy development campaigns.
- Mutatis mutandis**
29. The minimum principles of effective functioning at the national level of the Alliance shall apply mutatis mutandis at all sub-national levels, with improvements, as a matter of principle, the only variations allowed.
- 1 On the part of the ANC see, for example, *Its Strategy and Tactics adopted in December 2017 at its 54th National Conference.*

Improving the Quality of Life of Citizens and leaving no-one behind in human capability development (HCD)

Discussion Paper on Human Capabilities Development

(Inputs from: Education, Health, Science and Technology, Labour, PSA, Social and Economic)

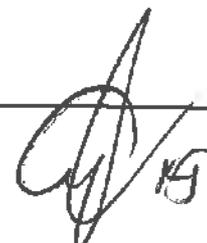
1. Introduction

This discussion paper is written in terms of Rule 10.6 and 10.8 of the ANC Constitution and in preparation for the 5th National General Council (NGC) whose aim is to assess the implementation of conference resolutions, policies and key programs adopted by the organization. The paper mainly focusses on the aspect of human capabilities development (HCD) necessary to affirm a people centred and a people driven national development agenda towards the National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030.

Whilst the NDP also identified Education, Health and Science & Technology as key inputs for HCD, other sectors are equally critical as HCD straddles the sectors of social transformation, economic transformation, Governance and the Environmental sectors. It is acknowledged that the Policy and Drafting SubCommittees will facilitate a process to harmonise the various discussion papers for coherence, towards the NEC prior to circulation to branches.

The 54th Conference recognized that the course of social transformation in SA is taking place in a global environment characterised by contradictory tendencies in terms of human development and the crisis of neo-liberal capitalism. Concern was noted of declining legitimacy of political and business elites globally consequential to their inability to address the fundamental questions of social inequality and declining social ethics amongst others.

It must be recalled that the National Democratic Revolution seeks to abolish a combination of sources of social conflict emanating from antagonistic and interrelated social contradictions of race, class and patriarchy which characterised Apartheid as Colonialism of a Special Type. The NDR thus have both national and democratic tasks and must continually strive to realise shared prosperity, social justice and human solidarity.



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HUMAN CAPABILITIES DEVELOPMENT

The human capability approach is a theoretical framework that entails two core normative claims:

- first that the freedom of citizens to attain socio-economic well-being is of primary moral importance, and
- second, that freedom of citizens to attain this well-being is to be understood in terms of people's capabilities.

This theory is a revolutionary contribution by a Nobel Prize winner, Amartya Sen and others to development economics and social indicators in his article *Equality of What*. He argues that political freedom, education, conducive environment, equality and standard of living must also be key considerations, in addition to economic growth when considering development. It is now acceptable to argue that the performance of governments should be measured against the concrete capabilities of their citizens and that poverty thus be viewed as deprivation of their basic capability. This argument underpins the notion of a developmental state.

In its 2019 Human Development Report entitled ***Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today – Inequalities in Human Development in the 21st Century***, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) cites the developmental cost of not investing equitably in human capabilities by stating that *'inequalities in human development hurt societies and weaken social cohesion and people's trust in government, institutions and each other'*. Further that *'inequalities hurt economies, wastefully preventing people from reaching their full potential at work and in life thus making it harder for political decisions to reflect the aspirations of the whole society and to protect our planet, as the few pulling ahead flex their power to shape decisions primarily in their interests.'*

The Human Development Index (HDI), which *"was created to emphasize that people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country, not economic growth alone"* stems from the capability approach to development, which is defined by its focus on *"the moral significance of individuals' capability of achieving the kind of lives they have reason to value"* (Wells, 2020). This distinguishes it from more established approaches that tend to be defined by their utilitarianism, which tends to focus almost exclusively on the subjective well-being or the availability of "means to the good life" (Wells, 2020). A person's capability to live a good life is defined in terms of the set of valuable 'beings and doings' like being in good health. In this regard, as indicated above, 'poverty' is taken as *"deprivation in the capability to live a good life,"* whilst 'development' is meant to bring about a *"capability expansion"* (Wells, 2020).

Like-minded policy thinking has informed multilateral developmental initiatives, most prominently the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and subsequently the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). An underlying and driving assumption in this regard is the notion of agency transcending exclusively economic measures. Subsequent scholars, for example, have highlighted the distinction between agency and well-being. Claassen (2009: 422) notes that *"it is one thing for a person to have a high level of well-being (however determined), it is quite another to be an agent, which means, roughly, to lead a life in which one decides for oneself what to do."* This chimes with Thandika Mkandawire's

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insistence on a democratic developmental state in the African context and against theories which "suppress freedom in the name of development" (2011: 12). The UNDP points that "inequalities in human development are a defining bottleneck in achieving the 2030 UN Goals for Sustainable Development."

On the other hand, scholars such as Evans note that "in the coming century, state capacity will have an even greater role to play in societal success than it did in the last century" and that the "'state-society synergy' that was crucial to 20th-century industrial transformation – dense networks of ties connecting the state to industrial elites – will have to be replaced by a much broader, much more "bottom-up" set of state-society ties to secure developmental success" (2014: 84). In this regard, the ANC's 2017 '**Strategy and Tactics**' document sees democracy coinciding with state capacity; whilst noting that the ANC "seeks to build democracy with social content, underpinned by a capable developmental state" (p. 7), the document also observes that: "For [the state] to exercise leadership, the state should be networked among all sectors of society. This embeddedness should be combined with autonomy in policy development and decision-making. While the democratic state in principle seeks to facilitate societal consensus, it should be able to take a firm stand in the national interest, where such agreement cannot be reached" (p. 22). Recent developments presented by the Corona virus disease of 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic have demonstrated the centrality of the State globally in creating social cohesion and human solidarity in the balancing act of saving the lives and livelihoods of citizens globally.

In the South African context, though the ANC is agile and pragmatic in the use of theory, the focus has been on addressing the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment, which correlates with SDGs 1 (poverty elimination), 8 (unemployment), and 10 (addressing social inequality), driven by uniquely South African imperatives and modalities. The NDP Vision 2030 also has largely considered social security net, skills development and quality health inputs by the government as contributing to the development of the capabilities of citizens. Similarly, the ANC emphasises that "**in addition to issues related to income and cost of living, social policy is fundamental to ensuring that all South Africans enjoy a decent standard of living. The core approach in this regard is to improve human capabilities and ensure equal opportunities for all**" (ANC 'Strategy and Tactics', 2017: 23).

The South Africa National Development Plan Vision (NDP) 2030 has largely considered the social security net and skills development inputs by the government as contributing to the human capability of citizens; their resilience and the envisioned sustainable people-centred development that advances the motive force, whom we intend on alleviating, and who are the ones left behind, and increasingly so and continue living hand to mouth and not able to provide and are thus not capable. The African Union (AU) Development Agenda 2063 and United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030 to which South Africa is signatory to, do encompass the objectives of human capability development being central.

As part recognition of the need for renewal, the Strategy and Tactics adopted at the 54th National Conference states that: the main goal of state transformation is 'building a

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developmental state that provides effective basic services and with capabilities to take forward a far-reaching agenda of national economic development, whilst at the same time placing people and their involvement at the centre of this process" (p. 42), whilst also observing that: "The ANC needs to demonstrate in actual practice its commitment to speeding up fundamental transformation." In addition to strategically strengthening the Alliance and mobilizing the progressive forces in society, the ANC has "to shore up its own capacity, honestly identify and correct its weaknesses and revitalise its public image. Bland reassurances that are then negated by the very conduct of leaders and members will worsen the decline; and, among the people, they will merely generate irreverent humour" ('Strategy and Tactics', 2017: p. 16). The posture, actions and impact of the state that the ANC leads are to be measured by the extent to which the inherent capacity is directed to eliminate inequality, eradicate poverty and ensure the well-being of all citizens. The ANC must demonstrate its capability in this regard and lead the way for ordinary citizens, who are the electorate, to assess the capability of the state and to hold it accountable.

This paper reviews the current socio-economic conjuncture, the outputs and impact of work done over the 25 years of democracy and in particular since the 54th ANC Conference held in NASREC 2017. The paper acknowledges the significant effort and resources deployed in these the past twenty-five years, that presented in various initiatives including investment of large portions of its budget in Education, Health and Innovation as well as providing a Social Security net in social grants and housing amongst others in support of the vulnerable in society. These investments, however, do not measure at all against the growing poverty, unemployment and inequality that results in the dependency on the State even for those that have undergone state-funded skills and training programs. The NEC Subcommittee was emphatic that this phenomenon of divergence between investments in human capabilities development and continues increase of poverty and inequality, requires more study involving also social scientists, in addition to what many believe that we should attribute it mainly to the structural economic constraints that remain as unfinished business in dismantling of the deep-rooted stranglehold of the Colonial-Apartheid system that protects a white minority male citizens, whilst leaving the majority blacks and women behind in poverty and desperation.

2. Background

As the saying goes – 'if you can't measure it, you can't achieve it'. The analysis presented herein is extracted from various studies and reports but primarily from the UNDP Development Report of 2019 and the SA 25 Year Review Report of 2020 both of which documented trends mainly up to 2018. Whilst the UNDP report ranked the country at 7th (out of 54) on the continent in terms of the United Nations' Human Development Index (HDI) and 113th globally (out of 189 countries). SA is thus ranked within the category average of countries with High Human Development (HHD) but below the category average. Other categories include Very High Human Development (VHHD), Medium Human Development (MHD) and Low Human Development (LHD). Of note however is that the Inequality Adjusted for Life expectancy, Education and Income is 0.463 compared to the average for HHD which is 0.615. The Coefficient for Human inequality is 31,4 which is much higher than the VHHD, HHD, MHD and LHD averages of 10.5, 17.5, 30.9 and 20 respectively. This makes SA not only the most unequal society but an extremely, grossly and

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scandalously an unequal society. What concerns most is that the overall loss in HDI due to inequality in South Africa is very high at 34.4% depicting the severe negative impact of the infamous triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality on the lives of ordinary citizens.

The South African population growth figure stands at an average of 1.38% per year in the last decade. At the same time, however, the country's unemployment rate has increased; from about 7% in the mid-1970s to 13% in the mid-1990s and 25% in the late 2000s and to more than 29% in 2019, making South Africa's unemployment rate one of the highest in the world. This takes place against the backdrop of the population of Africa increasing rapidly from an estimated 140 million in 1900 to a billion by 2010. According to the United Nations "medium scenario" projections, this figure will rise to 2.5 billion in 2050 and more than 4 billion in 2100. The population of Africa is increasing because the fertility rate outnumbers the mortality rate by a ratio of four to one, creating a possibility of a demographic dividend from its youthfulness with estimates that its urban population may exceed the European in a few decades. Especially in urban areas, housing projects in South Africa are not reducing the percentage of households living in informal dwellings with 81,1% formal dwellings recorded in 2018 households that have received some kind of government subsidy to access housing has increased from 5,6% in 2002 to 13,6% by 2018, 13,1% of households were still living in informal dwellings. While the population has increased by 1,3% per annum over the period 2002-2018, the number of households increased by 2,4% per annum over the same period, a growth of 48,9% over the period. Since households are the basic units for service delivery, rapid unplanned household growth will constrain the delivery of basic services. More than one-quarter (25,7%) of households consisted of a single person, while 62% of households contained three or fewer members. Of serious concern is that the persistent structural economic constraints continue impoverishing blacks who are the majority of the population at a household income level. If primarily the majority blacks, women, youth and the working class in general are not put in states of capability, SA is unlikely to recover for a long time from the current impact of COVID-19 pandemic and the economic recession, realise the demographic dividend nor significantly benefit its population from the regionalisation of the economy.



Figure 2: Annual Household Income

Source: Statistics South Africa. 2017. Living Conditions Survey 2014-15.

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Social grants remain a vital safety net with % who benefitted from a social grant increased with 31% of persons benefitted from a grant in 2018, 44,3% of the household received one or more grants. Grants were the second most important source of income (45,2%) for households after salaries (64,8%), and the main source of income for almost one-fifth (19,9%) of households nationally.

Life expectancy at birth whilst on the increase in SA with what is referred to as an epidemiological miracle, it is at similar levels of 1990 at 63,9 which is below the HHD average, this is mainly as the result of poor management of the HIV pandemic in earlier years. The Health Expenditure is at 8,1% of GDP, higher than the HHD average of 5,8%, however, the impact remains poor mainly due to HIV, a fragmented health system, the capability of the state, corruption and social determinants of health. Child malnutrition rate is 27,4 which is also worse than the HHD average of 15 even worse than countries such as Ghana at 18,8, Chile at 1,8 and China at 8,1. HIV prevalence is higher only than Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland at 18,8 % and much higher than the HHD average of 1,2%. Child mortality rate whilst on the decline is at 37,1% (60,9 in 1990, 84 in 2005 and 59,3 in 2010) is still higher than the HHD average of 16,1%. Linked to this are considerations on health and wellness as being unhealthy disadvantages the ability to work productively; there is a high disease burden with an estimated 5.7% of the GDP of the country is lost due to depression and South Africa is ranked 106/156 globally on the Happiness Index. Access to health care significantly improved with universal access to Primary Health Care provided and with regulations on tobacco related health problems are on the decline, including related cancer and chronic obstructive respiratory diseases.

The Gender Development Index is 0,984 which is between the VHHD of 0,979 and HHD of 0,960 averages. However, the estimated Gross National Income (GNI) per capita for females is lower than the HHD at 9036 (2018) a decline from 9328 (2014). The males estimated GNI per capita is however higher than females, even though still lower than the HHD average of 18272(2018) at 14554 (2018) also a decline from 14975 (2015). The male suicide rate is 21.7 (higher than all country averages) whilst Female suicide rate 5.1 (lower than the VHHD and HHD). This depicts a very gloomy picture of gender inequality with also the estimated GNI per capita of both males and females in South Africa on the decline.

Education expenditure is at 6,1% of GDP, which is even higher than the average of countries with VHH. Gross enrolment ratios at tertiary level are at 20 (primary 102 and secondary 100). This is much lower than Chile at 91, China at 51 and the HHD average of 46. The primary school drop-out rate is 20,3 which is even higher than the MHD at 18,1. The survival rate to the last grade of the lower secondary general education is however high at 93% even higher than the average of countries with VHHD of 91. Of note, South Africa is not reporting on the important indicators of pupil-teacher ratios, primary school teachers trained to teach and percentage of primary schools with access to the internet. Internet users as a total of the population, however, is 56,2% and amongst the highest in the continent and lower than both Russia at 80,9% and 67,5% amongst the BRICS countries. Of significance in respect of connectivity, access communication and the digital economy, South Africa mobile phone subscription rate is at 153,3%.

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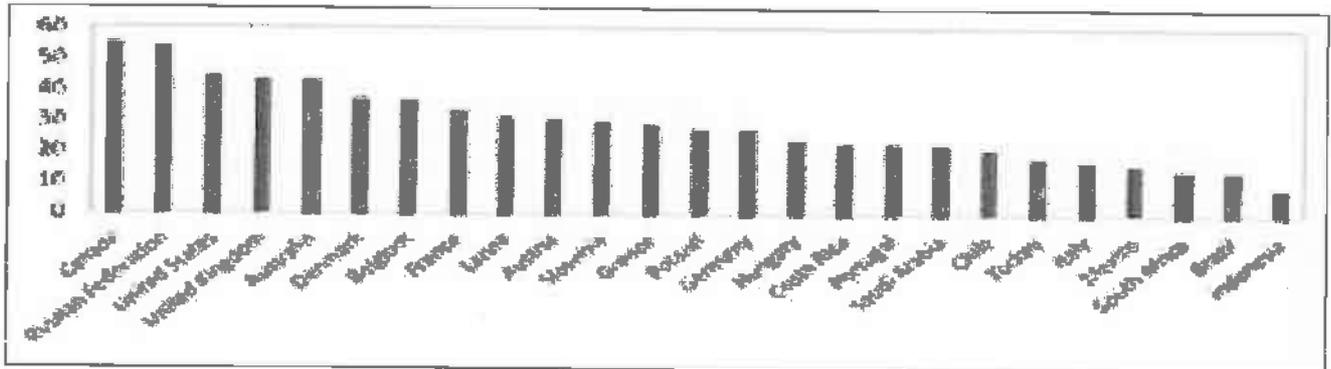


Figure 1: Proportion of population aged between 25 and 64 years with tertiary education in 2015.

Source: **OECD, 2016.** <https://data.oecd.org/eduatt/population-with-tertiary-education.htm>

Two-thirds of learners attend **no-fee schools** but still lack of money still contributes to dropping out. The percentage of learners that attended no-fee schools increased from 21,4% in 2007 to 67,2% by 2018. Almost one-quarter (24,2%) of learners who have dropped out from school before the age of 18 years, however, offered a lack of money ('no money for fees') as the main reason. According to the report more than three-quarters (77,1%) of learners who attended public schools benefited from school feeding schemes in 2018, compared to 63,1% in 2009. Learners in Limpopo (91,2%), Eastern Cape (89,7%), Mpumalanga (87,8%) and Northern Cape (82,6%) were the most likely to benefit from this program.

Educational attainment continues to improve. The percentage of individuals aged 20 years and older who did not have any education decreased from 11,4% in 2002 to 4,5% in 2018, while those with at least a grade 12 qualification increased from 30,5% to 45,2% over the same period.

The report shows an increase in the percentage of households that was **connected to the electricity supply** from the mains from 76,7% in 2002 to 84,7% in 2018, was accompanied by a decrease in the use of wood (20,0% to 7,7%) and paraffin (16,1% to 3,6%) over the same period

Despite early gains in the provision of **water, provision slowed down notably after 2014.** Although the percentage of households with access to an improved source of water only increased by less than five percentage points between 2002 and 2018 (growing from 84,4% to 89,0%), the increases were much more notable in Eastern Cape (+19,0 percentage points) and KwaZulu-Natal (+11,2 percentage points). The GHS report further shows that a percentage of households with access to **improved sanitation** increased by an 21,3 percentage points between 2002 and 2018, growing from 61,7% to 83,0%.

The South African government adopted the NDP vision 2030 perspective of a developmental state whose centrality is an active citizenry with a capable state that enables their effective participation in the socio-economic development of the country and in nation-building. Beyond the protection of the constitutional human rights of all citizens,

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various initiatives have been undertaken in areas of early childhood, education, health and youth development. These initiatives include , but not limited to , the Prioritization of the First 1000 Days of every Child’s Life; Improving the quality of Education, Connectivity of schools, Broadening access to higher education with a priority focus on TVETs, Skills Revolution targeting the youth NEETs, Re-skilling of the workforce in the context of the 4th Industrial Revolution and the Changing World of Work; Universal Health Coverage(UHC) and National Health Insurance , Reducing the Burden of Disease as well as investing in Research and Innovation.

Whilst even Treasury noted nearly a decade ago that **“high youth unemployment means young people are not acquiring the skills or experience needed to drive the economy forward”**, this is a demonstration that the South African government in its stance as a developmental state has understood the centrality of skills development and productivity considering the country’s history, its present realities, and its aim of achieving the National Democratic Society. Various initiatives aimed at transformation have been undertaken, including the skills levy, establishment TVETs, scarce skills funding, NSFAS, the NYDA, Skills Development Summit among others. At the same time, it has been observed that we stand on the cusp of the fourth industrial revolution which will transform the needed skill-set of the populace.

There is an urgent need to resolve this conundrum of high unemployment rate on one hand and a critical skills gap on the other is given urgency by the 8 million “NEETS” in the country; young people aged 15 to 35 years who are not in education, nor employment nor training who have gone up from 2.8 million people (41.6%) in 2010. Furthermore, only about 30% of youth go on to seek education after basic schooling. The ANC having noted in the NASREC Conference in 2017 that *“the challenges of new technology and the 4th industrial revolution require a revolutionary approach to training and skills development,”* and therefore *“initiatives that accelerate the placement of youth in employment opportunities that generate skills and experience should be intensified”* (p. 33).

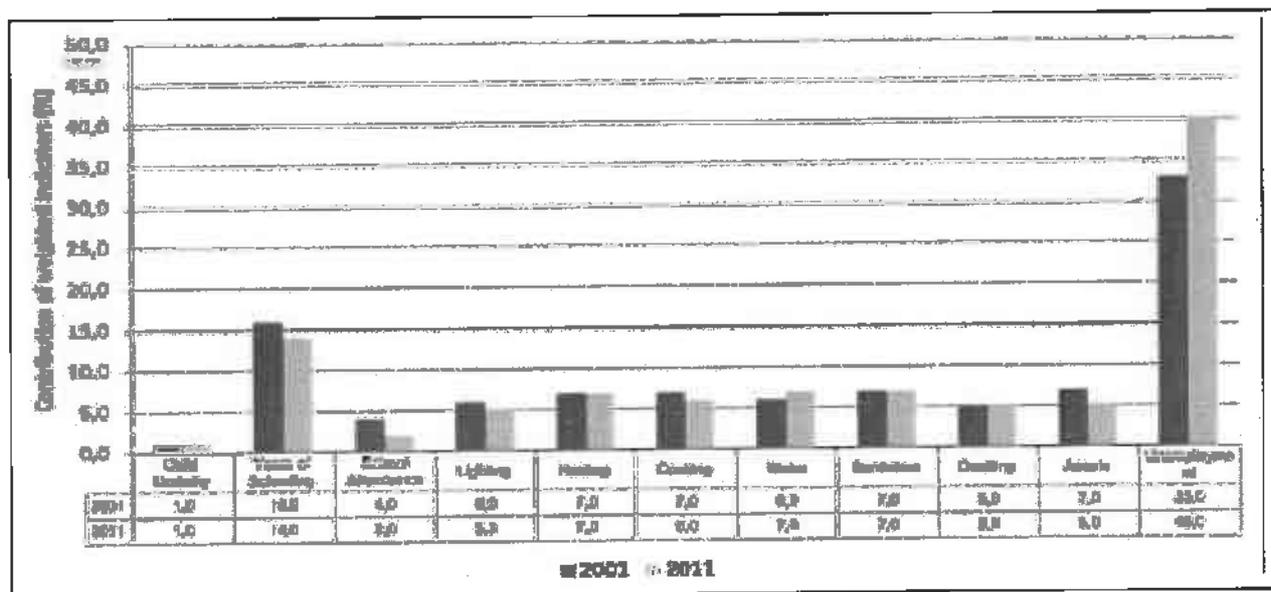


Figure 3: Unemployment remains the largest contributor to poverty.

Source: Stats SA.2015. Millennium Development Goals Country Close Out Report for South Africa.

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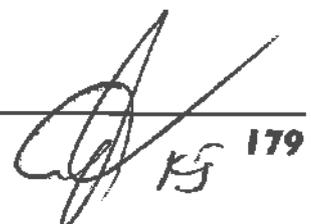
Further, initiatives to create an enabling environment for optimal development and productivity of citizens include Free Primary Health Care, Programs to combat communicable and non-communicable diseases as well as the enhancement of the social security net such as child support grants, free housing etc.

Despite the policy framework, plans, programs and investments much of these efforts aimed at improving human capabilities and shared growth in South Africa have not yet yielded the desired impact. One of the underlying reasons hampering progress has been cited as the **lack of coordination** within government, across public-private – civil society sectors. The recently adopted policy on a District Development Model aims to rectify this coordination flaws. Lessons must, however, be taken on why the capability of citizens was not enhanced in past similar initiatives such as Reconstruction and Development, Millennium Development Goals, Urban and Rural Development Programs, Targeted Development Nodes and Corridors as well as the recent Presidential Infrastructure Program and Phakisa interventions. There are however success stories that need to be leveraged including at sub-national levels such as the Sukuma-Sakhe and other provincial and local initiatives

There is currently a colliding of three storms that will possibly result in an unprecedented economic depression and enormous social distress on the lives of South Africans, if a business as usual attitude continues. These storms relate to:

- firstly, the protracted poor economic performance that resulted in the downgrading of the sovereign credit rating of South Africa to sub-investment
- secondly, the severe impact on the economy resultant from the COVID-19 pandemic
- thirdly, the emergent new world of the 4th Industrial Revolution which will likely shed more jobs.

The country is at a crossroads of either sinking in the looming storm of economic depression or rising like a proverbial sphinx from the ashes of the triple challenges (poverty, unemployment and inequality) compounded by COVID-19 pandemic and the recession. The COVID-19 pandemic disaster response of South Africa has demonstrated that with political will, the **state does** have the capacity to foster unity and singularly focus the nation on surviving together, leaving no-one behind. The President's capability to ensure collective leadership across political parties and sectors for a common national interest, all-of-government response and human solidarity should be commended. The initiatives of the President on the various Compacts (Jobs, Investment, Health, Gender etc) and on the District Development Model require that the country continues to build on this capability and harness the totality of the State and Societal capacity towards **localised impact** for the wellbeing of citizens – where they live, work and do business. COVID-19 should not be allowed to erode instead it should consolidate this National Solidarity to survive the impending economic recession. Borrowing from the UNDP Human Resources Report of 2019, this moment beckons leadership to mount a bold response to protect the rights of citizens to quality lives beyond policies, beyond institutions and across all communities.

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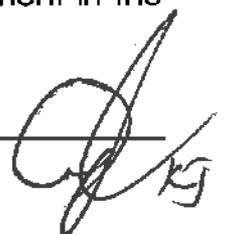
Frankly speaking, South Africa's lack of substantive progress and lag behind major developing countries with regard to the development of her human capabilities cannot be justifiable. The Colonial-Apartheid legacy, albeit it devastated the lives of the majority of citizens over three centuries, can no longer alone be an acceptable reason why there is a deterioration and not in some of the aspects of the quality of life of citizens in the 25 years of democracy. South Africans are not adequately capacitated and empowered to drive the necessary radical socio-economic transformation for shared growth, inclusive society and to begin enjoying equitably in the prosperity of their relatively mineral-rich country. The various identified objective and subjective factors need to be tackled within the wonderful policies, programs and interventions. The moment is now to tackle decisively the undesirable tendencies of incompetency, mediocrity, greed, corruption and lack of accountability within the ANC and in throughout the State institutions and Society. As engagements with other subcommittees in May 2020 have showcased, there is a growing trust deficit in the population's perception of the ANC by critical stakeholders and emotive forces such as the poor, marginalised, and the youth.

Let us be inspired by one of the dynamic courageous and developmental activist women of our times who is a Nobel Peace Laureate Wangari Maathai when she said *"In the course of history, there comes a time when humanity is called to shift to a new level of consciousness, to reach higher moral ground. A time when we have to shed our fear and give hope to each other. **That time is now.**"*

The mandate of the 54th National Conference was founded on the premise that as the ANC and the Nation a choice was made not to fear and fight amongst ourselves but to unite with hope and create together a new dawn – that the moment of Unity and Renewal for Socio-economic transformation had arrived and must not be wasted. COVID19 pandemic and the looming economic depression calls for a greater sense of urgency and national unity lest the decline that has been witnessed over the past years since the global recession of 2008 continues to a point of irreversibility in the lifetime of this generation.

3. Assessment of the Implementation of Resolutions

An effective organisation is characterised by its ability to track and monitor the implementation of its own decisions, especially by leadership mandated by their own members who form the consciousness of their communities. One of the constraining factors is that whereas Departments had provided reports on their extensive work, it is not always clear how inputs and activities will eventually result in the desired outputs, outcomes and least on impact. The NEC would have to review and strengthen the Monitoring Systems and Accountability Tools. The 25 Years of Democracy in SA Review Report has assisted in as far as performance trends as outlined above up to 2018 complemented by the 2019 UNDP Report on Human Development Report. This report acknowledges that there is work in progress and further that the COVID-19 pandemic has presented a disaster of global proportion which was imported to South Africa due to global movement of citizens. The report provides both a high-level summary and a detailed assessment in the annexure reflecting performance on resolutions since the 54th Conference.



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The Scientific Research, Technology and Innovation sector has since 2017, realised a slight increase in expenditure to 0,85% of GDP against the 1,5% resolution of the 54th Conference. It must also be borne in mind that for South Africa the ideal for global competitiveness is a 5% investment. The Presidential 4th Industrial Revolution Commission has been established and made recommendations on how the country can move much more decisively and speedily to remain competitive as well as to build capacity for the new skills required. Whilst it is fact that both public and private Sectors continue to underfund research in the country, there is also concern that significant investments are not aligned to policy and socio-economic imperatives, especially with government programs. The other big challenge is that government procurement regulations and practices do not enable the preferential use of locally developed innovations and thus resulting in paralysis in transforming critical sectors of government consumption such as Pharmaceutical and Technological innovations.

The failure of the government to connect all schools means many students are locked out from using technology to learn or from being equipped to take part in the 4IR. The curriculum changes to prepare learners for the 4IR will have limited impact if the country does not ensure all schools are connected and data costs are reduced. The introduction of coding and robotics in public schools need to be welcome and the progress in government funding of research aligned to the socio-economic transformation and developmental agenda remains critical. The Basic Education sector continues to inspire the nation on the matric pass rate that has not only reached the highest at above 80% last year in for the 2019 Matriculates, but has also lifted the historically poor performing rural and township schools to excel including in the STEM subjects. Two key challenges remain poor performance at primary school level as well as concerning delays due to funding in incorporating ECD into the formal education system.

The link between the basic education, higher education and the world of work/business remain the strangle in the education system that continues to produce young people who have gone through at least 15 years of training only to be unemployed and desti-

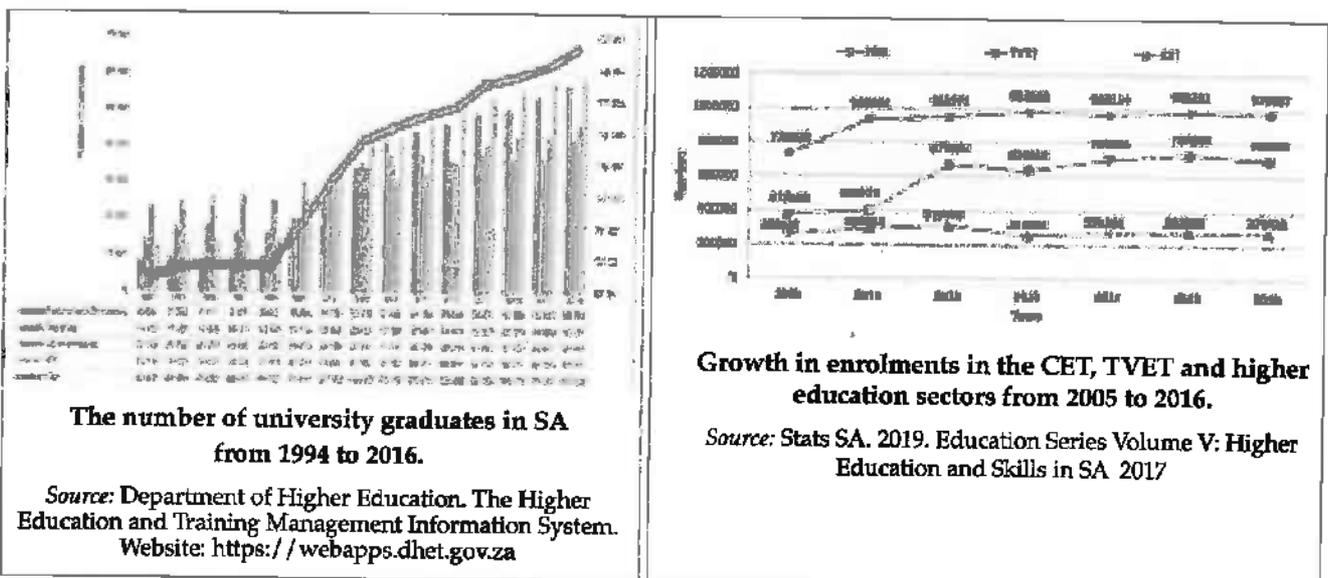


Figure 4: Whilst access to higher education has been impressive, the enrolment ratios are skill skewed and lag behind the 20:80 University: TVET/CET split.

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tute from poverty. We need to acknowledge the improvements registered in the reduced drop-out rates for NSFAS funded students and the increased funding for TVET Colleges. The quality of training still requires focussed and urgent attention especially to ensure that the graduates of TVET and CET colleges complete both theory and practical work supervised by the very training institutions. There is a need however, to ensure improvements in the quality of training especially in the TVETs and Colleges.

The funding of higher education is still skewed towards Universities. The higher education institutions are faced with the need to respond to the transformation demands especially in their relevance in creating knowledge that assist in resolving real problems that society faces and using instruments such as student funding policy targeted at producing skills for the current and future needs of the economy.

The life expectancy of South Africans continues to rise since the bold and decisive action was taken to control the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Of significance is that the District of UMkhanyakude in KZN is the first in the country to achieve the HIV 90-90-90 target set by UNAIDS in the Global effort to reach herd immunity. Despite concerns over stunting indicating child malnutrition, Child and Maternal mortality rates continue to decline.

More still needs to be done to reduce the high disease burden of diseases of lifestyle, trauma, children and mothers as well as of TB. Faced by yet another pandemic the South African response to the COVID-19 pandemic has tested the capacity of the Health System that was still trying to cope with sustaining the lives of South Africans amidst a high disease burden, shortages of staff, fragmented health system and underfunded public services. The District Health System has proven to be a necessary investment as the COVID-19 pandemic response utilize its vast numbers of Ward Based Primary Health Care Teams in the mass screening and testing intervention.

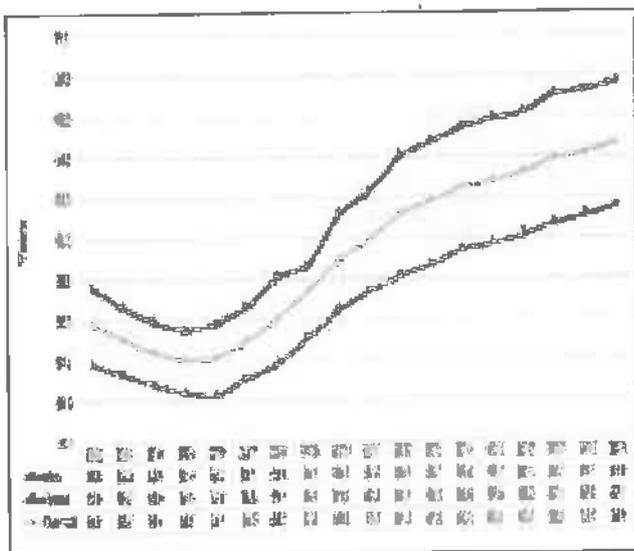


Figure 5: Life expectancy at birth for South Africans, 2002-2019.
Source: Adapted from StatsSA, Mid-year population estimates, 2019.

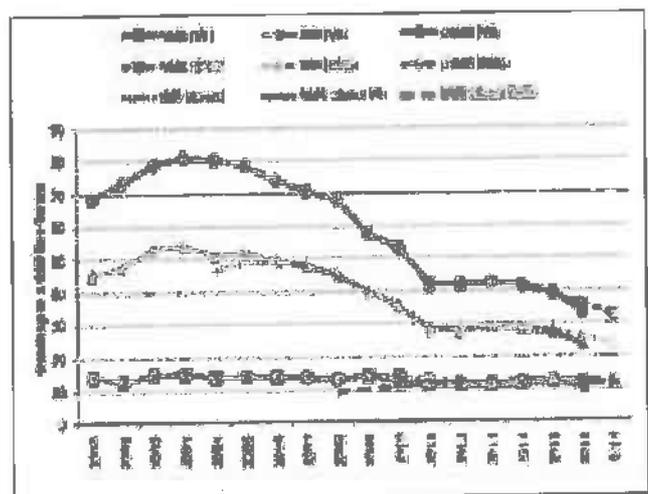


Figure 6: U5MR and IMR from VR/RMS and neonatal mortality rate (NMR) from VR/DHIS, 2000-2017.
Source: Dorrington RE Bradshaw D, Laubscher R, Nannan N (2019). Rapid mortality surveillance report 2017. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.

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Prior to this, Cabinet in advancing Universal Health Coverage and Quality Health for All policies, approved the NHI Bill which now Parliamentary Public Hearings have been concluded on in all nine provinces. Preparations for the hearing were led by an NEC Task Team which ran workshops for the organization from the ANC NEC, PECs, RECs and for BECs to Alliance, Business, Workers, Civil Society, Professionals and Communities. This extensive Joint Alliance led campaign created excitement and hope amongst ordinary citizens who went all out to attend public hearings and making written submissions. This campaign helped dispel misinformation and fake news intended to mislead ordinary for narrow interests of the few, especially those whose profit margins have been excessive as they amass wealth by extracting the much needed medical care resources from the unsuspecting citizens. The ANC led Alliance listened to many accounts of citizens whose medical insurance get depleted in the middle of a therapeutic intervention, regardless of whether acute or chronic, and how the majority of South Africans decried the delays in introducing the NHI that must be based on the principles of solidarity, quality and equity for all citizens. A comprehensive report on the NHI campaign awaits availability of resources but the process has begun.

Given the results yielded by the ANC Subcommittee on Education, Health, Science and Technology (with 50% of resolutions still not complete), Science, Technology and Innovation (62.5% complete; 31.25% in progress; 6.25% completed), Basic Education (68.96% incomplete; 20.68% in progress; 10.34% completed), Higher Education and Training: 61.29% incomplete; 25.8% in progress; 12.9% completed) and Health (81.81% incomplete; 9.09% in progress; 9.09% completed), it is evident that the implementation of resolutions is lagging. One of the constant challenges identified was the lack of uniform reporting and the consistent subjective interpretation of resolutions. Indeed, some reports cited resolutions from a conference ago, whilst others appeared to be introducing resolutions of their own. Reportage is a critical issue, with many reports being verbose and, in some instances, irrelevant and tangential. Whilst showing the need for a non-dogmatic approach and agility in implementation, it also demonstrates the need for a capable state and organisation, with measures for accountability. As the governing party, the ANC, in cooperation with the Alliance, the MDM and other progressive stakeholders has an indispensable role in building a people-centred, developmental South Africa with a focus on improving human capabilities for radical socio-economic renewal, inclusive growth and nation-building amidst a changing industrial landscape and economy with trends nationally and globally.

There is no doubt that as the COVID-19 infections peak, the capacity of the Human Resources and Hospital Services will be accordingly tested and thus with the added beds in stadia amongst other sites, the call has been made for doctors, nurses and other health workers to volunteer in saving the lives of our people. The collaborative efforts of across the Public and Private Sectors does give hope for the NHI as envisaged by the NDP and the SGD UHC, to succeed in our country. SA scientists have joined the global effort of a vaccine and research in combatting COVID-19 and more efforts are also required to implement the resolution on vaccine-preventable diseases. This is the time to reaffirm Primary Health Care, fully unlock the value of the Cuban Medical Training System and welcome the support for preventative medicine approach.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'GJ', is written over a horizontal line. To the right of the signature, the initials 'RJS' and the year '183' are written.

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Concerns remain over the capability of the State to unlock the huge investments in the Health, Education and Training as well as in Research and Innovation to catalyse radical socio-economic interventions towards inclusive and shared growth in the country. Whilst Health and Basic Education operate largely on a District Based approach, better coordination, meritocracy, accountability and decisive action against incompetent, corrupt and non-evidence based actions require continued attention. The review of the public service administration that has begun should be fast-tracked do tackle the inherent structural weaknesses in the public service performance management system and, working with the dedicated anti-corruption multi-agency team (focussed in the health sector initially), efforts to uproot the culture of corruption must be seen to be done. The DDM will also consolidate the national societal partnerships on education to a local level and assist communities to defend the right of their children to education and thus the protection of the schooling program and the relevant infrastructure in keeping with the old adage that ***'It takes a village to raise a child'***.

In concluding this section, there is need to address the legacy of organizational lethargy and lack of tenacity in seeing through the implementation of broadly consulted policies that are taken at conference by delegates from branches. Often, these policies are lauded by fraternal liberation organizations and others globally. Since the 54th Conference, resolutions were translated into government policy, the election manifesto and the MTEF priorities. The impact of COVID19 Disaster need to be urgently assessed and any interventions guided by the principles of protecting all citizens from hunger and destitute circumstances as well as ensuring that the opportunity to tackle poverty, unemployment and inequality is not lost. To date the trust deficit is being closed by the leadership of government in fighting COVID19 and this leadership is expected by the majority of citizens who were trapped, even before the pandemic, by circumstance that continue to erode their quality of life, capabilities and dignity.

4. Organizational and State Capacity

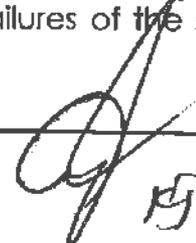
This paragraph reflects on possible missed opportunities, from hindsight, to advance the quality of life of citizens either from the organizational or government platforms. A missed opportunity is a chance that presented and was, for one reason or another, not taken full advantage of. This science of hindsight is extracted from benchmarking and seeking inputs of others. In short, be prepared to learn and act on the lessons learnt. In the case of the ANC as a governing party, these lessons are always viewed from the lens of a revolutionary quest to succeed in improving the lives of people for the better and the prosperity of our nation.

In as much as there is a necessary call for the capability and reliability of the state, the role and responsibilities of the ANC as the governing party that is democratically elected is even much more critical in the needs to be rigorously relooked at even at this stage. There is urgency in sparing no effort and doing all that is ethical, impactful and inspiring to close the trust deficit through having a reliable and capable governing party and the state to implement the resolutions mandated by members and their communities.

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Areas of weakness, chronic underperformance and failure to manage the implementation of resolutions that are potentially equalising forces with a high impact but are multi-dimensional and dictates a dynamic multi-sectoral multi-stakeholder approach for success, require a deep examination to be mitigated as the capacity of the state is discussed. Some examples include:

- 4.1 The ANC may need to establish a much more scientifically rigorous system to monitor the translation of the various resolutions (which are informed by an extensive consultation process of policy review involving experts, branches and the public into the Policy Conferences) into government policies and programs and that the ANC must pay more attention to its own subjective weaknesses in this regard and need to be accountable for the impact of its own policies. The continued lack of ANC capacity, including the Sub-Committee system to effectively monitor those deployed to the government due to lack of adequate full-time support system and resources – if indeed this is the moment not to waste, the institutionalization of a monitoring and evaluation system on the lauded policies and plans of the ANC, based on resolutions of Conferences, must be prioritised.
- 4.2 Dynamic use of the capacity in municipal councils, legislatures and parliament to strengthen constituency work and oversight to augment the organizational capacity of the committee system can be improved. The cost benefit of the Parliamentary Constituency Offices and Standard Operating Procedures in identifying areas of need amongst communities and sectors (including in ward committees, clinic committees, hospital boards, school governing bodies, policing forums) was done and there is a need to review why the PCO system is failing the poor and most vulnerable in key areas of human capability development. The most likely is that the elite in the organization become gatekeepers and dispense patronage to their own cronies leaving the majority of citizens trapped in a whirlwind of corruption, incompetence and continued suffering. A more rigorous system must be considered and a zero tolerance for corruption, patronage and abuse of the poor and vulnerable must be seen and not only heard.
- 4.3 The implementation of the resolutions on capacitating the deployed cadres through the Political School system is even more relevant in the implementation of resolutions intended to unleashing the human capabilities so that they thrive and participate in the country's developmental agenda optimally. The persistent failure of the ANC to prioritise funding political education relevant to capacitate deployed cadres to be effective and accountable – whilst there was a huge fanfare on the launch of the OR Tambo Political School, there was no prioritization of funding and now the Head of the School is back in government with an additional team to run the school professionally as envisage, not realised.
- 4.4 The continued silo approach in the implementation of the first-1000 days program of a child program and other ECD programs, including the delays in transferring ECD to Basic Education Department – the culture of a minimalistic silo approach might have resulted in the eradication of severe malnutrition but has left a generation to wrestle with the consequence of stunting. The recent squabbles between national, provincial and local governments on enabling communities to access the potable water already in tankers in their communities as part of the COVID-19 response should be made a case study and used to resolve structural failures of the state model and rectify such, now and after the disaster.



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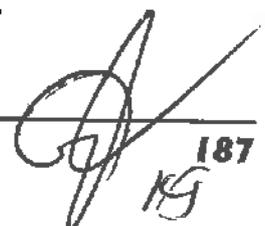
- 4.5 The poor performance, governance and outputs of TVET and Colleges despite this being a key priority for artisan training – the increased funding of the multitudes of young people who graduate from technical and vocational training institutions with nothing only but theory is actually bastardising the sector. Whilst it is agreed that the TVET / College sector needs to ensure that it becomes the option of choice for skills development by guaranteeing demand for its graduates and position itself to provide skills needed for the 4IR, the throughput of the sector could not even be assessed due to unavailability of reliable data, during the 25 year review.
- 4.6 The continued non-alignment of Higher Education to real Socio-Economic Needs and further the separation of government-funded/subsidized primary skills development from industry-funded skills development agenda – if judged by the escalating number of unemployed graduated the funding of Higher Education Institutions is like throwing NSFAS resources in a leaking bucket and using SETA/YES/Job Fund resources to pluck the bucket holes thereafter. The Skills Revolution process has as yet to align the various fragmented inefficient efforts of both public and private sector funded interventions.
- 4.7 The persistent failure to significantly increase investments for Science and Innovation in key areas of the developmental agenda and utilisation of the minimal available resources in a non-targeted manner such as the government funding of research in the higher education sector – there is a significant body of research that should have long enlightened on the direct correlation of investment in research and economic growth as well as methods of improving relevance such as the triple/quadruple helix approach – though Asian countries such as China initially attracted manufacturing due to cheap labour, investments in both education and innovation is what sustained their economic growth and global competitiveness.
- 4.8 The huge number of EPWP and internship beneficiaries who have been side-lined the mainstream economy presents a tragedy waiting to happen as many feel like social outcasts and although healthy physically are not able to fend for themselves and their families – the proposed cooperatives model was aimed at this cohort which is not organically entrepreneurial but willing work and be economically active. The failure of government to bring in experts to build on early successes in this cooperative sector is one of the missed opportunities.
- 4.9 The persistent irrational government procurement that discourages local innovation, boosting consumption of foreign intellectual property and imports at the expense of locally manufacturing has both deepened the trade deficit and discouraged a lot of local innovations – the most glaring missed opportunities are the procurement of pharmaceutical products, the motor industry despite being incentivised by government is not building the capacity of the country to produce such, there is still yet to be a 'Made in SA' mobile systems. Even when Free Africa Trading Zone become a reality South Africans are likely to be conduits of products whose intellectual property is elsewhere.
- 4.10. There is no culture of meritocracy and consequence management, as a result, other than the frontline workers, there is no evidence that the public service (all spheres and state owned enterprises) is providing value for money, including that the performance management system is weak and not aligned to organizational and service performance - organizational values systems are yet to be aligned to policies of the new dawn era of zero tolerance to mediocrity and corruption.

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- 4.11 The lethally toxic silo mentality whilst been defeated by the coherence of leadership across the spheres in the DDM approach that calls for a joint-up government with involvement of all of society and transparency is slowed down by capacity in the public service – during elections government is almost always able to resolve many services and developmental needs of communities, whilst the launched DDM has been conceptualized to have Executives on the ground the process was overtaken by the COVID19 pandemic and the institutionalization of the DDM as a new norm of governance is yet to be realised.
- 4.12 Weak business continuity systems bedevil progress and sustenance of good programs even by the same political party, resulting in governance in limbo for periods about a year before and after elections, leaving the public sector paralysed and programs/business/investors held at bay – with the staggered national and local government elections, there is effectively only one full year (in a five year period) or two full years (in a ten year period) to focus on government and the nation on service delivery and development and not on narrow intra- and inter-party political contestation.

5. Key success factors

51. **Policymaking and Governance is laden with risks:** The lifecycle of any policy measure is so open to circumstantial challenges. The paper notes that in addition to silo modes of operation, which is indicative also of poor stakeholder management, the lack of resource availability persists as a key undermining factor in the fulfilment of the ANC's resolutions. On the other hand, key success factors identified include the potential demographic dividend based on the overall size of youth as a proportion in the population, which differentiates South Africa and the African continent in light of the aged population in developed countries in much of the rest of the world. Secondly, South Africa remains richly endowed with mineral resources which could be better utilised to benefit the majority of the country. Thirdly, the country has a variety of institutions actively working and yielding results in scientific research.
- 5.2 **Cushioning children and youth against poverty:** Nutrition is essential for a healthy population. There are currently serious issues around malnutrition and stunting in South Africa, with women and children particularly disadvantaged. Health and nutrition-related problems are generally caused by economic (low income, unemployment etc.) and environmental (climate change) factors. Technologies should be used to create opportunities for advancing farming in South Africa and making efficient use of arable land by reducing pressures resulting from climate change, waste and pollution. The nutrition security domain focuses on zero-impact agriculture and the application of biotechnologies, precision agriculture and big data. In this regard, the government will need to cushion children and youth against poverty through various measures such as continuation and improvement of school childhood nutrition schemes, improving parent involvement, making use of the labour unions in the alliance, and bringing the state closer to schools through the DDM.


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- 5.3 Instruments to redress inequality:** Real wages of the bottom 10% earners in the country have radically decreased, shrinking by about 25% between 2011 and 2015. In contrast, the same period saw the earnings of the top 2% grow by 15%, while those in the top 1% had their earnings grow by 48% (Webster, 2019). Furthermore, research by the University of Stellenbosch demonstrates that the wealthiest 1% owns 67% of all the country's wealth, and the top 10% owns 93% – meaning that some 90% of South African own only 7% of the country's wealth (Orthofer, 2016: 1). Inequality is both symptomatic and predictive of socio-economic risk and unsustainability, especially when it is increasing. This means less revenue for the state, whilst also coinciding with increasing demand for social expenditure due to health shortfalls, dropouts, and unemployment. The onset of recession and the unforeseen rapidity of the COVID-19 means can only exacerbate this fiscal stress. The policymaking process will similarly require instruments to redress inequality in the presence of the state between wealthy and poor, and urban and rural. Indeed, as it has been observed that the state is unevenly present in the lives of South Africans, this means not only redress in economic terms but also the distribution of services, by taking advantage of the 4IR, as well as integrating land reform in the creation of an enabling environment characterised by access to basic social services.
- 5.4 Overall, the healthcare system needs to be optimised** in order to deliver better diagnostic and treatment services. Drug development is part of this. Prevention is cheaper than cure, and it is therefore important to educate society so that, where possible, people take control of their own health. It is also necessary to improve current health infrastructure and administration, which are inadequate, particularly in rural areas. As in other domains, mobile technologies, artificial intelligence and big data will bring enormous opportunities for the development of healthcare service delivery for all.
- 5.5 Mindful that the full impact of the COVID-19 pandemic disaster** will unfold over the next few years and that there it was already preceded by an almost freefall economic decline for a number of years resulting in the economic recession and sub-investment sovereign credit rating, the risk-mitigated resumption of necessary social and economic activities can either save or further sink the country from/into an economic depression that can last for decades. The optimal enablement of the majority of citizens to be fully involvement in the economic recovery can help redress the decline in human capabilities and ensure SA turns the tide against dependency culture of grants to a truly people centred sustainable development. A business as usual approach in the management of the Disaster and Recovery therefrom is likely to place SA in the economic recession state it was prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. All-of-government, including the role of parastatals, need to succeed in truly enabling maximum participation leaving-no-one behind.

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6. Game Changers

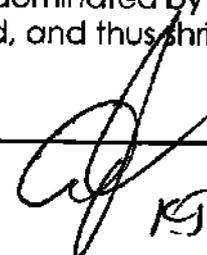
Multi-dimensional assessment of human development is increasingly recognized as playing an important role in assessing the well-being of citizens in addition to the countries' economic performance. Human capability is also used as an indicator to assess the legitimacy of governments based on the three dimensions of the Human Development Index – the standard of living, education and health, and their relationship with public social spending towards achieving the 2030 NDP Goals and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Guided by the Strategies and Tactics, the ANC policies, plans and resolutions of the ANC are aligned with the notion of a people-centred development and, whilst encouraged by the progress made over the past 25 years, there is a need for a greater sense of urgency to respond to the looming economic depression that is threatening to deepen the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Whilst not new decisions, the following are catalytic interventions that are proposed as game changers to ensure effective implementation and high impact on the lives of people to break the logjam of poverty, unemployment and inequality. This document identifies as game changers:

- **preparedness and institutionalization of the 4IR imperatives** including connectivity, smart industries and big data across sectors;
- **a skills revolution** with a seamless alignment from Early Childhood Development to Higher Education to the Transformation, Innovation and Development Agenda. A new revolutionary curriculum that fixed the nexus between ECD, Basic Education and Higher Education by investing in early differentiation focusing on technical skills, like in China and Germany;
- **a capable state with capacity to create an enabling environment for unlocking capabilities of citizen** through activist ministers and a knowledge driven professional public service focussed on and accountable on resolving the needs of citizens and the implementation of the district development model which is premised on the objective of ensuring a higher impact of seamless government interventions with people where they live, work and do business;
- **a capable organization** with systems to engage society, effectively monitor its policy decisions and ability to support as well as to hold its capacitated deployed cadres accountable for results.

- 6.1 A future South Africa is required, therefore, in which the state equips itself and those who are socio-economically excluded through a set of policies and regulatory frameworks which encourage long-term oriented and context-driven adoption of the various nodes of the 4IR, necessitating, among others, seamless integration of the digital economy, the basic and higher education sectors, as well as the state to anticipate and shape trends in the structure of the economy. This will also require the localisation of the digital economy, which has thus far been dominated by multinational corporations and has been poorly regulated and taxed, and thus shrinking jobs and the tax base.



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- This will also require a renewed understanding of universities and their role in socio-economic development and the nurturing of the digital economy, which should incorporate among its priorities not only publication (which have been growing in recent years), but also translation research and commercialisation of intellectual property.
- Access to broadband, connectivity and reducing the cost of data must be at the centre of revamping the SA economy from schools to higher education centres and from home to work environments. The COVID-19 pandemic experience should be used to unlock e-governance, e-health, e-learning and other capabilities such as telemedicine to bridge the urban-rural digital divide. Local innovation and broadening of participation in the digital economy are also vital.

6.2 Revisiting the separation of basic, higher education and continued skills development departments may be necessary in implementing a new revolutionary curriculum that fixed the nexus between ECD, Basic Education and Higher Education by investing in early differentiation focusing on technical skills, like in China and Germany, this may need revisiting the separation of basic and higher education Ministries as well as the separation between formal education and continued skills development programs.

- Establish a Presidential Compact on **Early Childhood Development** that must review the Policies, Legislation and Strategies in the sector to put SA Children first. A priority focus must be in three areas of the first 1000 days of the Child, Mother Tongue development and the fast-tracking of the formalization of ECD with Basic Education. Government coordinates countrywide district-based surveillance with quarterly reports on the state of children and develop a responsive system of interventions. This is given impetus by the fact that some 21% of all children in South Africa have lost both parents according to the 25 year review report.
- Prioritise **funding of TVETs and Colleges** as sites for Ready-To-Work training and innovation in the areas of infrastructure development, manufacturing, mining beneficiation and other key priority economic recovery and human development areas within the context of the Skills Revolution and the 4th Industrial Revolution utilizing the quadruple helix model (Government, Corporate, Research and Society). The policy and legislative framework of ensuring that all higher education curriculum must include apprenticeship must be enforced. TVETs and Colleges must be the centres of development for current and future economic innovation in addition to training.
- Universities of Technology be assigned to support a cluster of TVETs and Colleges. The relevant funds must be consolidated and rationalised: NRF, NSFAS, SETAs and the Jobs Fund.
- the opportunity to integrate the interventions on **NEETs** including the multitudes trained (some of whom may now be just above 35years) in programs such as the EPWP, Working for Water, Community Works Program in the various programs of the Stimulus Packages given the leading role of the state in cushioning society from the double-edged recession resultant from both the pandemic and sluggish economic growth. A massive countrywide labour-intensive and labour absorbing program be instituted for road construction, Hospital and Clinic, Schools, BPOs, Social Worker Assistants, Pharmacy Assistants, Teacher Assistants.

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It is hoped that if 5.1 and 5.2 succeed, the NEETs pool will gradually decrease. Infrastructure, Manufacturing, Beneficiation and Agriculture investments must be measured by ability to absorb, skill and empower these young people in order to unlock the demographic dividend.

- Strengthen the National Innovation System and introduce a tax-based incentive for local innovation in key priority social and economic development areas of and amend procurement legislation to prioritise local innovations with a priority in areas of greatest government consumption like Health, Communication, Motor, etc. Government must develop a policy for off-take agreements and preferential procurement with state owned innovation and manufacturing companies over a specific period of time.

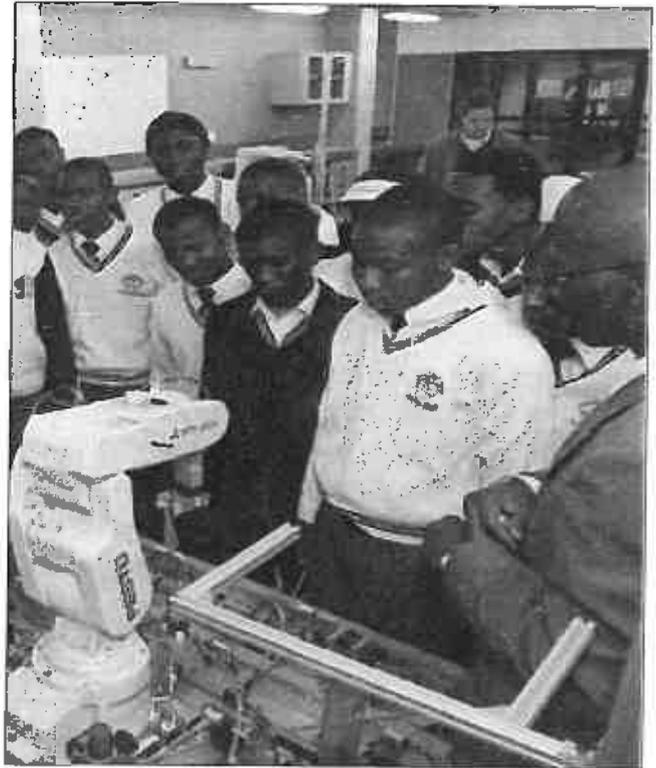


Figure 7: Education must be relevant for 4IR and Ready-To-Work.

Source: **Towards 25-year review of the South African Democracy.**

6.3 The fast-tracking of the **District Development Model** to enhance coordinated collaborative efforts, responsiveness, transparency and high impact in communities through localization and spatial referencing of national and provincial programs and integration such with the IDPs. Human Development Index must be one of the indicators of the success of the model which must be monitored per district, sub-district and ward-based. The HDI can be adapted for the SA conditions however remain globally benchmarked. These can find expression in the DDM, whose aim is to “accelerate, align and integrate service delivery under a single development plan per district or metro that is developed jointly by the national, provincial and local government as well as business, labour and community in each district” (The Presidency, 2019; 16 October). This should also be aimed at addressing the public service’s individualistic performance and incentive mechanism and encourage cooperation and coordination, with potential applications for e-governance to assist government functionality. The establishment of the Nedlac equivalent at District level to participate in the Khawuleza District Forums will be a critical factor.

Re-institute the **Professionalization of the Public Service Policy and Program** and establish relevant professional bodies in line with the Lawyers, Health, Engineers etc. Introduce Organizational Performance system that is aligned to the Personal Performance System that is responsive especially in areas of key Human Capital and Capability Development – Social Development, Health, Education and related. Jointly with the Department of Labour and Higher Educations, a Skills need for the Country be developed covering the public, private and community-based sectors.

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As a developmental state that is people driven focussed on the capabilities and quality of life of citizens, fast-track the strengthening of the health care system through the **NHI bill** process based on the integration, digitalization and modernization of the national health system. The Ward Based Health Outreach Program be strengthened as an important Primary Health Care component in reducing the burden of disease and making health care more efficient, they need to be provided with mobile technology and connectivity. Mitigate the risk of disease and ill-health on the society and the economy through a Health Promotion Commission taking lessons from the tobacco, alcohol, HIV and AIDS as well as COVID-19 social determinants and impact on the economy.

Stabilise governance by creating a **Single national and local elections system**. With the possible impact of the COVID19 disaster, the looming economic depression and the court ruling on constitutionality of parts of the electoral system, these present an opportunity to begin the discussions.

Enter into agreement with one of the Universities to establish a rigorous **policy monitoring system** in support of the work of the NEC Policy SubCommittees.

7. Other Key Recommendations

There is a need to systematically respond and translate the recommendations in the 25 year and the NDP 2030 reviews as the ANC . Based on some of the identified shortfalls that can be effectively responded to with specific programmes , the following recommendations are offered with such outcomes in mind:

- 7.1 Encourage national, provincial and local governments to domesticate and modulate as well as share best practices in skills dissemination through SALGA, COGTA, PCC etc. platforms and initiatives such as the district development model (DDM) in terms of its human capabilities relevance. This requires the development of a framework for structurally effecting the all-of-government and leaving-no-one-behind district-based reporting on resolutions.
- 7.2 Capacitate entrants into the labour force with soft skills to improve interpersonal communication since production will is likely to be increasingly and more efficiently managed by automation.
- 7.3 Cooperate with institutions of higher learning to understand causes of dropouts among students, especially those from poor and disadvantaged backgrounds. Furthermore, the 25 Year Review makes the case for differentiated gendered strategies to keep youth engaged in schooling and training. It similarly notes the need for participation by all stakeholders, including teachers, teachers' labour representatives, school governing bodies, parents and guardians.
- 7.4 Increase higher education subsidies to various educational institutions to increase specialised training and agility to changing industry demands. Additionally, identify the skills that ought to develop and explore the prospects of exporting those skills in the continent and the rest of the world.

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- 7.5 Showcase TVETs as institutions of first choice by shaping their curriculum to be readily relevant to the skills demanded. Moreover, the 25 Year Review notes that these can be used to encourage more young people into the agricultural colleges and sciences and make available land to those interested in farming and agro-processing, with requisite support programmes such as twinning and mentorships.
- 7.6 Increase research and development expenditure to encourage commercialisation of patents and research and development capacity of the country focussed on global competitiveness, building sovereign wealth and resilience.
- 7.7 Prioritise early childhood education through interventions that link education to optimum health and nutrition to computational thinking in public schools.
- 7.8 Capacitate schools with facilities such as libraries, quality infrastructure, administrators, and universal implementation of technology dissemination to correct for the currently uneven distribution of computational devices.
- 7.9 Review employer selection processes to ensure alignment of employment of graduates from TVETs, universities, entrepreneurship, and apprenticeships.
- 7.10 Maintain and improve health with appropriate measures to tackle both resurgent childhood malnutrition and vaccine-preventable diseases.
- 7.11 Establish a Health Promotion Council to take lessons from the HIV and AIDS as well as currently from the COVID-19 experience in reducing the risks of ill-health and building socio-economic resilience against social determinants of diseases which also threaten the present workforce such as Hypertension, Diabetes, Mental ill-health, Cancer and other non-communicable diseases. This will require an urgent finalization of the national strategy on NCD's.
- 7.12 Develop a policy for the State on off-take agreements with locally service providers, especially in manufacturing, that are state owned as this will pave the way to resolve the challenges on the implementation of the ANC resolution on the establishment of a state pharmaceutical company.
- 7.13 Finalise the Human Resources for Health Plan.
- 7.14 Capacitate ANC branches to be sites of advocacy for ECD, Health, Education, Skills Revolution and Programs to eradicate poverty and inequality.
- 7.15 Encourage and incentivise life-long educational paradigms through multiple platforms, including ANC branches, national media, institutions of basic and higher learning, employers, and the private sector.
- 7.16 Develop a comprehensive program for the first 1000 days, which includes routine health checks, psycho-social support to pregnant women, education component (early stimulation) and early detection of disability.
- 7.17 Create safe learning environments and address the current situation by appointing youth-care workers, psychologists and social workers as part of schools' human resources.



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- 7.18 Build inclusive and special schools that accommodate learners with a wide range of disabilities.
- 7.19 Increase industry participation, the number of adequately qualified staff, on the job training curriculum as well as funding for infrastructure at TVET colleges.
- 7.20 Explore interventions further to reduce maternal deaths and increase investment as well as better management of resources such as Community Health Care professionals in South Africa's public hospitals and clinics.
- 7.21 Improve the management and training of Community Health Workers to improve preventative care in communities. It should increase the rate of conversion and construction of Ideal Clinics to enhance primary care services, especially in underserved areas throughout the country.
- 7.22 Investigate the sufficiency of the Child Support Grant amount and address the policy question on the Foster Care Grant. Undertake corrective measures to address exclusion errors for 0-2-year-olds in the MTSF to achieve the NDP targets by working with the Departments of Health and Home Affairs. The 25 Year Review notes the required urgency for the existing social floor to be consolidated with the current social assistance programs.
- 7.23 Implement the comprehensive social security and retirement reform system to ensure that it is affordable, sustainable and appropriate for South Africans by 2021 including the Establish the National Social Security Fund.
- 7.24 Nedlac and all social partners should explore the mechanisms for social insurance, which extends coverage to workers in the informal sector.
- 7.25 The National Treasury should introduce pension reform, in particular, the high cost and fees structures of pension funds should be reduced.
- 7.26 Establish effective partnerships, systems, regulatory environment and oversight for the private and not-for-profit sectors.
- 7.27 Identify linkages between cash and in-kind transfers by integrating issues of disability and ensure equitable service provision for people with disabilities.

8. Specifically on the fourth industrial revolution

In light of the preceding review, the following recommendations, which stem from the Presidential Commission the Fourth Industrial Revolution, are presented:

- 8.1 Investment in human capacity development that will facilitate multidisciplinary and computational thinking in early childhood, primary, intermediate and higher education. Furthermore, the reskilling of the existing workforce with the latest tools of analysis and implementation in the 4IR is a necessity.
- 8.2 Develop a national artificial intelligence (AI) institute that will mobilize all productive forces in our society. This institute should leverage the comparative strengths of

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each sector, as well as external partnerships such as the BRICS association, to better respond to challenges and present innovations in tackling the triple challenges. A primary initial task is a consolidation of advanced learnings from the various science councils which make up the National System of Innovation.

- 8.3 Build data capabilities within the state by strengthening data-gathering, storage and processing through the office of a Chief Data Scientist within the state. The state should also pursue the formulation of a regulatory framework for data-gathering, including taxation of its commercialisation by international and domestic enterprises operating in the commercialisation of data.
- 8.4 Invest in an institute for advanced manufacturing. As South Africa has been de-industrialising, the state needs to invest in advanced productive forces, including the integration of elements of the 4IR in its small and medium enterprises (SMME) strategy.
- 8.5 The state should devise incentives for the adoption of advanced means and modes of production to accelerate attainment of the National Democratic Society through the existing special economic zones (SEZs) by tapping the benefits of AI, IoT and special tax regimes.
- 8.6 Review all legislation to ensure compliance with advances in the 4IR to accelerate towards the National Democratic Society through appropriate taxation of South African and non-South African technology companies who are insufficiently taxed. This will also require a review and implementation accordingly the findings of the competition commission on the overpricing of data bundles by the service providers in South Africa.
- 8.7 Build 4IR infrastructure through a capable energy regime, streamlining of fibre installations, and 5G. This will naturally include the release of the spectrum in such a way that the national communication space is decentralised and broadened by having multiple service providers.
- 8.8 Evaluate the prospect of an Office for Fourth Industrial Revolution Implementation and Coordination in the Presidency and at Luthuli House. This will naturally mean that both the state and the ANC will be capacitated with technologically advanced cadres able to link the NDR to inclusive development as well as review the essentials of service delivery in the wake of the 4IR.
- 8.9 Implement various forms of machine learning, robotics and big data in ensuring a safe and secure South Africa for all whilst also controlling for excesses of relying on machine-run or automated mechanisms. This may also require putting in place mechanisms to effectively respond to the manufacture of counterfeit and banned products in the wake of 3D printing.
- 8.10 Put in place legislation that prevents discriminative practices along with gender, race and class in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, particularly through big data and machine learning by adopting measures that regulate the design, early testing and implementation of big data- and machine learning-based technologies to ensure databases accurately reflect South Africa's demographic and socio-economic realities.

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9. Conclusion

Mindful that the full impact of the COVID-19 pandemic disaster will unfold over the next few years and that the pandemic was already preceded by an economic declining for a number of years resulting in the economic recession and sub-investment sovereign credit rating, the risk-mitigated resumption of necessary social and economic activities can reposition the country to successfully tackling the structural constraints for an inclusive growth that benefit all citizens equitably.

The optimal mobilization and enablement of the majority of citizens to be fully involvement in the economic recovery can help redress the decline in human capabilities and ensure SA turns the tide against the dependency culture of social security to a truly people centred sustainable development. The introduction of the mooted basic income grant must be underpinned by a capable state able to manage a single national the social security data base aligned to an exit strategy linked to investments in infrastructure and manufacturing.

A business as usual approach in the management of the COVID-19 Pandemic Disaster and Recovery therefrom is likely to place SA in the economic recession state it was prior to the COVID19 pandemic. All-of-government, including the role of SOEs, need to refocus on impactful interventions where people live, work and do business, enabling maximum participation and leaving-no-one behind.

The end state of achieving human capabilities in our country underpins the constitutional human rights based perspective in South Africa and build on the freedom charter vision that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, that the wealth of the country shall be shared, that the land belongs to all who work it and that all have equal rights. The constitution further established a developmental state that is accountable to work cooperatively to ensure that citizens progressively attain their full rights. Learning from less endowed countries that have succeeded in developing the quality of life of their citizens, there is a need to think out of the box of current constraints, to institutionalise interventions at the apex avoiding structural failure in the state as well as to ensure an ethical high disciplined cadre organizationally and within the state resolute to uproot the vestigial remains of a racial, sexist and inhumane Colonial-Apartheid past. Experience globally is that abuse of power and corruption are inherent in human societies and consistent zero tolerance with an effective swift justice system remains crucial in this regard.

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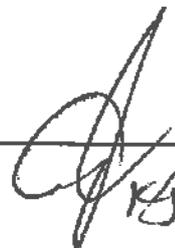
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National General Council discussion paper on

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND THE BUILDING OF A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

1. ELECTIONS AND THE BUILDING OF A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Preamble to the **Freedom Charter** declares that: "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."

The Charter goes on to declare that The People Shall Govern, and that: "Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws."

The **Constitution of the ANC** describes the character of the ANC as follows: "The ANC is a non-racial and non-sexist and democratic liberation movement"; and, "The ANC also contests elections as a registered political party drawing its electoral support from all sections of South African society."

The **Strategy & Tactics of the ANC** emphasises that: "One of the most critical acts of the National Democratic Revolution is the creation of a legitimate state which derives its authority from the people, through regular elections and continuing popular

participation in the processes of governance."

The founding provisions of the **South African Constitution** provide that: "The Republic of South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on [amongst others] the following values: Universal adult suffrage, a national common voters roll, regular elections and a multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness."

The **National Development Plan** argues that an unintended outcome of the manner in which government has "delivered" services has been to reduce the incentive for citizens to be direct participants in their own development.

Active citizens and social activism are necessary for democracy and development. The state cannot merely act on behalf of the people – it has to act with the people.

A number of forums have been created for citizens to participate in governance beyond elections - school governing bodies, ward committees, community policing forums and clinic committees.

Mechanisms have been established for citizens to shape the institutions closest to

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them. These mechanisms must ensure that the fruits of development accrue to the poorest and most marginalised, offsetting possible attempts by elites to protect their own interests at the expense of less-powerful communities.

Despite these avenues, there appears to be a growing distance between citizens and the government.

Outbreaks of violence in some community protests reflect frustration not only over the pace of service delivery, but also concerns that communities are not being listened to.

These trends have been analysed in a number of studies, including: ***The Smoke that Calls*** by Karl von Holdt, Malose Langa, Sepetla Molapo, Nomfundo Mogapi, Kin-diza Ngubeni, Jacob Dlamini, and Adele Kirsten.

The Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA) advances a sobering analysis in its report: ***"Election 2019 and the quality of multiparty democracy in South Africa – notes on the first 25 years."***

Participation trends in elections over the past 25 years raise questions regarding the legitimacy of politics and elections in our country. MISTRA points out that some argue that, *"There are cumulative signals that multiparty democracy and elections in South Africa are past their heyday – and substitutes or supplementations that fall into place are potentially taking the country to disruption at worst, or new spaces of creative additions to multiparty democracy at best."*

MISTRA argues that for many, non-participation was in response to disillusionment with the politics of parties and government, or due to a decline in trust in political parties.

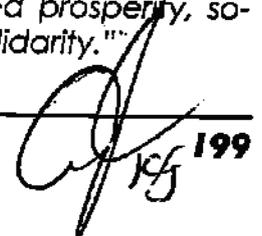
They cite an Ipsos poll that indicated that 37 percent of registered voters felt that is 'no political party that represents my views' and a Citizen Surveys' poll, which found

that 70 percent of South African citizens do not believe political parties can solve the problems of South Africa.

MISTRA concludes by arguing that, *"The levels of participation in 2019 (registration and turnout) bear witness to a process where the questioning of multiparty democracy has become intense, as evidenced in electoral actions on the ground, and attitudes surveys concerning elections. However, for many voters, elections are an instrument to get leaders to account to them on mandates received; and there is also an emotional attachment to elections as reminder of political liberation. The combination of, and balance among, these factors will set the tones and directions for South Africa's multiparty democracy in the coming 25 years."*

The ANC Strategy & Tactics argues that, *"disquiet within society grows by the day. Be it among the poor with little prospect of improving their lot, or women and young professionals butting their heads against glass ceilings, or ordinary workers living through socio-economic marginalisation, the restlessness has become palpable. While elements of these realities may derive from objective conditions, subjective factors pertaining to the quality of leadership have not been edifying either. Addressing the root causes of these social challenges is in the national interest. It requires leadership in a broad front of all social sectors, to give hope through practical action, and to galvanise society into active citizenship. The twin impulses of legitimate societal leadership and an active citizenry will feed on each other to propel society to greater heights."*

Therefore, *"at the core of the ANC's tasks in the current period is the renewal of the organisation for it to exercise societal leadership in a changing environment, the consolidation of democracy and the speeding up of programmes of fundamental transformation to attain shared prosperity, social justice and human solidarity."*



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Whilst declining participation and confidence in elections and the political system and have their national specificities, we must also understand them in an international context.

Strategy & Tactics argues that the global economic crisis starting in 2007 has underlined the flaws of neo-liberal ideology and praxis and has resulted in a "poly-crisis" which, in turn, has led to the declining legitimacy of the political and business elites. One of the consequences of this has been the rise of narrow nationalism and chauvinism.

In his analysis of the rise of populism Simon Tormey, points to the hollowing out of democracy in the 1980s and 1990s due to the consolidation of neo-liberalism and "new public management." These were characterised by widescale privatisation of public services and the use of market-based criteria to assess the work or value of public goods.

This, he argues, has resulted in the transformation of politics into a form of technocratic governance, rather than the contest of different visions, ideologies and world-views. Consequently, "*[i]f it didn't quite kill off politics, neo-liberalism subordinated it to an agenda dictated from outside and beyond the nation state and thus the political community, leading to the impression that politics didn't matter.*"

The legitimacy and credibility of elections is also affected by the increasing use of fake news and the manipulation of big data and social media as evinced by the Cambridge Analytica scandal.

The role of money in the selection of candidates and the conduct of election campaigns has further undermined the legitimacy of electoral politics.

The Covid-19 pandemic will also have a substantial impact on the manner in which elections and election campaigns are conducted.

The debate on electoral systems has also been made more urgent by the recent judgment of the Constitutional Court ordering Parliament to make provision for independent candidates to stand for election to Parliament and provincial legislatures.

There are many dimensions to the strengthening and deepening of democracy in a National Democratic Society. The electoral system is one amongst many. This discussion document focusses narrowly on two aspects of our electoral system:

- 1) Whether we should introduce elements of a constituency-based electoral system at national and provincial level;
- 2) Whether national, provincial and local government elections should be synchronised and take place at the same time.

The document does not attempt to give a definitive answer to either of these two questions. Rather, it seeks to spell out the existing legal and constitutional framework and to identify relevant factors to ensure a robust and rigorous discussion within our ranks and in broader society.

Many of the challenges outlined above cannot be solved making changes to the electoral system alone, if at all. They require concerted interventions at the level of our developmental trajectory, the balance of forces in our society, capacity of the developmental state, governance, service provision, the selection and conduct of public representatives, and the role of ANC structures.

Therefore, this document must be read in conjunction with other NGC discussion documents, in particular: **Balance of Forces, Building the Capacity of the Developmental State and Local Government**, the revised **Through the Eye of a Needle, Organisational Renewal**, as well as proposals for **Local Government Candidate Selection**.

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2. CONSTITUTIONAL COURT JUDGMENT – INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES

On 11 June 2020 the Constitutional Court delivered judgment in *The New Nation Movement NPC and Others v President of the Republic of South Africa and Others*.

The Court ordered that the Electoral (Act 73 of 1998) is unconstitutional to the extent that it requires that adult citizens may be elected to the National Assembly and Provincial Legislatures only through their membership of political parties. Parliament was given two years within which to amend the Electoral Act to provide for the independent candidates to stand for public office nationally and provincially.

The majority of the Court based their judgment on an interpretation of section 19(3) of the Constitution. They argue that section 19(3)(b) confers upon every adult South African the right “to stand for public office and, if elected, to hold office”. Parliament has the power to pass legislation that regulates the exercise of the right but it cannot enact legislation that prevents the exercise of the right. In its present form, the Electoral Act does not allow every adult South African to exercise the right to contest elections on their own. Accordingly, it is unconstitutional.

In a separate concurring judgment more attention was focused on the right to association (and disassociation), concluding that forcing citizens to belong to political parties in order to hold office is a violation of the right not to associate.

In a dissenting minority judgment it was argued that it is a tenuous proposition that the Constitution mandates an electoral system that enables independent candidates to stand for and hold political office at national and provincial level. Sections 46 (national) and 105 (provincial) of the Constitution do not expressly permit

a mixed system of proportional and ward representation as provided for in section 157 (2) for local government. The fact that a mixed system is not even mentioned as a constitutionally permissible electoral arrangement at national and provincial level means that it certainly cannot be read in as a constitutionally prescribed requirement. At worst, this silence means that non-political party representation is prohibited. At best, it means that the accommodation of independent candidates is permissible so long as it still yields, in general, proportional representation.

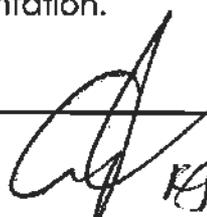
Parliament has two years within which to amend the Electoral Act to provide for the independent candidates to stand for public office nationally and provincially. The next national and provincial elections are scheduled for 2024. A substantially different electoral system will require considerable preparation.

The judgment does not imply direct elections for President. However, it opens the door for someone to stand as an independent candidate for Parliament and then be elected as President by Parliament.

The introduction of independent members of Parliament will also impact on the internal functioning of Parliament and provincial legislatures in respect of the composition of committees, allocation of speaking time, allocation of resources, participation in bodies like JSC, selection of delegates to the NCOP, etc.

The Court does not prescribe what electoral system must be used to give independent candidates the right to stand for public office.

Parliament must decide. However, whatever system Parliament adopts must still comply with the constitutional requirement that the electoral system must result, in general, in proportional representation.


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There are three possible approaches to the New Nation Movement judgment:

- 1) Try to keep changes to existing proportional representation system as small as possible while providing for independent candidates.
- 2) Redesign the electoral system fundamentally. For example, introduce elements of constituency-based representation while ensuring that electoral outcomes are proportional.
- 3) Amend Constitution to make it clear that electoral system can exclude independent candidates. Example: Provide for two options at national and provincial spheres similar to local government: **Option 1:** Proportional representation based only on party lists. **Option 2:** Mixture of proportional representation based on party lists and constituency-based representation. Parliament can provide for independent candidates but makes it clear that this is not required.

These approaches are not mutually exclusive and a combination of approaches might be required.

Consideration should be given to approaching the Constitutional Court for clarity on the implications of its judgment, and extending the deadline.

3. INTRODUCTION OF CONSTITUENCY-BASED ELECTORAL SYSTEM

3.1 Introduction

Declining voter registration and turnout has raised questions regarding the accountability of public representatives and their connection to the electorate. A number of proposals have been made regarding the introduction of elements of a constituency based electoral system at national and

provincial level. This debate has been also been encouraged by the introduction of the district development model.

It is often argued that democracy would be strengthened significantly if there were greater pressures for accountability of public representatives to voters. Many regard the choice of electoral system as a key factor in determining the level of accountability of public representatives. An electoral system based on proportional representation lists is seen as promoting representativity and inclusivity but not accountability. Public representatives in this system, it is argued, are more accountable to 'party bosses' rather than voters. This line of argument concludes that a constituency based electoral system would ensure greater accountability.

Steven Friedman argues in **The System's Not To Blame? Electoral Systems, Power, and Accountability** that the link between electoral systems and accountability is not as straightforward as these arguments suggest.

Direct election of representatives does not automatically ensure accountability, which depends on many factors, including a country's context. He notes that the US, UK, India, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Kenya, all use a constituency system but with very different outcomes in each case. He remarks wryly that, "changes in electoral system can simply offer politicians new ways of doing the same things."

He identifies three factors important in shaping the South African context: First, the persistence of poverty and inequality mean that the difference between serving as a local councillor and losing a seat is the difference between being middle class or living in poverty. Second, identities are important – South Africans (like voters in many other countries) vote for parties who they believe speak for their particular (racial, language, regional or cultural) group. Far

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more than on perceptions of possible economic benefit. Third, and flowing from this, parties are far more powerful organisations and wield more influence over their members and supporters than they do in many other democracies.

Friedman argues that these factors suggest that switching to a more constituency-based system might hold few benefits and many costs. First, it might reduce the number and diversity of parties in parliament, thereby exacerbating divisions in society by denying some identities a voice. Second, the strength of party loyalties also suggests that it would not prevent parties ensuring that representatives account to them rather than voters. Third, the financial dependency of many public representatives will keep them under the control of their parties.

Friedman suggests two measures more likely to promote accountability than a constituency based electoral system: First, recall provisions, allowing voters to remove representatives in mid-term. This will allow voters loyal to their parties but unhappy with their representatives to act. Second, introducing party primaries, allowing voters rather than party activists to choose candidates.

Furthermore, he argues that improving accountability must take into account, and respond to, two crucial realities. First, unequal power relations in society result in unequal levels of accountability. Wealthy and organised minorities command more influence with decision makers, despite the fact that they are less likely to vote for the governing party. Second, in order to ensure accountability, voting needs to be reinforced by organisation and organisation needs to be supported by linkages with power holders inside and outside government as well as greater access to information.

Friedman concludes by arguing that the ability to demand accountability from

public representatives depends more on access to power than on the form of the electoral system. Consequently, transforming power relations in society will result in more fundamental change than an over-emphasis on the electoral system.

3.2 Report of the Electoral Task Team (2003)

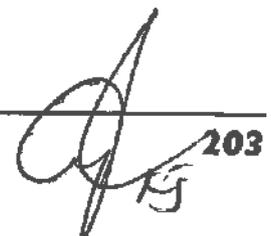
In 2002 Cabinet appointed an Electoral Task Team chaired by the late Dr F van Zyl Slabbert to draft new electoral legislation. The Task Team reported in 2003.

The Task Team identified the following basic principles that should characterise an electoral system: (a) fairness; (b) accountability; (c) inclusiveness; and simplicity.

The problem statement that the Task Team sought to answer was how to improve accountability of public representatives and their connection to the electorate while maintaining constitution imperative of proportional representation.

The majority of the Task Team recommended that the National Assembly should consist of 400 members. Of the 400 members, 300 should be elected in multi-member constituencies consisting of 3 to 7 members each. The other 100 members should be elected on a proportional list. The Task Team proposed 69 multi-member constituencies. The boundaries of these constituencies should coincide with the boundaries of district and metro municipalities, or subdivisions thereof. The Task Team proposed that the same system should apply to provinces with the necessary modifications.

The Task Team argued that South Africa already has the embryo of the proposed system with 9 provincial multi-member constituencies ("provincial to national lists") and a national PR list.



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The Task Team also argued that the proposed system would not require any constitutional amendment and that it complies with the requirement that any electoral system results, in general, in proportional representation.

The Task Team argued that this system can, but is not guaranteed to, improve the accountability of representatives and their connection with the electorate.

The minority of the Task Team, supported by the ANC, recommended that the status quo be retained. A strong view in the ANC's submission was that proportionality served the country best. The ANC countered the opposition views on constituency-based accountability, and argued that the multi-member nature of rural and small districts would be meaningless in terms of MPs representing a particular constituency that could hold the MP accountable. In reality, at that time it would have resulted in Cape Town having about 20 representatives and the whole of the Northern Cape having 4. All votes had to have equal value. The ANC felt it would not make a meaningful improvement to accountability.

The Northern Cape, at the time, would have one or two MPs for the whole of Kimberley and two for the rest of the province, with its mix of political, class and race interests. The MPs would most likely come from one or two parties and still would be accountable mainly to the party. We also had by then introduced a much more meaningful constituency-based system in local government with ward councillors representing small areas, and had not found it to make a massive difference to accountability as the party policies and caucus, rather than the constituency, still determined party positions in council.

3.3 National Conference Resolutions

The 52nd National Conference (2007) noted that the factors that led us to opt for a proportional representation system for national and provincial elections remain relevant. We are still a nation in transition and must ensure that we facilitate representativity across the various sectors of our communities through a credible, generally accepted and understood electoral system. Our current system can best help us reach the true objectives of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) within the framework of our founding Constitutional principles.

It expressed the belief that the imperatives to retain the current electoral system remain and call upon us to improve our responsiveness to the electorate.

Accordingly, it was resolved that the current electoral system should be maintained and be strengthened, further to enhance the links between the people and their public representatives.

The formula used to calculate the allocation of seats in local government elections should be reviewed to ensure that it does not disadvantage parties that get more ward votes.

Appropriate requirements should be set for persons wishing to contest elections as independent candidates.

3.4 Factors to Consider

As indicated below, the Constitution does not prescribe a specific electoral system as long as it complies with the following requirements: (a) is prescribed by national legislation; (b) is based on the national common voters roll; (c) provides for a minimum voting age of 18 years; and (d) results, in general, in proportional representation.

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A system along the lines proposed by the Electoral Task Team could contribute to strengthening the link between voters and public representatives and promote greater accountability.

If the multi-member constituencies proposed by the Task Team are based on the demarcation of metro and district municipalities it could strengthen the district development model. By having public representatives across the three spheres being linked, by virtue of their electoral mandate, to the basic geographic demarcation in which national, provincial, and local planning and implementation takes place can promote a more integrated approach.

Of course, as the Task Team recognised, no electoral system will in and of itself guarantee improved accountability of elected representatives to the electorate. The mixed experience of local government councillors, who are directly elected by voters in their wards, underscores this point.

Some argue, that a constituency based electoral system is as prone to manipulation and control by party machines as proportional lists, and that voters are often equally alienated and dissatisfied, especially since the constituencies would be large and would all represent multiple communities with different interests.

In considering whether to attach a geographic base to the electoral mandates of public representatives at national and provincial level we must consider the legacies of Colonialism of a Special Type manifested in the persistence of apartheid spatial patterns, the racial and ethnic content of many political boundaries, and the consequent spatial dimension of the national question.

We would also need to pay careful attention to the impact that geographic constituencies might have on the unitary character of the ANC. Organisational reports to

National Conferences as well as the report of the commission of enquiry led by Cde Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma after the 2011 local government elections have highlighted the increasing tendency for the formation of provincial, regional and local powerbases and interlocking networks of patronage.

4. SYNCHRONISED ELECTIONS AT NATIONAL, PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL LEVELS

4.1 Mandate from the People

Since 1994 South Africa has held six national and provincial elections and five local government elections in 25 years of democracy. On average, South Africa holds elections every 2.5 years. Added to this we have experienced a marked increase in the number, frequency, and scale of local government by-elections.

Election campaigns start 18 months before election day and peak three months before election day. This has led to the country, and political parties, being in a state of semi-permanent elections mode, with the attendant costs, financial, governance, and service provision.

This has led to the proposal that consideration be given to holding national, provincial and local elections at the same time. This proposal has received added impetus with the introduction of the district development model seeking to integrate the work of all three spheres of government within the demarcations of metro and district municipalities.

Some refer to these as "unified elections" and others to "harmonized elections." We have used the term "synchronised elections" to emphasise the point made below that, even where elections take place on

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the same day, they remain constitutionally and legal distinct and separate processes.

4.2 Governance and Service Provision

The frequent holding of elections impacts on governance. Parliament, provincial legislatures and municipal councils adjourn months before elections. Cabinet, provincial executive councils and mayoral committees also wind down in the runup to elections. Major decisions are put on hold. Periods leading to up to and after elections are often characterized by uncertainty and instability as well as transition periods causing delays in service provision.

4.3 Financial Challenges

Elections are very expensive both for the national fiscus (at around R1.7bn per election) as well as political parties. Frequent elections drain party resources and keep parties in perpetual debt. At the same time fundraising is becoming more difficult due to impending entry into force of the Political Party Funding Act and the amendment of the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA), requiring political parties to disclose the source and extent of contributions. This is compounded by the revelations made before a number of commissions of enquiry, further increasing the reluctance of many funders to contribute to political parties.

Certain forms of fundraising risk undermining good governance, promoting state capture, and delegitimizing politics in general. Related to this is the question of the increasing role of money in the ANC processes.

Synchronised elections would not be two for the price of one, as many of the processes and local focuses would still need clear actions, and it but would probably cost around 65% of what two separate election campaigns would cost. For ex-

ample, the IEC would require more ballots, more logistics, more ballot boxes and more staff. The ANC would need two candidate selection processes, local manifestos, local campaigns combined with national and provincial campaigns.

4.4 Impact of ANC Processes

Parallel, and sometimes related to elections, are a multitude of ANC organizational processes. National Conference (every 5 years), National Policy Conference (every 5 years), National General Council (every 5 years, midway between conferences), Provincial Conferences (every 4 years), Regional Conferences (every 3 years), Biennial Branch General Meetings (every 2 years), List conferences (every 2.5 years).

In addition, the conferences of the Leagues and Alliance partners have become increasingly intertwined with internal processes of the ANC mother body: ANCYL National Conference (every 3 years), ANCWL National Conference (every 3 years), ANCYL National Conference (every 3 years).

The lack of synchronisation between ANC organizational processes and elections has resulted in a number of organizational challenges arising from what is often characterized as "two centres of power".

The two-year period between the holding of ANC National Conference and national and provincial elections have led to the recall and resignation of Presidents in 2008 and 2019. Similar patterns have manifested themselves at provincial and regional levels in relation to Premiers and Mayors and their respective leadership collectives.

Furthermore, the holding of national, provincial and local elections at different times has limited the ability to the ANC to select and deploy candidates between different spheres of government. Local government councillors who are nominated to be MPs and MPLs are often requested to decline

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nomination and to finish their terms. Similarly, it is very rare for sitting MPs and MPLs to interrupt their terms of office to stand as councillors.

4.5 National Conference Resolution: 2012

The question of single elections was discussed at the 53rd National Conference in 2012.

The Commission noted that election campaigns give the ANC an opportunity to connect with the masses and renew our mandates – so we shouldn't reduce them. Without separate local government elections, which open spaces in the state, it will cost the ANC more financially to reach our constituencies. Elections help to build the organization and capacity of our cadres. Provincial ANC leaders currently oversee the finalization of our local government candidates, and they will not be able to do so if they themselves are candidates to be public representatives.

It was resolved that the current system of separate elections be retained. However, in future, should conditions warrant it, consideration should be given to reviewing the issue of elections.

4.6 Synchronised Elections: Factors to Consider

There are a number of arguments and considerations that must be taken into account in discussing the form and content of South Africa's electoral system. This is a very complex matter that should be viewed holistically. We should resist the temptation to elevate and give undue weight to one amongst many relevant and interconnected considerations.

We must engage critically with issues around constituency engagement and mandates, financial and fiscal considerations, party funding, service delivery,

governance, planning, administrative, election management, constitutional and legal factors.

4.6.1 Governance & Service Provision Factors

Holding national, provincial and local elections at the same time could contribute to building a developmental state and improving governance and service provision.

- 1) It could promote stability in governance by reducing instability caused by pre- and post-election disruptions, delays and uncertainties.
- 2) Interruption of service provision could be reduced.
- 3) It could contribute to strengthening intergovernmental relations by aligning national, provincial and local government planning and coordination.
- 4) It could contribute to building the district development model.

However, holding national, provincial and local elections at the same time could also have the following negative consequences:

- 1) It could lead to less contact between citizens and public representatives.
- 2) It could breed complacency and a lack of accountability amongst public representatives and the public servants.
- 3) It might result in increased protests and non-democratic forms of expressing grievances.
- 4) Less frequent elections could result in the lack of a pressure valve and lead to a build-up of frustrations and the lack of mid-term correction.
- 5) Local issues could be subsumed under national and provincial issues.
- 6) National and provincial planning may be less able to set agendas and influence local plans and budgets.

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4.6.2 Planning / Budgeting Factors

Holding national, provincial and local elections at the same time can contribute positively to the building of a developmental state by streamlining planning, budgeting and implementation.

Combining these elections and aligning electoral terms can contribute to the strengthening of the district development model. Parties would be able to contest elections on the basis of manifestoes that set out policies and programmes for integrated development across the three spheres of government converging in districts.

On the other hand, holding national, provincial and local elections at the same time could have the following unintended negative consequences that might hamper inter-governmental planning and co-ordination:

- 1) Planning processes that require both "top down" and "bottom up" inputs might require some degree of separation of electoral mandates.
- 2) It might limit national and provincial participation in integrated development planning processes because all spheres of government are starting planning processes at the same time and it would limit the ability of national government to set a strategic framework and agenda for government at all levels.
- 3) Local issues might run the risk of being subsumed under national and provincial issues.
- 4) National and local budget years have different starting and ending months to facilitate national and provincial planning and oversight, reporting and support of local government. There may not be a strong argument for synchronising all these as it could undermine one of the few measures we introduced

to prevent a fully federalised and autonomous municipal system.

- 5) The major advantage of separate are the fact that it forces us to connect with the people and renew our mandate as well as listen to and focus on people's problems and explain what we have done. It also allows us to focus on local issues and local government. We also establish national and provincial government, programmes and budgets and have stable government and stable leadership in place to support local government and selection etc.

4.6.3 Political and Organisational Factors

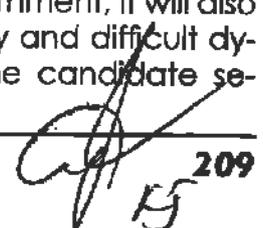
Politically and organizationally having national, provincial and local elections at the same time has a number of advantages:

- 1) It will contribute to reducing election fatigue, which is compounded by the overlap of elections and internal ANC processes.
- 2) It can free ANC structures to take up programmes of action and campaigns based on community issues. ANC structures are generally weak and inward looking outside of election.
- 3) It can increase voter turnout, especially for the local component of elections. This is positive for the strengthening and deepening of our democracy. The ANC benefits from increased voter turnout.
- 4) A strong positive national election campaign can lift support at a local level and mitigate local challenges.
- 5) Holding elections at the same time can also address the increasing tendency for national, provincial and local issues to become intertwined.
- 6) It makes greater flexibility in candidate selection and cadre deployment possible.

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On the other hand, there are a number of political and organizational disadvantages:

- 1) We run the risk that intense, systematic voter contact will only take place once in five years. The argument that this will be made up for by freeing our structures to engage in community orientated campaigns is a hypothesis that remains to be tested. Election campaigns force our structures to engage with voters, and in recent elections we seldom reached more than 20% of ANC voters. Our communication campaigns during elections have a far greater reach and would also have to be replaced with more dynamic ongoing communication and engagement if we move towards elections once every five years.
- 2) The reality is that the ANC does very little outreach and community engagement. Notwithstanding the fact that our annual programmes of action always include outreach and community engagement, these programmes are never carried out on the scale and intensity as during election campaigns. If voters really only see us once in five years. Notwithstanding repeated resolutions to train cadres and engage more effectively, the reality is that this generally happens in the run-up to elections and conferences. Election campaigns provide the opportunity to focus on our policies and politics. They act as mass civic and cadre education moments. We must ask ourselves it would be wise to move to synchronised elections before we have demonstrated the ability to engage in a sustainable way.
- 3) Local government elections have tended to act as political weather vanes, or miner's canaries, sending warning signals of voter discontent in time for the organization to take corrective action. The 2016 local government elections are a case in point.
- 4) Combined elections will involve up to five ballots in those local municipalities that fall under district municipalities. This might lead to voter confusion and exacerbate the "AIC syndrome."
- 5) Related to the above, a proliferation of candidates (and ballots) might contribute to the growing tendency for independent candidates and smaller parties to contest elections. It might also increase the propensity of voters to "split" their vote amongst parties across different spheres of government.
- 6) It might add to the complexity of framing a manifesto and defining core messages. The 2016 local government election was a local government election that was contested on essentially national issues. On the other hand, the 2019 national and provincial elections were characterized by a very high level of local issues.
- 7) Much as a strong, dynamic national campaign can lift support and voter turnout at a local level, a high degree of discontent over local issues can pull down national support, or lead to a protest vote or boycott of all voting.
- 8) Historically protests have tended to decline during local government election years. This has been explained by increased voter contact during which concerns raised by voters are listened and attended to. However, increasingly, protests are become linked to the electoral process itself. Protestors are not threatening to withhold or change their votes but to stop the voting process from taking place altogether.
- 9) Whilst holding national, provincial and local elections at the same will enable the organization to take a more holistic approach to candidate selection and deployment of cadres across the three spheres of government, it will also add to the complexity and difficult dynamics inherent in the candidate se-


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lection process. Furthermore, having the organization as a whole engaged in the selection of candidates at the same time will mean that all levels of leadership become interested parties, limiting their ability to exercise oversight over processes at other levels. The 2011 and 2016 local government candidate selections processes have highlighted many of these challenges. This could be mitigated by the establishment of an empowered Electoral Commission to run all candidate selection processes and to make rules that are less open to manipulation.

- 10) We also run the risk of introducing the complex and difficult dynamics of local government demarcation and ward delimitation, that often lead to boycotts in certain areas, into national and provincial elections.
- 11) Holding national, provincial and local elections at the same time might impact negatively on participatory democracy and accountability at local level.

4.6.4 Election Management Factors

The following factors related to the management of elections should be considered:

- 1) Holding national, provincial and local elections at the same time will add to the complexity of the electoral process. A national and provincial election entails the preparation of one national ballot and nine provincial ballots. Voters are able to cast a national ballot anywhere in the country and a provincial ballot anywhere in the province where they are registered.
- 2) If elections were to be held on the same day voters in metro municipalities will have to cast four ballots: national PR, provincial PR, metro PR, and metro ward ballots. In local municipalities this will increase to 5 ballots: national-PR, provincial-PR, district-PR, local-PR, and local-ward ballots.
- 3) The greater number of ballots involved in an election will contribute to prolonging the duration of voting process. Already, the ANC is disadvantaged by long queues in ANC strongholds. This might require voting to take place over more than one day. This will entail significant costs and might well reduce the savings gained by holding national, provincial and local elections on the same day. It will also be necessary to secure and store electoral material overnight. This might open the space for doubts to be cast on the integrity of the electoral process.
- 4) These concerns might be mitigated by the introduction of electronic voting systems. However, these systems remain untested and the experience with them has been uneven, with some countries reporting great success and others reverting to paper-based systems after constitutional challenges or cyber-attacks.
- 5) The increased number of ballots might lead to a higher proportion of spoilt ballots. Some of the areas with the lowest levels of education and literacy will have the highest number of ballots. Intensive voter education will be required.
- 6) The counting of votes will also take longer. It might not be possible for the same team of election officials and party agents to complete the counting of votes at a station within a single session, again raising concerns regarding the security and integrity of the electoral process.
- 7) The logistics involved in the design, printing, distribution and safeguarding of large numbers of ballots will be considerable.
- 8) Another consideration is maintaining the capacity of the IEC to conduct

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elections if it is idle for five years in between elections. It would necessitate retraining of most presiding officers and key staff.

4.6.5 Fiscal Savings

Our starting point must be that the quality and depth of democracy does not come cheap. Democracy is the foundation upon which a National Democratic Society is built. The costs saved by holding national, provincial and local elections at the same time will have to be quantified empirically.

The 2016 local government elections cost approximately R1.5 billion for two voter registration weekends and election day. The 2019 national and provincial elections cost R1.7 billion for one voter registration weekend and election day. The complexity of a unified election, while not doubling costs, would probably still cost about 65% of the cost of separate elections.

4.6.6 Party Funding Factors

Holding national, provincial and local elections at the same time will reduce the frequency of costly elections campaigns that threaten to bankrupt political parties or keep them locked in perpetual cycles of crippling debt that increase their exposure to the risk integrity compromising fundraising activities.

On the other hand, the costs involved in the increased complexity of running national, provincial and local election campaigns at the same time might off-set some of the savings. Parties would also have to fund substitute ways of communicating and engaging with constituencies.

5. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

5.1 National Government

The Constitution sets out the principles and the broad framework for an electoral system. The detail is left to Parliament to determine in national legislation.

The National Assembly must consist of no fewer than 350 and no more than 400 women and men elected as members [Section 46(1)].

These members must be elected in terms of an electoral system that complies with the following requirements: (a) is prescribed by national legislation; (b) is based on the national common voters roll; (c) provides for a minimum voting age of 18 years; and (d) results, in general, in proportional representation.

The Constitution does not prescribe election dates, only terms of office. The National Assembly is elected for a term of five years [Section 49(1)(a)]. It is the President who proclaims the date for an election. This date must be within 90 days after the expiry of the National Assembly's five-year term.

The President must dissolve the National Assembly after it has adopted a resolution to dissolve by a majority of its members. This can only happen after three years have passed since it was elected [Section 50(1)].

5.2 Provincial Government

Similar provisions apply to provincial legislatures. A provincial legislature consists of women and men elected as members in terms of an electoral system that: (a) is prescribed by national legislation; (b) is based on that province's segment of the national common voters roll; (c) provides for a minimum voting age of 18 years; and (d) re-

[Handwritten Signature]
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sults, in general, in proportional representation." [Section 105].

A provincial legislature is elected for a term of five years [Section 108(1)(a)]. It is the Premier who proclaims the date for an election. This date must be within 90 days after the expiry of the provincial legislature's five-year term.

The Premier must dissolve a provincial legislature if the members of the legislature pass a resolution to dissolve. This can only happen after three years have passed since it was elected. [Section 109(1)].

It is important to remember that while we refer "*the national and provincial elections*", these are actually 10 different elections. Constitutionally, provinces can hold elections on dates different from national elections and from other provinces.

5.3 Local Government

Similarly, the Constitution does not prescribe the detail of the local government electoral system. It provides that the election of members to a municipal council must be in accordance with national legislation.

The Constitution goes on to provide that national legislation must prescribe a system of proportional representation based on a municipality's segment of the national common voters roll.

The Constitution then provides for two options:

Option 1 provides for the election of members from lists of party candidates drawn up in a party's order of preference.

Option 2 provides for proportional representation, combined with a system of ward representation based on that municipality's segment of the national common voters roll.

The system provided for in the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act corresponds with Option 2: a system that combines proportional lists and wards.

Importantly, the Constitution provides that whatever electoral system is chosen for local government, it must result, in general, in proportional representation. [Section 157(2)]. Overall proportionality is interpreted as adding all ward and PR votes to determine the number of councillors each party receives in terms of the proportion of votes cast for that party.

The Constitution provides that the term of a Municipal Council may be no more than five years, as determined by national legislation. [Section 159]. The Minister responsible for local government proclaims the election date.

The Constitution provides that the objects of local government are, amongst others: (a) to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities, (b) to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government. [Section 152(1)].

5.4 Cooperative Governance

The Constitution provides that in the Republic, government is constituted as national, provincial, local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. [Section 40(1)].

The distinctive, yet interdependent and interrelated nature of the three spheres and their specific mandates are important to consider in discussing the electoral system and the scheduling of elections.

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5.5 Summary

In summary then, we can highlight the following Constitutional provisions:

- 1) The Constitution does not prescribe election dates - only the terms of the National Assembly, provincial legislatures and municipal councils.
- 2) Elections are constitutionally distinct events that can, but do not have to be held at the same time.
- 3) Regular elections must be held to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness.
- 4) The three spheres of government are distinctive, interdependent, interrelated.
- 5) There is an emphasis on democracy and community involvement in local government

Elections are central to democracy and the strategic objective of building a National Democratic Society - not a necessary inconvenience or compliance issue that must be discharged in the most efficient way possible before getting on with "real work."

The dynamic relationship between form and content, process and outcome, must be kept in mind when we discuss what electoral system best gives expression to the ideal of a National Democratic Society.

NOTES

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Annexure “CR7”

**POLITICAL OVERVIEW BY ANC PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA AT THE
MEETING OF THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

IRENE, PRETORIA

26 JULY 2019

Comrades,

Welcome to the first regularly scheduled NEC since the May 2019 National Elections. There have been a few special NEC meetings and an NEC Lekgotla to give shape and content to the work of government, but this is the first regularly scheduled NEC since the elections.

We have hit the road running in some respects – MPs and MPLs have been sworn in, the national and provincial executives are in place and the work of the sixth Administration is proceeding in earnest in all centres of government.

At the time when we should have been building on the positive elections outcome, we are becoming sidetracked by our internal challenges.

The country is also facing several challenges such as the negative growth of the economy and ongoing job losses. While the interest rate reduction has provided some relief, business confidence remains at a low ebb. The SOEs remain a mill around our necks, the Eskom bail-out is exposing us to the possibility of a credit ratings downgrade in November or early 2020.

People are suffering increased levels of crime, especially in the Western Cape.

Simultaneously, our movement has been confronted by a flurry of adverse findings by the Public Protector against a few leaders of the ANC. These findings are supported by a relatively small and vocal opposition party who purports to be upholding the values of the Constitution whilst also undermining constitutional democracy by, for instance, seeking to deny members of Parliament their right to speak in the House.

These events, despite the serious role of the Office of the Public Protector in our democracy, seek to distract us from governing and they also seek to distract us from addressing the very serious socio-economic challenges faced by our people.

Our people rightly expect the ANC to address the malaise in the country and we must be focused on implementing the decisions of the movement to address the challenges mentioned.



The ANC must remain steadfast in our resolve to address the cause of our people. While dealing with all the challenges and distractions thrown at us, we must keep our eyes on our strategic objectives and not become diverted from creating a better life for all.

Public Protector's Report

The Public Protector recently released a report in which she made findings that I had violated the Executive Ethics Code and the Constitution. I have since announced that I would be seeking an urgent judicial review of the report, its findings and remedial action.

In approaching this issue – and in deciding on this course of action – there are a number of issues of principle that need to be affirmed:

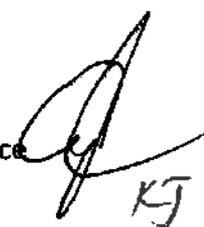
- Firstly, the supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law. No office in the country and no person is above the law. The President, like the Public Protector, like all of us, is equally bound by the law and answerable to the Constitution.
- Secondly, the President has a Constitutional responsibility to uphold, defend and respect the Constitution, and to promote the unity of the nation and that which will advance the country. As the Head of State, I may not in any way act in a manner that is contrary to that responsibility.
- Thirdly, the Public Protector is an essential institution established by our Constitution to support democracy and safeguard the rights of our people. It is essential that the Public Protector enjoys the confidence of South Africans, acts impartially, within the law and according to the Constitution.
- Fourthly, our courts have been assigned by the Constitution the authority to ultimately determine all disputes of a legal and Constitutional nature. The courts are independent and subject only to the Constitution.

As the ANC and as cadres of the ANC deployed into the State and other areas, we have a responsibility to uphold these principles and respect, strengthen and defend these institutions. They are fundamental to our Constitutional democracy and to the advancement of the National Democratic Revolution.

In the current context, we have a revolutionary responsibility to safeguard the integrity and impartiality of the Public Protector as an important institution designed to advance the interests of ordinary South Africans.

We must acknowledge, however, that for some time – even before the current incumbent came into office – the office of the Public Protector had wittingly or unwittingly become a factor in the political contestation taking place in our country. This development has undermined the standing and authority of the Public Protector.

We have a responsibility, as the leading force of the NDR, to do everything we can to insulate the office of the Public Protector from even the perception of political interference



or bias. In particular, we must be careful not to encourage a sense that the Public Protector may be used to advance factional agendas within the ANC.

In my statement on Sunday evening, I went to great lengths to explain that my decision to take the Public Protector's report on judicial review should not be seen as a comment on the person, competence or motives of the Public Protector. My concern is with the contents of the report and a determination that the law is applied correctly and consistently.

I don't think it is appropriate or necessary for me to discuss here the Public Protector's findings or the grounds on which I intend to challenge them in court. The matter will soon be before the courts and – as our Constitution directs – they should be allowed to make a determination.

ANC leadership contests

There is one matter arising from the Public Protector's report that we may, as this NEC, want to give attention to.

In investigating the complaints from the DA and EFF about a Parliamentary reply that I gave on 6 November last year, the Public Protector decided to investigate the funding and financial arrangements of what was known as the CR17 campaign. In doing so, my legal representatives tell me, the Public Protector exceeded the scope of her powers.

While this is a matter that the courts will need to decide on, this may nevertheless be an appropriate opportunity for the NEC to have a discussion on our approach to internal leadership contests.

For years, we have referred to the principles contained in *Through the Eye of a Needle*, but we need to ask whether it provides sufficient guidance in such a contested and factionalised environment. Does *The Eye of a Needle* speak to the realities of the ANC of the present?

If we are to put an end to the politics of factionalism, patronage and the unbridled contest for resources, we need, among other things, to have an honest discussion about a new approach to internal leadership contests.

In responding to the Public Protector, my legal team went to great lengths to explain the funding and operations of the CR17 campaign, providing a level of transparency and detail that no other Presidential campaign, past or present, has done.

I am not suggesting that other Presidential campaigns should now do the same, but I do think we should draw on the experience of the 54th National Conference to rethink how we approach such contests.

We need to ask questions such as:

- Should potential candidates – for President, Provincial Chair or any other position – explicitly state their availability for election from the outset? Is the idea that a person



should wait until the outcome of the nomination process before declaring their availability not out of touch with reality?

- Should we clearly define forms of campaigning that are permissible and those that are not? *The Eye of a Needle* says that members should be allowed to canvass openly, but what does that mean in practice?
- Do we accept that major internal contests now involve the establishment of a campaign machinery with many of the resources and functions of our traditional election campaigns? Do we want to explicitly permit that and provide guidelines on how they should operate?
- What guidelines do we give on fundraising? How do we make sure that there is greater transparency and accountability? Do we place limits on funds that can be raised? How do we ensure that state resources aren't abused?
- Fundamentally, the question we need to answer is how do we ensure that leadership contests do indeed produce the best cadres to lead transformation? How do we use them to unite and strengthen the movement? How do we use them as a platform for political education and cadre development?

In the absence of clear, appropriate and realistic guidelines, our leadership contests will continue to play themselves out in the shadows, in conditions of secrecy and mistrust, encouraging patronage and factionalism.

This, clearly is not a discussion we are ready to have now, but I would suggest that we agree to have a structured discussion on this issue in the near future in the context of the organisational renewal mandated by the 54th National Conference.

Developments at the Zondo Commission

The Zondo Commission of Inquiry into state capture continues its work and, understandably, continues to receive much public attention.

We understood from the outset that proceedings at the Zondo Commission were likely to produce damaging allegations against some of our comrades and could also be damaging to the image of the movement.

The 54th National Conference nevertheless gave a clear instruction that this Commission should be set up and that it should be given the responsibility to investigate all allegations of state capture and corruption in public bodies.

Conference understood that this process was absolutely necessary if we were to bring an end to this corruption and restore our public institutions and state owned entities.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'KJ', is located in the bottom right corner of the page.

Recently, our former president, comrade Jacob Zuma, made presentations at the Zondo Commission wherein he said he was provoked to make certain disclosures. He made very serious accusations against two leaders of the ANC.

We can either discuss the matter here or investigate the allegations made. Allegations about apartheid spies have been in the movement since the days of exile and should be handled with the greatest care and sensitivity. Madiba chose to approach the matter in a specific way wherein he kept all the disclosures to himself and did not even share the information with his officials. He chose this approach as the information had the potential to destroy our movement.

I propose that the Officials discuss the matter and consult the affected comrades. We must contain this issue and not fuel the type of sensationalism loved by our opponents and the media. Let us put the interests of the country and the ANC above our individual or factional interests.

These developments have led some comrades to request that we re-evaluate our approach to the Zondo Commission.

The ANC will speak for itself at the Zondo Commission and will answer to any and all accusations made against the organisation. There may also be a need to clarify organisational processes where these have been mischaracterised or distorted; for any reason.

We must keep in mind that the veracity of most of the evidence has not been tested; that no findings have been made by the Commission and no person should be condemned on the basis of untested allegations.

We must remain steadfast to our decision to refrain from commenting on ongoing proceedings and continue to encourage our members to bring any and all evidence of state capture to the Commission.

At the same time, we must encourage our law-enforcement agencies to have regard to proceedings at the Commission, and to act where necessary.

As I said in Parliament recently:

The road ahead will be long and difficult.

We will continue to encounter resistance from those who have benefited from acts of criminality and wrongdoing.

As a society, as public representatives, as individual citizens, we must stand firm, we must keep our nerve, we must maintain our resolve.

Through our actions and through our utterances, we must reinforce the rule of law and show respect for due process.



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The ANC cannot be ambiguous on this matter. Our stance against state capture and corruption must be clear and unwavering.

Unity and organisational renewal

The NASREC Conference gave us a dual mandate to unite and renew our organisation. We were also given a mandate to unite and renew South Africa.

This call for unity was made in the remembrance of former president Mandela's clarion call reminding us that *"Unity is the rock on which the African National Congress was founded,.."*.

A united ANC is a prerequisite for stability, growth and unity of the South African nation. Precisely because we lead society and govern the country; any real or perceived instability in the ANC affects the country negatively.

This sense of instability adds to the overall unease and despair caused by low economic growth, high unemployment, poverty and inequality. Ordinary South Africans find it difficult to have confidence in their leaders and the future of our country when leaders of the ANC are not united. Equally, our divisions lead to a lack of business confidence which impacts negatively on our economic prospects.

Let us admit in this meeting that we are our own worst enemies at times. This should have been the time when we close ranks and unite for the sake of the country.

We have spoken about closing ranks and defending the organisation on a number of occasions since the NASREC Conference, but comrades are still seemingly too busy tearing each other down and doing harm to the ANC in the process.

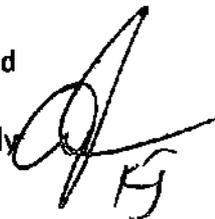
Comrades are fighting one another; we have public spats and we attack each other and the movement relentlessly.

We gossip on social media, in various WhatsApp groups and even kill each other. Just this month alone, four comrades have been killed.

In 1998 when addressing the SACP, President Thabo Mbeki spoke about this demon of lying about other comrades and the urgent need to address it. He said:

"This manner of proceeding, which is very new in the Congress Movement, with which all the older cadres of our Movement are completely unfamiliar, of laying false charges against one another within the movement so that we can pose as the sole genuine representatives of the people, is something that we must all address.

"This manner of proceedings which was unfamiliar 21 years ago, has entrenched itself and has become familiar. It is now part of the organisation's DNA and part of our rewarding system. There are people who occupy senior positions both in the state and the party only



on the basis of their ability to fabricate and spread falsehoods about other comrades. The then unfamiliar, now familiar practice still requires our attention!"

These accusations against other comrades has now become almost normalised in our movement and we should begin to act against ill-discipline.

Despite marked progress since Nasrec, we have not overcome the problem of factionalism and disunity. The branches of the ANC prefer unity. The people prefer unity. It is us as the leadership that sow disunity.

When I speak of unity; it is not an artificial unity that papers over the cracks and differences and that is used to hide wrongdoing. This is unity that each of us must contribute to through working towards the people's cause of building a better life for all.

Unity is a process and in building unity, we must confront the difficult issues. When we have issues with one another; let us use our internal processes to air those differences.

You are only harming the organisation, and the country, by some of your behaviour in public and particularly on social media. It is wrong for comrades to attack each other on social media; it is wrong for senior leaders of the ANC to attack the judiciary on social media, it is wrong for senior leaders to attack Chapter 9 Institutions on social media.

Our fights have a detrimental effect on professionals and intellectuals. We should be aware of the possibility of a 'brain drain' of black professionals as they see no future in South Africa.

We should be disciplined in word and deed. I am willing to lead the charge on instilling organisational discipline.

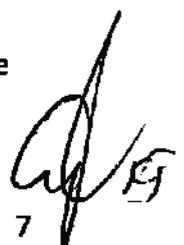
We have now reached a stage where consequences must follow the ongoing and flagrant violation of the organisation's social media and other policies.

In fact, all instances of ill-discipline must be addressed without fear or favour.

The OR Tambo School is implementing the programme of inducting leaders and structures and will soon be supplemented by a comprehensive, mass based programme of political education. We encourage all NEC members to also complete the online political education programme. All ANC members must engage in continuous political education and leaders must be exemplary in this regard.

Let us honour the resolution of the 54th Conference and spend more time doing work in branches and communities.

The ANC must, once again, become the uncontested leader of society. Our engagement in the battle of ideas brought about a situation where some of the ANC's ideas, e.g. non-racialism and non-sexism became nearly hegemonic in South African society and this is the space we must re-occupy.



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The nature and quality of our ideas and arguments must ensure that the ANC's ideological positions hold sway in society. This means that our arguments must, at all times, be logical, persuasive and informed by evidence.

Tracking implementation of organisational priorities

The implementation of our policies must become seamless, especially as some of the policies adopted at the 54th National conference are radical shifts necessitated by material conditions.

The constitution of the ANC mandates the President to pronounce, explain and articulate the policies of our movement. In this regard; we are currently positioning the Presidency to take a more active role and engaging the structures of our movement and the general public.

The presidency will develop programmes to ensure that progress on policy implementation is communicated across structures and on a multitude of organisational and other platforms.

The ANC must empower our sub-committees to track policy implementation, influence the development of new policy and be able to advocate change where policies are not working or outdated.

We did a study of how we have fared with translating policy to legislation from 2009-2018. Only 28% (214 of the 765) of the Bills on Cabinet's Annual Legislative Programme was actually introduced to Parliament.

Of the Bills introduced between 2013-2018, only 50% could be directly cross-referenced to objectives identified in either the 2007 (Polokwane) and 2012 (Manguang) Conferences or the National Development Plan.

The ANC must do better. The ANC must identify strategic legislative priorities and instruct its deployees in government to give effect to these rather than leaving it to individual deployees (ministers). This would mean that the NEC sub-committees will have to identify and prioritise the organisation's objectives, develop concrete implementation plans and ensure that this exercise informs Cabinet's legislative objectives.

NEC-subcommittees must therefore be capacitated to track the success or failure of government programmes. This capacity is severely hampered by the lack of full-time policy coordinators and researchers in the organisation. Part of our organisational renewal strategy must speak to how the ANC can attract and retain skilled professionals to enhance our work.

We must simply track how long it has taken us to give effect to certain policies from as far back as the 49th National Conference in Bloemfontein in 1994 to understand how we have underperformed in holding our deployees to account.



Let us track, for example, how we have fared in returning the land to the people.

Land Reform and land redistribution

We enacted the Restitution of Lands Act in 1994 and created the institutions to support restitution processes.

South Africa adopted its final Constitution in 1996 and property rights are protected in section 25 of the Constitution.

South Africa adopted a White Paper on Land Reform in 1997 and subsequently enacted a whole range of legislation that governed security of tenure, communal land ownership, prevention of illegal eviction and unlawful occupation and also issues of apartheid spatial planning.

All of the legislation (and institutions and programmes) above were meant to address the historical injustice of land dispossession as well as apartheid spatial planning that kept the majority of the people on the periphery of economic development.

Comprehensive monitoring by the organisation would have given a complete picture of the extent to which we were failing to meet our objectives of returning the land to the people.

Whilst we were aware that the pace of land reform and redistribution was slow, we had not fully grasped the extent of our failure.

Researchers at UWC estimated that only about 4.6% of land had been redistributed by 2012. Whereas, the Institute for Race Relations estimated the figure to have been closer to 15.5% in 2012. What is clear from the above is that by 2012, government was falling far short of meeting its target of redistributing 30% of land to black South Africans.

The 53rd ANC Conference in 2012 therefore resolved that the model of 'willing buyer-willing seller' approach to land reform was not working and that government needed to use the 'just and equitable' model as contained in section 25 of the constitution.

This was followed by a range of measures to increase the pace of land reform, but it was estimated that by 2017 land reform had slowed down dramatically and only 5.46% of commercial agricultural land had been redistributed.

This illustrates that something drastic needed to be done and the ANC's 54th National Conference resolved that government must pursue expropriation of land without compensation as one of the mechanisms to speed up the pace of land reform.

The ANC in Parliament subsequently, in February 2018, amended an opposition motion to ensure that we put in place a comprehensive process to facilitate expropriation of land and enact the necessary supporting legislation to give effect to our Conference resolution.



This led Parliament to establish a Joint Constitutional Review Committee on a possible review of s25 of the Constitution. The committee held extensive public hearings, consulted with experts and stakeholders and began to consolidate public opinion with regard to land reform and the conditions under which expropriation in the public interest should take place.

Parliament adopted the report of the Joint Constitutional Review Committee in November 2018 and established an Ad Hoc Committee to initiate and introduce legislation amending section 25 of the Constitution. The supporting legislation that must also be adopted will include the Expropriation Bill.

The 6th Parliament has revived the Ad Hoc Committee on Amending section 25 and it will continue its work to put in place the legislative framework to implement our resolution.

National Health Insurance (NHI)

We have been talking about implementing the National Health Insurance (NHI) since we first took the decision at the 52nd Conference in 2007. We reaffirmed our commitment to NHI at the 53rd Conference in 2012 and at the 54th Conference in 2017. The ANC also promised people the implementation of NHI in our 2014 and 2019 Manifestos.

It is only in this year, 2019, that we are finally introducing legislation to make the NHI a reality. This only became possible as we had embarked, early in 2018, on a collaborative process that involved several experts and stakeholders in the health sector and this culminated in the Health Summit in October 2018. The ANC government succeeded in building a critical mass of support around the NHI.

We recently signed the Presidential Health Compact to establish a unified, integrated and responsive health system to provide quality health care and support the implementation of NHI.

South African Reserve Bank (SARB)

We remain committed to our 2017 resolution to bring about full state ownership of the South African Reserve Bank. Our resource constraints and pressing socio-economic challenges do not allow us to give immediate effect to this decision.

If we want to bring about full ownership at this stage, we will be forced to pay "just and fair compensation" to foreign shareholders. The concept of just and fair has not been clarified in law and the courts may compel us to pay exorbitant amounts to foreign shareholders. Our fiscus cannot afford this additional burden at this time.

Let me remind you that the October 2018 meeting of the Alliance Political Council called for the re-establishment of the Alliance task team on economic policy and have a comprehensive discussion on a macro-economic framework that supports our developmental objectives. This ANC must lead the debate on appropriate monetary and fiscal policy and we request the SGO to action this decision of the Political Council.



At this juncture, let me caution that an ANC who cannot speak with one voice on these matters will not lead the debate. The ETC must therefore lead the whole ANC and ensure that we do not contradict one another in this crucial area.

Addressing unemployment

Since the advent of democracy, government has introduced many initiatives to meaningfully reduce unemployment and these initiatives have shown varying levels of success.

StatsSA says that unemployment has increased from 21,5% to almost 28,0% between 2008 and 2018.

We need drastic action and radical interventions to address this situation. We need to implement our plans for job creation and build partnerships across all sectors of society in support of our plans.

We will hold another investment conference towards the end of 2019 and build on the success of last year's investment summit. We manage to raise nearly R300 billion worth of investments through the 2018 conference.

We are implementing targeted plans to address youth unemployment, through scaling up the Youth Employment Service (YES), expanding the National Youth Service and creating work-based internships for graduates from technical and vocational institutions.

The NEC sub-committees must call the deployees responsible for implementing all these decisions and act as an early warning mechanism to government if they see us faltering. The ANC must lead.

You told us at the end of the June 2019 NEC Lekgotla that the time has come for us to *Khawuleza* and make sure government does its job better and faster.

We are adopting a bottoms up approach of development and finalising the nuts and bolts of the *Khawuleza* integrated district based approach to addressing service delivery challenges. This means targeted development – development that localises procurement and job creation, that promotes and supports local businesses, and that involves communities instead of imposing development strategies on them.

Government will touch the lives of people and work on a integrated approach. National departments, provincial and local governments must work together to address peoples' concerns.

National government *Izimbizo* will be preceded by engagement with ANC local structures and leaders. My vision is that these ANC structures will strengthen governance, strengthen oversight and lead development in their districts.



International relations

The ANC must use international relations as an effective instrument for promoting our national interests, through the instruments of economic diplomacy and trade.

South Africa, and the ANC, must take the lead in uniting our continent behind the objectives of Agenda 2063 and pursue the socio-political and economic integration of our continent. A united Africa will be able to withstand incursions that seek to use Africa as a pawn in global contestations of power.

The ratification of the African Continental Agreement on Free Trade Area, which formalises inter-Africa free trade and boosts business spending, is an important step towards creating a bigger market for African goods and services. This can become even more important once Africa begins to fully experience the trade and other disruptions that will be caused by Brexit.

Conclusion

We have a lot of work ahead of us.

The challenges in front of us are many and multi-faceted.

Members of the ANC must subject ourselves to the interests of the movement and we must emerge from this meeting as a stronger, united force.

I repeat that we must not allow ourselves to become distracted by these temporary challenges. We must see them for what they are, regard them as serious and address them.

However, the ANC and its government will not be diverted from our strategic objective of creating a better life for all.

The ANC lives!

The ANC leads!



Annexure "CR8"

Report on the 49th ANC National Conference



**Bloemfontein
December 1994**

AKG

have expressed my confidence in the outgoing National Executive Committee, I have that confidence in the incoming National Executive Committee. As I say, they are men and women of high integrity and outstanding ability and commitment.

But we must never forget the saying that power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. It has happened in many countries that a liberation movement comes into power and the freedom fighters of yesterday become members of the government. Sometimes without any idea of mischief, precisely because they are committed and hard working, they concentrate so much on their portfolios that they forget about the people who put them in power, and become a class, a separate entity unto themselves, who are not accountable to their membership, and who rely on law, that now I am a Cabinet Minister, the political organisation that put me in power can do nothing.

One of the ways of preventing that temptation is for members of the Cabinet to go regularly to their areas, talk to the people. Go to the squatters or informal settlements, enter those rooms and see how people live, talk to them and also explain to them, on a regular basis, what the government is doing to give them feedback as to what the government is doing to address their needs. Such a disaster, I am confident, will not happen to these men and women. But it is not our good wishes that are going to avoid that disaster. It is an inbuilt system in your style of work that will prevent such disasters. I am confident that I lead a Cabinet that will endeavour to scrupulously avoid such pitfalls.

Lastly, I must congratulate the incoming National Executive. I am proud to lead such men and women of a high calibre. I also would like to thank all the members of the Preparatory Committee, the staff of the Secretary General, and all others who have helped for the remarkable work they have done to

make this conference the success it is. Similar thanks go to the staff and workers of this university. It was a significant gesture for this university to allow a conference of an organisation they once condemned as subversive, as treasonable, to hold a conference here.

Unfortunately, the behaviour of some of our delegates during these last five days left much to be desired. This point was made by the now Deputy President of this organisation, Cde Thabo Mbeki. Some of the things they did cannot be repeated, cannot be explained here. It would be discourteous to the audience for us to spell them out. I had, yesterday, to contact the Acting Rector here, and to apologise for that disgraceful behaviour. Now, that is an indictment, not only against the organisation, even though we know, as the Deputy President said yesterday, that these are not members of the organisation. The Deputy President is more diplomatic than I am. What he was saying was that these people who behaved in this manner are men who have been infiltrated into our organisation by the enemy to tarnish our image. It is the duty of every leader of the delegation to investigate this behaviour. They ought to have been more efficient and more strict than they were. They should have been able to account for the movement of all their delegates, and now that they have not done so I hope they'll go back to their areas and conduct a searching investigation, because people who behave in this way are not fit to be members of the ANC.

And my final word of thanks goes to the delegates, as I have said, for the high level of discussion they have shown. It was from all angles, an impressive performance. Please travel safely back to your areas, and I wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. Thank you.

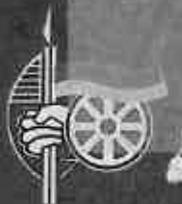


Annexure “CR9”

All power to the people



President's Report





**POLITICAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT,
NELSON MANDELA
TO THE 50TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:
MAFIKENG DECEMBER 16, 1997**



gance of careerism within our ranks. Many among our members see their membership of the ANC as a means to advance their personal ambitions to attain positions of power and access to resources for their own individual gratification.

Accordingly, they work to manipulate the movement to create the conditions for their success.

During the last three years, this has created such problems as division within the movement, conflicts based on differences among individuals, the encouragement of rank indiscipline leading to the undermining of organisational integrity, conflict within communities and the demoralisation of some of the best cadres of our organisation.

Inevitably, this has also created the possibility for the opponents of our movement and our revolutionary perspectives to intensify their own offensive to promote their objectives which are opposed to our goal of creating a better life for all.

In reality, during the last three years, we have found it difficult to deal with such careerists in a decisive manner. We, ourselves, have therefore allowed the space to emerge for these opportunists to pursue their counter-revolutionary goals, to the detriment of our movement and struggle.

During this period, we have also been faced with various instances of corruption involving our own members, including those who occupy positions of authority by virtue of the victory of the democratic revolution.

These have sought either to steal public resources or to extort financial tributes from the people in return for services to which the people are entitled and which those in authority are legally and morally obliged to provide.

This is not surprising in the light of what we have already said in this Report about the entrenchment of corruption in our society in general and the consequent desperate desire to accumulate wealth in the shortest possible period of time.

And yet, what should characterise the people we draw into our ranks should be precisely this, that these are those among our people, who are appalled by this corruption, and are motivated to create the kind of society that would be dedicated to rooting out this disease.

Clearly, we have to take all necessary measures to purge ourselves of such members and organise ourselves in a way that will make it difficult for corrupt elements to gain entry into our movement.

We have also seen the emergence of elitism among some of our members. Notions have surfaced of entitlement to decision-making positions, which have led to a break in the sustained interaction between some of our leaders, on one hand, and our organisation and people, on the other.

Clearly, one of the critical problems we have to contend with is that, necessarily, we have acquired many members who have no experi-



A handwritten signature in black ink, located in the bottom right corner of the page. The signature is stylized and appears to consist of several overlapping loops and lines, possibly representing the initials 'JF'.

Annexure “CR10”

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



AS AMENDED BY AND ADOPTED AT THE 51ST NATIONAL CONFERENCE
DECEMBER 2002

PREFACE

The 51st Conference of the African National Congress, 2002 confirmed the Strategy and Tactics adopted at the 50th Conference as a guide to action for the coming period. Conference also resolved that an explanatory note should be appended to the document, in the form of this *Preface to the 2002 edition of the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC*.

The Preface aims at assisting in the interpretation of our Strategy and Tactics in the light of new developments and experience gained in this period. In this regard, a full understanding of the objectives and programme of the ANC requires that this Strategy and Tactics should be read as a whole.

OBJECTIVES AND METHODS OF STRUGGLE

The Strategy and Tactics of the ANC define the broad objectives of the struggle: the kind of society we seek to create. The document identifies the forces that are the main drivers of that struggle and those opposed to them.

In the circumstances characterised primarily by the attainment of political freedom in 1994, the Strategy and Tactics identify the variety of methods at the disposal of revolutionaries to achieve a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society.

At the core of these tactics is the creative use of instruments of state power, steadily but surely resorting to the hands of the motive forces of fundamental change – a state that is being transformed to serve the interests of all the people. For the first time African people in particular and blacks in general are taking charge of their destiny and, together with all other democrats, they command the authority of a state legitimately and popularly at the helm of the management of social change.

This complements in a decisive way the instruments of mass organisation and mobilisation that we have historically commanded.

The significance of this new situation will take years to clarify itself in the mind of all the social forces in our country and beyond our borders. In some instances, practice will march ahead of the theory required to illuminate this. In other instances, new theoretical approaches will emerge, but take time to implement in practice.

CHARACTERISATION OF AN EPOCH

The Strategy and Tactics document raises some of the complex of issues thrown up by this new situation. As its title itself suggests, we had by 1997 moved from building the foundation to building on the foundation for a better life. In a sense, the 51st Conference in 2002 takes us further along this road, by

asserting this as a phase in which we have started to experience **people's power in action**.

The definition of what that better life means as outlined in these Strategy and Tactics remains unchanged, guided by the ideals contained in the Freedom Charter. While, since 1994, the instruments to implement change remain broadly the same, how we wield them and set them to work, will continually change as the circumstances of struggle themselves change.

The 50th Conference signalled the challenges of the post-1994 epoch, which include: how the motive forces wield state power without glorifying its significance at the expense of mass organisation; the dangers of social distance that may develop between the cadres operating in government and the mass of the people who should continue to be the drivers of change; as well as the opportunities and challenges of an emergent array of class forces within the ranks of the motive forces.

The Strategy and Tactics document also seeks to integrate the principle and practice of gender equity into the interpretation of history, the definition of the present and mapping out the future. Much improvement is still required in this regard, to ensure that we improve our understanding of the relationship between race, class and gender in our society.

It also interprets the new global situation in a balanced, realistic and optimistic way. The end of the Cold War marked the end of the previous period characterised by rivalry between two competing power blocs. The Strategy and Tactics further argues that, with the advent of a unipolar world, has come real difficulties of rapacious and uncaring social relations imposed across the globe in a system that operates virtually as one unit.

However, precisely because of this deepening integration, globalisation also results in growing inter-dependency. This creates space for Africa, the developing world and the poor across the globe to advance progressive demands and perspectives for new forms of global partnership, co-operation and solidarity. As such, the Strategy and Tactics document argues that opportunities exist for the transformation of a system that relies for its sustenance on the resources, markets and labour-power of developing countries; a system that, at the same time, destroys our shared global environment, marginalizes whole continents, regions and cultures, and impoverishes millions.

In the overall, the continuing relevance of any set of Strategy and Tactics depends not merely on the correctness of their propositions. It relies, above all, on the capacity of the revolutionary practitioners to apply these broad propositions to the concrete circumstances of struggle.

in which respects do the propositions of the Strategy and Tactics document require clarification? What has changed, and how has our understanding of the environment improved?

CHARACTER OF THE NDR

The Strategy and Tactics document defines in clear terms the character of the National Democratic Revolution in relation to apartheid socio-political relations that democracy is meant to eliminate. This character plays itself out in both class and national terms, in the intersection between national oppression and capitalist exploitation.

The document correctly argues that national liberation should be accompanied by programmes to improve the quality of life of especially the poor. However, it does not adequately elaborate on how these processes relate to economic power relations prevalent in our society.

A critical element of the programme for national emancipation should be the elimination of apartheid property relations. This requires: the de-racialisation of ownership and control of wealth, including land; equity and affirmative action in the provision of skills and access to positions of management; consolidation and pooling of the power of state capital and institutional and social capital in the hands of the motive forces; encouragement of the co-operative sector; as well as systematic and creative ways of working in partnership with private capital in a relationship that will be defined by both unity and struggle, co-operative engagement and contestation on fundamental issues. It requires the elimination of the legacy of apartheid super-exploitation and inequality, and the redistribution of wealth and income to benefit society as a whole, especially the poor.

This is a continuing struggle, which, as a matter of historical necessity, will loom ever larger as we proceed along the path of fundamental change. Because property relations are at the core of all social systems, the tensions that decisive application to this objective will generate will require dexterity in tact and firmness to principle.

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Emphasis in the Strategy and Tactics on the challenges of political, social and economic transformation is correct and speaks to the urgency of dealing with the human tragedy that apartheid exacted on our society.

Yet, a critical element of social transformation requires emphasis:

Fundamental change also demands the redefinition of the outlook, cultural values and moral attributes that characterise South African society. This is the realm of ideology – the battle of ideas – in which new values and mores that place humanism above greed and individual selfish interest need to be strongly asserted.

Without such broad cultural transformation, even the efforts aimed at changing material conditions will in the long run, but certainly, wilt in the friction between lofty ideal and the gravitational pull of greed, self-centredness and vice.

In this ideological struggle, the ANC needs clearly to define itself in relation to modern expressions of class and sectoral interests. The principal ideological currents, in this era of globalisation, in terms of which we need to contrast our own positions are neo-liberalism and modern ultra-leftism.

On the one extreme is the ideology of rampant capitalism, a system in which, as the Strategy and Tactics explains, formal democracy should be underpinned "by market forces to which all should kneel in the prayer: 'everyone for himself and the

Devil takes the hindmost!" This is at the core of the ideology of neo-liberalism and other such worldviews, which dare the democratic state to emasculate itself.

On the other extreme are ultra-left practices, assumptions and ideologies. A common feature of ultra-leftist tendencies is subjectivism – a confusion of what is "desirable" with what is actually and immediately possible. This results in all manner of voluntaristic adventures, including the advocacy of impossible and dangerous great leaps forward, which reflects a systematic inability to understand the dynamic complexity of objective factors.

In our South African conditions, ultra-leftism has historically been impatient with the national grievance of the oppressed and dismissive of the national democratic struggle and of the ANC-led Alliance. It fails to understand the national question as being a profoundly objective reality, shaped by centuries of colonial domination. As such, it advocates a working class class struggle that should be waged purely and only in "direct" pursuit of a system without exploitation. This would be achieved in a simplistic and dramatic abolition of the capitalist market with the state seizing the means of production.

This is at the core of the ideology of ultra-leftism which relates to the democratic state as the main target of its critique and action.

The ANC rejects both approaches. In our situation, positions that either advance the dictates of rapacious global social relations, or propagate the irrelevance of the national question and an adventurist struggle against these global relations, are a sure recipe for the defeat of the National Democratic Revolution.

To us, and indeed to all genuine revolutionaries, the historical task of national liberation is not a fleeting convenience or an ephemeral tactic. It is an objective requirement to eliminate the historical contradictions arising out of a system constructed over centuries of colonial domination.

But ours is more than just a national liberation struggle because it places the interests of the poor and the role of the working class at the centre of its theory and practice. We seek to build a developmental state with capacity to effect fundamental transformation – a state that approaches the issue of ownership of means of production on the basis of balance of evidence, informed by the needs of society, particularly the poor.

The ANC, as the leader of the national democratic struggle, is a disciplined force of the left, organised to conduct consistent struggle in pursuit of the interests of the poor.

MOTIVE FORCES OF THE NDR

The Strategy and Tactics document defines the motive forces as the black masses, those classes and strata that objectively and systemically stand to gain from the victory and consolidation of the national democratic revolution. It identifies the working class and the poor – in both rural and urban areas – as the core of these forces, the sectors whose material conditions and social position impel them consistently to pursue thorough-going change.

These motive forces include the black, emergent capitalist class, whose interests are served not only by formal political democracy; but also by the programme to change apartheid property relations. This class, as with other motive forces, needs to be organised and mobilised to serve the interests of reconstruction and development.

At the same time, the ANC needs to win over to the cause of transformation all other sections of South African society, including white workers, the middle strata and the bourgeoisie. They should consistently be persuaded to appreciate that their long-term interests reside in joint patriotic efforts to build a better life for all.

The changing nature of the environment in which the struggle is waged should over time redefine the alignment of all these forces, creating the possibility for the national democratic project incrementally to represent the broad interests of all the people. Such realignment may bring about a situation in which class antagonisms as such, primarily between labour and capital, emerge as the primary engine of the locomotive of further change. Yet the time is long off when such alignment will be shown of an apartheid colonial legacy in which a disproportionate number of the poor and marginalized are black.

CHARACTER OF THE ANC

The challenge of utilising terrains of political power and mass mobilisation imposes new demands on the ANC. The Strategy and Tactics document identifies some of these challenges.

In addition to these, the movement needs continually to sharpen its structures and systems in order to give effective leadership to all terrains of struggle, including government. This calls for observance of broad mandates, encouragement of initiative on matters of tactical detail, and the building of requisite capacity within the ANC for purposes of policy formulation.

In actual struggle, many issues need to be attended to in very specific terms. This in part gives rise to social movements that are issue-based, many of which pursue interests of communities. However, the positions of some of these movements may not necessarily coincide with those of the other motive forces, their understanding of the relationship between the sectoral and the general may not be optimal, and some of their tactics may not necessarily be along the general line of march of the liberation movement.

Though conditions may have changed, and though some of these tendencies express themselves in new ways, the experience itself is not new. As history has shown, the leader of the revolution has to find creative ways of giving leadership to such structures and activities of civil society. This requires theoretical acumen, leadership skills and organisational capacity.

The primary task of the ANC is to eradicate the primary contradictions thrown up by the system of apartheid. Further, the ANC should, on an on-going basis, master the art and science of managing secondary contradictions ("contradictions among the people"), and unite all who aspire for progressive change around minimum objectives that take the revolutionary process forward.

CHARACTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Since the adoption of the Strategy and Tactics document in 1997, new opportunities have emerged in the global arena to pursue the interests of the poor and marginalized. These include the formation of the African Union (AU) and adoption of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the outcomes of the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) and increased articulation by a number of multilateral bodies of the developmental interests of the South.

This has not happened by accident. It confirms the optimism in the Strategy and Tactics which informed the injunction that "it

is the task of revolutionary democrats and humanists everywhere to recognise dangers; but more critically, to identify opportunities in the search for a just, humane and equitable world order". We should not underestimate the difficulties posed by a unipolar world. Nor should we exaggerate these difficulties and miss the opportunities.

It is in this context that the standing of South Africa has been enhanced, at the core of the efforts of developing countries and Africa in particular to reverse the unequal power relations that define global politics and economics today.

In the midst of this, the system of global capitalism has witnessed many crises, exposing its incapacity to address in a lasting and comprehensive way, the plight of the world's poor.

The recent period has also witnessed attempts by leading circles in some developed countries to heighten international tension and insecurity. This includes unilateralism and the pursuit of a militarised global agenda that detracts from the key challenges of sustainable development, and fudges the real fault lines in global society.

Contained in this tendency is a grave danger of a global conflagration in which the poor, as always, will be the main losers.

The recent period has also brought to the fore the issue of terrorism – the deliberate targeting of civilians in armed conflict, which, as in the past, the ANC unreservedly condemns. Terrorism by anyone, in pursuit of whatever cause, is not only inhuman. It can also have the effect of encouraging militarism and global insecurity. The main losers, similarly, are the poor of the world.

In this context, the injunction in the Strategy and Tactics that the ANC should "aim to contribute to the restructuring of international relations in the interest of the poor" remains as relevant as ever. "We are moved in this regard by the conviction that, as long as injustice, poverty and conflict exist anywhere on the globe, so long will humanity find within itself the individuals, movements and governments to co-operate in their eradication. The ANC is a proud part of these international forces."

Programme of National Democratic Transformation

The transformation agenda outlined in this Strategy and Tactics document summarises the core challenges of implementing the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The main elements of this programme are: deepening democracy, good governance and the culture of human rights; transformation of the state; economic transformation; meeting social needs and consolidating people's safety and security.

As indicated earlier, the Strategy and Tactics document does not pay sufficient attention to the ideological struggle as a critical area of contestation, a centre of power in its own right. This relates to such matters as culture, media discourse, moral regeneration of society as well as the content of academic and civic education.

An important element of the programme for transformation is the development and preservation of the country's human resources. This includes the development of skills which are geared towards the needs of the economy and of society at large, and comprehensive strategies to address the challenge of unemployment.

Given the progression of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and the evolution of weapons to combat it, our programme of transformation should not only acknowledge this danger; but it must also put the campaign against it at the top of our agenda.

Our programmes should also, expressly reflect our focus on the needs of women, youth, children, the elderly and people with disabilities.

As we enter the Second Decade of Freedom (2004 – 2014), and the period leading to the Centenary of the founding of the ANC (2012), the detailed programmes of the movement need to outline the expectations, possibilities and broad targets being pursued in this period. This demands speedier implementation of our programmes, and a clearer understanding of the sequencing of policy actions and the time lags between policy determination, implementation and actual impact.

CONCLUSION

As the 51st Conference has resolved, this Strategy and Tactics document charts the path we should follow in the coming period.

Many of the changes since the 50th Conference in 1997 in fact confirm the basic conclusions reached in this document. The central challenge remains that of intensifying the struggle in line with the five pillars.

The clarification contained in this Preface should further sharpen both our understanding of the challenges we face and the implementation of the programmes to meet this challenge.

In the period since the 50th National Conference, the balance of forces has shifted in favour of the movement for fundamental change. This includes the ANC victory in the 1999 elections with an increased majority. Further, while opponents of change may still occupy strategic positions in a number of centres of power, they have failed to muster any significant force against the revolution.

It is our task, in the coming period, further to shift this balance in the interest of faster transformation. In the words of the Strategy and Tactics document:

"We call on all South Africans to join us in this march to a better future. We are keenly aware that it will take time to realise the strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. But the foundation has been laid, and the building has begun."

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

As amended at the 50th National Conference, December 1997 and reaffirmed by the 51st National Conference, December 2002

1. INTRODUCTION

South Africa enters the new millennium having achieved her formal political liberation. The struggles of the people, supported by the international community, brought to an end the abhorrent system of apartheid colonialism and ushered in a new era of democracy, peace and justice. The foundation has been laid for our society to develop into a truly united, non-racial and non-sexist nation.

These developments take place in a world in which the system of capitalism enjoys dominant sway over virtually the entire globe. But it is a world too in which the agenda of the working people and developing nations can find creative expression in pursuit of a humane, just and equitable world order. At the same time as the new technological revolution and globalisation of economic relations narrow the time and space among nations, so too do the realities of inequality, poverty and under-development become the more obvious and demanding of joint international efforts. It is an international epoch in which Africa enjoys the unique opportunity to extricate herself from the vicious cycle of these scourges, and to strike forth in a continental renaissance.

We have only started along a long road towards justice and true equity. The new constitutional order and the government based on the will of the people express both the immediate and long-term interests of the overwhelming majority of South Africans. They accord with the world trend towards democratic, open and accountable government. But the balance of forces both within South Africa and internationally is such that these interests can be subverted by capitalism's rapacious license. In this sense therefore, the basic framework of our democratic achievement in South Africa is irreversible: but it can be derailed, leaving us with a shell of political rights without real social content.

2. RESISTANCE TO COLONIALISM

The struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa was essentially an anti-colonial struggle. Beginning in 1652, Dutch

and British colonialists waged wars of conquest against the indigenous population, to usurp their land and its riches and to establish an outpost which would act as a source of natural resources, as a terrain of expansion and settlement, and as a market for their goods. Great Britain finally established its colonial authority over the full extent of South Africa at the end of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.

African communities from the Cape to the Limpopo waged heroic resistance to colonial occupation. Despite being outgunned, they showed rare stoicism in many battles spanning over two-and-half centuries. However, their resistance was fragmented among and within various ethnic groups, and it could not stand the tide of superior armed force backed by a developed economic and political base of the imperial powers. The defeat of the Bambatha Rebellion in 1906 marked the end of the wars of resistance.

Colonial authorities also imported slaves and indentured labour from Asia. These communities became part of South African colonial society, essentially denied constitutional rights and subjected to varying degrees of oppression. Most of the white settlers resolved to make this country their home and, in their world view, an "independent" extension of the colonial metropolis. This found formal expression in the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, when Britain ceded political power to the white settler minority. This gave rise to a situation in which both the "colonial power" and the colonised shared the same territory, characterised by the liberation movement as "colonialism of a special type".

For both the reproduction of the colonial state and the reproduction of the homestead, the productive role of women was vital. As such, one feature of the evolution of the colonial system was the coincidence of patriarchal controls embedded in customary laws and practices, with the objectives of the colonial state to restrict women to inferior roles in society, including their access to employment and their movement out of the homestead.



It is thus in the very intersection between colonialism, capitalism and traditional authority that the added oppression of women became embedded, and assumed various forms with the development of colonial society. The manner in which patriarchy asserted itself, within both the coloniser and oppressed communities, also depended on the different classes, races, religions and cultures to which women belonged.

As colonialism took new forms, so did new forms of resistance start to emerge. The African National Congress (ANC) was founded in 1912 with the purpose of uniting the African majority against the colonial Union in pursuit of non-racial democracy. A product of the local and international historical period, the ANC developed over the years to forge fighting alliances with organisations of the Coloured and Indian communities, as well as white democrats. Industrialisation also meant the emergence of a working class from traditional communities, as well as their proletarian organisations in the form of the Communist Party of South Africa and the trade union movement. All these organisations coalesced into a national democratic alliance against colonial domination.

From 1912 until 1961, the ANC pursued peaceful forms of struggle in the form of petitions, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts. Hand-in-hand with its allies, the movement developed to place mass involvement in struggle as a central plank of its programme. As the South African economy developed and urban life started to assert its pre-eminence, the working class became central to the mass resistance, and the liberation movement acknowledged the leading role of this class as an essential part of its approach to struggle.

From the early stages of colonialism, women resisted the new evolving relations of patriarchy directly, including oppressive traditional practices, as part of the struggle against class and national oppression. Over many decades, their resilient struggles against colonial and gender oppression helped entrench the cause of gender equality as an essential element of the liberation struggle, be it in mass and armed action, underground and international work, or negotiations.

After it was banned in 1960, the ANC mobilised from the underground for a popular uprising against apartheid colonialism. Apartheid repression had intensified, and by 1961, it had become manifest that peaceful mass resistance on its own would not shake the resolve of the colonial rulers to use armed force to defend apartheid. The ANC thus decided to adopt the armed struggle as part of its arsenal of resistance. This led, over time, to the adoption of a strategy which combined four basic pillars:

- the organisation and mobilisation of the mass of the people against any and all manifestations of oppression;
- the establishment of underground structures of the ANC to work among these masses and create conditions for the organisation to give leadership to their struggles;
- the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961, and the conduct of armed actions against the machinery of oppression; and
- the mobilisation of the international community to support the struggle of the South African people and isolate the apartheid regime.

Within these pillars of struggle and sometimes unacknowledged, was the activism of women who saw national freedom as but one aspect of overall freedom. By the seventies, the intersection of class, national and gender oppression was firmly identified and simultaneous struggle against each of these were intensified. These activities influenced and were

themselves impacted upon by the international gender struggles.

All these forms of struggle developed over the years to dovetail in skilful combination. As the decade of the 1980s drew to a close, it became more and more difficult for the regime to rule, as the people acted en masse to make the system unworkable and the country ungovernable, and as the cumulative pressures of all-round struggle started to isolate the ruling clique even from elements in its own mass base. The liberation movement's strategic objective of the popular seizure of power had been placed firmly on the agenda.

3. CHARACTER OF NEGOTIATIONS

In this period, elements within the South African ruling class and its international allies started to weigh the implications of continuing popular revolt - and its culmination in the overthrow of the regime - on their interests within the country and the region. On the part of the liberation movement, while it had always accepted the human and material cost of protracted struggle, it had, as a matter of abiding principle, sought a more humane resolution of the conflict without compromising the basic objectives of struggle. Combined with the end of the Cold War, these factors set the stage for the beginning of negotiations.

What then was the balance of forces when the ban on political organisations was lifted in 1990? How did this balance change over the period of negotiations? These questions are critical in understanding the final outcome of the negotiations process; the opportunities and constraints that the ANC and its allies faced at the instance of victory in the democratic elections of April 1994; and the form, if not part of the content, of the transformation which we are now undertaking.

The ANC entered negotiations with the aim of attaining its strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. These principles were elaborated in what became known as the OAU Harare Declaration, with the fundamental understanding that negotiations were not about a compromise between democracy and apartheid, but about the process towards attaining universally accepted principles of justice and human rights.

The regime sought to use negotiations to retain as much of white minority rule and privilege as possible. Under the guise of so-called minority rights, federalism and orderly transition, it pursued an outcome in which whites would have the right of veto over both the content and the process of change.

Negotiations however entailed compromises on the path to be followed to the final objective. This was influenced by the prevailing balance of forces. In the first instance, at the beginning of negotiations, neither the liberation movement nor the forces of apartheid had emerged as an outright victor.

On the one hand, the liberation movement enjoyed the support of a people in political motion, ready to sacrifice for the attainment of freedom. Its objectives enjoyed the support of virtually the entire world. And it had the capacity to intensify all forms of struggle.

On the other hand, the apartheid regime commanded huge resources - military, economic and otherwise - to delay its demise at huge cost to the country. While its mass base was somewhat divided, many of its supporters and particularly the direct beneficiaries of apartheid still had the capacity to support resistance to change.

Internationally, there were powerful elements who were prepared, at least secretly, to assist the regime in preventing an insurrectionary take-over.

Negotiations were therefore as much a platform to find a resolution to the conflict, as a terrain of struggle to shift the balance of forces. The liberation movement continued to mobilise the people and the international community to this end. On the other hand, the regime used its state power to frustrate the negotiations process, seek to prolong it as much as possible, and, in the meanwhile, regain lost ground through security force violence, propaganda and other means.

As a result of the work of the liberation movement, and at the same time as the regime made tactical blunders, the resolve of the mass of the people and the ground-swell of local and international public opinion shifted decisively in favour of a speedy resolution of the conflict. In the end, the regime conceded the basic outlines of a democratic settlement that accorded with universal principles of democracy, including gender equality.

The adoption of the interim constitution, the first democratic elections in April 1994, and the establishment of a new government led by the ANC were major landmarks in this process. And so was the work of the elected Constitutional Assembly which adopted the new constitution based on the principles of democratic majority rule.

4. VICTORY OVER APARTHEID

April 1994 was therefore a historic breakthrough in the struggle for democracy. A consequence of active support to the course of democracy by the mass of the people, and a cumulative result of decades of struggle, this victory signified a decisive departure from a colonial system spanning over three centuries. The accession of the ANC to government was therefore not merely a change of parties in political office. The interim constitution and the formation of a government based on the will of the people was a revolutionary break with the past. A qualitative element of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) had been accomplished.

We use the words "element of the NDR" guardedly, precisely because the balance of forces that we referred to earlier dictated that the path to full transfer of power, let alone the strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society, would be protracted and tortuous.

When the new government was formed, the extra-parliamentary power of the democratic movement was strategically complemented by the attainment of elements of state power. In this sense, it represented a strategic defeat for the forces of white minority rule.

Firstly, the constitution accorded the democratic forces the framework within which to start implementing programmes of transformation. And by assuming the leading position in government, the democratic movement took formal control of the state machinery, with the possibility of starting, in earnest, to transform it to serve the new order.

Secondly, as a national political organisation with a programme for the attainment of peace, democracy, human rights, socio-economic development and lasting security for all South Africans, the ANC enjoyed legitimacy far wider than its mass base.

Thirdly, the mass of the people who fought against apartheid valued this achievement, a victory that was not easy and too soon to attain. They were prepared to reconcile with their erstwhile oppressors, but also to defend this victory with all the

means at their disposal. At the same time, there is a sense in which this change was, to the white minority, the lifting of a heavy burden that they had carried for decades.

Lastly, the international community hailed the change-over, both in terms of its relatively peaceful nature as well as its significance for race relations across the globe.

But the victory was itself constrained by the same considerations that coloured the final settlement, some of them codified in the constitution. What were these constraints?

In the first instance, the fact that the liberation movement had not achieved an outright victory on the battlefield meant that it had to accept compromises in negotiations which would allow the ruling clique to ease itself out of power without undue resistance. The perspective of the Government of National Unity, and the entrenchment of some of the rights of the existing public service, including the security forces, the judiciary and parastatals, were major elements of this approach.

Secondly, what this also meant is that the democratic movement took over an apartheid state machinery that was intact, orderly within its own rules, and with the majority resolved to continue in their positions. While the constitutional framework allowed the new government to transform this service, this was to be a long drawn-out process which would also meet resistance from within.

Thirdly, the majority of public servants, especially at senior level, the captains of industry, and editorial rooms in most of the media shared the perspectives of the former government or its white opposition, including racial and gender stereotypes - all of them strategically placed to influence the agenda of transformation in favour of the privileged classes.

Lastly, the networks used by the regime, especially in its "dirty war" both within and outside South Africa remained intact, either burrowed within the state machinery, or concealed in front companies and other private enterprises.

In brief, the democratic movement had achieved only elements of power. This gave it immense possibilities to use the new situation as a beach-head to fundamentally transform society. The final settlement, codified in the constitution adopted in 1996, contains the framework for democratic majority rule and the platform to build a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. However, the constraints outlined above have a direct bearing on the pace of transformation; on the route towards the strategic objective, as well as on the extent of the danger of this process being derailed.

A proper understanding of a given balance of forces is critical in defining the tactics that the liberation movement should adopt at each stage of transformation. To ignore this would be to fall victim to voluntarism and a revolutionary militancy that has nothing to do with revolution. Such "populism" can in fact lead to the defeat of the revolution itself. Historic moments are few and far between, where revolutionaries are called upon to throw caution to the wind.

On the other hand, a fixation with balance of forces as an immutable phenomenon results in a malaise of stasis, and it can in fact become the swan-song for indecision, and even reaction, to preach caution where bold action is required. Objective circumstances are not carved in stone. Any balance of forces is dynamic, influenced by changing endogenous and exogenous factors.

5. CHARACTER OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The strategic objective of the NDR is the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. This, in essence, means the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female.

April 1994 constitutes a platform from which to launch this programme of social transformation. What this revolution still has to accomplish, is to overcome the legacy of a social system that was based on the oppression of the black majority. Political freedom constitutes an important part of this mandate. However, without social justice, such freedom will remain hollow, the pastime of those who can make ends meet.

The symbiotic link between capitalism and national oppression in our country, and the stupendous concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolies therefore render trite the vainglorious declaration that national oppression and its social consequences can be resolved by formal democracy underpinned by market forces to which all should kneel in the prayer: 'everyone for himself and the Devil takes the hindmost!' While formal democracy may present opportunities for some blacks and women to advance, without a systematic national effort, led by the democratic government, to unravel the skewed distribution of wealth and income, the social reality of apartheid will remain.

How then should the strategic objective of the National Democratic Revolution find expression, in broad terms?

A fundamental condition for liberation is democracy and an abiding culture of human rights. All citizens should be guaranteed the right to elect a government of their choice, freedom of expression, freedom from discrimination, and other rights entrenched in the constitution. They should have a government not only formally based on their will, but one that is open and transparent, and one that consults and continually involves the people in policy formulation and implementation.

Consistent with these principles is the task of ensuring equality among the racial, ethnic, language, cultural and religious communities; and equality between women and men: to build a united nation of free individuals with the right to associate with whomever they wish on the basis of equality.

Critical to nation-building is the de-racialisation of South African society and the elimination of patriarchal relations. It means creating a society in which the station that individuals occupy in political, social and other areas of endeavour is not defined on the basis of race, ethnicity, language, gender, religious, cultural or other such considerations. It means integrating communities in residential areas, at the work-place and within the trade union movement, in sports and other areas. It also means a consistent programme of affirmative action to eradicate the disparities created by apartheid.

The ANC recognises that individuals within such a nation will have multiple identities, on the basis of their physiological make-up, cultural life and social upbringing. Such distinctive features will not disappear in the melting-pot of broad South Africanism. Neither does their association on the basis of one social attribute or the other constitute a denial of their other identities. But it is critical that the over-arching identity of being South African is promoted among all those who are indeed South African, as part of the process of building an African nation on the southern tip of the continent. The affirmation of our Africanness as a nation has nothing to do with the domination of

one culture or language by another – it is a recognition of a geographic reality and the awakening of a consciousness which colonialism suppressed.

Apartheid colonialism also meant the systematic suppression of the talents, creativity and capacity of women to play their role in the ordering of the nation's affairs. Much more than any other sector, colonial oppression and a universal patriarchal culture, including socially constructed "gender roles", conspired to degrade women and treat them as sub-human. These gender roles permeate all spheres of life, beginning with the family, and are entrenched by stereotypes, dominant ideas, cultures, beliefs, traditions and laws.

Critical to the NDR is not only the affirmation of gender equality, but also ensuring that it is lived in practice by all South Africans, and finds conscious expression in all the policies and programmes of the nation. Concerted efforts will have to be made to educate citizens to change their attitudes and practices regarding the roles of women and men in society, and to assert an approach to issues of race and class which consistently recognises the gender imprint within and among these races and classes. This includes creating the necessary spiritual and material conditions to facilitate women's advancement in all spheres of life.

In the same vein, the youth, the disabled and others have borne the brunt of apartheid's hierarchy of denial, and affording them the requisite conditions for their advancement demands a united national effort.

Addressing these matters is not merely a concern for this or the other "sector" of society. It is in actual fact a matter of principle, an expression of our humane values, without which liberation would be neither genuine nor legitimate.

Democracy and development are intertwined, and one cannot be separated from the other. In particular, the notion that economic progress can be attained through some kind of benevolent dictatorship does not hold any water. It is in fact dangerous for it assumes that some self-declared elite can deliver social liberation from on high to a meek and grateful mass that does not participate in its own advancement. This goes against the grain of the history of struggle, in which the masses were in reality their own liberators. On the other hand, mass participation does not imply paralysis or wilful inaction in the name of endless consultation. Decisive, bold and speedy action should always be pursued, without derogating from the need for the people themselves to facilitate such promptness in meeting their needs.

The new democratic government derives its character from these challenges. These tasks are made the more urgent and the difficulty of implementing them further compounded by the massive social disparities that we have inherited. The apartheid state was set up, and it operated precisely in a manner, to entrench racial disparities. Its bloated, repressive and corrupt bureaucracy was tasked to serve the interests of a minority. Its fiscal expenditure and the operations of its parastatals were structured along apartheid lines, including its war effort against anti-apartheid forces within South Africa and abroad. It incurred huge debt in pursuit of these objectives, together with attempts at creating a buffer, from among the ranks of the oppressed, between the white minority and the revolutionary masses.

Because it was illegal and illegitimate, the apartheid state's practices eroded the moral fibre of South African society. The state relied more and more on criminal actions to shore up its fortunes and in the process, it pulled the rest of society into a maelstrom of corruption and crime. As such, apartheid political

and economic relations were not only a break on the development of the economy, they were also an albatross on the moral sensibilities of society.

The new democratic government is faced with the challenge of changing all this, as part of its strategic task of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. In the first instance, this government derives its legitimacy and legality from the democratic processes which saw to its birth. However, the state machinery we inherited contains many features of the past. Formally, it is a state based on a democratic constitution, a state which is obliged to serve the aspirations of the majority. However, the emergence of a truly democratic state depends on the transformation of the old machinery, a critical part of the NDR. Such transformation should see the location of the motive forces of the revolution at the helm of the state, as the classes and strata which wield real power.

The challenges that face these forces in this phase is to ensure that the elements of power they have captured are utilised rapidly to transform the state, while at the same time placing it at the centre of the transformation of South Africa's political, economic and societal relations.

The new South African state is one in which formal expressions of democracy and human rights should be backed up by mass involvement in policy formulation and implementation. It is a state which should mobilise the nation's resources to expand the wealth base in the form of a growing economy.

It is a state which should continually strive to improve people's quality of life. Such a state should ensure that all citizens are accorded equal opportunities within the context of correcting the historical injustice.

We seek to create a social order in which the many positive elements of the market dovetail with the obligations of citizens one to the other. Through its elected representatives and other avenues, society should ensure that those who are indigent are accorded a humane and respectable quality of life.

In this sense, such a society is neither a clone of an idealistic capitalist order which is hostage to rampant so-called market forces (particularly in an economy dominated by a few conglomerates), nor an egalitarian utopia of mechanical social parity. Indeed, within the context of a mixed economy, in which market forces have an important role to play, the state has the critical task of ensuring economic growth and development, of meeting people's social needs and of providing the requisite environment for political stability and the safety and security of citizens.

In carrying out these tasks, the emergent democratic state relies on the formal instruments available to it; but, above all, on the active involvement of members of society in changing their lives for the better. Both as individuals, and organised in political formations and various structures of civil society, the citizens are the bedrock of fundamental change.

We are confident that consistent implementation of these principles will go along way in resolving many of the basic contradictions of South African society. However, we cannot claim that this is a panacea. Nor can we predict all the new challenges that the process of transformation will bring forth. For instance, the creation of a new society will not eliminate the basic antagonism between capital and labour. Neither will it eradicate the disparate and sometimes contradictory interests that some of the motive forces of the NDR pursue. These secondary contradictions among the motive forces are inherent

to the NDR, and properly managed, they can serve as a source of its advancement.

Our task as the ANC, the task of the NDR, is to eliminate the basic causes of the national grievance wherever and in whatever form they manifest themselves, and to manage the multitude of contradictions within society in the interest of this objective. Indeed, as we succeed in doing so, new social dynamics will play themselves out, redefining the challenges of the given moment as well as the political permutations that are consonant with these new challenges.

6. CHALLENGE TO TRANSFORMATION

The smooth change-over of government in 1994 was one of the most outstanding achievements of liberation struggles this century. The understandable euphoria that this development occasioned reflected the sense of achievement of a people who had endured centuries of bondage, as well as appreciation by both black and white South Africans that they share a common destiny, and that none would benefit from mutually debilitating conflict. This was reinforced by the deliberate policy of reconciliation adopted by the liberation movement, helping to narrow the space for those forces which might have had plans to subvert this process by violent and other means.

However, the notion that South Africans embraced and made up, and thus erased the root causes of previous conflict, is thoroughly misleading. April 1994 was neither the beginning nor the end of history. The essential contradictions spawned by the system of apartheid colonialism were as much prevalent the day after the inauguration of the new government as they were the day before.

The fact that the ideas and influence of the previous ruling classes still predominated in the civil service, in the security forces, in the economic sector and in the media - primary centres of power in any social formation - meant that the capacity of the democratic movement was in many respects circumscribed. This was further aggravated by the compromises that were made to ensure a smooth transition. All this presented opportunities for those fundamentally opposed to change to mobilise against it.

Are there active counter-revolutionary forces in South Africa?

Over the past years in government, we have learnt that we should not be blinded by form: the fact that blacks are, for the first time, occupying the highest political offices in the land; as distinct from content: the reality that colonial relations in some centres of power remain largely unchanged.

However, in examining the forces bent on undermining transformation, a word of caution is necessary. It is always tempting for revolutionary organisations in political office to characterise all opposition to their programmes as acts of counter-revolution. In general terms, an opposition that pays allegiance to the constitution and the country's laws and seeks to modify the programmes of transformation or even to express a retrogressive school of thought shared by a given constituency, is a legitimate actor in the contradictory process of change. Indeed, such forces should be treated as legitimate expressions of the country's social contradictions.

The new constitution and its various institutions provide the framework within which individuals should exercise their democratic rights. They afford parties with requisite support to attain representation in parliament, there to pursue the interests of their constituents. Our democracy would have been shallow and incomplete if, in the legislatures and even in the streets, the

forces which benefited from the system of apartheid did not seek to express their disappointment or genuine apprehension with the process of change.

Both with regard to these political forces and the mass base they exploit, the overriding aim will be to derail or reverse change so as to end up with a system in which the social privileges of apartheid are retained in a somewhat modified form. As long as this is carried out within the parameters of the constitution and the law, it is a legal and robust (though, broadly-speaking, counter-revolutionary) expression of the real contradictions within society.

These political forces consist, in the main, of those elements which collectively constituted the white ruling bloc and its black appendages.

However, the fact that they represent views of a given constituency does not subtract from the counter-revolutionary content of their programmes. The defining character of the public platform of most opposition parties is to entrench the social relations of black poverty and white opulence - however modified - that were engendered by the system of apartheid. To achieve this, they seek to imprison the erstwhile beneficiaries of apartheid in that time warp when white might was right. They strive to maintain cohesion within a former ruling group now facing disintegration. In this sense, these forces are, broadly-speaking, counter-revolutionary.

Further, the overwhelming moral and political legitimacy of the new order, and of the ANC in particular, does draw some of these parties and other elements - who have no hope in the near future of assuming political office - towards finding clandestine and sometimes innocuous ways of subverting transformation.

In the narrow sense, counter-revolution can be defined as a combination of aims and forms of action that are mainly unconstitutional and illegal, to subvert transformation. These include setting up intelligence and armed networks parallel to and within the state to sabotage change through direct political activity or aggravation of such social problems as crime. They also entail underground efforts to undermine the country's economy, including investor confidence and the currency; deliberate acts of corruption driven not merely by greed; sabotage of the programme for delivery; wrecking the government's information systems; illegal and malicious acts of capital flight and so on.

Such efforts can be supplemented by open forms of mobilisation, not least through legislatures and networks in the judiciary, the economy, the media and other centres of power.

Uppermost in the immediate objectives of these counter-revolutionary forces is to disorganise, weaken and destroy the ANC, the vanguard of the NDR, both from within and from outside its ranks. It is in the interest of these elements that the masses of the people should be left leaderless and rudderless, and thus open to manipulation against their own interests.

In this sense, therefore, the democratic movement will be committing a monumental blunder - a historical error of great proportions - to lull itself into a false sense of security. Maximum vigilance is required. But even more critical, the revolutionary movement needs to act with resolution in transforming the state machinery. It needs to use those centres of power in which it has a foothold to widen and deepen popular power. The nature of our transition also means that, rather than rely mainly on revolutionary force (in a situation in which the instruments of force themselves require fundamental transformation), the democratic movement should creatively employ the weapons of

transparency and openness to expose the machinations of counter-revolution and root out their networks. It should ensure that the agenda in the battle of ideas is not set by counter-revolution.

In addressing these challenges, the ANC will do well to remember the adage of its own campaigns: "attack the enemy on all fronts". Counter-revolutionary mobilisation can only take root if there are real grievances to exploit, whether these grievances are deliberately engineered or not. The democratic movement itself needs at all times to be vigilant that its own actions and omissions do not assist such mobilisation.

These then are the challenges we face in changing the balance of forces in the interest of fundamental transformation. In the final analysis, the best antidote to counter-revolution is confidence in the mass of the people, mobilised always to be in political motion. They are the sure guarantee to the advancement and defence of the cause of national liberation.

Who are these masses and what is the character of the organisations required to lead their efforts?

7. THE MOTIVE FORCES OF TRANSFORMATION

In South Africa, where political oppression was so closely linked to economic exploitation, where the social position that individuals occupied in life was defined by writ in racial terms, it is critical to examine the motive forces of change from both these angles.

The system of national oppression meant that the African majority and blacks in general became, from their own experiences and actions, the main motive forces of the struggle. At the same time, within the white community, individuals of rare foresight and integrity did realise that all the people of our country shared a common future, and therefore made common cause with the national liberation movement. This is the array of national forces on whom the ANC relies for the continuing struggle to rid South Africa of the legacy of apartheid.

They are made up of the African majority who were the main victims of the apartheid system and who bore the brunt of the heroic struggle against it; the Coloured and Indian communities, who, though accorded bigger crumbs from the masters' table, were essentially excluded from the court of the privileged, and themselves played a critical role in the struggle; and white democrats. This hierarchy of oppression was devised as a tool of divide-and-rule, as an expression of the warped minds of the white racist ruling clique and as a tactic to buttress the forces which would have a stake in the system of apartheid to defend.

The African people were themselves nudged and coerced to develop an ethnic consciousness that the system of colonial capitalism had undermined. Some among them were rewarded with bogus positions of status in apartheid institutions.

The combination of all these factors does emphasise the critical importance of building national consciousness as part of the process of social transformation.

In class terms, apartheid ensured that blacks occupy the lowest rungs of the ladder of colonial capitalism: as the unemployed and landless rural masses; as unskilled and semi-skilled workers; as professionals squashed between the rock of poverty and the glass ceiling of job reservation; and as petty business operators confined to spaza retail trade and a disorganised mini-bus sector...but never at the heart of the country's industry. Ranged against them, and yet feeding on their condition was the collection of white classes and strata: workers, the middle strata, small business and, particularly, the monopoly capitalists.

South African capitalism gave birth to a collective of black workers whose class position and social existence placed it at the head of the struggle for freedom. By dint of its activism and organisation, this class won the respect of all the other motive forces as the leader of the NDR. Along with the poor rural masses, the working class stands to gain most from the success of transformation. Because of its organisation and role, and objectively because of its numbers and position in the production process, the working class is critical to this process.

The formation of a democratic government has also set in motion a rapid process of breaking the glass ceiling that blocked propertied and professional sections of the black community from advancement.

Over time, the policies of government and the tactical sensibilities of some white monopolists, have precipitated a situation in which some of the black propertied classes are expanding their positions within important sectors of the economy. At the same time, the policies of government have opened up a wide array of opportunities for small and medium enterprises. Other sections of the black middle strata are also benefiting directly and indirectly from opportunities created by government. Indeed, the rapid advance of these sections constitutes one of the most immediate and most visible consequences of democracy.

Precisely because their progress is contingent upon the achievement of democracy, these forces continue to share an interest in the success of social transformation. Their interests coincide with those of the other sectors previously denied political rights. Yet this cannot be assumed.

In some instances what is hailed in the private sector as "black empowerment" is symbolic and devoid of real substance. There are possibilities that some of these forces are dictated to by foreign or local big capital on whom they rely for their advancement. There are possibilities too, that the path to riches for some can be directly via public office, sometimes through corrupt practices. Though such instances may be an exception to the norm, experience in other countries has taught us that, without vigilance, elements of these new capitalist classes can become witting or unwitting tools of monopoly interests, or parasites who thrive on corruption in public office.

However, in the overall, the rising black bourgeoisie and middle strata are objectively important motive forces of transformation whose interests coincide with at least the immediate interests of the majority. They are, in this sense and in this phase, part of the motive forces of fundamental change.

Yet, like with all other classes, their contribution to transformation, as distinct from the gains they derive from it, is contingent upon their mobilisation to pursue the interests of reconstruction and development, on such issues as the strategic employment of investment capital, labour relations, workplace democracy, style of management and so on.

Indeed, it is critical for the ANC and the government to help guide these and other owners of capital to promote social transformation mindful of the fact that such transformation will serve at least their long-term interests and those of society as a whole. This applies as much to local financial, manufacturing, mining, agricultural and other entrepreneurs as it does to foreign direct investors.

The occupation of positions of power by individuals from the black majority, and the material possibilities this offers, does create some "social distance" between these individuals and constituencies they represent. It should not be ruled out that this could render elements in the revolutionary movement

progressively lethargic to the conditions of the poor. This is not a distant and theoretical possibility, but a danger always lurking as we pursue fundamental change from the vantage point of political office. Preventing it is not a small appendage to the tasks of the NDR. It is central to the all-round vigilance that we should continue to exercise.

Examples abound in many former colonies of massive disparities in the distribution of wealth and income between the new elite and the mass of the people. In South Africa, this potential danger is made the more acute by the fact that, at the end of the day, this class permutation will in substance reflect previous racial disparities and gender inequality, with a coterie of mainly black men co-opted into the white courtyard of privilege. This will then be a continuing potential source of instability and insecurity for all of society, deriving from the same social grievances that underpinned the anti-apartheid struggle.

While the majority within the white community harboured misconceptions about democratic majority rule, experience since April 1994 is showing that, loss of ill-gotten privilege aside, the new system affords them the kind of freedom and security which is legitimate, long-term and therefore more meaningful. This is a far cry from the fear and psychological coercion that the autocratic and securocratic system of apartheid engendered. Even the white owners of large corporations enjoy opportunities both within and outside South Africa that apartheid could not afford them.

Indeed, many of these and other sectors of society who benefited from apartheid harbour a positive ambivalence or even critical support towards the process of change. These sectors, and indeed the white community as such, are therefore not an exclusive terrain of parties opposed to change. It is the task of the democratic movement to try and liberate them and, where possible, their political representatives, from the prison of fear, hatred and antipathy towards the process of transformation. The benefits they enjoy deriving from the new order, and the new sense of proud belonging they nurture, are among the elements that should be harnessed.

8. CHARACTER OF THE ANC

The ANC is a product of a given historical period, formed to unite the African people in the struggle for equality. Over the years, it developed to embrace non-racialism both as a principle and as a guide to its composition and day-to-day practice. Driving its approach to struggle was the fundamental national contradiction represented by the oppression of black people. Combined with the evolution of South African capitalism, and the ANC's interaction with liberation and other progressive movements over the world, all these factors helped shape the character of the ANC as a truly progressive national liberation movement.

The primary mission of the ANC was, and remains, to mobilise all the classes and strata that objectively stand to gain from the success of the cause of social change. Indeed, the fact that a particular group, class or stratum stands to benefit from such transformation does not necessarily mean that it will automatically be aware of it. Thus, the task of education, organisation and mobilisation is critical at all stages. This is as important in this period as it was in the past; for, in as much as the people were their own liberators, success today is contingent upon transformation being people-centred and people-driven.

The ANC is also called upon to win over to its side those who previously benefited from the system of apartheid: to persuade

them to appreciate that their long-term security and comfort are closely tied up with the security and comfort of society as a whole. In this sense therefore, the ANC is not a leader of itself, nor just of its supporters. History has bequeathed on it the mission to lead South African society as a whole in the quest for a truly non-racial, non-sexist and democratic nation.

Given the common interests that various classes and strata have in the success of the NDR, it is the task of the ANC to channel the energies of these forces towards that goal. It should be able to identify those common interests and unite the motive forces and others in joint action.

Yet among these forces, each sector promotes its own narrow interests. Even within the African majority, the object of vicious racist policies, their stratification then, and even more so now, dictates that they will hold differing views on critical matters of transformation. On the factory-floor, a black employer and a worker will not be immune to the class contradictions that the capitalist system of social organisation engenders.

The nature of democracy that the ANC pursues leans towards the poor. This arises from its experience in struggle, from its humane and progressive outlook, and from the on-going contribution of the various class forces to change. The ANC recognises the central and leading role of the working class in the project of social transformation. Its approach to democracy is also informed by the principle of consistent equality which not only recognises unequal gender relations, but also acknowledges that the overwhelming majority of the poor are African women, especially in the rural areas.

The ANC is therefore a broad multi-class, mass organisation, uniting the motive forces on the basis of a programme for transformation. It must strive to remain a broad democratic movement by accepting into its ranks all those who accept and abide by its policies and objectives. This character of the ANC derives from its strategic tasks in the current phase.

While at this stage we define ourselves as a liberation movement, it is trite to counter-pose this to being "a party" in the broad sense or as understood by adherents of formal bourgeois democracy. It is our strategic objectives, the motive forces of the revolution and the character of the terrain in which we operate such as mass work, parliament and government as a whole which are central in defining our organisational character, irrespective of the formal label attached to it.

Transformation will only have real meaning if it addresses the plight of triple oppression suffered by women. The ANC must lead the efforts aimed at eradicating these oppressive power relations in our society. Within its own ranks, it must entrench gender awareness and appropriate practices.

The ANC Women's League (ANCWL) is tasked with the responsibility of helping the ANC to broaden its mass base, as it champions the aspirations of a section of our society which over the decades, has been oppressed and exploited as "a nation", as a class and as women. It should continue to be the voice of ANC women members, but it should also be at the cutting edge of the Broad Women's Movement, spearheading gender transformation and the advancement of a women's agenda.

The ANC Youth League (ANCYL) is a critical tool of South Africa's youth in pursuit of a better life for all. It should continue to function as an organisational and political preparatory school of young activists of our movement. The organisational autonomy of the ANCYL always provides organisational vibrancy and the youthful political debate imperative to a revolutionary organisation. It should continually broaden its base and deepen its political and organisational strength. It must

strive to galvanise, and place itself at the centre of, the broadest spectrum of youth organisations for reconstruction and development.

The ANC has the responsibility to link up with various political, community, sectoral and other formations that share its strategic objective, and contribute to their orientation with regard to the major national questions of the day.

Among these forces are the organisations of the working class - the South African Communist Party and the progressive trade union movement, represented by COSATU, in particular. These organisations are committed to a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa, and a system which pays particular attention to the improvement of the conditions of especially the poor. They themselves took part in defining this strategic objective, and, to the extent that the struggle to reach this goal remains in place, they will always have a close partnership with the ANC.

This Tripartite Alliance is therefore not a matter of sentiment, but an organisational expression of the common purpose and unity in action that these forces share, and continue jointly to define and redefine in the course of undertaking the tasks of the NDR.

While maintaining their independence, each component of the Alliance has a responsibility to organise and mobilise its social base and any other forces allied to it, for the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the defence of the NDR and the constructive engagement of the people as a whole in the process of fundamental change.

Sectoral formations among the motive forces of transformation pursue the same goals as the ANC, in the measure that they strive for the true interests of these sectors. Among them are to be found student and professional organisations, structures of the religious community, the youth, women, traditional leaders, business associations, structures in rural areas, civic associations and others. These formations are as important to transformation as they were to the heroic struggle against apartheid. It behoves the ANC to work among them and join with them both in sectoral and inter-sectoral campaigns to realise the aims of the NDR.

To the extent that other broader forces share some short- or even long-term goals with the ANC, we should find ways of pooling efforts to achieve those goals. In this period of complex transformation, maximum skill and tact are required to bring the message of the ANC to these forces; not so much to convert them to its world view, but to ensure that the overwhelming majority of South Africans pay allegiance to the constitution and share in the national consensus and programme to build a new society.

The ANC is the vanguard of all these motive forces of the NDR, the leader of the broad movement for transformation. Its leadership has not been decreed, but earned in the crucible of struggle and the battles for social transformation. It should continually strengthen itself as a national political organisation and ensure that it is in touch with the people in their day-to-day life.

The ANC is acutely aware that the overwhelming majority of South Africans, and indeed its own members, adhere to religious beliefs or are people of faith who do not practice any religion. From this point of view, and indeed within the context of the profound moral ethic, empathy towards those in need and human fellowship that most religions preach, the ANC recognises the critical role the religious community can play as a partner in reconstruction and development, nation-building and

reconciliation. We shall continue to promote joint efforts with, and sectoral contribution by, the religious community in pursuit of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

The current phase of the NDR contains many new and complex dynamics and the ANC should itself continue to be a vibrant organisation within whose ranks there is constant exchange of ideas, however different such ideas may be. Its cadre policy should encourage creativity in thought and in practice, and eschew rigid dogma. However, it should exercise maximum discipline among its members, and ensure that, after ideas have been exchanged and decisions taken, all its structures and members pursue the same goal. In the composition of its membership and leadership, the class and national content of the NDR should find broad expression.

The character and strength of the ANC must continue to reside in its mass base. And, as the leading force in government, the ANC should continuously improve its capacity and skill to wield and transform the instruments of power. This includes a systematic approach to parliament as the forum to lay the detailed legal framework for transformation, creative employment of public representatives in organisational work, a cadre policy ensuring that the ANC plays a leading role in all centres of power, and a proper balance in its day-to-day activities between narrow governmental work and organisational tasks.

In all centres of power, particularly in parliament and the executive, ANC representatives must fulfil the mandate of the organisation. They should account to the ANC and seek its broad guidance. As a matter of political principle, and in our structures and our style of operation, we proceed always from the premise that there is one ANC, irrespective of the many and varied sectors in which cadres are deployed.

The fact of being in government has also thrown up challenges which were either not pronounced in, or foreign to, the previous epoch. For instance, the approach to deployment in the current phase cannot ignore mapping out career-paths for, and with, ANC cadres to enable them to play the most effective role, and to advance in a systematic way, in the varied terrain of transformation. This also entails the acquisition of a multiple of political, organisational and technical skills.

Such cadre policy has nothing to do with careerism of the opportunistic variety, which a governing party should always guard against. It also has to be pursued without detracting from the mass character of the movement, with this mass membership itself continually upgraded, and at the same time serving as a pool from which cadres can be developed.

Positions in government also afford the movement and its leaders powerful possibilities for patronage. There is nothing untoward per se in advancing cadres who, by their selfless contribution to the cause, deserve such acknowledgement. Yet this can easily lend itself to corrupt practices, undermining good governance and destroying critical and independent thought and expression, and the vibrancy of a truly revolutionary movement.

In pointing out these dangers, we should not lose sight of the exciting and challenging period that the ANC has entered in its history to realise the ideals that it has cherished since its foundation.

Yet we are also conscious of the fact that a fundamental condition for our success is not merely sound domestic policies and programmes, nor our determination to pursue them. Progress in our country depends on the regional and international environment in which we operate.

How do we characterise this environment and what can the ANC do to help improve it?

9. CHARACTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The liberation of South Africa was both a local expression of a changing world and part of the catalyst to renewed efforts aimed at attaining international consensus on the most urgent questions facing humanity. Our transition was an element of a dynamic political process of a world redefining itself with the end of the Cold War. To the extent that the new global situation has not resolved the contradictions within and among nations between poverty and opulence; to the extent that ethnic, religious and other tensions continue to ravage parts of the globe; to the extent that some of these contradictions find bold expression in our own society; to this extent and more, the transformation taking place in our country is closely intertwined with the search for a new world order.

The ANC seeks to take active part in shaping this order, both in the context of its relations with other parties and movements, and as the leading organisation in government. In both these areas of operation, it will pursue the same objectives. Yet we do recognise that, in their detail, party-to-party aims will not always translate into inter-state relations. This is not to imply that inter-state relations are devoid of principle. Rather, it is to underline that, in government, the implementation of our principles will be tempered by the realities of world diplomacy and conventions governing inter-state relations.

Today's world is dominated by the capitalist system. Besides, in the advanced capitalist countries, it is monopoly companies, particularly trans-national corporations which set the greater part of the agenda. As such, the real danger exists that political and economic policy of governments throughout the world can be dictated to by these corporations. Already, the content and form of globalisation of trade, investment and capital flows, and the operation of some of the critical multilateral institutions reflect in large measure the wishes of these corporations. Combined with this, is the danger that we can enter the new millennium with an approach to international relations that reflects capitalism's unbridled license, with particularly developing countries having surrendered their sovereignty.

But contained within this situation, which characterises the current process of globalisation, are opportunities that need to be creatively utilised. It is the task of revolutionary democrats and humanists everywhere to recognise dangers, but more critically, to identify opportunities in the search for a just, humane and equitable world order.

The capitalist system has not resolved the disparities within even the most advanced countries. Indeed, in most of them, the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen, reflected not only in the ever-rising floor of so-called "natural unemployment", but also in poverty wages. It is a reality to which politicians, if only for their own self-interest, cannot afford to close their eyes.

Among the nations of the world, the chasm between developed and developing countries is as wide as ever. In addition, the iniquitous trail of patriarchy manifests itself in the wake of capitalism's evolution even more acutely in developing countries. This includes vicious exploitation of female labour and the degenerate trafficking in women and children as sex slaves. Given the communications revolution, the spate of cross-border migration and organised crime, and the implications of a default on international debt by countries that

do not have the means to pay, developed countries dare not ignore this chasm.

The current system of international finance was born in a haphazard manner, releasing into international relations an unregulated and often predatory sector of finance capital with the power to beggar whole economies and dictate social and economic policy especially in the developing world. Currency speculation within and across national frontiers, involving the flows of trillions of major currency denominations, without any social purpose, is not only a threat to the developing countries, but it is a Sword of Damocles hanging over the head of advanced capitalist societies themselves. Indeed, international discourse on and the search for rational solutions to this and related problems should and will continue, not so much to kill "the market", but at least to find some order in the international financial system.

These objective realities are reinforced by the awakening of a form of democracy and culture of human rights that transcends the ideological trappings of the past. Government by the people for the people, an achievement of human civilisation over the centuries, is finding new meaning in the growth of social movements on such issues as gender rights, the environment and opportunities for youth, in addition to organisations for workers' rights, for peace, and in mutual international solidarity. These structures of civil society wield enormous and growing influence. At the same time, common global threats such as the AIDS pandemic and global warming dictate that humanity acts together to find common solutions.

The new technological revolution provides immense opportunities for developing countries to creatively handle matters of development. In the same vein, the emergent international trade regime and the flows of productive capital do contain opportunities for these countries to improve their competitiveness and exploit their comparative advantage. These possibilities are enhanced by the consolidation of regional blocs among these countries allowing them to pool their resources, their markets and broadly, their economic power.

The ANC seeks to expand and deepen these opportunities within the context of promoting political, economic, social and environmental human rights, in the fight for democracy and peace, and in ensuring that international relations are guided by justice and international law.

Our foreign relations, including trade, investment and other relations, mirror our deep commitment to the consolidation of democracy in our country. But this can only be achieved in joint efforts in the Southern African region and on the continent as a whole.

Our starting point therefore is the obvious: that South Africa is an African country.

The integration of the Southern African region is therefore critical, so as to bring our joint strengths to bear in the wider world, and ensure that the region becomes one of the nodal growth points of the world. This applies to such issues as the utilisation of our vast resources, the building of a common market, and the promotion of the region as an important investment destination within the context both of its political stability and its economic policies. Critical to this is the deepening of democracy and human rights and the consolidation of peace in the region.

This approach is underpinned by our commitment to, and active promotion of, the African renaissance: the rebirth of a continent that has for far too long been the object of exploitation and plunder. It recognises in the first instance the difficulties

wrought on the continent by years of colonialism and unjust international relations, including the debt crisis, underdevelopment, social dislocation, and in some instances untenable political relations underpinned by forms of government that imperialism encouraged for its own selfish interests. However, the essence of our approach is not to mourn this treacherous past; but to find solutions to a complex reality. Therefore, for us, this African renaissance is both a strategic objective and a call to action.

It must be underpinned by the mobilisation of the people of Africa to take their destiny into their own hands: in the definition and consolidation of democratic systems of government in which the people play an active role, in attaining rapid economic growth that is based on meeting the basic needs of the people, in widening and deepening the scope of economic, political and social integration on the continent, and in joint efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts within and among African nations.

Africa's rebirth requires that leaders and governments recognise, and indeed act to bring to the fore, the centrality of individual citizens and communities – workers, peasants, professionals, the entrepreneurial class and others – in shaping the future of the continent. In particular, it also requires that the character, content and programmes of the renaissance are infused with a gender-sensitive perspective. The creativity and enterprise of all these classes and strata must be promoted, and their intellectual and scientific capacity must be given free reign. Their ability to understand the wrongs of the colonial past, but indeed, to also acknowledge and correct weaknesses in the present and in themselves, should be nurtured.

Africa's renaissance should consolidate her collective sovereignty, both in the fight to change the current maldistribution of international resources and power, and in the efforts of Africans themselves to improve the continent's standing in world affairs. Critical in the campaign to realise this renaissance is the Organisation of African Unity and other continental and regional associations, which must be continually strengthened to meet the challenges of the new age.

Our efforts on the continent form part of the drive of countries of the South to improve relations among themselves in the process of shaping a new world order. Bilateral relations, co-operation among the various regional blocs, and the emergence of new ones across oceans is a prerequisite to a just and equitable system of international relations. Among these countries are the least developed which require special assistance from across the globe. But among them too, are countries which have a vast pool of investment resources, advanced financial systems and a wealth of experience in tackling the tasks of economic growth and development.

Indeed, if pursued with the seriousness and urgency it deserves, co-operation among countries of the South will ensure that the new world order is based not merely on the existing economic and political power of the current advanced industrial countries. This needs to be complemented by creative bilateral and multilateral engagement with the developed countries to help ensure that their approach to world affairs benefits humanity as a whole.

The same applies to the challenge of restructuring multilateral institutions, primary among which is the United Nations Organisation and its agencies, both to reflect the intention to create a new system of international relations and to regulate the process towards such a system. This is not merely a matter of formality, but it issues from the understanding that these bodies are being called upon to play a greater role in regulating

the process of globalisation, and the emergence of a new world order. The leadership role of these organisations must be strengthened, in a process that should see to the pooling of sovereignty among all nations, rather than domination by those who possess international political, military and economic power.

The ANC's approach to international relations in the current phase is guided by these objectives. We promote them proceeding from the premise that developing countries, the working people across the globe, and those who command the resources required for development, all need to be mobilised to achieve an international consensus on a humane, just and equitable world order. In building party-to-party relations, we are guided by these principles, particularly to forge strong co-operation with parties and movements that share our views in the region, on the continent, in countries of the South and further afield.

In these efforts, we should not overestimate ourselves as a small middle-income country. Neither should we underestimate the relative influence we enjoy deriving from our democratic project, the strategic location of our region and the resources and potential it commands.

Through these efforts, we aim to contribute to the restructuring of international relations in the interest of the poor. We are moved in this regard by the conviction that, as long as injustice, poverty and conflict exist anywhere on the globe, so long will humanity find within itself the individuals, movements and governments to co-operate in their eradication. The ANC is a proud part of these international forces.

What then is the broad programme of the ANC for social transformation?

10. PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION IN THE CURRENT PHASE

It is one of the most central tasks of the ANC, at each stage of transformation, to elaborate a programme of transformation in line with the strategic perspective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. For the current phase, the framework of this is to be found in the Reconstruction and Development Programme adopted by the ANC, the Tri-partite Alliance and the broad mass democratic movement in the run-up to the first democratic elections.

The ANC will continue to work for national consensus on the basic principles and the practical policies underpinning this Programme: for South Africans to join hands in the task of improving our quality of life.

In essence, the current phase is characterised by transition from apartheid government to democratic governance. We are in a phase in which we have started to change society at the same time as we transform the instruments required to effect that change. These twin objectives have to be pursued simultaneously. Social change cannot await the transformation of the state machinery and other instruments of power. But, as experience has taught us, we cannot expect to proceed with the desired pace without changing these instruments.

Pivotal to our programme in the current phase are a number of basic principles:

Democratisation And Governance:

The ANC commits itself to the fundamental provisions of the basic law of the land, which accords with its own vision of a democratic and just society. We have set out to implement both the letter and the spirit of the constitution, including such principles as multi-party democracy, the doctrine and practice of

separation of powers in a constitutional state, fundamental human rights to all citizens, respect for the rights of linguistic, religious and cultural communities, and social equity within the context of correcting the historical injustices of apartheid.

In order to ensure that government truly serves the interests of the people, the ANC will strengthen co-operative governance among all spheres of government – national, provincial and local – for each level to play its requisite role in serving the people. The allocation of powers and functions, in essence the division of common labour among these spheres, should be driven by this objective.

Our commitment to open and transparent government, and to ensuring an informed and active citizenry, are more than just high-sounding phrases. They are the life-blood of democratic governance, the core values of people-centred and people-driven transformation. We shall therefore continue to strengthen relations between government and civil society, including non-governmental and community-based organisations, and promote their role in the process of transformation.

Transformation Of The State Machinery:

It is a dictum of all revolutions that, having laid its hands on the state machinery – at local, provincial and national levels – the democratic movement cannot wish this machinery to serve the purpose of social transformation.

The civil service, the judiciary, the army, the police, the intelligence structures were all moulded to attain the opposite of what we intend to achieve. Thus it is a critical part of the ANC's programme to change the doctrines, the composition and the management style of all these structures to reflect and serve South African society as a whole. This includes the involvement of more and more of those who were discriminated against, especially blacks, women and the disabled, and a particular sensitivity to their needs and interests. The principles to guide this are contained in the constitution and relevant new statutes.

Our programme includes changing the management and other echelons of this machinery to ensure that they are efficient, effective and productive in carrying out their functions. It entails introducing a new orientation in the provision of service to society, rooting out corruption and introducing a new organisational culture and motivational values.

Success in transformation will depend critically on the role of the state. For this reason, we reject insinuations that our country needs "less government", which is in essence, a ploy aimed at weakening the democratic state. Yet efficiency and effectiveness require that the size of the public service is in accordance with the needs and resources of the country. It also requires that, where appropriate, the public sector should form partnerships with private companies to bring about efficient, affordable and people-friendly service.

Economic Transformation:

The centre-piece of the ANC's programme for the economy is the pursuit of growth and development. We need to increase the wealth base of the country by producing more goods and services in the same measure as we improve the quality of life of especially the poor, and effect, in a variety of ways, the redistribution of wealth and income in favour of those previously excluded from the economic mainstream.

Economic growth requires the implementation of an industrial policy which ensures more investment in such critical areas as infrastructure, manufacturing of electronic, transport, telecommunications, textile and other goods, efficient commercial agricultural production, eco-tourism, and housing construction. Through the employment of appropriate

technology and skills training, such investment should improve productivity, affordability of goods and services in the domestic market, and international competitiveness. It must help transform South Africa into a vibrant manufacturing centre.

In this regard, government must continually encourage the growth and strategic commitment of investment capital, including private savings, fiscal capital expenditure, investment from public corporations, and foreign direct investments. This strategic commitment of investment capital should not only help address the general industrial needs of the country, but also deliberately seek to direct resources towards the rural and depressed areas.

One of the most critical areas of economic policy, and indeed as critical a measure of income distribution, is the creation of jobs. This is a priority that should form an integral part of government and private sector operations. We will continually intensify the implementation of a variety of measures to ensure that rapid economic growth is matched by the absorption of the unemployed and new job-seekers. And government will itself intensify programmes such as public works and broader infrastructural development with the creation of jobs as part of its central focus.

Our programme on the labour market and employment conditions is aimed at creating a democratic work-environment, guaranteeing a living wage, multi-skilling of workers, as well as civilised working hours and rights of women workers. This is a matter of humane principle as well as a critical condition for productivity and normal family life for all citizens.

The economy is not neutral, but reflects and is in turn shaped by unequal power relations, including those between men and women. Economists have traditionally ignored sectors such as subsistence farming, the informal sector, and women's unpaid labour performed towards the reproduction of society. Fundamental to transformation is to enable women to move out of the so-called private and dependent sphere into the public arena. The terrible conditions under which they live have to be addressed not only through welfare interventions but, more critically, through viable economic programmes.

The ANC's fiscal policy proceeds from the premise that as much public resources as possible should be utilised to expand the country's economic base and provide affordable services to the people. In this regard, we shall continue to reform the budget to allocate an increasing share of resources to capital expenditure and social services particularly to those who were previously disadvantaged.

In this regard, monetary and exchange rate policy will be guided as much by the imperatives of the country's economic growth and development, as by the dynamics of the market.

We will introduce and encourage measures allowing as much competition within the economy as possible. In so far as the public sector is concerned, government will consolidate its ownership of, and restructure, those enterprises that provide critical services to the population, at the same time as it establishes partnerships with the private sector, where necessary, to improve services and modernise them. On a case-by-case basis, weighing the social and economic pros and cons, and in consultation with all main role-players, some of the public enterprises will be shed.

Government will continue to play its part in creating an environment for productive and profitable investment, for the advancement of black entrepreneurs and for the expansion and growth of small and medium businesses. It will continue to implement policies aimed at improving the income, skills and

working conditions of workers. And it will continue to promote a national social agreement for the realisation of these goals.

Meeting Social Needs:

The central aim of transformation is to improve the conditions of the people, especially the poor.

In order to deal with the crushing poverty to which millions have been relegated, government will intensify its programme to provide food security and basic nutrition to those in dire need. This has to be based on proper tracking, improvement in efficiency and integration with community development.

Land reform programmes will be intensified both to provide affected rural communities with a decent living and to encourage agricultural production. Recognising that a major constraint to women's efforts to overcome poverty has been the lack of rights and access to land, we will ensure that land reform programmes specifically reach out to women, and take their needs - such as information, training and resources - into account.

The programme to construct housing and infrastructure will be intensified, building on the foundation that has thus far been laid. Particular emphasis will continue to be laid on the poorest of the poor, with parallel programmes to assist others including by means of rental housing stock. Rural housing programmes will be integrated with land reform and other measures to guarantee security of tenure.

Community water supply and sanitation projects, the multi-billion infrastructure programme, road construction and electrification will continue to receive particular emphasis, especially in the rural areas, informal settlements, black townships and other areas which bore the brunt of apartheid neglect.

To continually improve the health of the nation, primary health care remains the main plank of the country's health programmes. Critical to this is the intensification of the clinic-building programme and the construction of hospitals where they are needed most. Campaigns of immunisation and against epidemics will be intensified. The ANC will continue to promote, through legislation and other measures, the programme to reduce the cost of medicines to all citizens.

The programme to restructure the system of pensions and grants will continue, to ensure that all eligible citizens are afforded equal treatment irrespective of race. Perhaps more than in most areas, restructuring of the state machinery is even more urgent in this sector, given the manifestations of fraud and corruption inherited from the past.

At the centre of all our programmes is the individual citizen. As such, the development of our human resources is both an end and a means to an end. This includes the implementation of measures in the educational system, in the work-place, and in sport and leisure which will improve the health, the skills and the cultural development of citizens.

At this stage, the phasing in of compulsory education, the redistribution of educational resources, the consolidation of the culture of teaching and learning, the introduction of a new curriculum in tune with the country's needs and the development of teachers are among the most critical tasks. This will be implemented along with the democratisation of schools governance, transformation of higher education and national adult education and skills development projects.

Built into all these projects is the appreciation of the need to utilise the world technological revolution to our advantage, and as such to place added emphasis on science and technology in

research, in education and in their application to the economy and other areas of life.

Safety and Security:

A rising quality of life also means safety and security for all citizens.

But our starting point, without which we can descend into the mire of authoritarianism, is premised on two considerations. Firstly, that the battle against crime cannot be separated from the war on want. Secondly, that the deviant activities of a few rotten apples in our midst should not be allowed to tempt us to subtract from the human rights of society, the majority of whom are responsible, law-abiding citizens.

Yet we should not underestimate the rot that set in within all sections of society under apartheid. In its treatment of citizens and in its relations with the wider world, that system encouraged greed and corruption, murder, the proliferation of dangerous weapons in the hands of civilians, violation of its own criminal codes and, particularly among the oppressed, the breakdown of the family unit.

Therefore, at the same time as we pursue socio-economic change, one of the most critical tasks in this phase is to implement an integrated national crime prevention strategy.

The challenges identified above regarding the transformation of the state machinery apply even more acutely to the police, the justice system and correctional services. These include management efficiency, effective utilisation of data bases and other possibilities offered by new technology, effective employment of the state's intelligence capacity, training and a re-orientation towards working with the people as partners in a common battle.

Co-operation with police services in the region and further afield will be intensified and border control will be continually tightened. In introducing these measures, we proceed from the premise that crime is a scourge that does not respect borders, with syndicates that have made the entire globe the theatre of their operations. This is also particularly relevant to Southern Africa, given its background of apartheid destabilisation, popular resistance and ensuing social dislocation.

Eradication of women and child abuse is central to the fight against crime. This requires deliberate programmes of education and other measures to transform gender and family relations, the retraining of justice administrators and the police, and the provision of the necessary resources to ensure the safety and restore the dignity of the victims.

Critical in fighting crime is the campaign to weed out elements within the criminal justice system who are engaged in various acts of crime, including corruption. Both within and outside these institutions, the state should expose and deal with networks from the "dirty war" of the apartheid state which are an integral part of the criminal networks.

In brief, our programme in this period consists of achieving better policing, a better-trained and efficient criminal justice system, involvement of the people in the fight against crime, and a campaign to refurbish the moral fibre of South African society.

These measures will be accompanied by programmes to transform the country's defence force and its intelligence services, and to provide all security agencies with the requisite resources and equipment to meet their obligations to the nation.

At the core of this, our broad programme as we enter the new millennium, is the obligation to improve the quality of life of all the citizens, for them to exercise their freedoms and use their talents to help our society flourish. In doing so, we shall give meaning to the objective of nation-building on the basis of true equality, and we shall consolidate the advances that have been made in national reconciliation. It is a programme that will see our country take giant steps towards being a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

11. CONCLUSION

This then is the character of the country and the world in which we live. The challenges we face, as a movement and as a people, derive from this reality.

Our strategy is the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. In pursuit of this objective, we shall, at each given moment, creatively adopt tactics that advance that objective. Our fundamental point of departure is that South Africans have it in their power, as a people and as part of progressive humankind, to continually change the environment in which we operate in the interest of a better future.

In this phase of transformation, we seek to expand and deepen the power of democratic forces in all centres critical to the NDR, at the same time as we improve the people's quality of life. Our efforts, which are people-centred, people-driven and gender-sensitive, are founded on five basic pillars:

- to build and strengthen the ANC as a movement that organises and leads the people in the task of social transformation;
- to deepen our democracy and culture of human rights and mobilise the people to take active part in changing their lives for the better;
- to strengthen the hold of the democratic movement on state power, and transform the state machinery to serve the cause of social change;
- to pursue economic growth, development and redistribution in such a way as to improve the people's quality of life; and
- to work with progressive forces throughout the world to promote and defend our transformation, advance Africa's renaissance and build a new world order.

The struggle and sacrifices of the people over the past centuries have presented our generation with the unique opportunity to take South Africa into the new millennium with the overwhelming majority of its people organised, mobilised and united around a programme of social transformation, premised on democratic majority rule.

A new epoch has dawned, presenting the ANC with the wherewithal to realise the ideals and aspirations of the generation which set it up when the final destination was but a phantom beyond the horizon; of the militant and brave cadres who sacrificed their lives in the face of an enemy that seemed invincible; and of the mass of the people who put their trust in the organisation in the face of brutal repression.

We call on all South Africans to join us in this march to a better future. We are keenly aware that it will take time to realise the strategic objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. But the foundation has been laid, and the building has begun.



Annexure “CR11”

52ND NATIONAL CONFERENCE REPORT



POLOKWANE, 16-20 DECEMBER 2007



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15

Resolutions

1. ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

INTRODUCTION

All commissions at this 52nd National Conference discussed the report of the Policy Conference on Organisational Renewal, together with the President's Political Report and the Secretary General's Organisational Report.

For easy reference, this draft resolution captures all the recommendations made in Chapter 6 of the Organisational Review discussion document, which were generally agreed in the Policy Conference recommendations, without being captured in the Policy Conference Report. Although all proposals on Organisation were extensively debated at the Policy Conference, delegates were still very keen in re-opening the issues debated by that Conference. However, most commissions reaffirmed the conclusions arrived at by the Policy Conference.

CONTEXT OF THE 52ND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Noting

- 1 That over the 95 years of the existence of the ANC, the movement evolved into a force for mass mobilisation, a glue that held our people together and a trusted leader of the broadest range of social forces that share the vision of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.
- 2 That this historical evolution has been largely due to the movement's distinct character and unique features that have enabled it to overcome adversity and the daunting challenges it faced throughout its near-century of existence.
- 3 That there are a range of global, domestic and intra-organisational factors and forces which impact on the organisation – its character, structures and membership – and the ANC needs to strengthen its ability to respond creatively to these factors and the new environment.
- 4 The preservation of the movement's character, culture and values in a changing context and new conditions of struggle is the central focus of the organisational renewal

effort in the run-up to the Centenary of the ANC in 2012.

Further noting

- 5 That the 1994 democratic breakthrough ushered in new conditions, providing a unique opportunity to combine state and mass power, in serving the interest of the people. Over the last thirteen years, the ANC as the ruling party has used its control of state power to improve the quality of life, beginning to roll back the legacy of apartheid and colonialism.
- 6 That since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, a great deal of effort and energy has been put into re-establishing the movement as a mass legal formation, restructuring and re-organising the structures of the movement to face up to the new challenges. These changes include amendments and innovations in organisational structure of the ANC, changes to the duties and powers of organisational structures, the mainstreaming of gender in ANC structures, ensuring more effective disciplinary procedures and structures, strengthening and clarifying the role of branches, cadre development and defining the relationship between organisational and governance structures.
- 7 That the main organisational strengths of the ANC during the last thirteen years have been its ability to broaden its appeal beyond its traditional support base, to recruit into its ranks new members and outstanding community activists, to create a new cadre of public representatives and servants and to adapt to mass work under new conditions.
- 8 That our accumulated weaknesses include inability to effectively deal with new tendencies arising from being a ruling party, such as social distance, patronage, careerism, corruption and abuse of powers, ineffective management of the interface between the movement and the state, a flawed approach to membership recruitment, a decline in ideological depth amongst cadres, and a lack of institutional resources to give practical effect to the movement's leadership role.

its operations in branches, regions, provinces and HQ and learn from best practices of other parties and movements in the world. In this regard, we need to review current ICT infrastructure and develop a comprehensive medium-to-long term ICT strategy that will cover areas of organisational work such as political education, organising and campaigns, membership and administration and management.

- The incoming NEC must adopt a comprehensive policy and guidelines on ANC records and archives, including detailed procedures on access and preservation of such documents.

FUNDING

63 Conference believes the resourcing of the movement is fundamental to its ability to carry out the mission of the ANC. Conference therefore adopts the following policy positions from the Organisational Review document and the Policy Conference:-

- The ANC should champion the introduction of a comprehensive system of public funding of representative political parties in the different spheres of government and civil society organisations, as part of strengthening the tenets of our new democracy. This should include putting in place an effective regulatory architecture for private funding of political parties and civil society groups to enhance accountability and transparency to the citizenry. The incoming NEC must urgently develop guidelines and policy on public and private funding, including how to regulate investment vehicles.

ALLIANCE, MDM AND CIVIL SOCIETY

64 Conference confirms the relevance of the alliance, united in action for the joint programme of social transformation, using its collective strength to continue to search for better ways to respond to the new challenges. To achieve this, we must continue to enhance coordination amongst alliance partners, and to strengthen the

organisational capacity of each individual component.

65 Conference confirms the Policy Conference assertion that we should respect the right of individual Alliance partners to discuss and arrive at their own decisions on how they seek to pursue their strategic objectives. Consistent with this principle, the ANC will continue to determine, in its own structures and processes, how best to advance its own strategic objectives.

66 Conference further confirms that the leadership role of the ANC places on it the primary responsibility to unite the tripartite alliance and all the democratic forces.

67 Conference mandates the NEC to

- Within three months after Conference, convene an Alliance summit to discuss a joint programme of action, including strengthening local structures of the alliance, and an approach on how the alliance manages with differences and discipline.
- Continue to assist SANCO to convene its National Conference and help to define its role in the current phase.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ANC CENTENARY

68 Conference notes that the ANC will celebrate its centenary anniversary on January 8, 2012. The Centenary will also be the year of the 53rd National Conference of our movement. Conference further mandates the incoming NEC and all the leadership collectives and membership of the ANC to mobilise the vast majority of our people over the next five years to take part fully in the build-up activities towards the Centenary celebrations.

69 Central to these activities must be the focus on building vibrant and dynamic branches and unifying the movement at all levels so that it can tackle the social and economic problems facing the overwhelming majority of our people. The ANC must continue to strive to be the moral, intellectual and political leader of our changing society and the repository of the best values of our people and put in place mechanisms to vigorously combat negative tendencies occasioned by being a ruling party.

70 Conference therefore mandates the

Annexure “CR12”



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
NGC2015

REPORT
of the 4th National General Council
held at the Gallagher Estate,
Midrand, Gauteng
08–11 October 2015

Report
of the
FOURTH NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL
08–11 October 2015
Gallagher Exhibition and Conference Centre
Midrand, Gauteng

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FOREWORD

1

by **Secretary General Gwede Mantashe**

The fourth National General Council was held in Gallagher Estate, Midrand – Gauteng Province, over three days in a disciplined and constructive climate. No issue was deemed too sensitive not to be discussed, as is it reflected by the outcomes of the NGC.

We thank the delegates, the various task teams involved in the preparations and the running of the NGC and the leadership of our movement for making this gathering a success. The success of the NGC is the result of the all-round discipline displayed by all who partook in it.

We must now put into effect decisions of the NGC.

Delegates, in particular, and the movement broadly, showed concern about the integrity and standing of the ANC in society. They directed to turn this situation around and improve our standing. They, however, cautioned us not to use the Integrity Commission for sinister motives.

The membership trends are a worrying factor. This is more so in relation to the prevalence of gate-keeping in branches, and bulk buying of membership that creates members of members. These anomalies must be eliminated. Membership forms must be submitted to branch secretaries who will submit them to the BEC and, ultimately, report to the branch general meeting. The widely reported decline in our membership figures reflects the challenge of management and administration of membership, particularly at regional and branch level. Recruitment and growth of membership is an important function, and responsibility, of branches and regions in the main.

High unemployment, deepening poverty and growing inequality remain the biggest challenges facing our movement. All our deployees must seriously take up the issue of creating opportunities for the young people, as captured in the various resolutions on set-asides. Total liberation of women and creating opportunities for them is equally important. Together

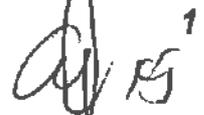
with addressing challenges facing these two important constituencies, and changing our society as a whole, is the imperative of the liberation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general.

Two sectors that received particular attention were mining and agriculture. The former because of complications facing today and the latter due to the fact of the potential it holds for economic growth and job creation. Steel is another of our commodities that requires serious intervention and protection. The State-Owned Mining Company should be strengthened to take its rightful place in the mining industry so as to add impetus to our development agenda.

The 2016 local government elections are upon us. We must embark on the campaign energetically to defend our base, to retain our majority and to win overwhelmingly. Concerted effort must be made to defend and retain the Metro Cities that are targeted by the opposition. By doing so we would have won the psychological battle our opponents seek to impose on us. Most importantly, we must ensure victory so that we can advance the radical change we wish see in the lives of our people. Our performance in the Western Cape in general and the Cape Town Metro in particular, is going to be crucial.

The work presented by peace and stability provides valuable information to account for what we are doing to fight crime and corruption. This is important for us in an environment where there is emphasis on corruption to the neglect of practical interventions underway. We appeal that you read carefully the commission resolutions together with the political report and the state of the organisation report. Collectively, these documents will provide you with facts on progress made thus far. Furthermore, they refute the narrative that suggests that nothing is happening to rid us of these ills.

Factionalism was also uppermost in our minds. The declaration of the NGC reminds branches of



Report of the 4th National General Council

their right to nominate candidates when going to conferences. No branches should be forced to support a slate. Branch delegates must discuss any candidate proposed for any position in the organisation. This is in line with policy contained in Through the Eye of the Needle, which empowers members to analyse the performance and track record of the individual members of the ANC who are nominated to any leadership position. This reassertion demands of each of us to look beyond who we like or do not like.

Now is the time for you, for us, to implement the decisions of the National General Council.

Enjoy your reading.

Matlal



OVERVIEW OF NGC PROCEEDINGS

2

The National General Council took place over three days, October 9th-11th, 2015, in Gallagher Estate – Midrand, Gauteng Province. Over three thousand delegates participated, among them: elected delegates from constitutional structures of the ANC and its Leagues, the Isithwalandwe/Seaparankoe, members of the Integrity Commission, ANC deployees in government, former members of the NEC, members and cadres in other spheres, alliance partners, former liberation movements and sister organisations, mass democratic movement formations, media, guests and ANC staff. The NGC was guided by the NEC adopted theme for 2015, **The Year of the Freedom Charter and Unity in Action to Advance Economic Freedom**.

Prior to the NGC, all NEC subcommittees produced discussion documents as means to prepare all structures of the organisation for discussions that would ensue at the gathering. The discussion documents, as directed by the SGO and endorsed by the NEC, were also published for public comment and critique in various platforms, with the aim of ensuring participation of the South African public, as a whole and not limited to ANC members only. Provinces were directed to pre-register their delegates in their provinces, before coming to the NGC.

On the first day of the Council, Friday October 9th, presided on by the National Chairperson – comrade Baleka Mbete, was an open plenary session, which commenced with inter-faith prayers and the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika/Morena Boloka. President, comrade Jacob Zuma, delivered the Political Report.

The second session of the first day was closed, wherein the agenda of the council was adopted. The Deputy Secretary General, comrade Jessie Duarte presented the credentials, the Council's Rules of Procedure and the Committees, which were all adopted. The DSG further presented the Steering Committee's report, which addressed the difficulties that affected different delegations at the respective venues where they were accommodated, and how these were resolved from the night before going forward throughout the dura-

tion of the NGC.

The Secretary General, comrade Gwede Mantashe, presented the Mid-Term Review: the state of the organisation 2012-2015. This was followed by a presentation of the Financial Report by the Treasurer-General, comrade Zweli Mkhize.

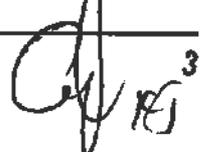
The council also received two other presentations, that is, Progress Report on the National Development Plan and the Medium Term Strategic Framework by comrade Jeff Radebe, and the Balance of Forces by comrade Nathi Mthethwa.

On the morning of day two, Council broke into commissions, all of which discussed the reports of the President, the Secretary General, the Treasurer-General and the two presentations, with a focus on: the balance of forces and organisation building and elections. The consolidated reports of all the commissions were then presented to the plenary:

- **Balance of Forces** by comrade Joel Netshitenzhe
- **Organisation Building and Elections** by comrade Nomvula Mokonyane

After the plenary discussions, Council again went into sector specific commissions for the rest of the day.

On the third day, comrade Jessie Duarte – the Deputy Secretary General, presented a report of the Steering Committee. The report dealt with two main issues: first, was the decision to prefer charges on some delegates who had made unsavoury comments on social media with regard to the Secretary General's presentation of the Mid-Term Review: state of the organisation 2012-2015. The behaviour of these comrades was deemed to contravene the Rules of Procedure of the Council and had gone beyond acceptable behaviour. It was indicated that the matter was referred to the National Disciplinary Committee for processing and action. Delegates erupted in applause, showing approval of the stance taken by the Steering Committee. The second aspect the report dealt with was



Report of the 4th National General Council

the logistics regarding how the delegates would travel back to their respective destinations, and what precautions the organisation had taken to ensure their safe and smooth journey home.

Comrade Jeff Radebe presided over the session where the commission reports were presented to the plenary. These were the reports and presented by the comrades identified:

- **Health, Education, Science and Technology** – Angie Motshekga
- **International Relations** – Maite Nkoana-Mashabane
- **Communication** – Siyabonga Cwele
- **Social Transformation** – Joe Phaahla
- **Legislature and Governance** – Pravin Gordhan
- **Peace and Stability** – David Mahlobo
- **Economic Transformation** – Thembi Majola
- **Rural Development, Land and Agrarian Reform** – Thoko Didiza

The presentations of each of the reports were followed by a discussion and responses from the chairpersons of these subcommittees.

The National Chairperson returned to preside over the last session of the Council, which was an open plenary session where the media was allowed to sit

in. Comrade Jeff Radebe presented the Declaration of the National General Council, prepared by the Drafting Subcommittee of the NEC – which draws from the issues coming out of the commissions. The declaration was unanimously adopted. The President was then called to deliver the Closing Speech, which reflected on some key decisions of the Council.

The Council, from the beginning to the end, carried out its work with great discipline and befitting decorum. The discussions were robust and frank, with sensitivity to the realities facing the ANC in the present conjuncture of struggle. The keenness to address critical issues of concern such as; instilling discipline, ridding the organisation of factionalism, integrity of the leadership and members and restoring the standing of the movement, among others, were uppermost throughout the proceedings. Overall, the NGC was characterised by determination and an ebullient mood.

There was clearly great public interest in the interactions and proceedings of the NGC. This was evident in the media coverage, both the traditional and new media. The opposition parties also sought to weigh in on reports and issues. Significantly, in addition to the oversubscribed press corps, there was overwhelming participation by the NGO sector and Religious formations. These are important factors to pay attention, particularly in an environment that seeks to project an overall negative message and narrative about the ANC.



Report of the 4th National General Council

CREDENTIALS REPORT**3**

Status	Category	Expected	Present
ANC DELEGATES	Branch delegates		
	- Eastern Cape	403	388
	- Free State	165	162
	- Gauteng	285	262
	- KwaZulu Natal	513	447
	- Limpopo	275	264
	- Mpumalanga	315	297
	- North West	257	226
	- Northern Cape	125	121
	- Western Cape	162	148
	NEC	110	96
	ANC Veterans League	25	24
	ANC Women's League	25	23
	ANC Youth League	25	24
	REC	106	90
	PECs	117	111
	MKMVA	10	10
	Integrity Comm	14	10
	Isithwalandwe	3	2
Former NEC Members	60	18	
Alliance and MDM	COSATU	25	25
	SACP	25	25
	SANCO	25	20
	SASCO	3	3
	COSAS	3	2
	NGOs	10	10
	Religious		7
Deployed Cadres	Deployed Cadres	145	125

Report of the 4th National General Council

Guests	Former Liberation Movement	10	8
	Officials Guests	374	125
Staff	National Task Teams	269	197
Additional	Security	160	160
	Media	215	350
GRAND TOTAL		4259	3,780



POLITICAL REPORT

of ANC President Jacob Zuma

4

We welcome all of you to this National General Council (NGC), the mid-term review of our glorious movement.

The ANC constitution prescribes that we must convene no later than thirty months after the national conference, to review the implementation of policies that we adopted at the national conference.

We are also mindful of the fact that ANC conferences are important beyond the confines of our movement, because the ANC leads society and ANC policies affect millions of South Africans.

The NGC meets as we celebrate the life and selfless contribution of Comrade President Oliver Reginald Tambo, the longest serving President of the ANC who held the movement together during a difficult period.

We also meet during the 60th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, the fundamental policy document of our movement.

The inspirational Preamble of the Freedom Charter captures the aspirations of our people.

"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 birth right 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 the people, can secure to all their birth right 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 Freedom Charter also articulates unity of purpose by our people then, in their determination to defeat apartheid colonialism.

It says; *"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".*

The Freedom Charter remains the foundation of our democratic and non-racial value system and informed the progressive Constitution of a democratic South Africa.

Informed by the Freedom Charter and the Constitution, the ANC has succeeded in building a nation which recognises the freedoms, equality and rights of all regardless of race, colour, creed or sexual orientation.

Guided by the Constitution we continue to build a society that is totally free of racism. We should thus remain vigilant and fight any attempt to resurrect the demon of racism from the apartheid grave and to glorify a system of government that was declared a crime against humanity.

We must also bury the demons of tribalism and regionalism and not allow these to rear their ugly heads.

Pixley ka Isaka Seme spoke eloquently against tribalism and racism ahead of the establishment of the ANC in 1911 in his piece the Native Union.

He said:

"The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo (Mfengu) feud, the animosity

Report of the 4th National General Council

that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basutho and every other Native must be buried and forgotten; it has shed among us sufficient blood! We are one people”.

The ANC thus remains unwavering in its commitment to the vision expressed in the Freedom Charter to build a South Africa that is truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous.

ORGANISATION BUILDING AND RENEWAL

The ANC provides hope to millions of our people, especially the poor and the working class.

Our people continue to put their faith in this movement because they know that it is the only political formation in the country which has an unmatched experience, capacity and political will to consolidate democracy and lead South Africa into a better future.

The ANC went through a turbulent period in the past few years from around 2002 till the Polokwane national conference.

The internal divisions within the movement had unfortunately exploded into the public arena, due to problems that had not been attended to over a period of time.

The 52nd national conference in Polokwane in 2007 became an unfortunate public spectacle of tensions within our glorious movement.

However, the conference was also an important turning point as it forced us to begin looking seriously at the need for organisational healing, building and renewal.

The conference also affirmed the centrality and authority of the branches and internal democracy within the ANC.

The work done to rebuild the organisation and promote healing after Polokwane culminated in successful national conference in Mangaung during the centenary year of the ANC, 2012.

The Mangaung conference emphasised the need for organisational renewal and underlined the need

for cadre development as part of building the organisation.

The Polokwane conference had produced an economic transformation path which was developed further in Mangaung.

The Mangaung conference called for a radical socio-economic transformation in what it termed the second phase of the transition. Following the extensive organisational work done over the years, we can now say that there is substantial stability in the ANC.

The ANC remains strong, functional and vibrant. It lives, and it leads.

However, a lot of work must be done to rid our movement of certain tendencies that still exist, which may undermine the gains we have made if not attended to.

Organisational renewal thus remains a critical component of our organisational work.

It is even more important when we need an effective ANC machinery to prepare for elections and take transformation forward.

The ANC has continuously received an overwhelming majority during each national general election.

We thank the millions of our people who voted for the ANC in last year's elections and acknowledge the hard work of all our volunteers and structures. It was a difficult election, as will be explained in the Organisational Report.

While celebrating our 2014 electoral victory, we also acknowledge the fact that our majority has not been growing during each election.

Some of our traditional voters have in recent years become dissatisfied and some have chosen to abstain during elections, demonstrating their displeasure while still remaining loyal to the ANC.

We must not take this support and loyalty for granted nor think it will be there forever.

The NGC needs to undertake a frank assessment of the state of the organisation and identify those issues that make our traditional support base unhappy.

Report of the 4th National General Council

In previous ANC conferences we have identified certain negative tendencies which undermine our credibility.

These tendencies create a public perception that the ANC has become a self-serving organisation or one that at times deviates from its core values.

The core values of our movement are unity, selflessness, sacrifice, collective leadership, humility, honesty, discipline, hard work, internal debates, constructive criticism, self-criticism and mutual respect.

While we have identified negative tendencies in the past, it appears that new ones have also emerged or the existing ones are becoming entrenched.

One of the complaints raised by our people is the impression of lack of discipline within the organisation and that people do as they please and undermine the authority of the ANC with impunity.

The ANC must not tolerate ill-discipline, hooliganism, violence and other negative behaviour. The recent expulsion and suspensions of members who engage in such activities has demonstrated that the movement will not hesitate to act to protect its integrity.

To deal with some of the negative tendencies, including the systematic sowing of divisions, we need to strengthen and empower ANC branches.

Most ANC branches function well. Others are facing difficulties and need to be freed from tendencies such as manipulation, gate-keeping or the bulk buying of membership.

A new form of gate-keeping has also crept in, through which ANC branches are blocked from growing bigger than the mandatory 100 members per branch.

In this manner people who want to join the ANC are unable to do so, while those who have joined find themselves being used as voting fodder or to rubber stamp decisions of those who control the affected branches.

Such a state of affairs and other challenges with our membership system, could be the reason why our membership has dropped from more than a million members during the centenary in 2012 to seven hundred and sixty nine, eight hundred and seventy

thousand (769 870) members.

The ANC belongs to the people and no branch should block those who qualify from joining the movement.

Another phenomenon that has been identified as a problem is that of members who belong to other members. Their actions are determined by the people they look up to or who "own" them.

As a result such members defect when the people they followed into the ANC are expelled or become unhappy and leave.

Another serious cancer that needs eradication in our movement is the existence of factions.

Some of these factions are not based on ideological differences.

They exist because of greed and the hunger for power which, once obtained, is abused to take control of state resources and to further business interests.

The existence of factions and other tendencies tends to intensify in periods leading up to elective conferences.

It should be remembered that the ANC is a broad church with many ideological strands.

It is thus inevitable that we will at times have differences regarding leadership preferences, our ideological posture, the strategic direction of the movement and the tactical approach to be adopted in pursuance of such a direction.

These differences must be principled and not personal. Once they become personal they become a problem for the organisation.

And once people begin to form factions to push their positions, it also becomes a problem.

To manage differences, our movement abides by the principle of democratic centralism which dictates that once a decision is taken, either by persuasion or a vote, such a decision is binding on all members, including those who initially opposed it.

We also need to address the reported existence of the so-called *kingmakers* in the ANC.

Report of the 4th National General Council

There is no structure or League of the ANC that has been accorded the status of being a *kingmaker*.

This notion undermines internal democracy and the authority and centrality of the branches of the ANC.

Our electoral processes are well documented in documents such as **Through the Eye of the Needle**.

They are designed to help the branches to produce the best quality of leaders in whom our entire membership and country in general can have confidence.

While the ANC also does not discourage healthy competition for positions of leadership and responsibility, such competition must not take away the fundamental right of branches to decide on the leadership of the ANC.

In this regard, tendencies such as the use of money in order to manipulate the outcomes of electoral process in the organisation are totally unacceptable.

An effective weapon of dealing with the negative tendencies is for political education to be enhanced and institutionalised within the organisation.

In this way the membership will not fall prey to factions and interest groups as they would know and understand their movement and be able to resist manipulation.

The strengthening of the Leagues of the ANC forms part of the organisation building tasks of the movement.

Politically and organisationally, the Leagues are an integral part of the ANC. They are structures of the ANC, and are subject to ANC discipline.

Progress has been made in finalising the revival of the ANC Youth League following a difficult period.

High levels of ill-discipline of the former leadership of the Youth League led to the difficult but necessary decision of expelling and suspending some leaders of the League in 2012.

In March 2013, the ANC NEC formally disbanded the ANC Youth League National Executive Committee.

A coordinating structure, the National Task Team was established to lead the process of rebuilding the

ANC Youth League afresh, from branch level until it was ready to hold its national congress.

The ANC NEC in its wisdom changed a planned elective congress of the ANC Youth League in June this year into a consultative one to enable better preparation.

The preparatory process culminated in the successful holding of the national Congress in September 2015 which elected the current ANC Youth League leadership.

The process of healing is important given the recent turmoil in the League. The leadership must work hard to unite all young people including those whose leadership preferences were different.

The ANC Youth League should also take up issues affecting the youth such as funding for tertiary education, job creation and access to entrepreneurship opportunities.

The ANC Women's League also held a successful conference in September and elected new leadership, a few years late as the League last went to conference in 2008.

The Women's League should unite women behind the ANC and continue advancing the interests of women from all walks of life.

We are also mindful of the wisdom of President Tambo who said the advancement of women is the task of all in the ANC, men and women. The Women's League must thus obtain support from all in the movement.

Building on the successes of these two conferences, the movement must also assist the ANC Veterans League to overcome its present challenges and hold its own conference. It needs to play its rightful role of being the torchbearers of our movement.

The uMkhonto WeSizwe Military Veterans Association plays an important role in the movement, representing men and women who were ready to take up arms for South Africa to be free of apartheid colonialism and institutionalised racism.

Support to our veterans is undertaken by the Department of Military Veterans which was established following a conference resolution in 2007.

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STRENGTHENING THE ALLIANCE

The ANC also advances its programmes with the support of the Alliance. All components of the Alliance, plus SANCO, play important roles in advancing the goals of the NDR.

The ANC, the leader of the Alliance, is a multi-class National Liberation Movement advancing the National Democratic Revolution, the primary objective of which is the establishment of the National Democratic Society which is united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous.

The SACP is the vanguard party of the working class, with the objective of advancing a socialist revolution aimed at creating a communist society underpinned by a classless society.

COSATU is a progressive trade union federation whose core objective is to fight for and defend the rights of workers and to protect workers from the super-exploitation of the capitalist class.

SANCO is a civic movement and a critical component of civil society which mobilizes and organizes communities around bread and butter issues.

The Alliance has faced challenges given the difficulties that were faced by COSATU. The ANC has played its role as the leader of the Alliance to provide support and will continue to do so. A stronger united COSATU is important for the country and for the Alliance.

IMPLEMENTATION OF ANC PROGRAMME OF ACTION/GOVERNANCE

The NGC will take stock of the implementation of policies that we adopted in 2012 and the achievements and challenges.

We have done well in implementing the clauses of the Freedom Charter and substantial progress has been made.

Our current primary focus is economic transformation and land reform which tend to lag behind given the complexities.

The clauses of the Freedom Charter are as follows:

1. The People Shall Govern!

2. All National Groups Shall have Equal Rights!
3. The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!
4. The Land Shall be Shared Among Those Who Work It!
5. All Shall be Equal Before the Law!
6. All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!
7. There Shall be Work and Security!
8. The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!
9. There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!
10. There Shall be Peace and Friendship!

a. Economic transformation

We made an undertaking that we would over the next five years, take decisive and resolute action to overcome the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment, which are at the heart of South Africa's socio-economic challenges.

We indicated the intention to transform the structure of the economy through industrialisation, broad-based black economic empowerment, addressing the basic needs of our people, including women and youth, strengthening and expanding the role of the state and the role of state owned enterprises.

We reiterate as well that our most effective weapon in the campaign against poverty remains the creation of decent work and inclusive growth.

For us to achieve inclusive growth and create jobs, the economy must grow at faster rates.

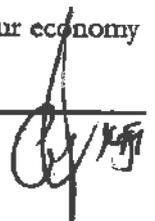
In both the National Development Plan and the New Growth Path, we set target growth rates of above 5 per cent a year and identified specific actions that needed to be taken to grow the economy faster.

Despite our efforts, GDP growth has been slowing down over the last three years.

The second quarter of 2015 saw GDP contracting by 1.3 per cent.

This was after positive but small growth of 1.3 per cent in the previous quarter.

The NGC must reflect frankly on why our economy is not expanding as fast as we desire.



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Secondly we will look at which of the steps we agreed to take have been implemented effectively and which ones have not been implemented, and why.

A significant part of the reason our economy is slowing down is because many economies that we trade with are either slowing down or contracting.

In addition to the slow global growth, we also have several domestic obstacles to economic growth. These include energy, falling commodity prices and the sometimes unstable labour relations environment.

On energy we are making good progress through expanding renewables, extending cogeneration contracts and improving maintenance and stabilising Eskom.

We are also in the long term developing an energy security plan based on producing a reliable energy mix for the country.

There are also positive signs in the economic environment despite the challenges. There are signs that the weakening of the rand is helping exports while the current account deficit has narrowed.

Government and state owned companies have sustained investment spending and this creates a platform for higher private investment when the cycle turns favourable. For example, more than one trillion rand has been invested in national infrastructure projects, compared with 451 billion rand in the previous five years.

The country also continues to attract foreign direct investment in spite of the global economic situation. This was worth 43 billion rand in the 2014/15 financial year and 3.31 billion US dollars from January 2015 to July 2015.

The United Kingdom, United States of America, Germany, Australia and India were the key FDI sources for South Africa.

South Africa also invests in other economies. The top five destination countries for FDI outflows from South Africa include the United Kingdom, Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia and United States.

Since 1994, trade with sister countries in the continent has increased 35-fold to about 400 billion rand, thus promoting intra-Africa trade.

As part of implementing the National Development, the ANC government this year adopted a Nine Point Plan which is being implemented currently. It involves investment in the sectors of agriculture, mining, the ocean economy, energy, industrialisation, small business development, boosting state owned and rural enterprises and others.

The ANC government continues to uphold broad-based black economic empowerment as well as affirmative action in order to further speedily transform the ownership, management and control of the economy.

Land is an integral part of economic transformation.

- Achievements include nearly 5,000 farms, comprising 4.2 million hectares, that have been transferred to black people, benefiting over 200,000 families.
- In addition, nearly eighty thousand land claims, totaling 3.4 million hectares, have been settled and 1.8 million people have benefited.
- Achievements to date include nearly 5,000 farms, comprising 4.2 million hectares that have been transferred to black people, benefiting over 200,000 families.
- In addition, nearly eighty thousand land claims, totaling 3.4 million hectares, have been settled and 1.8 million people have benefited.

But the process remains slow hence the development of new policies as outlined in Mangaung.

Following the decision of conference to reopen the land claims lodgement date, one hundred and four thousand two hundred and forty eight (104 248) new claims have been lodged.

The decision to grant exceptions to the land claim cut-off date of 1913 so as to accommodate the Khoi and San descendants, heritage sites and historical landmarks is also being implemented.

To ensure more effective radical economic transformation, we have to build a more capable and effective state, which has the technical and political capacity to lead development and transform the economy.

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b. Social transformation

During the 2014 general elections our people agreed with us when we said we had a good story to tell, and that South Africa was a much better place to live in than before 1994.

Indeed a lot has been achieved. A detailed report is provided in the organisational report.

More of our people have been lifted out of extreme poverty.

More than 16 million people especially older persons, vulnerable children and persons with disability receive much needed social grants to alleviate poverty.

- The Public Works and Community Work programmes had created six million work opportunities for unemployed people, 40% of them young people, by 2014.
- Over 3.3 million free houses have been built, benefiting more than 16 million people.
- Nearly 500 informal settlements have been replaced with quality housing and basic services.
- About 12 million households have access to electricity, seven million more than in 1994.
- Around 92% of South Africans had access to potable water last year, compared to 60% in 1996.

In 2014 we launched the Local Government Back to Basics programme to improve the functioning of local government.

Such interventions are critical as we prepare for local government elections.

- We continue to invest in our children's education which is an investment into the future.
- Over seven million learners from poor households do not pay school fees. Over seven million receive free meals at school.

A key new achievement is the fact that every province in our country now has a university.

Over the past two years we have added three new universities, Sol Plaatje University in the Northern Cape, the University of Mpumalanga and Sefako Makgatho Health Sciences University in Gauteng.

Funding for students from poor families through the National Students Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), has increased from 441 million rand in 1997 to over 9.5 billion rand in 2015 but remains inadequate given the increasing numbers of students. Programmes are being implemented to improve the disbursement of funds, to root out fraud in NSFAS, as well as to source additional funding.

The frustrations relating to the slow pace of transformation on campuses have also been sharply expressed by students and this is a reality. Academic staff remains predominantly white and male.

New academic posts targeting young black academics and women are being created to address transformation.

While some of the issues raised by students need attention, recent acts of violence and vandalism on campuses is unacceptable and action should be taken against students who break the law.

c. Health

Dramatic progress has been made on health care especially in the fight HIV and AIDS since the announcement of a turnaround strategy in 2009.

South Africa now funds the largest Anti-retroviral treatment programme in the world, with 3.1 million South Africans being on life saving medication. This has caused an increase in life expectancy as persons living with HIV are living healthier lives.

In addition more babies are born without HIV due to a successful prevention of mother to child transmission programme.

All these and other achievements must be sustained through the introduction of universal health coverage through National Health Insurance.

d. Peace and stability

The latest crime statistics indicate that we have over the past ten years substantially decreased the levels of certain categories of serious crime. But more needs to be done to make our people to feel safer.

The brazen behaviour of criminals who kill police officers, blow up ATMs or shoot people in highways

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and shopping malls especially in the build up to the festive season does not make our people feel safe.

There is clearly something more that needs to be done to send a message to criminals that crime does not and will not pay. The NGC will reflect on progress made in crime fighting.

The ANC needs to work harder to reverse the incorrect public perception that the ANC and its government are soft on corruption and that the ANC is a corrupt organisation.

It is thanks to the ANC's anti-corruption programmes and policies since 1994 that the fight against corruption is high up on the country's agenda.

The many instruments that have been established to fight corruption and their output demonstrate the seriousness of the democratic government about fighting corruption.

For an example, the Anti-Corruption Task Team exists which comprises thirteen government departments and institutions aimed at fast-tracking investigations and the prosecution of corruption cases.

There also exist other specialised anti-corruption units within various law enforcement agencies which have made tangible progress.

The ANC government also works with the National Anti-Corruption Forum to coordinate a civil society wide response.

Internally within the ANC we took a decision in Mangaung to establish an Integrity Commission to promote ethical behaviour.

The members are highly regarded elders and stalwarts of our movement. We need to provide them with the necessary support.

Drugs are destroying our youth and many families are suffering. We call upon ANC branches to mobilise community members to stop turning a blind eye towards people who sell drugs in their neighbourhoods.

Domestic violence and violence against women also still requires utmost attention.

The conviction rate relating to sexual offences stood

at 71 percent in the first quarter of the current 2015/16 financial year.

BUILDING PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

The ANC's agenda in the international arena is based on its belief and commitment to progressive internationalism.

During our liberation struggle, we benefitted immensely from international solidarity.

The ANC will continue to work with progressive forces of the world against political systems which undermine global governance and exploit the natural resources of the developing countries, in particular in Africa.

The ANC has successfully engaged former liberation movements in the continent and has consolidated our partnership agenda based on serving the poor in our region and the continent as a whole.

We reiterate our call at the 53rd national conference that when assessing the balance of forces, as they apply to Africa, we need sharpen our understanding of the role of anti-imperialist motive forces in the present world situation. This is even more crucial in the context of the global capitalist crisis.

We should continue to ask a few questions and to find answers.

Who are the motive forces of the African revolution? What is the role and contribution that our revolution is making to the regeneration of Africa?

This calls for stronger cooperation among liberation movements in the region to ensure that the gains of liberation and decolonisation are not reversed.

We also need to be alive to lessons from North Africa, especially the aftermath of the political changes that were referred to as the Arab Spring.

We must carefully analyse foreign interventions that bring about regime change which leave the people leaderless and allow military formations and right wing organisations to lead, as has happened in Libya, causing serious instability in the Sahel region.

We must also continue to support the African Union

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and African solutions to African problems. We cannot afford a situation where continental initiatives to bring about lasting peace, security and stability on the continent continue to be undermined by powerful foreign forces.

We continue to promote good relations with our partners in the developed North such as the EU, the United States, Japan and others.

We have also teamed up with our partners within the Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa (BRICS) formation.

With regards to global governance, the ANC should continue to pursue the reform of the United Nations and its organs to reflect the current global political and economic configuration.

Further, the impact of the global financial crisis to both developing and developed countries makes a compelling case for the reform of the global financial architecture.

The establishment of the BRICS New Development Bank is a welcome development in this new frontier.

We should continue to advocate for the rights of the people of Palestine and to call for unity amongst Palestinian formations.

We reiterate our support of the people of Western Sahara and urge all our structures to continue supporting their struggle for self-determination, freedom, human rights and dignity.

We also welcome the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and the release of the Cuban Five.

We reiterate our call for the lifting of the economic

and financial embargo to help the Cuban people to gain their economic freedom.

At the historic 70th anniversary of the United Nations last month, the UN General Assembly adopted the Sustainable Development Goals to replace the Millennium Development Goals which end on 31 December 2015.

The SDGs are intended to usher in a world characterized by greater equity, a world without poverty and a world in which we can live in greater harmony with nature.

We have a lot of work to do at this NGC.

The statement by Comrade Pixley ka Isaka Seme in 1911 motivating the objectives of the founding ANC conference is relevant to this NGC, 104 years later.

He said:

"We shall have come together to bury forever the greatest block to our security, happiness, progress and prosperity as a people."

"We shall have come together truly, as we are, the children of one household to discuss our home problems and the solution of them".

We look forward to frank and robust discussions as branches review and evaluate the implementation of ANC policies.

We wish all delegates successful deliberations.

The ANC lives! The ANC leads!

Amandla!

All Power!

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NGC.. in pics

NGC Delegates making their way to plenary ▼



NGC Delegates making their way to plenary ▼



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NGC... in pics

NGC Delegates singing ▼



President Zuma, Deputy President Ramaphosa and Treasurer General joins NEC members in song ▼



Handwritten signature
15 17

Report of the 4th National General Council

NGC... in pics

NEC members joins NGC Delegates in song ▼



NGC Delegates in plenary ▼



REPORT OF NGC COMMISSIONS

(AS ADOPTED)

Report on THE BALANCE OF FORCES

INTRODUCTION

This report covers discussions on the Balance of Forces from all the 8 commissions. Because many of the proposals relate to matters dealt with by the sectoral commissions, this report deals with broad generic issues.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

The Commissions were of the common view that the 2007 Strategy and Tactics document and the 2012 Preface are still relevant. However, developments since these Conferences have brought into sharp focus many new dynamics which require further reflection. All such issues call for creative application of the tools of analysis in the ANC's arsenal, so as to sharpen our understanding of South African society and the world in which we live, and to enhance the organisation's role as a vanguard of the NDR.

It was agreed that the process of drafting the Strategy and Tactics document for the 2017 National Conference should start as soon as possible, and entail wide consultation within the ranks of the ANC and its Alliance partners as well as in broader society.

GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE DOCUMENT

The analysis as presented in the discussion document was broadly welcomed. Proceeding from the perspective that the balance of forces is a dynamic process, it is agreed that we need always to pay attention to the changing objective conditions and subjective factors:

domestically, continentally and in the wider world.

In this regard, there is need further to interrogate issues such as:

- *The relationship between the assessment of the balance of forces and the ANC's strategic objective.*
- *The variety of mushrooming civil society structures and the failure of the ANC to reach out and give leadership to such forces.*
- *The growth in the numbers of motive forces of the NDR which do not see the ANC as the leader of the process of transformation, reflected among others in their electoral choices.*
- *Comprehensive analysis of the nature and character of forces opposed to fundamental transformation.*
- *The root causes of weaknesses within the ANC, including the 'sins of incumbency', which undermine its ability to mobilise society around the cause of radical social change.*
- *How we make use of our involvement in regional and global economic and other fora to advance the progressive agenda.*
- *The objective and subjective circumstances that have precipitated divisions with the progressive trade union movement, and how the ANC can play its leadership role in promoting the unity of workers.*

ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

- The critical focus of the ANC is to ensure that it

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remains a strong and cohesive organisation that is a vanguard of the motive forces of the NDR, able always to influence and lead the broad democratic movement and society at large. As such, we should seek, on an ongoing basis, to strike the appropriate balance between the number and quality of members.

- The fundamental task of organisational renewal is outlined in the resolution of the 2012 National Conference. This includes the motivation for, and decision on, the Integrity Commission. It is imperative that these decisions of Conference are implemented. The NEC should ensure that this happens, and report on progress to the membership, at least on an annual basis.

STATE AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

- Success in implementing the programmes of radical economic transformation and other objectives of the movement depends, critically, on progress in building a capable developmental state. While much progress has been made in this regard, there are many weaknesses that manifest in the various agencies of the state, and these need to be addressed on a comprehensive basis.
- Of particular concern is the combination of factors, some objective and others a consequence of machinations by nefarious forces, which have the effect of undermining the legitimacy of the state. The Commissions further noted with concern that actions and/or omissions by some of the movement's cadres in various centres of power have the effect of undermining people's confidence in the government and in the ANC.
- The ANC has a responsibility to ensure that the state is capacitated to fulfil its obligations to society and to speed up the process of social transformation. In accordance with prescripts of the Constitution and provisions of relevant legislation, the ANC should ensure that all agencies of the state are appropriately staffed and resourced.

NATION BUILDING AND SOCIAL COHESION

- Whilst we welcome the progress made in building a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united and prosperous society, we are fully cognisant of the need to mobilise all sectors of society around the National Development Plan, with the aim of proceeding as speedily as possible towards a National Democratic Society. The leadership role of the ANC should find full expression in the efforts to forge a social compact.
- As part of this process, the ANC must develop a deeper grasp of the evolution of various classes and strata in society, including the emergent middle strata, who are a product of the process of social transformation. The analysis must inform how we relate to and engage these social strata in a manner that advances the objectives of the NDR. An appropriate response to this changing reality does not imply a slackening of our focus on the working class, the poor, women and other marginalised sectors of society.

INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF FORCES

- The South African government and the ANC are widely respected among a multitude of countries and regions across the globe. South Africa has made great strides in making its voice and that of Africa heard, in various international fora. There is a danger, though, that this can be undermined by our own poor performance and conduct. Inversely, exemplary conduct and effective performance within South Africa – by both the ANC and the government – do have an important contribution to make in enhancing the country's standing in the global arena.
- The approach of our movement is informed by the imperative to pursue the interests of our people, and to build a safer and more humane world order. In this regard, the following areas need further analysis:
 - How we contribute to the strengthening of, and work with, the AU and regional bodies to advance African interests.

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- ❑ How we utilise our positive attributes as a country, to enhance the standing of our region and continent and to advance the global transformation agenda
- ❑ Ways of strengthening the progressive alliances that have been forged over the years, including BRICS in particular. In this process, we need to be cognisant of the fact that – in all international partnerships – a variety of considerations, rather than charity, inform the conduct of international relations.
- ❑ Working with other countries on the continent, and with allies in other parts of the globe, we must continue sharply to raise the issue pertaining to the reform of multilateral institutions.
- ❑ Along with these international partners, we should also strive to understand and change the negative geo-political dynamics playing out in various parts of the world.

Africa

- We note that the NGC is meeting at a time when Africa is on the rise and there are opportunities for the continent to effectively respond to challenges of poverty, underdevelopment and inequality; and to build peace and democracy. This positive tendency must be consolidated.
- Further analysis is required on new dynamics on the continent, including changing economic balances, as well as phenomena such as the emergences of the “KINGs” (Kenya, Ivory Coast,

Nigeria and Ghana). This should lead to requisite strategies on how South Africa can partner various strategic anchor countries.

- The ANC must take active part in efforts to strengthen the African Union and to ensure the implementation of Agenda 2063.

Middle East

- The ANC will continue to pursue peace and democracy in the Middle East, including the liberation of the people of Palestine. In this regard, we must continually review South Africa’s relations with the state of Israel.

CONCLUSION

The NGC reaffirms the ANC’s commitment continually to shift the balance of forces in favour of the forces of social transformation to attain a National Democratic Society; and to strengthen its partnerships with global forces which are committed to building a peaceful, more equitable and more humane world order.

It is the conviction of this National General Council that profound possibilities exist to speed up social change, including radical economic transformation. This however depends on the capacity and the will of the ANC to meet its historical mandate. Failure to build such capacity and to correct the incipient weaknesses within the organisation, will place the National Democratic Revolution in grave danger.



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Report on ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL AND ELECTIONS

Structure of Commission Report

1. VALUES
2. ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL
 - General issues
 - Membership and Branches
 - Relationship with Local Government
 - Alliance, Youth, Women
3. DEALING WITH NEGATIVE PRACTICES
 - Role and powers of the Integrity Committee
 - Corruption
 - Factionalism – leadership and candidate selection and slates
 - Ill-discipline.
4. CADRE DEVELOPMENT
5. ELECTIONS

1. VALUES

Commissions recommended that the ANC takes the following steps to renew and entrench our commitment to the core values of the ANC:

1. Induct all leaders at all levels on the core values of the ANC and the conduct expected from leadership.
2. Develop a basic introductory documents to explain our core values and position on backward tendencies such as tribalism, racism, xenophobia, sexism, homophobia, regionalism, etc.

3. All ANC members and leaders should be able to promote social cohesion, nation building, and explain the ANC approach to the national question.
4. Use political education to renew our basic values of solidarity and internationalism, especially among the youth.

2. ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

The Commissions reiterated and re-emphasized the need to accelerate the implementation of key resolutions. Especially important are those related to cadre development, discipline, ward based POAs, the broader organisational renewal and the relationship between the ANC and the state.

We need a Monitoring and Evaluation system to track implementation at Luthuli House under the SGO. The ANC should have a concrete organisational strategic plan annually to ensure organisational renewal.

Among other issues that should be addressed are the following:

- External engagement – tools and development of cadres to do this work properly in each community.
- Regional secretaries should not be public reps and the NEC should instruct them to resign with immediate effect.
- Deploy more resources to capture and preserve our records and history.
- Be creative and decisive when dealing with problems – focus on solving problems.

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- Unity should be preserved at all cost – no winners and losers should emerge from ANC conferences and candidates who have significant minority support should be accommodated so that our executives reflect the true character of the ANC.
- Develop a more scientific deployment system that records expertise, qualifications and training needs among our core cadres deployed to public service or as public reps.
- Deployment strategy weak and cadres who have failed in one deployment should not be awarded higher or other positions.
- Availability of sufficient NEC and PEC for organisational work should be a strong consideration when deploying cadres to government.
- Improve conference preparation process – involve sectors consistently.

BRANCHES AND MEMBERSHIP

The fluctuation of membership and disappearing members and BECs, are a major concern. Commissions felt that the practice of building and bulk-buying election branches before conferences should be dealt with firmly as acts of ill-discipline and corruption.

The commissions further emphasized that the ANC should:

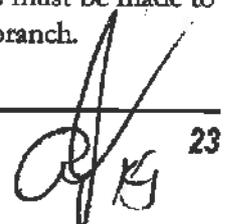
- Develop branch profiles which should also have the branch POA as well as what has been implemented in that branch and place reports on the cloud system.
- The branch should have at least one meeting per quarter where the list of members in the branch, activities, and participating members are published. This information will become part of the audit processes and the criterion of 'a branch in good standing'.
- Audit should also focus on life of the branch not just numbers, signatures and R20.
- We need to support political programmes and campaigns at local level and use the branch manual for guidance and the tablets and cloud system

for reporting and communication with branches.

- Approach to community work should include street committees, where necessary, and the NEC should develop clear guidelines on the structure, role and powers of the street committees and how they relate to other legislated and ANC structures.
- Interact with people and break social distance, all cadres and especially leaders, should have real links with community - other than ANC branches.
- Strengthen SGO to provide visibility, campaigns, support to branches, and m and e of programmes.
- Allocation to branches of membership fee should be 100% from now.
- Inform members of when probation period expires. Track expiry and inform members electronically.
- Speed up approval of membership and allow less space for manipulation.
- Make gatekeeping a disciplinary offence.
- PEC and REC should monitor membership growth and watch out for gatekeeping in areas with high volumes of ANC supporters or different geographic constraints.
- Dysfunctional BEC should be disbanded and BTTs put in place after due process with a clear time limit.
- Some commissions felt that the 100 minimum number was too much, especially in minority areas.
- When new members join they should go to the BGM where they should be welcomed and make their oath.
- Even provisional members should get a card and be informed of when their probation expires.

RELATIONSHIP WITH GOVERNMENT AT LOCAL LEVEL

Previous resolutions on ward councillor and branch relationship must be implemented: councillor serves on BEC ex officio, monthly reports must be made to BEC and three monthly report to branch.

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Branches should support incumbent ward councillor without reservation on condition that they follow the ANC guidelines. Cooperate on back to basics issues and play strong role on supporting the ward councillor, especially with community participation and consultation around local community needs.

Ministers and MECs must involve and inform branches when delivering a service or a programme in their area to assist us with claiming delivery for the ANC.

Alliance

Continue to build a strong Alliance with a practical and functional programme and campaigns at national, provincial and regional level

Youth

Strengthen ANC YL and support PYA and their resolution to support SASCO campaigns for SRC elections on campuses. ANC must analyse youth issues, concerns, demographics to better understand them as a motive force and a core constituency for elections.

Institutionalise cadre development for youth and do not leave it to the YL.

Concerns were also raised that generational mix does not penetrate all areas of deployment.

Women Empowerment

ANC must work with WL on struggles and programmes for emancipation and empowerment of women. It is not an act of charity or an issue for the WL alone.

We should strive to achieve 50/50 for officials at all levels, as well in spite of them not being a structure.

3. DEALING WITH NEGATIVE PRACTICES

Integrity Commission (IC)

Corruption was widely accepted by Commissions as a major threat to the NDR and the organisation.

The Commissions discussed corruption at length and welcomed the Integrity Commission's operationaliza-

tion. The growing perception that the ANC is soft on its own members and that this has serious implications and reputational damage for the ANC. As the President said: these tendencies create a perception that the ANC is a self-serving organisation that deviates from its core-values. Mangaung decided to set up the IC made up of veterans beyond reproach to investigate and make a determination based on the best interests of the organisation. The following was agreed by commissions:

1. The Commission should get powers to implement decisions and not just to recommend to the NEC. They already investigate but are currently recommending to the NEC and most recommendations have not been adopted. The "innocent until proven guilty doctrine" should not apply as this is not a court or DC process. The IC should pursue the interest of the ANC and ask members to step aside while dealing with their problems, for the sake of the organisation. The IC should also be adequately resourced. Their determination on cases are final. All previous decisions should be implemented.
2. Added after debate in plenary: In taking its decisions the IC must ensure that its processes are not used to stifle debate or deny members their basic democratic rights or be used as a means of settling political scores (similar to what is set out in Rule 25.6 of the Constitution that guides DC processes.)
3. The IC must inform the Officials of its decisions before their conclusions are announced.
4. The IC should also be set up at provincial level, and members should be vetted and approved by the national IC.
5. All IC members should be above reproach and should never have faced a serious allegation or charge within the ANC or government.
6. All members of the ANC should subject themselves to the due processes of the Commission.

Ill-Discipline, Abuse of Organisational Process, Conflict

The ANC is often confronted with incidents of ill-

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discipline by leaders in their relationships with structures they work with. This is especially apparant when it comes to internal conflicts and leadership elections.

Many conflicts that result end up in court because of an unwillingness by the provincial leadership to address branch complaints about leadership or conflict.

We have a clear complaint system that goes through the secretaries at provincial and national level. This should be the first approach for all who are aggrieved and the process should be fair and transparant. When these structures refuse to deal with a problem we need an alternative to desperate members approaching a court. The following proposals came from commissions:

- Appoint a respected veteran or small team, at provincial level who can deal with complaints and problems to try and avoid court cases. They should be mandated to mediate conflicts and assist branches and members with getting a hearing if they have a substantive complaint.
- Act on ill discipline when it occurs within structures. At each level the secretary should immediately call members to account and engage with member to find out reasons and problems, and to correct poor behaviour.
- The DC should prepare a simple manual on its process to assist those that are charged or wat to bring charges.
- The ANC needs a whistle blower line or complaint line that is seperate from the elected leadership who may be the target of a particular complaint. This could possibly be one of the functions for the veterans team mentioned above.
- Failure to complete work or report on tasks at all levels of leadership should be addressed by the secretary and the structure if needed

Defection

We need to be strategic to reinvolve and reintegrate defectors who return without speedy promotion that may be seen as disadvantaging loyal members.

Factionalism in Elections and Slates

Commisions were united that the practice of slates should be outlawed and that serious steps should be taken to prevent and deal with this practice. We have to abandon the new culture that winners take all that has set taken root in the ANC this century.

Proposals are:

- Ban formalization of lobby groups and the promotion of slates - those who promote these must be disciplined by a DC
- Need to locate the power to elect leaders with branches as the basic and central unit of the ANC. This means that branches must vote according to their branch mandate at elective conferences and consolidation of preferences at regional or provincial level should be outlawed
- NEC to produce guidelines on how to deal with leadership selection – addendum to Eye of a Needle with practical guidelines on process.
- Buying votes or rewarding through other means is an act of corruption on both sides and must be dealt with by DC and IC if needed.
- Introduce minimum threshold of branch nominations for elected ANC positions (possibly 10%).
- Seperate elections for each official position to do away with slates and allow for 'losers' to be accommodated at deputy level as an act of unifying the ANC.

4. CADRE DEVELOPMENT

Political School

There is no reason not to implement the political school with the resources we have available. Political school should not be seen as a structure but as a curriculum with diverse and accessible methods to use in e-learning and debate.

Branches and any other group of cadres should be encouraged to hold study groups at no cost. While we work towards building a structure we should bring politics into every branch, council and executive of

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the ANC. A curriculum exists and we need to work on producing videos, manuals and assignments that can be downloaded and used by any cadres. An e-school can also be developed for individuals who have internet access. We should raise funds to train facilitators for all branches of the ANC and Leagues.

Induction

Leaders of branches need capacity to lead communities and respond to local issues and conflicts.

A clear induction programme should be designed and made compulsory for leaders and public representatives at all levels.

New cadres and those from other parties should be inducted within 6 months.

5. ELECTIONS

The Commissions noted that elections may be only 8 months away. We have strong support in the country, much of it unregistered and many ANC voters (13%) who are alienated or have become passive. We need to undertake the following urgent tasks:

1. Complete the selection of the best possible ward candidates and a balanced team of PR candidates by December. In strategic municipalities the NEC should consider a process for mayoral candidate selection and announcement before the election as this may aid the campaign.
2. Ensure that all young potential ANC voters have ID documents now and register them as voters next year.
3. Register them and all others who have moved in February and March next year.
4. Youth campaign that registers, educates and mobilises young people for all structures and campaign volunteers.
5. Engage with all organised sectors, report on our delivery and discuss the challenges we face and their concerns.
6. Aim to win back the black middle class vote and mobilise the working class to support the ANC.
7. Seriously engage white, coloured and Indian voters, and organisations from those communities, with a view to increasing our support and winning over key opinion-makers.
8. Target improving our support in the Western Cape by consolidating and registering the base vote, and invading the opposition strongholds.
9. Enhance local community engagement with ANC and ward councillors now and make sure that delivery is well publicised and key problems are addressed.
10. Become more scientific about our mobilisation of and contact with voters. Use the new cloud system to capture ANC support and potential support as well as local issues.
11. Expand the 20 questions booklet for volunteers and leaders and candidates to capture new issues as they arise.
12. Develop a detailed social media policy and code of conduct to be adhered to by all members.
13. Train all Ministers, Mayors, MECs and communications people to deal with ANC messaging before end 2015.

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REPORTS OF SECTORAL COMMISSIONS

(AS ADOPTED)

6

1. Economic Transformation

1. The Mangaung Conference's mandate on economic transformation

1.1 At the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung in 2012 the ANC's resolution on economic policy was informed by the Freedom Charter's call that the people shall share in South Africa's wealth.

1.2 Since our democratic break-through in 1994, significant progress has been made in meeting the basic needs of our people, including through the growth of the social wage and the provision of social infrastructure. However, the redistribution of wealth and the growth of job creating industries have not met the people's expectations.

1.3 As a result, the ANC has resolved to take measures to accelerate growth and intensify of the programme of economic transformation. The intensification of our interventions will form an integral part of the second phase of our transition from apartheid to a national democratic society, and will be based on the following pillars:

1.3.1 Uniting all South Africans around the National Development Plan (NDP) to promote growth and development and eradicate the triple scourge of unemployment, poverty and inequality,

1.3.2 State-led infrastructure investment aimed at massively improving social and economic infrastructure, with an emphasis on the use of local content and local companies,

1.3.3 The successful implementation of the

strategies to give effect to the National Development Plan, including the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan aimed at stimulating growth, employment and the re-industrialisation of the SA economy.

1.3.4 Transforming the mining sector with the aim of widening the benefits of SA's abundance of minerals, including the creation of safe and decent work on the mines as well as benefits for near-mine local communities. Particular focus on beneficiation is essential and has to be expedited without delay.

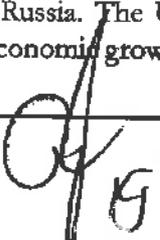
1.3.5 Promoting youth employment, small business and cooperatives.

1.3.6 Building a developmental state with the technical and political capacity to lead development and transform the economy.

1.3.7 A supportive macroeconomic policy framework, oriented towards reconstruction, growth and development, and informed by the imperatives of sustainability and long-run macroeconomic stability.

2. Negative economic headwinds locally and internationally

2.1 The global economic conditions have been extremely difficult over the past three years. Growth has slowed in China and is negative in countries like Brazil and Russia. The US and Europe have faced low economic growth

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and Europe has been further affected by the Greece crisis. The rate of economic growth in Africa has fallen sharply, especially for oil producers. Commodity prices have fallen sharply, including prices of a number of SA's major mineral products such as iron ore, coal, gold and platinum.

- 2.2 Negative global conditions affect the South African economy in a number of ways, including job losses, reduced investments, reduced exports and exchange rate volatility.
- 2.3 There are also specific domestic weaknesses in the SA economy. Many economic problems continue to be based on the structures of inequality and underdevelopment inherited from South Africa colonial and apartheid past. Other problems, are more conjunctural in nature, such as low levels of growth and investment, reduced business confidence, limited fiscal space, an ongoing shortage of electricity, the threat of jobs losses in mining, metals and other sectors, and drought conditions.

3. Infrastructure

- 3.1 The national infrastructure plan is a critical tool for delivery of the goals of the NDP.
- 3.2 The slowing global economy and the need to speed up social delivery and job creation, requires that new project approvals, funding and implementation should be brought forward where possible in key areas, such as, water (dams, water pipelines and household connections), transport (road, rail and port), energy (generation, transmission and distribution), broadband rollout and social infrastructure (health, education and sanitation). The PICC must finalise such projects on an expedited basis. The ANC NEC Lekgotla must receive a full report on project pipeline implementation in January 2016.
- 3.3 Maintenance of infrastructure is a key way of improving performance and creating jobs. Maintenance must be prioritized, including through clear targets, ring-fenced funding for

maintenance, clear audits of maintenance spending and linking the maintenance targets to the performance agreements of civil servants.

- 3.4 Infrastructure development, particularly maintenance, provides a key opportunity to train young South Africans in the range of artisanal skills, including plumbing, electrical works, masonry, brick-laying, etc.

4. Mining

- 4.1 The mining sector is undergoing a period of distress as a result of the current low commodity price cycle. The ANC calls on parties to exercise restraint in dealing with issues of employment and wages in order to avoid job losses and to sustain the sector's potential for future growth and development.
- 4.2 To reduce uncertainty in the mining sector, the speedy promulgation of the amendments to the Mining and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA) is required including to give effect to beneficiation. Furthermore, the resolution of the current dispute over the interpretation of the terms of South Africa's Mining Charter is also urgently required.
- 4.3 In line with the Resolutions of the 53rd Elective Conference in Mangaung, the State Owned mining company must be strengthened.
- 4.4 Progress has been made in advancing beneficiation and this process must be expedited.
- 4.5 Recognising the uneven levels of maturity for minerals and petroleum, the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act should be split into two separate legislation, one catering for mineral resources and another one for petroleum (oil and gas) resources, which should incorporate the 'free-carry' principle for the state.
- 4.6 All participants in the mining industry are called upon to jointly explore appropriate

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interventions in order to place the mining sector along an inclusive growth trajectory that promotes sustainable development, including protection of jobs, beneficiation of minerals and enables the sector to be a catalyst for development. In this context, the NGC welcomes the launch of the Operation Phakisa in Mining.

5. Oil and gas

- 5.1 The effective use of gas as a source of energy in South Africa has significant potential to reduce energy costs and improve the economy's overall efficiency and competitiveness. This can be a significant game-changer for the South African economy with sizeable positive employment effects as well as the potential to reduce the cost of living.
- 5.2 The recommendation of Operation Phakisa on the Ocean's Economy to advance offshore oil and gas exploration should be implemented. Furthermore, the exploration onshore for shale gas should be accelerated in such a way to ensure that no damage is done to South Africa's water and other environmental resources. Furthermore, the effective integration of the South African economy with the oil and gas resources available in the Southern African region holds vast potential. South African companies, including state-owned companies, should have a clear role in the gas industry.

6. Energy

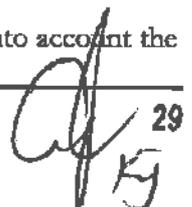
- 6.1 The shortage of electricity supply serves as a significant constraint on economic growth and development in South Africa. Delays in the Medupi and Kusile power station projects have resulted in an unacceptable cost escalations, a prolonged period of power shortages and related economic problems.
- 6.2 As South Africa adopts various short- and medium-run strategies to overcome the current shortage of power generation, including the successful Independent Power Projects

(IPP's) for renewable energy and the planned extension of the IPP model to coal and gas projects, the ANC continues to assert the position that state owned company Eskom should remain at the centre of South Africa's Energy Industry, including in the new build programme.

- 6.3 Priority should be given to making clear decisions on future baseload power investments in order to avoid another challenge of electricity availability in the medium to long term. The implementation of an optimal energy mix is key, so as to ensure optimal power generation that is affordable, and economically and environmentally sustainable. This will require open and transparent processes on future coal, renewables, gas, nuclear and hydro investments. Maintenance and refurbishment of the current fleet is also a priority matter with regard to ongoing and future power generation.
- 6.4 The IPP office must be restructured with the objective of ensuring an improved governance structure and in order to strengthen its impact to achieve national policy objectives.
- 6.5 The process of setting up additional refining capacity in the Coega SEZ is an important development for the liquid fuels sector growth and development. This will boost industrialization, job creation and attract significant foreign direct investment.

7. Surface transport infrastructure

- 7.1 Transnet should continue with its extensive capital expansion programme, but in order to avoid problems of future shortages and excesses of rail capacity, its investment plans will have to remain cognisant of developments and trends in market demand. Transnet should seek to optimize the developmental impact of its investment programme, particularly through the maximization of local content with the explicit aim of creating jobs and strengthening local industry.
- 7.2 Economic policy must take into account the

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opportunities provided through an integrated transport system that enhances the competitiveness of supply chains by more effectively integrating different transport modes across these chains.

7.3 The regulatory approach should be equitable and fair and based on an approved strategy for an integrated freight system aimed at reducing the overall cost of logistics to benefit growth and job creation and promote local industrialisation.

7.4 The ANC supports the user-pay principle. The NGC notes the concerns raised about the current eToll system in Gauteng. Accordingly, the NGC urges government to continue to move with speed to explore means to address the socio-economic impact on our people, including alternative means of funding road and other infrastructure.

8. Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)

8.1 Telecoms and broadband costs are too high in South Africa as compared to other countries, including many other African countries. These high costs are serving to retard economic activity and to hold back the potential development of a vibrant digital economy with its significant job creating potential, particularly for young people.

8.2 We urge government to finalise speedily the review of the existing ICT policies and regulation and adopt a new integrated ICT White Paper on the use of and adoption of the ICT to underpin the implementation of the NDP. In this regard the new policy must:

8.2.1 ensure universal access to broadband infrastructure in all areas of the country

8.2.2 ensure consolidation of government ICT assets and entities to avoid duplication and provide a coherent platform for use of the government owned assets to accelerate infrastructure deployment

8.2.3 create a policy and regulatory regime that opens access to infrastructure for existing and future licensed entities, in particular SMMEs, on a transparent and non discriminatory basis

8.2.4 create a separate licensing and reporting environment that will promote transparency in the provision of infrastructure and ICT services

8.2.5 reduce termination rates and make roaming affordable nationally and within the SADC region

8.2.6 encourage the development of local South African digital content, localize the manufacturing of ICT products and services

8.2.7 integrate the post office into the digital network and position it as point of presence and access for government services. This integration must be underpinned by a Universal Address System that connects south Africans through traditional post offices and new IT technologies

8.2.8 finalise the corporatisation of the Post Bank as a nucleus of state-owned bank

8.2.9 migrate government services to online e-government services that are always available.

8.3 The above strategy will require an increase in training and development in order to provide the necessary new skills sets in engineering and technical fields and use of technologies by ordinary South Africans.

8.4 The spectrum is a significant and critical scarce national resource that must be accessed by current and future licensed operators. In this regard, we further urge government to finalise, by December 2015, the new spectrum policy. The new spectrum policy must ensure equitable access by licensed operators to critical infrastructure. The new spectrum policy must prioritise rural areas to ensure availability of infrastructure in all areas of the country. It must also seek to

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ensure the increased affordability of communication services.

- 8.5 The National Development Plan envisages substantial job creation opportunity in digital-enabled economic activity, especially for youth. The effort to promote investment and job creation in IT enabled services must be intensified.

9. Labour market reforms

- 9.1 A key question is how do we position our policies to benefit from the country's potential demographic dividend, in the context of a rapidly closing window of opportunity in this regard.
- 9.2 Ongoing efforts by the Nedlac constituencies to advance discussions on a minimum wage in the South African economy are fully supported by the ANC. This process is in line with our commitment to creating decent work for people in South Africa and is informed by the commitment in our 2014 Election Manifesto to "investigate the modality for the introduction of a national minimum wage as one of the key mechanisms to reduce income inequality."
- 9.3 There needs to be increased emphasis on artisanal and practical training for young South Africans. This is particularly important for those young people who are falling through the cracks and find themselves neither in education or in any form of employment. New, effective mechanisms must be found to support businesses, state owned companies, TVET colleges and other institutions to provide practical training for young people in our economy, including through appropriate incentives.
- 9.4 It is urgent that the education and post-education system support youth, ensuring they have basic capabilities in communication, comprehension and maths for employability. The gap in these capabilities place excessive pressure on employers and training institutions.

- 9.5 Efforts to strengthen the labour regime must be fast-tracked. These include:

- 9.5.1 Improving lifelong learning and career advancements
- 9.5.2 Improving labour market matching and transitions
- 9.5.3 Stabilising the labour environment, improving dispute resolution and shop floor relations
- 9.5.4 Strengthening the labour courts, bargaining councils and resourcing the CCMA
- 9.5.5 Identifying routes to more equitable wage determination in the private sector
- 9.5.6 Public sector labour relations conducive to delivery
- 9.5.7 Steps be taken to address casualisation of labour through ensuring compliance with the law.

10. Strengthening Black Economic Empowerment

- 10.1 The black industrialists programme, as part of a broader programme of transformation, is integral to efforts to scale up manufacturing. Significant funds from the IDC and dti have been earmarked to support the growth of black industrialists. The challenge, though, is for this programme to support real sector productive entrepreneurship and exclude rent seeking intermediaries.
- 10.2 Greater conceptual clarity is required in order to improve and broaden the transformative impact of our various black economic empowerment (BEE) initiatives. While we have made progress in some areas, there have also been reversals and unintended consequences with regard to some of our BEE interventions. Processes need to be undertaken to iron-out such problems and to develop more sophisticated mechanisms to ensure the full entry of black South Afri-

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cans as productive citizens in the ownership and management of companies.

- 10.3 State procurement represents a significant market for businesses, large and small, and should be viewed as a key instrument for empowering emerging black businesses. In this regard, we need to review the PPPFA to enable the implementation of set asides that work more effectively in promoting black businesses.
- 10.4 Consideration should be given to setting up a new fund to acquire increasing ownership in both listed and unlisted companies that are seeking to dispose of their holdings, especially during the current economic downturn and relate period of low commodity prices, as part of the overall empowerment programme.

11. Tourism and export service sectors

- 11.1 A sector which holds great potential for job creation, especially in rural areas, is tourism. Advancing transformation in the tourism sector is paramount. The tourism sector has exceptionally strong linkages to the rest of the economy, for example food and beverage production, financial services, printing and publishing, security services, and many others.
- 11.2 The ANC notes the issues raised by the public on the newly introduced Visa processes, also notes the process initiated by government led by the Deputy President and call on Government to expedite a solution to this matter, in order to restore the country's natural comparative advantage in this important sector.
- 11.3 There is potential to unlock greater value by investing more in nurturing a culture of domestic tourism. By increasing government investment in tourism marketing, we could create meaningful new job opportunities and economic growth.
- 11.4 Key export sectors including for construc-

tion and finance services need to be supported to enable African development to benefit from local capacity and to transform local capacity to enable substantial entry of black South Africans.

12. Agriculture

- 12.1 Agriculture and agro-processing has large employment creation potential and significant farm exports add favourably to South Africa's balance of payments. Policy should be put into place to allow the development of a large number of small-holder farms, which are integrated into the commercial farming value chain.
- 12.2 In order to achieve this, deliberate attention should be paid to increasing the employment impact of the sector by the development of an agriculture incentive scheme that supports key inputs such as working capital, access to infrastructure, feeds and fertilizers, parent stock and research and development for the development of new cultivars and vaccines.
- 12.3 Expand agro-processing initiatives as a key focus of manufacturing promotion policy.

13. Manufacturing

- 13.1 Manufacturing continues to be a major sector of South Africa's economy, providing a significant base of skilled employment opportunities. Through its Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP), government seeks to transform the structure of South Africa's manufacturing base through creating new levels of dynamism and competitiveness in the sector.
- 13.2 Current economic conditions are proving to be very difficult for the manufacturing sector. In order to arrest the decline in manufacturing performance, a renewed emphasis needs to be placed on localisation, particularly linked to procurement by government and state-owned companies. There should

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be clear consequents for non-compliance by public entities of our policies on localisation.

- 13.3 Improved efficiencies in South Africa's transport and logistics networks would also be highly beneficial to manufacturing performance in the country.
- 13.4 The steel production sector is facing particular challenges, due to falling prices resulting from a global glut in steel output. Government should take all necessary steps to save South Africa's steel production industry, but all such assistance and protection should be conditional on the steel producers giving firm and specific undertakings with regard to job retention, new investment commitments and future pricing, which will facilitate downstream competitiveness.
- 13.5 A review of manufacturing-related incentives should be undertaken in order to assess the social returns of such incentives and with the objective of directing them towards more labour intensive and thus employment promoting outcomes. In particular, more emphasis must be given to labour intensive sectors of manufacturing in the design and allocation of incentives.
- 13.6 The entry of black South Africans in manufacturing as owner and managers must be facilitated and speeded-up.
- 13.7 We must explore policies to promote rehabilitation of waste streams in order to recover value, benefit the ecosystem and create new industrial activities through re-use – a system sometimes referred to as the circular economy. Such policies offer significant potential for job creation, SMME development and innovation. Greater collaboration between state, private sector and the society is therefore of critical importance.
- 13.8 Further consideration should be given to strengthen the state's role in petrochemical and steel-making industries, in order to achieve national development goals.
- 13.9 A range of cross-cutting issues need to spe-

cific attention, such as:

- 13.9.1 Research and Development (R&D): Investment in R&D is key intervention to lift the rate of inclusive growth and inject innovation in the economy as a driver for jobs, competitiveness and delivery. The ANC supports that further efforts need to be made to improve the level of investment in R&D.
- 13.9.2 Investment: the Promotion and Protection of Investment Bill seeks to confirm the rights of foreign investors in South Africa in a legal regime compatible with our constitution. The ANC therefore supports the Bill and its objectives.
- 13.9.3 Cooperatives and small business: collective enterprises such as cooperatives are an important means to draw more South Africans into economic activity and ensure more equitable development. Small businesses constitute a further instrument to promote entrepreneurship and combat economic exclusion. Government measures to support small business and cooperatives need to be scaled up to ensure their impact is felt across the economy.

IMPLEMENTATION

In order to:

- mobilise the resources to implement the above priorities.
- lift the rate of inclusive growth and job creation, and
- take into account the need to address inequalities in the society, the ANC policy framework that supports a progressive tax policy and the recent calls by the OECD to consider a higher tax contribution by wealthier South Africans,

the NGC now calls for the following:

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1. Raising resources: *Budget reprioritisation*

Reprioritisation of the Budget across all three spheres of government in order to reduce consumption expenditure, boost investment spending and raise revenues. This will require hard choices in the allocation of resources and decisive action against waste and corruption

2. Raising resources: *Tax revenue*

Consideration of an appropriately structured wealth tax to raise revenues for investment in skills, infrastructure and the economic development priorities identified.

3. Raising resources: *Base erosion and transfer pricing*

A crackdown on transfer pricing abuses and fraudulent behaviour by some corporations that deprives the fiscus of resources and local stakeholders from the benefits of economic activity.

4. Building the developmental state: *State owned companies*

Firm action to improve the performance of state-owned companies through better governance, by ensuring the appointment of skilled staff and qualified board members and protecting public institutions from improper interference particularly in allocation of tenders and appointment of staff.

5. Political co-ordination

To improve political coordination in the movement,

the Economic Transformation Committee (ETC) should be consolidated as a single entity with sub-structures, to ensure coherence in policy recommendations to the NEC. ETC structures at provincial, regional and zonal levels need to be intensified and coordinated with the ETC at national level.

6. Government co-ordination

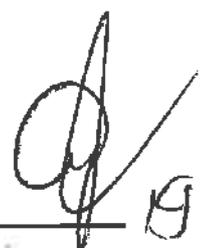
Within government, the Presidency should step up efforts to coordinate the work of the various economic departments in national government and across the three spheres, to ensure that implementation is made more coherent and effective.

7. Social coordination: *Finance sector*

Engaging with the finance sector, including banks and asset managers, to secure the lowest effective borrowing rates for the state in order to promote development inclusive growth and job creation. Such engagement will have the aim of securing an agreed concessionary rates for public infrastructure investment.

8. Social coordination: *Business and labour*

To deepen the dialogue with the private sector and organized labour in order to identify commitments that need to be made by business, labour and the state, to address the new global headwinds and to boost local inclusive growth and development. This process should conclude with a National Job Summit to unveil these common commitments to the nation and help ensure that wider society is mobilised behind the programme of economic transformation.



2. Social Transformation

INTRODUCTION:

- The STC Commission report was premised on the Resolutions of the 53rd National Conference, the Strategy and Tactics as adopted in the 53rd Conference and the 2014 Elections Manifesto. The Commission also took into consideration the decisions of the ANC NEC makgotla and the Alliance Summits.
- For the past 20yrs we have concentrated on solidarity based policies aimed at reducing abject poverty and reducing inequalities. This social wage which has been described by the World Bank as one of the most effective in reducing poverty and increasing incomes for the poorest; Access to potable water has grown by 29 percent; 3.7 million houses has been provided and 15 million people now have access to decent shelter.
- This was a necessary basis for building a united state based on the will of all the people, without regard race, sex, belief, language, ethnicity or geographic location and improvement of quality of life among all the people. Now we are entering the **Second Phase** of our **Radical Socio Economic Transformation** and our work is to concentrate on work that will help our people to help themselves out of poverty. This approach will create the capacities, environment and the necessary resources that will facilitate peoples active engagement in the process of their own development.
- Many of the recommendations and discussions complemented the issues raised in the report and the presentation made in the Commission and will not be repeated in this report.
- The report therefore describes some of the core issues that need to be taken forward and prioritized
- We have assessed the work done by government and it will provide a good basis on which to develop an electoral platform for the upcoming elections.
- The report deals with the following areas: Social

Cohesion, Social Development, Women, Sports, Water and Sanitation and Human Settlements.

1. SOCIAL COHESION:

- The discussion on Social Cohesion was framed by the 13 key issues that are in the elections manifesto.
- The following were some of the more salient issues that emerged from the discussions:
 - Social transformation is linked to spiritual transformation (Charter positive values). There is a nexus between the two. If this is not done the work on social transformation will be a technical exercise. Therefore, the need to popularize the Charter of Positive Values throughout the structures of the ANC and Society as spearheaded by the Moral Regeneration Movement led by the Deputy President.
 - Promoting Constitutional values will assist in society accepting and practicing the protection of dignity and rights of others as well as their own rights.
 - The Commission supports the newly formed Cultural and Creative Industries Federation of South Africa (CCIFSA) that will build cultural and creative industries. There will also be a requirement of legislative reform such as the intellectual property regimes as it pertains to the cultural and creative industries.
 - There is a need to do more in promoting our Indigenous Languages in both public service and the Education System, this shortcoming has led to the misplaced criticism on the introduction of Mandarin in basic education as an optional language
 - We should accelerate the idea of local manufacturing and beneficiation (e.g. our Crafts) as the issue of economic well-being cannot be delinked from building social cohesion.

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- ❑ The media especially TV plays a very important role towards social cohesion and nation building. We must consciously encourage producers to produce progressive productions, esp. productions targeting the youth.
- ❑ The ANC needed to be more active in issues of social cohesion especially in relation to ensuring that geographic name changes made by government is based on consultations within the ANC structures as well.
- ❑ As part of our heritage work the ANC needs to develop a strategy to deal with the issue of statues and other cultural artifacts that celebrate the heroes of apartheid. We also need to build statues that celebrate our own heroes.
- ❑ The ANC must lead a public discourse foregrounding matters of identity, ethnicity, race, whist also emancipation the African voice, Such a discourse must start at branch level.
- ❑ An issue was raised about social distance within the ANC as well. It was proposed that the practice of differential treatment of people perceived as VVIPs and VIPs should be discouraged. At the same time the ANC branches were encouraged to develop strategies to reduce social distance between itself and communities.

REDUCING POVERTY AND INEQUALITY/ SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

1. The Commission supported the recommendation with respect to the transformation of Social Protection and Welfare Services outlined in the report.
 2. The following issues were raised as matters that needed attention:
 - a. Fast Track the Release of the Comprehensive Social Security Document, which has been with us for almost 20yrs. The document must be tabled at NEDLAC before the end of this year.
 3. Accelerate the implementing Programs and Policies to reduce Alcohol and Substance Abuse
- must be overcome given the damage done by alcohol and substance abuse in communities. This includes the proposed measures to limit alcohol advertising and promotion. The commission calls on all our structures and Alliance must have programs on mobilization of communities on alcohol and Substance abuse
4. Noting the good work done by government on dealing with poverty and inequality through social grants. The illegal and/or immoral deductions from the pensions by financial service providers must be stopped.
 5. The DSD needs to examine whether there are mechanisms to ensure that a portion of the grant is used exclusively for the purchase of nutritious food to improve child nutrition.

WOMEN

1. The mandate of the Department, which is the socio-economic empowerment of women, promotion of women's rights and gender equality was supported.
2. Preferential Procurement rules need to be amended to make specific allocation to women enterprises including cooperatives.
3. The Women's Empowerment Bill is a step in the right direction and its implementation needs to be prioritized.
4. The set aside for women as outlined in the Department of Human Settlements must be done by all government departments as part of a process of engendering the budgeting processes.
5. Addressing gender based violence and safety of people from contact crimes is a multi-departmental responsibility and will be coordinated through the Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy and through the criminal justice system.
 - a. This includes promoting the rights and safety of the LGBTI community.
 - b. A comprehensive strategy that seeks to deal with patriarchy throughout society should be developed and implemented. This should be led by the ANC working in partnership with relevant civil society organisations.

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6. Accountability and coordinating measures should be put in place to ensure that all government departments work towards the empowerment of safety of women
7. The Department of Women will need to engage the National School of Government and the relevant departmental colleges on this area of work as it consolidates its capacity.
8. The Women's league must set up a Young Women's Desk.
9. As indicated in previous resolutions the punishment of perpetrators of violence must be to the fullest extent permissible by law. Recent court cases has indicated that the Criminal Justice still too lenient.
10. We must be aware of the continuing triple oppression of women. This includes continued class oppression that intersects with racism, particularly for women on farms. We need to work on improving the wages and general working conditions of women workers as part of the women empowerment agenda.
11. The NGC recommit to the establishment of the Women's Empowerment Fund.
12. We need to be committed to the resolutions we made at the last Policy Conference and Elective Conference on stopping the practices of Uku-kengenwa and Ukuthwalwa, The ANC need to engage the relevant Traditional Leaders to resolve this challenge. The Children's Act and other legislation such as PEPUDA already make such practices illegal especially in relation to children.
13. The 50/50 principle must be implemented in full in the ANC and in government.
14. We need to develop programs to address the vulnerabilities of women between the ages 36 – 55. They receive very little services and are often abused single mothers. In many cases the rate of alcohol abuse is quite high. This issue was raised and needs to be researched with a view to developing appropriate programs.

SPORTS AND RECREATION

1. Sport is a key tool for social transformation and social cohesion
 - a. Sport funding model in government needs to be completely overhauled so that sports can meet its mandate.
 - b. Therefore needs the necessary levels of investment by all of government, including allocation from ALL provinces from the equitable share.
 - c. Implement the Ring-Fencing of the 15% of the MIG to fund the building and maintenance of sports facilities comprehensively
 - d. Consider the implementation of a 2 percent levy on the alcohol industry through the proposed restrictions on alcohol advertising. To promote Healthy Life Style
 - e. The levy on ticketing as proposed was supported, to assist in funding amateur sport
2. The STC emphasized the implementation of compulsory schools sport and for Physical Education as a stand -alone subject. This will require the review and amendment of the Schools Act.
3. The speeding up the transformation of all sport-ing codes was supported.
 - a. To include the boards of all Sports Federations.
 - b. We should consider possible sanctions against corporates that continue to support untransformed codes and federations.
4. We must review lease agreements that perpetuate unequal access to Sports and Recreation facilities in all communities
5. We should also look measures including fund-ing from local government to ensure the main-tenance and protection of existing sporting and recreational facilities.
6. The roll-out of outdoor recreation facilities is im-portant and should be adequately funded.
7. We need a campaign that breaks down the notion that sports for men is about money and status in an environment that leads to the potential abuse of women.

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WATER AND SANITATION

1. STC supported the need to review legislation to facilitate the removal of unused and inequitable water rights allocations in order to ensure a more equitable distribution.
 - National government will be the custodian of water.
 - Water trading will be abolished.
2. The Department of water will explore conservation initiatives. An example included possible restrictions on the number of golf courses within a particular radius.
3. Government must develop small dams especially in rural areas as part of water conservation;
4. Urgently provide every household with quality, clean water which in the short term may include portable purification tanks and water tanks for rain water harvesting to promote food security.
5. Bucket Eradication Program to be a priority.
 - This does not mean that all solutions will be water based (flushing toilets). Other innovative measures will be utilized.
 - There will also be changes to the manner in which government deals with waste water and grey water.
6. We must also look at transforming the irrigation boards.
7. The 'War on Leaks' will serve to conserve water and provide opportunities for young people who will be centrally involved in.
8. The Back to Basics program will serve to improve the abilities of local municipalities to effectively manage water resources and improve water service delivery.
 - Grants will only be disbursed to municipalities with proven capacities. The MECs of COCTDA will be empowered to have legal oversight over municipal capacities.
 - We must also address corruption where people destroy water infrastructure to advance narrow business interests related to water.

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

1. The ANC government aims to build a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing.
2. Programmes and proposals include:
 - Collapsing the 3 subsidy band into 1 to enable households earning below R3500 to access a uniform subsidy amount and expansion of the subsidy instrument to medium-income households (earning R3500 to R 7000 p.m.).
 - Funding for medium-density Social Housing (state subsidized rental housing in areas where there is a high demand for housing).
 - Loss Limit Insurance to allow banks to lend to people who may not qualify for bonds or be able to afford deposits. This will reduce the risk to banks and others lending money.
 - Fixed Interest Rates and alternative funding linked to savings/insurance products.
3. Over the next fifteen years, the Department of Human Settlements will embark on a radical spatial transformation programme aimed at changing the apartheid spatial patterns, through the establishment and building of new post-apartheid cities.
4. Promote the Integrated Urban Development.
5. Promote the housing market by removing barriers to housing trade, ensuring that the supply of state-assisted housing must respond to housing demand in areas where the population is growing, and ensuring that people get access to title deeds in townships
6. Informal settlements must be upgraded where possible and integrated into the broader urban plan to overcome spatial, social and economic exclusion.
 - Attention should also be paid to upgrading of people living in mud houses as they are often of a substandard quality.
7. Provide incentives to promote densification and disincentives to sprawl (housing spread-out over large areas).

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8. Implement the Military Veterans Housing Programme.
9. Mining Towns human settlement programme including basic services to be prioritised.
10. Implement the Human Settlements and Gender Empowerment Programme.
11. We must improve our monitoring of RDP houses:
 - The resale of RDP Houses must be prevented.
 - The quality of houses in the Western Cape for example is of huge concern.
 - The DA placing its own members ahead in waiting lists.
12. All outstanding title deeds must be issued within 12 months.
13. We need to fast track the development of Agricultural Villages for farming communities.
14. The fund to plug the gap market should also be fast tracked, given that plans to do this was announced 5 years ago.

NGC... in pics

Some of the guests who attended the NGC ▼



[Handwritten signature]

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3. Education, Health, Science and Technology

APPROACH TO WORK OF THE COMMISSION AND DESIRED OUTCOMES

The Commission focused on:

- An assessment of the work of various sectors, including priorities;
- Identifying policy gaps that impede delivery; and
- Proposing steps to be taken to increase the speed of delivery to ensure that the ANC and government complete their mandate.

Structures and institutions assessed

The report provided members and stakeholders an account of progress made by the following:

ANC Subcommittees and structures:

- ANC NEC Subcommittee on Education and Health
- ANC Subcommittees on Education and Health at the level of the PEC, REC and Branches.

ANC deployees in government:

- ANC in various legislatures, namely ANC Study Groups and Portfolio Committees in Parliament, Provincial legislatures and Local Government.
- Government departments: Basic Education, Higher Education and Training, Health and Science and Technology.

Questions which were considered

- Have all members of the Commission reviewed and understood resolutions of the 53rd ANC National Conference which are policy?
- Do members of the Commission agree with the assessment that is in the official documents of

the ANC that is the subject of discussion in this Commission? If not, could those areas that are identified as inaccurate be listed and highlighted by members of the Commission?

- Has enough work being done in ANC structures and in communities?
- What was implemented and what were the main reasons for success?
- What were the main reason and challenges for non-implementation?
- Was the deployment of resources, e.g. financial and human, appropriate?
- What were policy gaps that made implementation difficult or unsuccessful and what changes are you proposing?
- What must be done to speed up the pace of delivery?
- Is the ANC ready for the 2016 Local Government Elections?

INTRODUCTION

The Commission adopted the report which is contained in the Umrabulo Special Edition: NGC 2015. The report is an account to the NGC of progress made by sectors of ANC Subcommittees on Education and Health and an assessment of performance of each sector against resolutions of the ANC taken at the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung in 2012.

Members of the Commission incorporated, for the purpose of enriching our discussions, important observations and directives that are contained in the Political Report by our President and the Organisational Report by our Secretary General; plus the inputs made by Cde Jeff Radebe and Cde Nathi Mthethwa at Plenary at the start of this NGC.

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The Commission also noted that:

Since 2012, the ANC NEC has taken additional important policy decisions that have sought to speed up the pace of delivery, e.g. the introduction of Operation Phakisa.

Important decisions that we have to consider have also been taken at a global level, e.g. the end of the era of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the introduction of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Reminder to all in the commission

As the governing party, the ANC relies on the strength of its branches and their ability to work among the people, mass participation of communities in programs of the ANC and those of government, and its ability to use state power to advance speedily its goal of realizing the ANC's historic mission.

MATTERS OF EMPHASIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE COMMISSION

Please note that these matters of emphasis and recommendations are additions to the tabled report that is being recommended for adoption by the National General Council (NGC).

ANC BRANCH, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL SUBCOMMITTEES

Recommendations to NGC

- Reaffirm the centrality of the ANC branches in community mobilisation around the NHI.
- ANC branches must identify members with relevant skills for deployment in School Governing Bodies, clinic committees and hospital boards.

CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES

Recommendations to NGC

- The ANC and government must intensify the implementation of programmes to curb the scourge of teenage pregnancy.
- Programmes targeted at addressing teenage pregnancy must focus on both the boy and girl child.

BASIC EDUCATION

Recommendations to NGC

On School Governing Bodies

- The Commission noted that amendments to the South African School Act (SASA) are ready for presentation to the Subcommittee.
- The DBE must expedite the review of powers of the SGBs.
- Fast track the policy of introducing inspectors.
- Build more schools in villages and township, especially special schools.

On Annual National Assessments (ANA)

- The Commission expressed overwhelming support for the ANA.
- The challenges relating to its implementation must be resolved.
- The current process of review of ANA that has been initiated by the DBE must continue and all stakeholders must participate and contribute.
- Fast track the policy of introducing inspectors.
- Build more schools in villages and township, especially special schools.

On ICT in Schools

- The Commission welcomed the launch of Operation Phakisa on ICT in education.
- The implementation of the framework for use of ICT in schools in a nationally coordinated manner must be speeded up.

On Scholar transport

- Speed up the provision of scholar transport; and this must be implemented in all provinces.

Early Childhood Development

- The Commission welcomed the progress made with the universal access to Grade R.
- Collaboration with other departments in implementing the additional year for ECD was noted and welcomed.
- Steps must be taken to implement training pro-

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grams for ECD practitioners and to incrementally improve their conditions of service.

On Languages

- The Commission noted actions taken to implement the introduction of African languages in all schools and recommended a strengthening of this program whilst also introducing foreign languages such as Swahili.

On Post Provisioning Norms

- Finalise the ongoing review of Post Provisioning Norms.

On Quality of Education

- It was clarified at plenary that the education sector is paying serious attention to learners and students with disabilities.
- A proposal was made that the policy of compulsory education be implemented more vigorously, and that this be emphasised as a responsibility of parents. It was further proposed that loitering by children of school-going age be declared illegal.
- The resolution on 'Teachers on time, in class and teaching' remains a challenge especially in rural and township schools engagement; and SADTU confirmed that it regards this dictum as its revolutionary duty.
- The ANC must continue engagements with unions on this matter to ensure that this resolution is realised.
- Lack of security in some schools has led to instability.
- DBE must increase support for safer schools programmes.
- Balance the rights of learners with those of educators to improve discipline in schools.
- Schools should be provided with administrative support.
- Township and village schools must be prioritised and supported to ensure that they meet minimum standards.

On Maths, Science and Technology

- The Commission noted and welcomed the DBE's

establishment of the directorate on maths, science and technology, as well as initiatives to support schools to improve learner outcomes in maths, science and technology.

- Support the partnership between the DBE, DST and other partners such as ESKOM, which are aimed at improving performance and participation in maths, science and technology.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Recommendations to NGC

On the National Student Financial Aid Scheme

- Clarity was provided to plenary that the Constitution of the Republic refers to basic education as a right and further that the provision of free education should be met progressively.
- The Commission noted the growth of NSFAS as one of the greatest achievements of our democratic government post-1994.
- The Commission also noted that the NSFAS funding model needs to be reviewed in order to ensure greater efficiency and improved support to students.
- The resolution of Polokwane on free education for the poor must be fast-tracked.
- The level of university fees is regarded as too high and options for regulating them must be considered.

On Sector Education and Training Authorities

- The Commission expressed concern at the under-achievement of some of the SETAs but noted that in the majority of cases this is due to the shortage of places for experiential learning.
- There should be partnerships between SETAs and government departments to increase capacity for experiential learning and for the enhancement of service delivery.

On TVET Colleges

- Expansion of access in TVET colleges.
- There should be a qualification mix in TVET col

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leges with a stronger focus on technical and vocational training.

HEALTH

Recommendations to NGC

On National Health Insurance

- The Commission noted good progress in several of the NHI Pilot sites and urged expansion of this initiative.
- The Commission noted the imminent release of the White Paper on the NHI.
- The DoH was encouraged to fast-track the implementation of NHI and Treasury was urged to make funds available for this.
- Clarity was provided NGC that conference directed that government find ways of funding the NHI from the public purse.

On the training of medical students

- The framework for the training of medical undergraduates must be reviewed.

- The training of medical students in Cuba and other countries must be strengthened.
- A proposal was made at plenary that the DHET set minimum requirements for admission to medical schools.

On manufacturing of drugs or pharmaceuticals

- The DoH and DST were urged to continue with their work to ensure that South Africa takes the lead in drug manufacturing in line with Africa Agenda 2063.

Other recommendations

- The practice of Remunerative Work Outside of the Public Service (RWOPs) must be reviewed.
- Dignity packs or sanitary towels must be rolled out to girl children from poor families.
- The Commission reaffirmed the resolution that directs that Community Health Workers (CHWs) be absorbed into formal government employ.
- Community Health Workers (CHWs) must be deployed to implement the anti-TB Directly Observed Treatment Strategy (DOTS).

4. Legislature and Governance

1. CONTEXT

- In order to transform South Africa ANC needs to win elections;
- ANC needs vote to stay in power;
- Building confidence of people on the ANC government;
- Respond and deliver on peoples immediate needs;
- Delivery is depended on how we use finance and economic growth;
- Delivery is also depended on appointment of capable, disciplined individuals with humility and interest of communities at heart;

2. LEGISLATURES ISSUES

- The 5th Parliament has been characterised by unity of the opposition with the intention of destabilising Parliament.
- The ANC must focus on turning Parliament into an activist Parliament with a major emphasis on its developmental role, and to guard against the erosion of dignity

PROGRESS

- The 2010 NGC resolved that all Bills must go before the relevant NEC sub-committee for processing prior to introduction into Parliament. The same principle should apply to Provincial Legislatures and PECs.
- The separation of Legislative and Executive functions is being implemented.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Strategy discussion document initiated separately by the Chief Whip and Speakers forum was noted;
- It was further agreed that one discussion document should be developed that combines the two

initiatives;

- The urgent finalisation of the matter within 12 months was emphasised

3. PROVINCES

- Provinces must be reviewed to strengthen the democratic state and its developmental mandate, as well as the allocation of powers and functions, planning across government, the two-tier system of LG and the effectiveness and functionality of some provinces.

PROGRESS

- The ANC summit of December 2010 endorsed a framework document to guide the review process.
- An ANC Task Team will interface with government to ensure implementation of the resolution.
- The Presidential Commission has not yet been appointed, hence, the review process has not commenced.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Review of Provinces must commence;
- Establishment of the Presidential Commission should be fast-tracked;
- Changes in provincial boundaries require a change to the Constitution, This is constitutional matter and a change thereto requires a two-thirds majority.

4. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

- There must be a developmental state to deliver on the NDP. This requires the state to build its institutional, organisational, technical and leadership capacity in order to successfully implement government programmes and reduce the reliance on the private sector and outsourcing.

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PROGRESS

- The Presidential Review Commission has been established.
- The Public Administration Management Act (PAMA) was promulgated in December 2014.
- Constitutional issues relating to the Single Public Service needs to be resolved.
- A Provincial Monitoring, Support and intervention Bill has been developed to provide targeted support to Provinces.
- Gender equity is lagging behind, despite set targets and requirements.
- Building state capacity is a long term task.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Public Administration Management Act, 2014 – provides for a regulatory framework to set Human Resource norms and standards across spheres. The L&G Sub-Committee must monitor the operationalisation of PAMA as a step towards creation of a Single Public Service.
- Single Public Service – need to look at mobility of staff across the spheres of government.
- Building state capacity – is key to state delivery. National School of Government – must create thought leadership between the private sector and government. Resolve allocation of funding.
- Service delivery ethos and attitude – The public service must adopt a service delivery ethos and attitude.
- The Presidential Review Commission – should finalise the review of all salaries.

5. TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ISSUES

- The Constitution restores the dignity of especially indigenous communities, including the Khoi and San.
- They are close to the people, and function according to both formal and informal norms and rules.

PROGRESS

- Significant progress has been made to recognise the system.
- Provincial and National Houses are functional, and supported by government.
- A discussion paper has been drafted to take forward decisions on outstanding issues, for submission to NGC.
- The B2B programme will incorporate the role of Traditional Leaders, and relations with councillors must be improved.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Amendment Bill was officially introduced into Parliament on 23 September 2015;
 - The Bill provides for recognition of Khoi and San communities.
- First briefing of the Committee will be on 27 October 2015.

6. BOUNDARY DEMARCATION ISSUES

- Conference mandated that the structure, role and mandate of the MDB be reviewed, based on the maturity in the system of governance and our democracy.
- The frequency of boundary reviews is a concern.
- Conference has also resolved on the ward delimitation process.
- The frequency of municipal and ward boundary reviews is a concern.

PROCESS

- The role and responsibilities of the MDB are being reviewed, based on a report that was developed by the Demarcation Task Team.
- Demarcation must be aligned to the census.
- The frequency of ward delimitation must be reduced.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

- South African LG system is still evolving.
- Continue to address financially and economically non-viable municipalities after the 2016 LG election.
- Consider the views of communities when determining municipal boundaries and delimiting wards.
- Consider the time-period between the demarcation and delimitation of boundaries.
- The redetermination of municipal boundaries has resulted in a change of ward boundaries – this impacts on ANC Branches.

7. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ISSUES

- District government is not working as intended.
- There is no differentiation model that allows special capacities of cities to be recognised and unleashed.
- Government has recently launched the Back-to-Basics programme.

PROGRESS

- There is less progress relating to policies of powers, fiscal allocations, unviable municipalities, and the two-tier system.
- The Back-to-Basics programme will attempt to address some of the shortcomings in LG.

RECOMMENDATIONS

PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST:

- Ward committees – must come from community constituencies / structures, and not represent individual interests.

GOVERNANCE:

- Troika – there must be continuous cooperation among the troika. Clarify role of the Chief Whip.
- Councillor performance – regular evaluation of councillor performance.
- Strengthen Councillor training and support.

- Oversight – Municipal Councils must ensure continuous oversight; accountability; and alignment of structures.

LG FINANCES:

- National Treasury, SALGA, CoGTA are reviewing LG financing model, including LG Equitable Share and Grants

8. IMMEDIATE ACTIONS TOWARDS THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT 2016 ELECTIONS

- ANC requires critical decisions on how it treats, values and positions LG in terms of the broader developmental agenda of the ANC, and must be decisive in addressing the following:
 - Calibre and quality of cllrs to be deployed;
 - Accountability and transparency of cllrs to communities;
 - Consequence and performance management;
 - Leadership and management training;
 - Micro-management of municipalities by ANC structures (PECs, BECs, RECs);
 - Dealing decisively with fraud and corruption; and
 - Campaigns and programmes to change the image of LG.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ANC

- The 60% retention of Councillors should be linked to performance;
- Consideration of nominations from the leagues for appointment in Mayoral positions;
- Utilise National and Provincial ANC deployees to support and work with Councillors in priority/high risk municipalities in elections campaign work;
- ANC Branches to develop programmes that respond to the immediate needs of communities;

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- LG election Manifesto to be premised on the pillars of Back to Basics programme.

GOVERNMENT WIDE ISSUES

- The quality of engagement between government and citizens must be improved.
- All public representatives in all spheres of government must communicate better on the work that government has done.
- A significant amount of time is spent in meetings, which limits their ability to engage with communities.
- The need to create more active citizenship and a more responsive State.

GOVERNMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

- All spheres to respond swiftly to issues raised by communities;
- Identify low hanging fruit/quick wins in all governments departments;
- Massify implementation of programmes with direct impact on youth, women and communities, such as EPWP & CWPs;
- Increase public participation and community report backs and door to door campaign;
- Extend programme such as Tirisano/Sukuma Sakhe to address protests and immediate community needs;
- Develop mechanisms to address underspending of infrastructure grants by weak municipalities.

9. IMPLEMENT L&G OUTSTANDING RESOLUTIONS

- ANC structures to monitor, evaluate and ensure implementation of outstanding conference resolutions
- Noted substantial progress made in the implementation of previous conference resolution;
- Deployees to continue with the implementation of outstanding resolutions and provide regular feedback to the appropriate structures of the ANC; and
- ANC structures to strengthen their capacity to monitor and evaluate on-going government and deployees work.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Special attention to spatial transformation and integration measures to reverse apartheid spatial patterns that characterises our municipal spaces;
- The IUUDF must provide a government-wide policy framework on how urbanisation should be managed to ensure resilience and inclusion;
- Strengthen monitoring of implementation of spatial integration in all spheres – by regulating cooperative governance through the IGR Act (as amended)
- In order to give effect to the resolution on integrated planning and service delivery the NEC should review the allocation of focus areas of different NEC Sub-committees to strengthen co-ordination of policy and oversight of service delivery.

5. Peace and Stability

1. FOCUS OF THE COMMISSION

The Commission conceived its mandate as prescribed by the ANC Constitution being both determining progress made in the implementation of the 53rd National Conference Resolutions, and proffering proposals to strengthen implementation thereof towards the 54th National Conference. Determination of progress made included assessment of evidence of performance as well as that of objective and subjective conditions defining the sociopolitical environment in which the National Democratic Revolution continues to be prosecuted after the 53rd National Conference. In this regard the Commission after considering reports on each policy area under Peace and Stability came to the realization that it is incumbent upon the ANC to protect the revolution from amongst others threats of terrorism, violent extremism and quasi-treasonous acts like police killings. The Commission

The Commission noted that there was significant progress in implementation of resolutions. Be that as it may the Commission observed that there were areas which needed to be strengthened and that there existed some hurdles towards the full implementation of conference resolutions. While many hurdles to implementation are borne of subjective factors which can be crossed through maximized effort and determination, others are anchored on objective factors to be addressed tactically. There is both progress and challenges in transforming organs of state charged with peace and stability, in this regard progress should be expedited and challenges resolved. There also should be strengthening of the capacity of the state to implement conference resolutions. Over and above the need to strengthen both the state capacity and transformation thereof, it is noted that national sovereignty and domestic stability have in period under review been considerably threatened.

The Commission welcomed amongst others the introduction of the new immigration regulations and acknowledged the impact of Operation Fiela in the fight against crime. The legislative changes with regard to immigration were meant to manage immigra-

tion in a manner that balanced SA openness to travelers taking into consideration security imperatives. Operation Fiela continues to have a positive impact against crime. Operation Fiela should be strengthened and extended to all provinces. Immigration regulations should be implemented concurrent with measures taken to limit unintended consequences. In this regard we support the Inter-Ministerial Committee led by the Deputy President and urge to speedily conclude its task.

The Commission takes a dim view on the killing of the police and believes that killing of the police is high treason. The Commission therefore sounds a stern warning to those who kill the police, in this regard the Commission declares: **'hands off the police or else you will face the wrath of the people and their government!'**

2. Improving the State's corruption investigation, prosecuting, and conviction capacity

2.1. RECOGNIZING THAT:

- 2.1.1. The data on convictions on corruption is being collated for publication in the near future.
- 2.1.2. The Public Service Management Act has come into force and its implementation is being monitored by the Legislature and Governance Subcommittee.
- 2.1.3. The FICA has been amended to include prominent influential persons.
- 2.1.4. Private corruptions remains a competition legislation issue in the form of collusion, price fixing, horizontal and vertical restrictive anticompetitive acts. However plans are in place to ensure the imposition of stiffer penalties on private sector corruption offenders.

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2.2. NOTING THAT:

- 2.2.1. Coordination between anti-corruption agencies needs strengthening.
- 2.2.2. Cooperation between the investigators, forensic experts and prosecutors is uneven and consequently some corruption cases are lost due to poorly court ready dockets and compromised evidence.
- 2.2.3. The coming into force of the legislation has not had a significant impact in deterring public servants from doing business with the state.
- 2.2.4. The focus on anti-corruption activities should extend to issues like land, buildings, licenses and permits, and provision of government services.

2.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:

- 2.3.1. There should be enhanced coordination of all anti-corruption agencies.
- 2.3.2. Investigations should be intelligence-driven and prosecution-led to ensure a high conviction rate.
- 2.3.3. Civil servants including those in the security cluster should be periodically rotated from one employment site to another so as to circumvent growth of unprofessional and frequently corrupt relations with clients, service providers and other persons they interact with and/or are responsible for.
- 2.3.4. The government should conduct a lifestyle audits for all employees of the state and its related entities.
- 2.3.5. The vetting process should be expedited for government employees and its related entities.
- 2.3.6. There should be a single vetting agency for the state to vet all strategically placed civil servants (including state owned enterprises) including those who reject promotion even though it comes with an improved remuneration package.

2.3.7. Deployment Committee should also ensure proper vetting is undertaken prior to deployment of comrades.

2.3.8. The ANC should take decisive action against members involved in corruption including those using money to influence outcomes of conferences

2.3.9. Challenge the leadership of the private sector to subject itself to instruments of financial interest disclosure, vetting and life style audit.

3. Ensuring that all the people of South Africa are and feel safe

3.1. RECOGNIZING THAT:

- 3.1.1. There has been a general decrease in serious crimes over 10 years according to the crime statistics released for 2014/15, although the category of contact crimes remained stubborn.
- 3.1.2. Community Safety Forums have been established in all the provinces except the Free State. There are 126 Community Safety Forums in the country .the police secretariat should embed of the functioning of the CSF.
- 3.1.3. A concrete roadmap towards the Single Police Service is being implemented. A technical legal team has been put together to ensure that there is legal compliance in implementing the resolution.
- 3.1.4. Operation Fiela has been rolled out throughout the country and has boosted the confidence of the people in the capacity of our government to fight against crime.

3.2. NOTING THAT:

- 3.2.1. There is insufficient funding for CPFs.
- 3.2.2. There is lack of public confidence in the Criminal Justice System (CJS) and the ability of the government to self-

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- correct as evidenced vigilantism acts and violent public protests.
- 3.2.3. The lack integration of the CJS through amongst others ICT impacts on its optimal performance.
- 3.2.4. A high number of parole applicants are rejected due to lack of compliance with the offender profiles.
- 3.2.5. Proximity and accessibility of police stations to communities especially rural and peri-urban ones remains a challenge in the fight against crime.
- 3.2.6. There are inadequate systems in place to facilitate victim participation in parole processes.
- 3.2.7. Though allocation of resources in the past ten years has been increasing at 10% per annum, there has not been significant corresponding benefit to the people.
- 3.2.8. The Regulation of Gatherings Act only requires the applicant to give notice and not apply for permission, in this regard to stop an illegal march requires an order of court by a magistrate. This has invariably led to legal difficulties where police have ventured to stop illegal marches without first securing a court order.
- 3.2.9. There is a perception that crime pays and hence communities harbor certain crime benefactors for own benefit, e.g. those who conduct illegal electricity connections are sometimes not only protected by the communities but the illegal connection which are an illicit benefit remain in place befitting a huge number of community members.
- 3.2.10. There is a perception that South African job creation favours non-nationals and the reality that some non-nationals occupy strategic positions which drive our policy implementation in the civil service. This is a source of potential domestic instability as we as a risk to national security.
- 3.2.11. There are no street committees in the majority of communities despite their critical necessity in fighting crime.
- 3.2.12. There is a concerning rise in incidents of brutal police killings by criminals. The acts police killings are tantamount to treason and should attract the highest penalty befitting such crimes.
- 3.2.13. Recently promulgated regulations of Unmanned Aerial Systems (aka drones) have a potential of inadvertently facilitating the breach of national security as drones could be abused to aerially monitor activities of security organs.
- 3.2.14. Several policy people who are deployed in the same area for lengthy periods of time tend to be vulnerable to compromising policing principles and thus become ineffective in the fight against crime.
- 3.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:
- 3.3.1. Enhance the capacity of the courts to eliminate the backlogs and increase the conviction rates. Call upon the judiciary to report regularly and timeously on the finalization of cases.
- 3.3.2. Proximity and accessibility to police stations should be improved through building infrastructure and facilities to ensure enhanced police visibility at community levels.
- 3.3.3. There is a need for the security cluster to look at its resource allocation guide including service model.
- 3.3.4. The administration of the CJS should be stabilized such that all outstanding investigations and prosecutions are concluded expeditiously, and all vacant posts filled.
- 3.3.5. Strengthen the capacity of the CJS to prevent, investigate and prosecute crime to ensure better results.
- 3.3.6. Expedite the integration of the CJS such that ICT is at the centre of case

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management, policing, and prosecution.

- 3.3.7. There should be partnerships with international crime fighting entities to ensure that criminal networks are combatted in all their bases across the crime chain in each country.
- 3.3.8. The government should look at amending the Regulation of Gatherings Act to facilitate ease of stopping illegal marches.
- 3.3.9. The ANC branches should play a critical role in exposing those who commit crime as well as those who harbor criminals.
- 3.3.10. The government should not only arrest those who commit crime but should eradicate all sources of benefits derived from criminal activities including but not limited to illegal electricity connections.
- 3.3.11. The security cluster should plan regular programmed joint operations to fight crime and corruption in manner that is visible to the public.
- 3.3.12. The government should explore the use of ICT for crime prevention e.g. installation CCTV technology from national to municipal level.
- 3.3.13. There should be equitable resource allocation across the CJS to ensure uniform maximum output.
- 3.3.14. The resolution not to appoint non-nationals at senior and strategic government positions must be adhered to.
- 3.3.15. ANC branches should be in forefront of protecting the police and should mobilise their respective communities in the fight against police killings. The branches should embark on a campaign to warn police killers that if they do not refrain from such acts they will face the wrath of the people and their government.
- 3.3.16. The Commission reasserts the resolution to complete the process of regulating the Private Industry and thus

urges that the Bill should be signed into law regardless of external pressure.

3.3.17. The regulations on Unmanned Aerial Systems should be reviewed to obviate all possible security breaches that may arise unintendedly.

3.3.18. Police should be deployed on a rotational basis to enhance their effectiveness in fighting crime.

4. Private Security Industry

4.1. RECOGNISING THAT:

4.1.1. The Private Security Industry Regulation Bill is before the President for assent.

4.2. NOTING THAT:

4.2.1. The imminent signing of the Private Security Industry Regulation Amendment Bill has triggered threats by some countries that if it is signed into law it would have a negative effect on economic growth in the country. Private Security threatened to lobby South Africa's exclusion on AGOA and other trading platforms

4.2.2. The private security industry ownership of and massive employment of foreigners poses a security risk.

4.2.3. The fact that the private security industry is in possession of excessive amount of capacity poses a national security risk.

4.2.4. A number of national key points are secured by foreign owned private security companies.

4.2.5. Noted an increase of the utilization of private security by government across the three spheres

4.2.6. Certain South African private security companies doing business in the continent sometimes get involved in activities that undermine South Africa's diplomatic work in the continent.

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4.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:

- 4.3.1. Government must with immediate effect take leadership in securing all national key points using our security services.
- 4.3.2. The security cluster to engage all spheres of government with regard to the utilization of private security companies.
- 4.3.3. The President should sign the Private Security Industry Regulation Bill without much ado to ensure that controlling interest of private security companies is in the hands of South African nationals.

5. **Creating the Border Management Agency (BMA) by 2016, Concluding the International Migration Review and Recognition of DHA as a security department.**

5.1. RECOGNIZING THAT:

- 5.1.1. The progress made towards establishing the Border Management Agency (BMA) which include work on bringing the BMA Bill to Parliament.
- 5.1.2. Comprehensive review of International Migration Policy is underway and a Green Paper is due to be gazetted for public discussion early in 2016 – 2017. To this effect there has been support for the view that South Africa needs to think about in a positive way while taking robust steps to ensure it is managed strategically and securely by the whole government supported by civil society

5.2. NOTING THAT:

- 5.2.1. South Africa has not adequately invested in the people, systems and institutions needed to manage migration effectively and securely.
- 5.2.2. The existing White Paper on International Migration (2009) is compliance based, whereas proactive management of international migration

requires adopting a risk-based approach within the framework of the Constitution.

- 5.2.3. The existing White Paper does not take the context and its strategic interests into account.
- 5.2.4. Despite a service delivery and governance role, the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) essentially operates in a highly secure environment. To this effect, the need for the DHA to be located within the security cluster is not adequately recognized and hence the Department is classified as a general administrative department and is hence only provided with a baseline budget that is sufficient to operate as a routine administrative department delivering services of relatively low value.
- 5.2.5. There are many people who are undocumented throughout the country.
- 5.2.6. International migration is a worldwide problem and requires international cooperation to address.
- 5.2.7. There is a high migration rate from other parts of the continent to Europe and South Africa.
- 5.2.8. There is a necessity for a permitting regime for low skilled migrants from neighbouring countries.
- 5.2.9. There is a need to develop an efficient refugee regime.
- 5.2.10. There are unintended consequences in balancing security and economic imperatives.

5.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:

- 5.3.1. Finalization of the White Paper which will form the basis for drafting comprehensive new legislation.
- 5.3.2. The IMC led by DP to conclude its tasks as soon as possible.
- 5.3.3. DHA must be categorized as a security department with adequate funding to provide its services in a secured manner.

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6. Finalising and implementing the single police service**6.1. RECOGNISING THAT:**

6.1.1. The policy framework has been set in the White Paper on Police.

6.2. NOTING THAT:

6.2.1. There were some objections raised by SALGA and an interdepartmental task team has been established to address it.

6.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:

6.3.1. The implementation of this outstanding conference resolution must be expedited.

7. Implementing the Defence Review Strategic Policy and Strengthening Peace Support Operations**7.1. RECOGNISING THAT:**

7.1.1. A Defence Review Overarching Implementation Framework, aligned with the National Planning, Budgeting and Reporting Cycle, has been completed and approved.

7.1.2. The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has continued to contribute to peace, stability and security on the Continent by deploying military capabilities in a wide range of prominent and internationally recognized external Peace Support Operations (PSO).

7.1.3. The SANDF has been involved in supporting the people of South Africa and the continent in the domain of humanitarian assistance.

7.1.4. The SANDF continued to execute Border Safeguarding operations by deploying 13 sub-units along the borders.

7.1.5. The SA Navy continues to deploy its assets to combat piracy in the Mozambican Channel.

7.2. NOTING THAT:

7.2.1. There has not been adequate advocacy for the resourcing of the Defence Force as the Defence Review.

7.2.2. The Defence Review Strategy processing by Parliament took place concurrently with the hearings in the Arms Procurement Commission. The public perception that arms procurement was tainted by corruption was ignited by the hearings despite the fact that the quality of evidence proffered in the commission hearings revealed the contrary.

7.2.3. The Defence Review is not funded in the current MTEF to implement some of the recommendations as contained in the Defence Review which deal with Milestone 1. There is no indication that it will be funded even in the outer years due to the economic conditions prevailing in the country and all efforts are underway to engage National Treasury for more funding.

7.2.4. The SANDF members deployed in Sudan are unable to defend themselves effectively because UN conditions limit their fire power to peace keeping arrangements and not peace enforcement armaments which results in negative rebel forces having superior weapons to that of the SANDF.

7.2.5. It has not been possible to deploy the required 22 sub-units along the borders due to funding challenges.

7.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:

7.3.1. The ANC should lead an advocacy campaign to educate the public about the necessity of the implementation of the Defence Review especially as it relates to national sovereignty and safety of all citizens.

7.3.2. Adequate provision of funding must be made by the state for the implementation of the Defence Review outcomes. Alternative models of

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funding the implementation of the Defence Review such as ringfencing the United Nations (UN) reimbursement for PSO and revenues generated from disposals of obsolete assets should be explored.

- 7.3.3. The ANC should ensure that DOD and DIRCO engage with the AU and UN to ensure appropriate equipping of the peace keepers in Sudan to enable them to defend themselves or the SANDF members to withdraw from the Sudan Peace Keeping Operation (PKO).

8. Non-Statutory Forces Integration

8.1. RECOGNISING THAT:

- 8.1.1. A project team has been established in the Office of the Deputy Minister of Police to deal with amongst others pro-rating of leave, pension pay-outs, and re-ranking.

8.2. NOTING THAT:

- 8.2.1. The challenges of remuneration, benefits, ranks and promotions in certain areas remain unresolved in the security establishment.

8.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:

- 8.3.1. Government must conclude the resolution of all outstanding matters related to the NSF by the end of the financial year.

9. Transformation of the Judiciary

9.1. RECOGNISING THAT:

- 9.1.1. There has been notable progress in the demographic transformation of the bench albeit with minor progress in achieving gender equity.
- 9.1.2. The Department of Justice has commenced with the rollout of the rationalization of magisterial districts

which commenced on 1 December 2014 in respect of the Gauteng and North West Provinces.

- 9.1.3. The construction of the seat of the Mpumalanga Division of the High Court is scheduled for completion by August 2016.

- 9.1.4. Government continues to build a minimum of two magistrates courts per year which is attributed to the 53 new courts which were built in the past first 20 years of democracy.

- 9.1.5. The National Forum on the Legal Profession established in terms of Chapter 10 of the Legal Practice Act 10 of 2015 which came into operation on 1 February has commenced with its tasks. The National Forum on the Legal Profession is the first statutory body that represents both attorneys and advocates and is therefore an important step in the quest to creating a single regulatory framework for all practitioners as part of advancing transformation of the legal profession.

- 9.1.6. The policy and legislative framework, in terms of which the administration processes which are connected with the Judicial functions of the Courts is the responsibility of the member of the Cabinet reasonable for the administration of Justice.

9.2. NOTING THAT:

- 9.2.1. The Commission welcomed the meeting with the President called by the judiciary. However the commission is gravely concerned by the growing incidents of judicial overreach.

- 9.2.2. The commission understands that the ANC is an independent structure with its own Constitution and internal disciplinary processes and therefore the rulings of the judiciary on ANC internal processes to even disband ANC structures are seen in the dim light by the commission.

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9.2.3. While the commission upholds separation of powers and independence of the judiciary, the recent pronouncements of the judiciary in public

9.2.4. Section 165(4) of the Constitution already guarantees the independence of the Judiciary and also sanctions proper administrative support to the judiciary and the courts by the executive (organ of state).podia on matters relating to policy are of serious concern.

9.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:

9.3.1. We reiterate the defence of the constitutional democracy.

9.3.2. We recognize the separation of the three arms of state to be equal, distinct and independent.

9.3.3. Encourage public discourse on the functioning of the three arms of state.

9.3.4. The ANC should organize a people's summit to engage on the challenges presented by judicial overreach.

9.3.5. There should be a deliberate programme to support progressive black legal professionals to enhance the transformation imperatives of the judiciary.

9.3.6. The Administration of the Courts including any allocation of resources, financial and infrastructure management and policy matters relating to the administration of courts must remain the responsibility of the Minister responsible for the administration of justice as provided for in the Constitution.

9.3.7. The principle of separation of powers and the independence of the judiciary must be respected by all sphere of government

9.3.8. Section 165 (4) of the constitution already guarantees the independence of the Judiciary and also sanctions proper administrative support to the judiciary and the courts by the execu-

tive .There is therefore no need to amend the constitution.

10. State Security and Cyber Security

10.1. RECOGNISING THAT:

10.1.1. Cyber security structures have now been established. Democratic intelligence dispensation has come a long way in establishing the domestic security situation and in creating the conditions for democracy to flourish, as well as creating space for citizens to exercise their constitutional rights.

10.1.2. South Africa has contributed significantly to the security of the Southern African region and the continent.

10.1.3. The Department continues to work closely with other security agencies in SADC through the regional early warning centre, African Union Peace and Security Council through Committee on Intelligence for State Security in Africa and African Centre for Study and Research on Terrorism and United Nations Security Council through the Executive Directorate on Counter Terrorism as well as agency to agency relations.

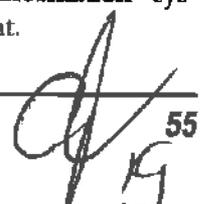
10.1.4. A draft National Cyber security Policy Framework (NCPF) and a draft Cyber security Bill have been prepared.

10.2. NOTING THAT:

10.2.1. There have been increased incidents of cyber attacks globally.

10.2.2. There is limited regulation of cyber space in the world.

10.2.3. Noted increased utilization of foreign unsecured information systems in government.

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10.2.4. International terrorism and globalization have resulted in the softening of borders and exacerbated security problems to unacceptably dangerous dimensions.

10.2.5. There is a rising number of purportedly organized illegal mining activities (aka zama-zamas) and this phenomenon potentially poses a threat to domestic stability and national security.

10.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:

10.3.1. The Government should expedite the finalization of the relevant legislation and regulations.

10.3.2. There must be public awareness campaigns on securing the cyber space.

10.3.3. The security cluster must put systems and measures to protect the integrity of state information systems.

10.3.4. Focused attention on economic intelligence and illicit economy

10.3.5. Government must finalise the implementation of a security cluster ICTS.

10.3.6. Cooperation against international terrorism and violent extremism in the global village should be strengthened.

10.3.7. There should be an inter-ministerial cooperation in eliminating illegal mining activities.

11. Military Veterans

11.1. RECOGNIZING THAT :

11.1.1. The Military Veterans Act 18 of 2011 will be reviewed to focus amongst others on extension section 5 benefits to dependents and repeal of the clause disqualifying dishonorably discharged members from access to benefits.

11.1.2. The Special Pensions Act will be reviewed to focus amongst others on tax exemptions to beneficiaries and consideration of late applications

11.2. NOTING THAT:

11.2.1. The current formulation of the legislation regulating military veterans remain exclusionary.

11.2.2. Other organs of state not adequately fulfilling their obligations towards military veterans.

11.3. RECOMMENDING THAT:

11.3.1. The Military Veterans Act and Special Pensions Act need to be reviewed and amended.

11.3.2. All state organs across all spheres of government must comply with the Military Veterans Act 18 of 2011.

11.3.3. A process to clean the database for military veterans

6. Communications

The Battle of Ideas, Accelerating Digital Future, Media Transformation and Diversity

INTRODUCTION

The Commission:

- **Considered** the NGC Discussion Document, taking into account the Resolutions of the 53rd National Conference.
- **Noted** strides made to implement the decisions of the National Conference, and observed that implementation was generally slow across a number of critical issues.
- **Acknowledged** the need for stronger interaction and engagement between the NEC Communications Sub-committee and the deployees in government on critical policy and governance issues which includes amongst others broadband, digital broadcasting, print media transformation and governance matters relating to key institutions such as the SABC and the SA Post Office.
- **Recognize** the obligation for the ANC NEC to continuously monitor and evaluate the implementation of the resolutions of the National Conference and produce regular reports to track progress.

THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

Noting that:

- Members affirmed the report presented as a true reflection of the state of implementation.
- The ANC should lead the battle of ideas at all levels of society.
- The outcome of the raging battle ideas has a bearing on our ongoing effort to create a non racial, non sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.
- The ongoing onslaught against the ANC and the

broader democratic movement by forces in the extreme ends of the political spectrum – neoliberalism and pseudo leftist extremism- is not informed real politics of ideology and arguments about the fundamental transformation of society, but their ideas are about the lust for power as an end in itself.

- The role of the mainstream press to facilitate – consciously or not - oppositionist politics against the ideological hegemony of the ANC and its government will continue as long as the media remain untransformed.
- The battle of ideas is not confined to the mainstream media, although the role played by the media cannot be ignored. Advances in communications technology have created new platforms for the battle of ideas
- The ANC and government still have access to strategic platforms to engage in the battle of ideas.

Further noting that:

- The existence of an untransformed superstructure of the generation and dissemination of ideas including academia, the media and journalism schools. These institutions also influence the cultural expression of South Africa.
- Progress made towards the re-establishment of the ANC Department of Information and Publicity to oversee and coordinate the communications activities of the movement.
- The establishment of the war room although its activism is largely confined to the election periods.
- The need to expand and transfer strategic communications capacity throughout the structures

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of the organization including branches and regions.

- The ANC has started to develop new media Apps, eg NGC App and the media reports on it
- The development of the National Communications Policy though still in draft form. At the core of this policy is the responsibility of the leadership and general membership to communicate in a systematic and coordinated way.

Hereby recommend that:

- The ANC should accelerate the implementation of outstanding decisions of the National Conference. Where necessary create task teams to drive and monitor the progress and the implementation of ANC policies.
- Our approach to the battle of ideas should include the use of direct communications and unmediated platforms such as public participation forums as a way of mobilizing various sections of society to advance and defend the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).
- The ANC should establish structured, strategic relationships with various social sectors including the superstructure of the generation of ideas (the media, academia and journalism schools).
- Government should introduce a new curriculum about the history of the national liberation struggle and continuously participate and lead the development of the cultural expression of South Africa in order to influence and or inform the outlook of society.

Further recommend that:

- Leaders of the ANC at all levels (including councilors and members of parliament and the legislatures) should be empowered and capacitated to lead in the battle of ideas. Branches should be empowered with information to play a role in the battle of ideas.
- The ANC should establish a content hub and disseminate information through social media to reach members, supporters and the general public.
- The ANC should establish the Battle of Ideas

Councils at all levels to steer the war room programmes within the ANC, government and legislatures.

- The ANC should proactively distribute content to the membership, and resourcing branches to use communications tools.
- Create whatsapp networks in branches to facilitate ongoing discussions.
- Branch secretaries should be assisted with modern information and communications tools.

ICT SECTOR

Noting that:

- ICTs are tools to facilitate economic growth and social development.
- Significant strides have been made to promote universal access, empowerment, competition, consumer protection since the 53rd conference.
- The transformation of the ICT sector remains very slow and there are still barriers to entry for small players.
- The traditional telecommunications and broadband segments are dominated by monopolies in the fixed and mobile markets. These control over 80% of licensed market activities, dominate the key radio frequency spectrum bands and own the infrastructure critical to promoting competition and innovation in the sector.
- Conference resolved to introduce a new policy and regulatory landscape underpinned by open access networks linked to the licensing of scarce radio frequency spectrum.
- The advent of open access networks constitute an orderly, radical transformation of the ICT sector to achieve universal access and social inclusion, competition, consumer protection and seeks to strengthen the strategic role of the ICT sector in economic growth and development.

Hereby recommend that:

- Government should complete the ICT Policy Review by the end of the current financial year

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2015/16, at the latest.

- The Integrated ICT Policy should facilitate radical changes in the sector in line with the overall policy thrust of radical economic transformation.
- The envisaged Integrated ICT Policy should be underpinned by a new open access market structure, with a new spectrum policy as an integral enabler of the new radical path.
- The scarce spectrum should be licensed to a wholesale, open access network based on clear regulatory principles to reduce barriers to entry and introduce the principle of use it or lose it.
- Efforts to harmonise e-government and the role of various state institutions should be accelerated.
- Government should pay specific attention to the role of SMMEs throughout the value chain of the ICT sector, with strong emphasis on SMMEs that are owned by youth and women. A clear roadmap to empower SMMEs is needed.
- Consider introducing free WiFi in municipalities but coordinated by national government.

BROADCASTING INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

Noting that:

- Since 1994, the ANC and its government have made unprecedented strides to transform broadcasting to meet the needs and aspirations of all South Africans.
- Progress made since 1994 include the licensing of over 200 community radio stations, the licensing of private radio stations in almost all provinces and the transformation of the SABC from a state into a public broadcaster.
- Significant progress has been made to implement the resolutions of conference through inter alia the wholesale review of the broadcasting policy to introduce a new broadcasting market structure which will also deal with competition issues throughout the value chain, including a new regulatory mechanism to deal with online services that increasingly compete with local broadcasters for advertising.

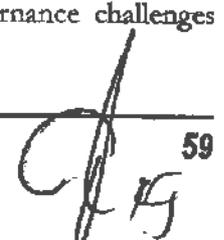
- The SABC is still faced with serious corporate governance challenges which the ANC and its government must unlock, and that opposition parties are exploiting this to advance their own political and ideological interests.
- The implementation of the digital terrestrial broadcasting programme is ongoing. It is regrettable that we have not met the June 2015 deadline. Digital terrestrial television is a game changer with significant impact beyond the traditional television broadcasting sector.

Further noting that:

- Significant progress has been made since 1994 to build a thriving community broadcasting sector.
- Government has launched a process to review the Media Development and Diversity Agency to strengthen its role in supporting a thriving community media sector.
- The role and impact of community media should not be measured in quantity, though important, but should be based on the quality of programming and the impact of the community sector on the lives of the citizens, especially the rural and urban poor.
- A cohort of other policies are being introduced to facilitate the harmonization of communications across the various spheres of government. This include coordinating communications strategies and plans with state entities.

Hereby recommend that:

- DTT should be implemented without delay to create a new broadcasting landscape that will increase the role of Free to Air television to meet the needs and aspirations of all South Africans.
- The National Broadcasting Policy should define the entire broadcasting market including how to treat broadcasting like services leading to the development of a full competitive landscape. Dominant players should share their infrastructure with new entrants with significant black ownership.
- Further work is needed to stabilize the SABC to ensure that it meets its role and social obligations. This include addressing governance challenges facing the public broadcaster.



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- Additional resources are needed to support the Media Diversity and Development Agency (MDDA) to strengthen its work in facilitating media diversity and development. This should be linked to ensuring that community media projects, especially radio, serve their communities and are accountable to them, and in the language that people use and understand.

Further recommend that:

- The new policy should strengthen the growth and development of the local content industry,
- Each province should have at least one community TV station to boost local content.
- The establishment of a National Youth Radio station should be fast tracked (NB: Transforming Radio 2000 was once mooted as one of the options).
- Conference resolution on the financing model for the communications regulator ICASA should also be implemented without delay.
- ICASA should adhere to its own rules and regulations, and should ensure that they are aligned to government policy.

POSTAL SERVICES

Noting that:

- The postal sector is a significant player in the South African economy, and its contribution will grow with government's efforts to accelerate economic growth and development.
- The SA Post Office is the biggest operator in the postal sector with its over 3000 outlets and access points throughout the country. Parcels of up to 1 kg (letter business) are reserved for the Post Office, while the courier business is open to competition.
- Over the years, the mail business, has been declining due to electronic substitutes like email with profound impact on the business of the Post Office. The Post Office has also lost the edge as the leading provider of courier services.
- This has been exacerbated by governance and related financial challenges in SAPO, including the failure to implement effective turnaround strategies.
- The Post Office is the only operator in South Africa with universal service obligations to rollout postal outlets and addresses to underserved areas.
- There are still South Africans (in rural areas and informal settlements) who do not have access to address limiting their participation in the mainstream economy.
- The PostBank has a market capitalisation of about R2billion, which is largely depositors money. The Postbank maintains a separate account and financial statements.

Hereby recommend that:

- The Post Office should be restructured as a matter of urgency to play a bigger role in the economy and to provide the following services:
 - Extend banking services to the unbanked (through a corporatised Postbank);
 - Traditional mail business;
 - Broadband access points;
 - Electronic commerce taking advantage of its extensive distribution network;
 - Universal address system without further delay;
 - Various government transactions such as social grants, licence renewals etc.
- The Post Office should upgrade its IT capacity to be able to deal with new opportunities.
- The Postbank is a state bank which seeks to promote universal access to banking while at the same time it provides a platform for the desbursement of various state transactions such as social grants. Attempts to licence the Postbank in terms of the Banks Act, if this is the only option, should not compromise the ANC's resolutions around the Postbank.
- Where necessary, the Banks Act should be amended to allow the state to establish the Postbank in line with the resolutions of the ANC on the role and social obligations of the Postbank.

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**PRINT MEDIA TRANSFORMATION,
ACCOUNTABILITY AND DIVERSITY**
Noting that:

- Print media is still dominated by the traditional oligopoly comprising Naspers, Times Media, Independent Newspapers and Caxton. Until the recent transaction involving Independent Newspapers, the sector was predominantly white owned and controlled. ANC interventions on ownership transformation have resulted in an increase in BBEE in the print media. According to GCIS' Media Landscape 2014 Caxton is still 100% white owned, Times Media Group has 55.64% black ownership, Media 24 about 45%, and INMSA about 55%.
- The big media houses also own and control small community newspapers and other aspects of the print media landscape such as printing, packaging and distribution.
- Naspers and Times Media Limited also own and control broadcasting assets beyond the requirements of the cross media ownership rules.
- Other institutions that are central to market entry are controlled by the established media houses – including the Audit Bureau of Circulation, distribution and printing outlets.
- Small and independent print media projects struggle to gain entry and access to readers given control by the big players of the value chain.
- As elsewhere in the world, production costs have been cut resulting in less expenditure on news content, more uniformity and poor standards in journalism raising questions about its relevance and media accountability.
- The print media internationally is facing new challenges due to digitisation and access to the Internet.

Hereby recommend that:

- The decision of the 52nd Conference regarding the need for a parliamentary inquiry into the desirability and feasibility of a Media Appeals Tribunal within the framework of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa should be implemented. The parliamentary process should explore a system of accountability that balances

the right of freedom of expression and other rights, and ensure proportional redress whenever the media infringes on the rights of others. This should include reviewing defamation laws and the need for a legislative right of reply.

- An empowerment charter is needed to accelerate transformation in the print media sector. This should be prioritised. This should focus on inter alia demographic representation throughout the value chain.
- The MDDA should be adequately resourced to finance small community media and the alternative press in general. (NB: the print media is no longer contributing to the MDDA leaving government as the only contributor to the diversity fund). The MDDA must play a bigger role than being confined to funding.
- The Competition Commission should also investigate current practices in the print media sector to establish whether there are anti-competitive practices.
- The advertising industry is critical in the development of the print sector and its ideological orientation. Transformation of the advertising industry should be accelerated. Government should accelerate efforts to transform the marketing and advertising industry, and use its adspend to promote diversity.
- The ANC Media Charter should be reviewed to restate the vision of the ANC regarding the role of media in a democratic society.

**GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATURE
COMMUNICATIONS**
Noting that:

- National Conference resolved that the continued fragmentation of government communications within and across the three spheres of government defeat the strategic role of communications as a tool for governance and service delivery. This should be addressed through a comprehensive national communications policy.
- Amongst others, the national communications policy should provide for the use of all languages and all platforms to reach citizens.

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- Conference also noted the limited communications capacity in the legislatures and municipalities across the country, directing that the two spheres should be adequately resourced to communicate efficiently and effectively.
 - The ANC and government at all levels should coordinate messages.
 - Government adspend can be allocated in such a way that it contributes towards diversity and development.
 - Conference resolved that Comtask should be reviewed to ensure that the organization of government communications reflect the changing environment as government needs to communicate effectively across multiple platforms.
 - State owned enterprises play a significant role in service delivery hence their communications programmes should be aligned with those of government.
- Hereby recommend that:*
- Government should increase the distribution of Vuk'zenzela and other media through innovative means such as the Internet and email in addition to the current Apps.
 - Government should expedite the finalization of the policy framework aimed at strengthening communications in municipalities in time ahead of the local government elections.
 - Government should continue to use and increase direct engagements with communities via Izimbizo and other public platforms. This allows government to tailor-make messages and address specific issues.
 - Government should expedite the finalization of the National Communications Policy which has already been developed and distributed to all government departments to respond.
 - Government should continue to develop new tailor-made electronic Apps targeting young people to increase the uptake and usage of government information by young people.
 - The number of government departments that use the centralised media buying system should increase and this should facilitate and contribute to media diversity and development.



7. International Relations

1. INTRODUCTION

The important task of our National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is to grapple with the complex and ever-changing world order. The balance of forces and the balance of power is about concrete analysis of the dynamic world material conditions and how they impact on our country and Africa, in particular. Our vision is to create a better South Africa in a Better Africa and Just World.

Key among the aspects of the balance of forces is the understanding that the world is still unipolar with strong signs of multi-polarity on the rise. The economic model of 1945 no longer works even for the developed world. We are witnessing the strengthening of the South-South Cooperation with BRICS as an alternative voice.

Thus, there is a need to have a new world order that will work for all humanity in which the developing world (BRICS) play a critical role.

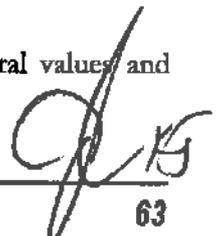
The ANC as a movement remains anti-imperialist and pursues progressive internationalism, international solidarity, African Agenda, and multilateralism; hence, we participate in a majority of multilateral fora.

Our last important assignment as Chair of G77 + China (G77) will be to lead the G77 to Paris for the United Nations Framework for Climate Change Convention (UNFCCC) negotiations – in defence of the Durban Platform of Action, informed by the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and capabilities.

The NGC welcomed the assessment of the implementation of the Mangaung Conference and these were said to be fair, with a broader understanding that the implementation of international relations is dependent on partners and the nature of the balance of forces that could tilt in our favour from time to time. Therefore, the NGC focused its recommendations on the following key successes, challenges and difficult policy issues.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS

- 2.1. The NGC noted that although the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were not reached, through our decisive intervention we managed to migrate the unfinished MDGs into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The 17 SDGs together with 167 targets and 300 indicators, which are in the main about fighting the triple challenge of poverty, unemployment, and inequality, are aligned with the National Development Plan (NDP). As a mark of our diplomacy it was agreed that all the SD Goals will be internalized into Country National Plans. South Africa, led the G-77 + China in ensuring that the 70th Summit of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) unanimously adopted the SDGs.
- 2.2. It is recommended that we popularise the SDGs, especially through national parliament, all legislatures, government, and all community structures (including ANC and Alliance), so as to mobilise our people and develop action plans.
- 2.3. It further recommended that the ANC-led government allocate adequate budget and resources towards attainment of SDGs.
- 2.4. The NGC confirmed its support for the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063 Vision, recognising that it is a continuation of African Renaissance philosophy, and recommended that as a movement it is incumbent upon us to popularise its seven aspirations. The aspirations are:
 - A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;
 - An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan Africanism;
 - An Africa of good governance, democracy, human rights, justice & the rule of law;
 - A peaceful & secure Africa;
 - An Africa with strong cultural values and ethics;



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- An Africa where development is people-driven, relying particularly on potential of women & youth; and
 - Africa as a strong & influential global player and partner
- 2.5. The NGC reiterated recommendations from Mangaung that whilst implementing the NDP, we continue to strengthen its international relations section, which will be reinforced at the scheduled 2017 ANC Policy Conference.
- 2.6. The NGC recommended that the ANC endeavour to mobilise society in support of its International Solidarity work so that the work is more visible and consistent marked by aggressive participation by members and leaders of the Alliance rather than being sporadic.
- 2.7. The NGC recommended that the ANC should convene a workshop of the Alliance to discuss and develop a common understanding on building and setting the agenda of the Global Progressive Movement, guided by the resolutions of the 4th International Solidarity Conference (Global Anti-Apartheid Movement) so as to build a better, just, humane, fair and equitable world order.
- 2.8. The ANC continues to uphold and respect human rights and it condemns impunity, war crimes, and acts of genocide, as resolved in Mangaung. However, it also opposes the double standards and selective actions of the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the fact that permanent members of the UN Security Council that are not signatories to the Rome Statute have unfettered powers with regard to referring cases to the ICC.
- 2.9. Therefore, the NGC took the decision to ask the ANC-led government to begin the process of withdrawal of its membership of the ICC, preceded by the discussions that are taking place among the member states of the ICC and those taking place within the African Union on the ICC matter. In the meantime, the national parliament must begin the process of amending the Act implementing the Rome Statute to align with Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges Act of 2008.
- 2.10. The NGC calls on member states of the African continent to accelerate the ratification of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and on the Establishment of the African Court on Human and People's Rights. It supports the AU process towards the merger of this court with the African Court of Justice in order to establish the capacity to fight war crimes, crimes against humanity and acts of genocide.
- 2.11. The NGC recommends that the NEC must request the ANC-led government to conduct a comprehensive review of all multilateral agreements that South Africa has entered into since 1994.
- 2.12. The NGC recognised that the rise of terrorism and extremism is a direct product of regime change agenda, and attempting to resolve political challenges through military means. The youth have been targeted for recruitment by extremists and there has been an increase in mass migration from affected areas in Africa and the Middle East into Europe. Therefore, the NGC recommended that the ANC continue to advocate for peaceful resolution of conflicts and oppose military interventions.
- 2.13. It was further recommended that we confirm our rejection of United States African Command (AFRICOM) and other external military interventions in Africa including the secretive moves to militarise Africa.
- 2.14. The NGC recommended that we:
- a) continue to insist that provinces and municipalities recognise that international relations is coordinated by national government in line with the DIRCO's Measures and Guidelines for the Enhanced Coordination of South Africa's International Engagements document, which must be promoted amongst provinces, municipalities and civil society; and
 - b) hold the view that the posture of the ANC and ANC-led Government is common, clear, coherent and must be decisive.
- 2.15. The NGC further recommended that the draft White Paper on foreign policy, including the clarification of national Interest, is presented to ANC structures for input that will guide its

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finalisation, thus asserting the centrality of the ANC as the only developer of policy.

- 2.16. The NGC regards the formation of the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) platform, particularly the BRICS Bank, as a confirmation of the ANC's primary approach to internationalism, international solidarity and multilateralism.
- 2.17. The NGC recommended that South Africa, together with the African Union, continue to utilize the Ezulwini Consensus as a guide on our position on the UN Security Council reform including the insistence that Africa receive at least two permanent seats, however, it must lobby for review to strengthen the Consensus on this matter. We need to engage BRICS partners who are Permanent Members of the Security Council to support this consensus and South Africa's availability to serve in one of the Permanent Seats of a reformed Council.
- 2.18. The NGC recommended that we encourage disengagement with Israel especially within government and legislatures, unless promoting solidarity and resolving the conflict. In particular, travel to Israel will be discouraged.
- 2.19. On party-to-party relations, the NGC recommended that the ANC develop policy guidelines on interaction with political parties that are in opposition.
- 2.20. The NGC recommended that we continue to advocate for the self-determination, freedom, and independence of Western Sahara, and as the ANC we collect and distribute children reading materials, clothing and medicines to Western Sahara.
- 2.21. The NGC recommended that the ANC, SACP, COSATU, and SANCO should meet and develop a common programme on Swaziland. Further recommending we engage all the political stakeholders to better understand the situation and to find out what future they envisage for Swaziland.
- 2.22. The NGC welcomed the resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States, particularly the release of the Cuban Five. The commission recommended that we support the Cuban call for the return of the Guantanamo Bay to Cuba and the lifting of the US economic embargo against Cuba.
- 2.23. The NGC welcomed the interventions made to resolve matters in Lesotho. The NGC recommended that we need to reflect and take a different approach on Lesotho, such that we include our affected provinces in the discussions to develop a comprehensive approach to assist them to find a lasting solution.
- 2.24. The NGC confirmed the view of the July 2015 Lekgotlaon dual citizenship, however since it is a new policy matter, it recommended further research and discussion on the matter at the 2017 ANC Policy Conference.
- 2.25. In line with Polokwane and Mangaung resolutions, the NGC further recommended that we fast track the strengthening and expansion of the International Relations Unit at Luthuli House into a fully-fledged department.

8. Rural Development, Land and Agrarian Reform

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The Commission was driven by the mandate of

- Assessing progress made in the implementation of the 53rd National Conference resolutions and identifying areas where there has been less progress;
- Analysing challenges encountered and lessons learned in the implementation of the resolutions and subsequent programmes;
- Identifying and responding to existing and emerging developmental challenges.

The Commission was informed by a structured and focused input that assessed progress since the 53rd National Conference. The assessment input covered interventions to give effect to the resolutions of the ANC's 52nd and 53rd National Conferences, the challenges faced during implementation, policy and legislative interventions, progress to date, and an alignment analysis of progress against the National Development Plan, the elections Manifesto 2014–2019 and the Medium Term Strategic Framework.

The Commission took into account the President's Political Report to the NGC in particular the President's reference to land as an integral part of economic transformation, as well as, inputs on the Balance of Forces and the Battle of Ideas.

Agrarian Transformation and Rural Development remain central priorities of the ANC government. Agriculture remains one of the sectors that offers potential for increased contribution to the GDP, increased job creation and a major contributor to the rural economy.

The Commission noted progress in the implementation of almost all the resolutions as agreed to at the 53rd National Conference held in Mangaung in December 2012.

The Commission further noted other initiatives supporting agricultural and rural development in particular the Agri-parks.

The Mangaung Conference resolved that mechanisms be found to ensure that those who work the land must visibly benefit from the land reform programme. The Commission noted that progress has been made in ensuring that a Legislative arrangement and policy framework for the implementation of this resolution is in place, including the policy framework on the constitutional provision of relative rights for people working and living on the land. The progress from the willing buyer willing seller policy has been addressed through the promulgation of the Property Valuation Act, 2014, which will codifies the "*just and equitable*" principle as reflected in section 25 of the Constitution.

The Commission noted progress to revitalise agricultural production in communal areas and give support to production including implements, seeds, fertiliser, dip tanks and fencing.

Concern was expressed that the 53rd National Conference had not fully articulated its agricultural vision in the significance of agriculture. The Mangaung resolutions only look at food security, in contrast to the Presidents SONA of 2015 which speaks to food security, creation of jobs and for young people and agricultures contribution to the GDP.

On land tenure it was noted that the introduction of the Regulation of Land Holdings Bill which will introduce the Land Commission, will go a long way in resolving current disputes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. On Land Reform

- 1.1 The Department of Rural Development and Land reform should continue to strengthen the security of tenure for farm workers.
- 1.2 Land rights for people in Communal ar-

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- cas should be formalized such that security of tenure is secured and such land can have commercial value. In order to ensure against the risk of people becoming landless in this process, a limitation clause in the title deed giving the State the first right of refusal must be secured.
- 1.3 The commission resolved that there should be equitable access to land for women and their interests be protected.
 - 1.4 Unemployed graduates should receive dedicated support and be prioritised in access to land through lease hold arrangements of State land. The same should apply to the youth.
 - 1.5 The necessary reform of legislation that established Communal Property Associations must be undertaken so as to ensure that the State can intervene in the interests of the broader community. The legal reform should also strengthen the role of community participation.
 - 1.6 Measures to capacitate beneficiaries of land reform should be strengthened through improved post settlement support.
 - 1.7 The amendments to the Expropriation Amendment Bill, currently before Parliament, is critical and should be expedited.
 - 1.8 On land currently owned by foreign nationals, legal options should be considered in the context of what the Constitution provides for. Lease holdings to Foreign Nationals should be capped at 30 years.
 - 1.9 On land owned by banks the legal prospects of expropriation of this land where it is established to be lying fallow, needs to be pursued.
 - 1.10 The current proposed ceilings on different forms of land ownership and use is supported and should find expression through the introduction of legislation.
 - 1.11 ANC structures especially in rural areas need to be capacitated on the meaning and interpretation of law as it relates to land tenure and agrarian reform.
2. **On Governance**
 - 2.1 To ensure integrated support, departments involved in rural development and land reform should ensure that their regulatory frameworks are aligned to support land reform and agricultural development
 - 2.2 The services and plans of Rural Development offices and that of Agriculture should be integrated to maximise outcomes. Land availability and access through the land reform programmes must be fast tracked and better coordination between both Departments.
 3. **On Agriculture**
 - 3.1 The ANC should focus on the development of clear policies on agriculture that ensure that there is a deliberate focus to support agricultural development.
 - 3.2 The Agricultural Policy Action Plan (APAP) and NDP need to be developed further given that agriculture is central in our resolutions and programs. The 2017 National Policy Conference must receive a comprehensive review of policy which points to the centrality of agriculture in radical socio-economic transformation. The focus should address the features of the January 2015 NEC Lekgotla resolution.
 - 3.3 Agricultural support to small, medium scale black farmer should be prioritized.
 - 3.4 Specific agricultural infrastructure and its ownership especially in the former bantustans needs to be reviewed and transferred to the State.
 - 3.4 Agricultural financing should be reviewed to ensure that financing models are favourable to developing farmers.
 - 3.5 The legislative review of the Land Bank needs to be undertaken. This review must be informed by matters of financing of agricultural development and the broader financialisation of the economy that has had a direct impact on emerging farmers resulting in their inability to source funding. The positioning of the Land and Agricultural

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- Bank must be expedited and it must be returned to its original mandate as a development finance institution.
- 3.6. Revival of agricultural colleges must be further enhanced.
- 3.7 Agricultural subsidies should be given within the trade rules that the country is signatory to so as to address the impact of historical deregulation of the agriculture sector whose impact had a negative impact on and left the agricultural industry vulnerable to global economic turbulences. A review of our tariff regime and the implementation of import substitution should all be considered.
- 3.8 An agricultural trade strategy should also ensure it support local producers in creating local markets for small enterprises.
- 3.9 Research needs to be undertaken to looking into the prospects of establishing food banks.
- 3.10 The financing of Agriculture and Rural development consistent with the commitments of the Heads of State and Governments as reflected in the 2003 Maputo Declaration at 10% of GDP remains a target which should be strived for. The current funding level of 1,8% of GDP is inconsistent with the priorities attached to the political and economic mandate of both Rural Development and Land Reform and Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries. Attracting increased investment into agricultural research remains critical in the overall development of the sector and as a means to strengthen the country's market share.
- 3.11 Informed by both the Polokwane and Mangaung resolutions on addressing progress and challenges in Economic Transformation, the Commission proposes that government must comprehensively address transformation of the agricultural sector, reviewing policy levers at its disposal, to break the current structure and ownership patterns of the agricultural sector which has led to distortions.
- 4. On Rural Enterprises**
The commission recommended that Eula industries which are not agricultural based must be encouraged and supported
- 5. On Food Security**
The *fetsatlala* programme needs to be massified in particular, mechanization support to land in communal areas
- 6. On Water and Agriculture**
There is a need to reform the irrigation boards to ensure that equitable access is realized to water provision and the irrigation schemes.
- 8. On Mining and Agriculture**
That the tension between agricultural land and mining development should be managed to ensure that agricultural land is not accessible for food security and commercial agriculture
- 9. On human settlement development**
Models for high rise should be explored in order to ensure that encroachment of agricultural land is minimized.
The Commission has emerged better informed and prepared to drive the implementation of Agrarian Transformation to a higher trajectory.



DECLARATION

of the 4th National General Council

7


We, the over 3 000 delegates to the 4th National General Council of the African National Congress, gathered here in Johannesburg in the year of the 60th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, declare for all our country and the world to know that the struggle for the socio-economic liberation of all our people remains on course.

Over the last three days, we undertook a critical review of our work towards the realisation of the vision of the Freedom Charter; evaluated progress in implementing resolutions of the 53rd National Conference, and how we give effect to the commitments we made in our 2014 Manifesto.

This National General Council is the culmination of a process of engagement by ANC structures, Alliance partners and other sectors of society that reinforced the culture of debate and introspection. Consistent with the traditions of our movement, we have frankly and honestly, within our established traditions of criticism and self-criticism, interrogated our strengths and weakness, our achievements and our shortcomings.

We have affirmed our determination to defend the essential character of the ANC as a progressive revolutionary movement that is rooted among the people. Practices and tendencies inconsistent with the values of the African National Congress threaten the effectiveness of our movement as an instrument for liberation.

This is a critical moment for the National Democratic Revolution, containing both great possibilities for decisive advances and a significant risk of reversal. All people and sectors must harness their collective will and efforts towards creating a better life for all.

Therefore, we reaffirm our resolve to root out corruption, factionalism, buying of members and gatekeeping. We agreed to reinforce measures to inculcate within our cadreship the values of service, selflessness, integrity and discipline.

This NGC paid particular attention to the standing, capacity and powers of the Integrity Commission established following a resolution of the 53rd National Conference. We agreed that the decisions

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of the Integrity Commission are binding and the Commission should be better-resourced to fulfill its mandate.

To confront the practice of factionalism in leadership elections, we agreed that the formalisation of lobby groups and the promotion of slates should be disciplinary offences.

Branch delegates should vote according to their branch mandate at elective conferences and the practice of consolidating preferences at regional or provincial level must end. The ANC branch is at the centre of our work, and must ensure that members are actively engaged in political work and communities are mobilised to effect change in their lives.

We agreed that the archives are of immense importance and we must dedicate more resources to capture our history and preserve our records. Therefore, the Liberation Heritage Institute should become a national resource, located in the state, to provide South African society with significant insight into the struggle against colonialism and apartheid.

The NGC recognises the advances our movement and government have made towards the emancipation of women and promotion of gender equality. Nevertheless, we commit to intensifying efforts for the total liberation and empowerment of women.

We emerge from this National General Council with a clear sense of the tasks we must undertake to advance the struggle for economic freedom, recognising that we do so under difficult international and domestic economic conditions.

The global economic crisis continues to negatively impact on the economies of developing countries, with low global growth and depressed commodity prices being the emerging challenges. We have accordingly agreed to accelerate efforts to mitigate job losses in vulnerable sectors and create new opportunities in potentially job-creating areas.

Uniting all South Africans around the National Development Plan (NDP) to promote inclusive growth and development, and eradicate the triple scourge of unemployment, poverty and inequality is imperative.

We agreed to address weaknesses that exist in several agencies of the state.

The capacity of the democratic developmental state to coordinate implementation of policy is critical for optimal utilisation of human and material resources, in order to maximise the impact of our programmes and projects. We must intensify increased job creation and employment opportunities through mechanisms such as localisation, SMME and cooperatives support and instruments like the procurement set-asides and increased ownership and participation by black people in the economy, with a particular focus on the youth and women and people with disability.

Ownership of land is an integral part of economic transformation. We support current proposed ceilings on different forms of land ownership and use, and these should find expression through the introduction of legislation. We must consider legal options with regard to land currently owned by foreign nationals within the context of what the constitution provides. We must review agricultural financing in order to ensure that financing models are favourable to developing farmers.

The NGC welcomes measures to make quality education more accessible to all. We should increase the number of young people in post-graduate programmes.

The NGC noted that overall crime continues to decline. However, rates of violent crime remain stubbornly high despite the initiatives aimed at crimes such as murder and armed robbery. We call on all our people to join hands in the fight against crime. We shall take particular steps to combat the killing of police. Gender based violence and safety of people from contact crimes is a societal responsibility that we must address. Government must move with speed on an integrated response through the criminal justice system.

The ANC, together with its alliance partners, must work with communities to mobilise against alcohol and substance abuse.

We agreed that the ANC must intensify its involvement the battle of ideas. Further, we should accelerate the radical transformation of the ICTs as a means to contribute to economic growth and development. The

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corporate governance challenges facing the SABC should be resolved speedily so that the institution can fulfill its public responsibility. We reaffirm the urgent need for media transformation, accountability and diversity and this includes the parliamentary enquiry on the feasibility and desirability of a Media Appeals Tribunal in line with the Constitution.

We remain seized of the task of building a better Africa and a better world.

The ANC reiterates our support for regional integration and Agenda 2063, the AU's developmental programme.

The ANC remains committed to internationalism and we support the struggles for national self-determination and a multilateral approach to the management of global issues. We reiterate our solidarity with the people of Palestine and support the isolation of businesses in the UN List that operate in the occupied territories in Palestine. We advocate for the self-determination, freedom and independence of Western Sahara. We support the call by Cuba for the return of Guantanamo Bay and the lifting of the USA economic embargo against Cuba.

The NGC noted the processes underway, under the auspices of the AU – including South Africa – to review Africa's participation in the International Criminal Court.

We welcome the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals by the UN General Assembly as a firm global covenant to bring about a more equitable, sustainable and just world.

The NGC recognises that for the ANC to continue the process of transforming our society and to realise the objectives of this phase of our struggle it is imperative that we retain our decisive mandate from the people.

We will therefore work hard to ensure that we gain an overwhelming majority in the upcoming local government elections, through consolidating our support base and winning new constituencies.

The Back to Basics programme should be at the core of building an effective and efficient local government. Reversing the apartheid geography by ensuring spatial integration and accelerating access to basic services is achievable through strengthening integrated planning and delivery mechanism across all spheres of government. We should fast track the implementation of the Presidential Commission review of provinces.

We thank our sister parties from the Former Liberation Movements for their support and participation during the NGC.

The ANC continues to reflect the hope and embody the aspirations of our people.

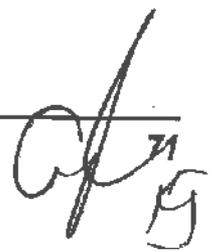
Our movement remains the most effective instrument for the achievement of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

We close this National General Council conscious of the great responsibility on our shoulders, individually and collectively, to strive for and achieve a better South Africa, a better Africa and a better world. We should move with urgency, conscientiousness and consciousness.

As we leave here, we recall the closing statement of the 3,000 delegates who gathered at the Congress of the People in Kliptown on 26 June 1955:

"Let all those 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."



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CLOSING ADDRESS**8***by* **ANC President Jacob Zuma**

We have come to the end of a most successful and productive National General Council of the ANC.

We end on a high note because the NGC has been marked by high levels of robust discussions and discipline. We congratulate all the delegates for reaffirming the standing of the ANC as a leader of society and as a disciplined, vibrant and dynamic instrument for social change.

One of our unique strengths as the ANC are self-criticism and self-correction. In opening the NGC, we presented serious and uncomfortable challenges affecting the movement and invited delegates to engage these in the commissions and provide solutions. The reports from the Commissions have indicated that indeed serious reflection went into the discussions.

Organisation building and renewal was a key factor in this NGC in our determination to rebuild the ANC and renew the character of our glorious movement.

We announced that our membership figure stood at seven hundred and sixty nine eight hundred and seventy (769 870) members, down from 1,2 million in 2012.

This correctly shocked the delegates and membership because we all want to see a growing ANC all the time.

As always, such a figure at a conference reflects audited members in good standing.

As is also known, this is usually lower than the figures on the database which would include all categories such as those whose membership had lapsed, those who are still on probation and those that have been unfortunate victims of gatekeeping and membership system administrative problems.

The ANC membership also tends to grow leading up to elective conferences. The NGC has also taken



resolutions to improve the membership administration system and to eliminate tendencies such as gatekeeping and the bulk buying of votes.

With the implementation of all our remedial actions, we intend to have all 1,3 million names that are currently on the database to be confirmed

as members in good standing sooner or at least by 2017. Let us all work hard to achieve that goal.

The strengthening of ANC branches to enable them to perform their constitutional tasks has been emphasised.

The ANC Branch Manual clarifies the role of the branch as follows when it says: *“The branch is the basic unit of the ANC, and the most important structure in the movement. It is in the branch that ANC members put to use their skills, energy, political insight and experience in a programme to transform society...”*

“The branch is the means through which we organise our people. It is the branch which must identify ANC sympathisers and supporters who can be recruited as ANC members, and through political induction and involvement in the programmes of the movement can be developed into tried and tested cadres.

It is the ANC branch which is the first point of contact with the broader community. The branch must respond to the needs and interests of the community, and provide clear direction to the community on the most important issues facing it. A healthy, active and growing branch is the key to a strong, influential and successful ANC”.

We urge comrades to seriously read the Branch manual. If we implement its directives we will not have problems in ensuring the correct functioning of the branches. Let us also grow the ANC not only in terms of quantity but also quality. Political education therefore remains paramount.

In this regard, the NGC has agreed to reinforce

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measures to inculcate within our cadreship, the values of service, selflessness, integrity and discipline. Beyond membership, the ANC also needs to win back all our traditional supporters who have been dissatisfied, ahead of the local government elections.

We will win them back based on how we conduct ourselves as members and also how we implement the good policies of the ANC. The matters of promoting unity, discipline, cohesion, respect and the restoration of order in the organisation have been endorsed whole-heartedly by the NGC.

The NGC has also reaffirmed our resolve to root out corruption and factionalism. In this regard, the NGC has agreed that the Integrity Commission should be fully supported and resourced so that it can promote ethical behaviour within the ANC.

However the NGC has also cautioned that the Integrity Commission should not be abused for factional purposes or as an instrument to fight certain individuals within the movement.

To enhance the fight against corruption in the government and the private sector, the NGC has recommended the following:

1. Civil servants including those in the security cluster should be periodically rotated from one employment site to another so as to circumvent growth of unprofessional and frequently corrupt relations with clients, service providers and other persons they interact with and/or are responsible for.
2. Government should conduct a lifestyle audits for all employees of the state and its related entities.
3. The vetting process should be expedited for government employees and its related entities.
4. There should be a single vetting agency for the state to vet all strategically placed civil servants (including state owned enterprises) including those who reject promotion even though it comes with an improved remuneration package.

The ANC Deployment Committee should also ensure proper vetting is undertaken prior to deployment of comrades.

The ANC also challenges the private sector to subject itself to instruments of financial interest disclosure, vetting and life style audits.

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

This National General Council has centred its discussions on measures to accelerate economic growth, create jobs, reduce poverty and improve livelihoods. In its deliberations on the economy a number of resolutions were taken and I will mention just a few. Given the distress in the mining sector as a result of the current low commodity price cycle, the ANC calls on parties to exercise restraint and moderation in order to save jobs and to sustain the sector's potential for future growth and development.

The ANC has also called for a speedy promulgation of the amendments to the Mining and Petroleum Resources Development Act to remove uncertainty.

The NGC has also called for the resolution of the current dispute over the interpretation of the terms of the country's Mining Charter is also urgently required.

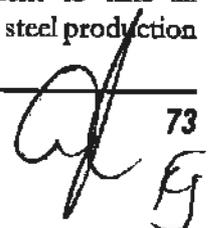
To promote energy security the implementation of the energy mix is a priority including coal, renewables, gas, nuclear and hydro. The recommendation by the Presidential Operation Phakisa programme to advance offshore oil and gas exploration should be implemented, but in a manner that does not damage South Africa's water and other environmental resources.

The ANC fully supports ongoing efforts by the NEDLAC constituencies to advance discussions on a minimum wage in the South African economy.

On black economic empowerment, the NGC resolved that greater conceptual clarity is required in order to improve and broaden the transformative impact of our various black economic empowerment (BEE) initiatives. The NGC noted that while we have made progress in some areas, there have also been reversals and unintended consequences with regard to some of our BEE interventions.

Processes need to be undertaken to iron-out such problems and to develop more sophisticated mechanisms to achieve BEE-related economic transformation. The NGC called for a review of the Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act to enable the implementation of set asides that work more effectively in promoting black businesses.

The NGC also directed Government to take all necessary steps to save South Africa's steel production



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industry. However, such assistance and protection should be conditional on the steel producers giving firm and specific undertakings with regard to job retention, future investment commitments and future pricing, which will facilitate downstream competitiveness.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The NGC directed that the 50/50 parity between men and women principle must be implemented in full in the ANC and in government. Preferential Procurement rules need to be amended to make specific allocation to women enterprises including cooperatives. The NGC has supported the need to review legislation to facilitate the removal of unused and inequitable water rights allocations in order to ensure a more equitable distribution.

The proposal is that national government should be the custodian of water and water trading will be abolished. On human settlement, the ANC government should implement the Military Veterans Housing Programme and the Human Settlements and Gender Empowerment Programme.

In addition, the Mining Towns human settlement programme including basic services must be prioritised.

The NGC also resolved that we must improve our monitoring of RDP houses and the resale of RDP Houses must be prevented. To promote sports, the NGC resolved that the sport funding model in government needs to be completely overhauled so that sports can meet its mandate and that this requires the necessary levels of investment by all of government, including allocation from all provinces from the equitable share.

EDUCATION, HEALTH, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The ANC has called for a speedy review of the powers of the school governing bodies, the fast-tracking of the introduction of inspectors in schools, and to build more schools in villages and townships especially special schools.

The NGC has also expressed support to the Annual National Assessments in schools and have urged that challenges relating to its implementation

must be resolved. The NGC has welcomed the launch of Operation Phakisa on Information and Communication Technologies in schools and has urged the use of ICT nationally in our schools.

We need to confront the findings that black African children receive three and half hours of teaching per day as opposed to six and a half hours in former whites-only schools as revealed in a study. This results in a three year gap in their schooling career. In this regard, let me reiterate our call to all teachers to be in school, on time, in class, on task teaching for at least seven hours a day. The ANC will engage SADTU in this regard.

The NGC will intensify the implementation of programmes to curb the scourge of teenage pregnancy, and such programmes will target both the boy and girl child.

The ANC government was directed to fast-track the implementation of the National Health Insurance and for funds to be made available for this purpose.

LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNANCE

The achievement of radical economic transformation depends on progress in building a capable developmental state. We have resolved to urgently and comprehensively address weaknesses that exist in several agencies of the state. The NGC reiterated that provinces must be reviewed to strengthen the democratic state and its developmental mandate, as well as the allocation of powers and functions, planning across government.

An ANC Task Team will interface with government to ensure implementation of the resolution. With regards to our preparations for elections, the NGC has noted the voting trends in the metros and that this requires the movement to review its strategies.

On land reform, progress in the willing buyer willing seller policy has been addressed through the promulgation of the Property Valuation Act, 2014, which will codifies the "just and equitable" principle as reflected in section 25 of the Constitution.

The NGC has resolved that government should continue to strengthen the security of tenure for farm workers. The Extension of Security of Tenure Amendment Bill will be an important step in this direction.

Report of the 4th National General Council

Land rights for people in Communal areas should be formalized such that security of tenure is secured and such land can have commercial value. In order to ensure against the risk of people becoming landless in this process, a limitation clause in the title deed giving the State the right of first refusal must be secured.

The NGC resolved that there should be equitable access to land for women and that their interests be protected. Unemployed graduates as well as youth from rural areas should receive dedicated support and be prioritised in access to land through the lease of State land.

The Expropriation Amendment Bill, currently before Parliament, is critical to ensure that the state is able to expropriate land in terms of the Constitution and should be expedited. We resolved that the Policy Conference should finalise the details of the policy on the ownership of land by foreign nationals.

The NGC supports the current proposed ceilings on different forms of land ownership and use and this should find expression through the introduction of legislation.

On land tenure, it was noted that the introduction of the Regulation of Land Holdings Bill, will introduce the Land Commission and go a long way in resolving current disputes. The Bill will also introduce land ceilings as outlined in previous conference resolutions.

The NGC confirmed the support for the African Union Agenda 2063 Vision, recognising that it is a continuation of African Renaissance philosophy, and recommended that as a movement it is incumbent upon us to popularise the seven aspirations.

The aspirations are:

- A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;
- An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan Africanism;
- An Africa of good governance, democracy, human rights, justice and the rule of law;
- A peaceful and secure Africa;
- An Africa where development is people-driven, relying particularly on potential of women and youth;

- Africa as a strong and influential global player and partner.

The ANC disagrees with the double-standard and selective actions of the International Criminal Court. In this regard, the NGC has recommended that government reviews South Africa's membership of the ICC.

Our last important assignment as Chair of G77+ China will be to lead the Group to Paris for the United Nations Framework for Climate Change Convention (UNFCCC) negotiations – in defence of the Durban Platform of Action, informed by the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and capabilities.

On communications, the ANC has resolved to accelerate the implementation of ANC conference resolutions regarding media transformation, accountability and diversity. This includes a parliamentary enquiry on the feasibility and desirability of a Media Appeals Tribunal in line with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

Comrades and friends,

The ANC carries the hopes of millions of South Africans. We remain seized with the responsibility of working to achieve a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society.

This NGC has taken us a step further towards the implementation of that goal. We go back with a clear mandate to grow the ANC and ensure that it further consolidates democracy and that it continues to lead our people to prosperity.

Let me remind all that preparatory work for the local elections has begun and all cadres must put shoulder to the wheel to ensure a decisive victory for the ANC. We thank all the delegates, local and international guests and all who have participated to ensure the success of the NGC.

We also thank ANC staff for their hard work as well as the law enforcement agencies and all service providers.

May all have a safe journey home.

Amandla!

Annexure "CR13"

African National Congress

REVISED TERMS OF REFERENCE AND RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE ANC INTEGRITY COMMISSION

As adopted by the NEC 28-30 September 2018, and Revised by Officials, 15 April 2019

PREAMBLE

Whereas the Integrity Commission was established by resolution of the 53rd Conference of the African National Congress;

Whereas the 54th conference of the African National Congress resolved , amongst others, that we must strengthen our understanding of our values and ethics and the demands that the people, the Constitution and the Rule of Law place on us and demand that every cadre accused of, or reported to be involved in, corrupt practices accounts to the Integrity Committee immediately or faces DC processes; and that the Integrity Commission must report directly to the NEC and to National Conference and NGC;

Whereas Rule 24.1 of the ANC constitution mandates the NEC to appoint an Integrity Commission with terms of reference to be approved by the NEC;

Whereas rule 24.2 of the ANC constitution provides that the officials and NEC may refer to the integrity commission any unethical or immoral conduct by a member which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute;

Whereas Rule 25.17.4 empowers the Integrity Commission to determine such unethical or immoral conduct;

The African National Congress National Executive Committee therefore adopts these Terms of Reference and Rules of Procedure of the Integrity Commission.

1. Purpose and objects of the Integrity Commission

1.1. The Integrity Commission's purpose is:-



1.1.1. To provide leadership:

- a) in the combating of unethical conduct;**
- b) in promoting integrity, honesty and**
- c) increasing compliance with the Constitution, Rules and Code of Conduct by members of the ANC.**

1.1.2. To protect the ANC from being brought into disrepute

1.2. The primary responsibilities of the Integrity Commission are:-

1.2.1. To protect the image and reputation of the ANC

1.2.2. To enhance the standing of the ANC in society

1.2.3. To recommend measures to prevent abuse of power or office for private gain and factional interests

1.2.4. To recommend corrective action against leaders and members of the ANC who face damaging allegations of improper conduct, which may include recommending disciplinary action (subject to the provisions of clause 3.5 below);

1.2.5. To ensure that members, office-bearers and public representatives uphold, respect and defend the ethical foundation of the ANC and the character and values of the organisation;

1.2.6. To issue ethical judgements on matters referred to it;

1.2.7. To refer any of its rulings to the Officials and National Executive Committee (NEC) for disciplinary action if it has determined that the member, office-bearer or public representative has engaged in any unethical conduct which detracts from the character, values and integrity of the ANC in terms of Rule 25.17.4 of the Constitution; and

1.2.8. To conduct workshops with the Branches of the Organisation and meet its Provincial, Regional and Branch structures in order to uphold and maintain the ethical foundation, character and values of the ANC.



2. Unethical conduct

2.1. Unethical conduct shall include acts of corruption and corrupt practices committed by a member, office bearer, deployed member or deployee or public representative as defined in the ANC Constitution.

2.2. The Integrity Commission determines what amounts to unethical conduct.

2.3. The founding documents of the ANC, including , the ANC's Constitution, any Codes of Ethics that deployed cadres are required to observe and the ANC document 'Through the eye of the needle' as well as South Africa's Constitution will inform what amounts to ethical conduct expected of all members of the ANC.

2.4. The Integrity Commission may rule that any violation of the oath of membership or of the above-mentioned documents amounts to unethical conduct.

3. Referral of matters to the IC, Matters initiated by the IC and Individual approaches to the IC

3.1. The jurisdiction of the Integrity Commission shall extend to any unethical conduct or misconduct of a member, including an office bearer, deployee or public representative, not defined as an act of misconduct in terms of Rule 25.17 of the ANC Constitution.

3.2. Any member may refer to the Officials and the NEC the conduct of any other member, office-bearer or public representative to the Integrity Commission, which conduct offends against the ethical framework of the ANC, its character and values.

3.3. Referrals to the Integrity Commission shall be made in writing and titled "Statement of Complaint".



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- 3.4. The Integrity Commission shall consider the statement of complaint and make its ruling taking into account all relevant information it deems fit.
- 3.5. The Integrity Commission, may without referral from Officials or the NEC, call in a member or members whose conduct crossed or crosses ethical boundaries, and may or have brought the ANC name into disrepute.
- 3.6. An ANC member accused of, or reported to be involved in corrupt practices may approach or write to the Integrity Commission, in order to account to and/or request an ethical judgement, where appropriate.
- 3.7. The Integrity Commission may make any recommendation based on its judgment on the way forward it deems fit, provided that if it recommends disciplinary action 'no information given to by the person to be disciplined, may be admissible as evidence in any disciplinary proceedings that may follow.
- 3.8. The Integrity Commission shall file its judgement with the Officials and the NEC and any affected member, within 3 (three) months from the date of referral. Should it require more time it must request an extension from the Officials in due time.
- 3.9. The Integrity Commission's judgment must be tabled at the first meeting of the NEC immediately following its submission, for noting.
- 3.8 Any member may appeal against a decision of the Integrity Commission to the NEC.
- 3.9 The NEC is the final arbiter of appeals against Integrity Commission decisions.

4. Powers and authority of the Integrity Commission

- 4.1. The Integrity Commission shall have the power and authority to make ethical judgements about members, officials and public representatives within the confines and framework of the ethical foundation of the ANC and the character and values of the organisation as detailed above.



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4.2. For this purpose, the Integrity Commission has the power and authority:-

- 4.2.1. To summon members of the ANC, referred to it by the Officials or the NEC, or whose conduct crossed ethical boundaries, or who approached the IC, to appear before the Integrity Commission to answer allegations or complaints of unethical conduct.
- 4.2.2. To summon witnesses who are ANC members to appear before the Integrity Commission and to request persons who are not ANC members but whose evidence may be necessary to appear before it;
- 4.2.3. To instruct any person appearing before it to produce or submit documents in support of case(s) to be presented.
- 4.2.4. To conduct hearings on all reported allegations or complaints of unethical and improper conduct.
- 4.2.5. To make findings in relation to the outcome of all the hearings which it is seized with.; and
- 4.2.6. To conduct workshops with members on the functions of the Integrity Commission and its purpose and mission.

5. Composition, appointment and terms of members of the Integrity Commission

- 5.1. The Integrity Commission shall consist of a minimum of 8 (eight) and a maximum of 10 (ten) members appointed by the NEC.
- 5.2. The NEC shall designate one of the members as Chairperson and another as Deputy Chairperson.
- 5.3. Members shall hold office for a period of 5 (five) years and shall be eligible for reappointment.

6. Functions of the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson



The Chairperson shall convene and preside over all the meetings of the Integrity Commission. In the absence of the Chairperson, the Deputy Chairperson shall perform this function.

7. Secretarial support and responsibilities

7.1. The Secretary General's office shall provide secretarial support to the Integrity Commission

7.2. The Secretariat of the Integrity Commission shall:-

- 7.2.1. Provide administrative support to the Integrity Commission;**
- 7.2.2. Issue invitations for meetings of the Integrity Commission;**
- 7.2.3. Prepare agendas for meetings of the Integrity Commission in consultation with the Chairperson;**
- 7.2.4. Prepare and keep the minutes of meetings;**
- 7.2.5. Prepare background and briefing documents for the members of the Integrity Commission;**
- 7.2.6. Keep records of proceedings of the Integrity Commission;**
- 7.2.7. Prepare draft reports on instruction of the Integrity Commission for presentation to the NEC;**
- 7.2.8. Prepare annual reports of the Integrity Commission to be submitted and presented to the NEC;**
- 7.2.9. Identify and arrange the venue for Integrity Commission meetings;**
- 7.2.10. Make travel arrangements for members;**
- 7.2.11. Provide full time research capacity at the request of the Integrity Commission; and**



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7.2.12. Provide any other general administrative support at the request of the Chairperson/or the Secretariat.

8. Meetings of the Integrity Commission

- 8.1. The Integrity Commission shall meet at least once every 2 (two) months. The Chairperson may decide to convene such additional meetings as he or she deem necessary.
- 8.2. The Secretariat must circulate the meeting agenda, together with the minutes of the previous meeting at least five (5) days before the next meeting.
- 8.3. Members of the Integrity Commission must tender their written apologies to the secretariat at least two (2) days before the date of the next meeting, unless exceptional circumstances require a shorter period.
- 8.4. The quorum for any meeting of the Integrity Commission shall be 50% (fifty per cent) plus one member, one of whom must be either the Chairperson or Deputy Chairperson.

9. Representation before Integrity Commission

- 9.1. No legal representation is permitted in proceedings before the Integrity Commission.
- 9.2. A member may be represented by another member in good standing.

10. Responding to media

- 10.1. The proceedings of the Integrity Commission are confidential;



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10.2. The Chairperson of the Integrity Commission, or the Deputy Chairperson, shall be responsible for responding to media queries related to the Integrity Commission.

As adopted by the National Executive Committee at its meeting on 28-30 September 2018



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Annexure "CR14"

ANC STATEMENT ON WATERKLOOF LANDING**Tuesday 30 April 2013**

The African National Congress has learnt that guests of a family hosting some wedding at Sun City landed at the Waterkloof Airforce Base today. Waterkloof is one of our country's National Key Points. A National Key Point is declared on the basis of being "so important that its loss, damage, disruption or immobilization may prejudice the Republic". National Key Points are further designated as such on the understanding that the safeguarding of their sanctity is integral to the protection and upholding of the safety and sovereignty of the Republic.

The African National Congress waited patiently for the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), the body delegated with authority over the Waterkloof Airforce Base, to explain to the nation how these private individuals managed to land aircraft at Waterkloof. Up until now, no explanation has been forthcoming. The African National Congress, driven by the concern for the safety and sovereignty of South Africa, shall never allow a situation where our ports of entry and National Key Points are penetrated with impunity.

We demand that those who are responsible for granting access to land aircraft in our country also explain the basis upon which such permission was granted, particularly to land at Waterkloof Airforce Base. Those who cannot account must be brought to book. The African National Congress will never rest where there is any indication that all and sundry may be permitted to undermine the Republic, its citizens and its borders. We again make the call, even at this late hour, to the SANDF to explain how this private aircraft landed at Waterkloof Airforce Base; our National Key Point.

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Annexure “CR15”

**Statement of the ANC NEC meeting held on the 17th - 19th May 2013
20 May 2013**

We would like to start off by asking for a moment of silence in honour of one of the greatest journalists of our time who was growing fast into prominence, Vuyo Mbuli.

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress met in its regular meeting over three days 17th - 19th May 2013, at Saint George Hotel. The meeting received the President's overview, the report of the National Working Committee and reports from the NEC Subcommittees.

The report on International Relations was discussed extensively with a focus on the 50th Anniversary of the OAU/AU. The ANC reaffirmed its commitment to contributing to the building of a better Africa and a better world. The celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the OAU/ AU starting on the 25th May 2013 will help the movement lead the process of educating South Africans about the journey travelled by the continent over the last fifty years, mainly focusing on the liberation of every piece of the African soil from colonisation and racial domination.

The discussion paper on Africa added details to this discussion. The NEC was reminded that in the document "Ready to Govern: ANC policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa" the ANC re-committed itself that; "A democratic South Africa will actively promote the objectives of democracy, peace, stability, development and multi-beneficial relations among the people of Africa as a whole as well as Pan African solidarity". NEC decided to affirm the correctness of this approach in the face of the growing hostility against the continent by opposition forces.

In the face of the growing anti-majoritarian positioning of the opposition forces and the agitation for discontent, the ANC will continue telling the story of our country as is and therefore remind society of the progress made over the last twenty years.

Amongst issues discussed and approved by the NEC was the assessment of the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung. The meeting was unanimous that the conference was a resounding success from various points of view. Some of the issues are; policy outcomes, planning and logistics, conduct of delegates and smooth electoral process. The NEC agreed that further discussions be undertaken on a number of issues related to the future conferences. These are; fixed venue for national conferences, deciding early on the logistical details of the 54th National Conference.

The NEC discussed the state of the trade union movement in the country. It considered factors that led to the creation of labour federations in the country and the fact that this provided an opportunity to harmonise labour relations and labour practices. The meeting further noted that the recent attacks on NUM and Satawu is in fact an attack on Cosatu as a federation and on the Congress Movement as a whole. The ANC resolved to develop a comprehensive programme of engagement with individual unions. The officials were directed to engage COSATU on an ongoing basis.

The NEC was also given a report on preparations for the Alliance Economic Summit with the Economic Transformation Committee of the ANC being the driver of the process. The Summit will take place at the end of June.

The NEC approved the name of Comrade Amos Masondo as the National Coordinator of the elections campaign for 2014 elections. The name of Comrade Manne Dipico was approved as the ANC's National List Coordinator and that he will be deputized by a woman. The NEC also approved the establishment of a List Committee to be headed by the Secretary General of the ANC, Comrade Gwede Mantashe.

The meeting also endorsed the name of Thami KaPlaatjie as a senior researcher to be placed at the ANC's Policy Institute. In this regard he will be responsible for research and the support Monitoring and Evaluation unit. He will also coordinate and guide the work of young researchers that will be deployed in the Institute. The NEC also approved two names to be added to the Integrity Commission, these are Barbara Masekela and Bongsi Dlomo. These additions will bring the number of Commissioners to twelve.

In terms of the continuing work on provinces by the NWC, the NEC received reports and took decisions on issues affecting the Tlokwe Municipality in the North West and Lukhanji (Queenstown) in the Eastern Cape. In addition to the work done, the NWC was given a task of meeting all the councilors in all the provinces to consolidate work that was started in 2012

The NEC meeting received reports from the following subcommittees; Policy, Elections, International Relations, Political Education and Economic Transformation. All these subcommittees gave progress report and recommended decisions as part of their functional responsibilities. The NEC has expressed satisfaction on the work done by these NEC Subcommittees.

The NEC endorsed the President's initiative to go to Eldorado Park on the invitation of the community in their plight for a need to fight against drugs and drugs abuse. The view of the meeting is that the battle against drugs must be won to save those addicted to them. In this regard the NEC has directed the relevant Sub-committees working together with government departments to follow through on this matter. As the ANC we cannot be a spectator what has become a cancer destroying and eating our society and our nation.

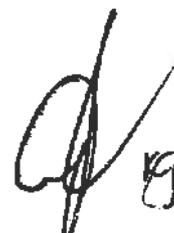
The NEC agreed to take the campaign on the scourge of violence against women and children to a higher level. The relevant subcommittee of the ANC will lead this campaign.

SA report on the landing of the Jet Airways plane in Waterkloof Military Base was presented and discussed. The NEC agreed to wait for the report of the DGs as commissioned by the Ministers in the security cluster. The report has now been finalized and made public. The ANC welcomes the outcome of the investigation. We appreciate details contained in the report and clarity given. It provides the basic information on what happened. This will help the parliamentary debate on Wednesday. We are confident that the relevant Ministers will take the process to its logical conclusion so that this incident does not repeat itself.

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Reports were received on the provincial conference of the Free State and the Provincial General Council of KZN. The outcomes of the Provincial Conference were endorsed as the NEC was convinced that the processes were thorough and reputable and the new leadership of the Free State was welcomed together with the Chairperson of KZN province. Progress reports were received from both the NTT of the ANCYL and the PTT of Limpopo.

Issued by:
SG Gwede Mantashe

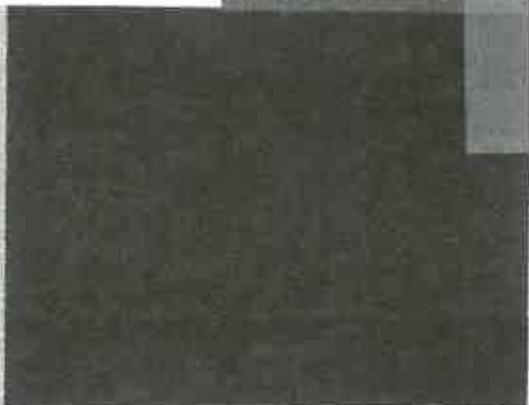
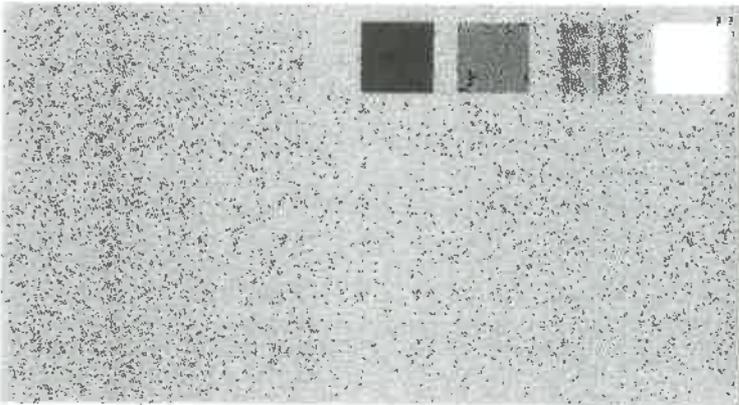
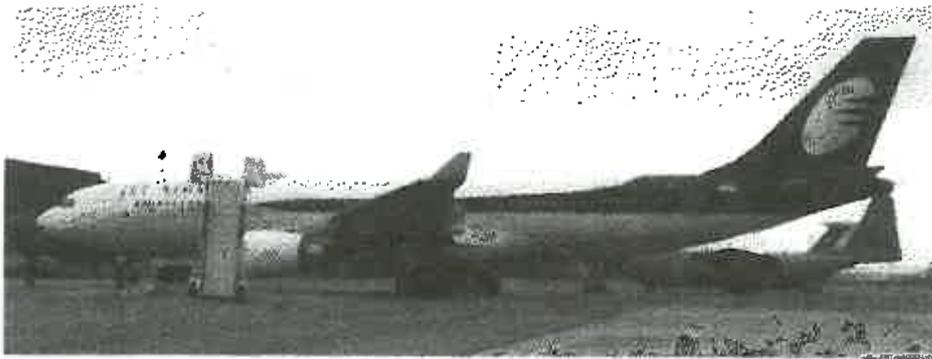


Annexure "CR16"

JCPS CLUSTER REPORT

LANDING OF A CHARTERED COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT AT AIR FORCE BASE WATERKLOOF

17 May 2013



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**INVESTIGATION INTO THE LANDING OF A CHARTERED COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT
AT AIR FORCE BASE WATERKLOOF ON 30 APRIL 2013**

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1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Statement

On 30 April 2013 Jet Airways charter flight JAI 9900 landed at Air Force Base Waterkloof, a strategic entry point, referred to in this report as "the base", between 06h50 and 07h00. This was deemed a national security incident. The Ministers of the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security (JCPS) Cluster instructed on 2 May 2013 that a team of Directors-General investigate the circumstances that gave rise to the incident, and report their findings within seven working days. The members of the Investigating Team, referred to in this report as "the team", were the following:

- 1.1.1 Mr D.T. Dlomo: Acting Director-General of the State Security Agency.
- 1.1.2 Ms N. Sindane: Director-General of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development.
- 1.1.3 Mr T.S. Moyane: National Commissioner of the Department of Correctional Services.
- 1.1.4 Dr C.G. Swemmer: Acting Coordinator for Intelligence (co-opted).

1.2 Terms of Reference

The Terms of Reference governing the work of the team were the following:

- 1.2.1 Determine the sequence of events prior to, during and after the landing of the chartered commercial aircraft at Air Force Base Waterkloof.
- 1.2.2 Assess the actual events in the light of the established legislation, regulations, government and departmental protocols.
- 1.2.3 Interview and interact with relevant persons to establish facts, and factor in investigations currently under way.
- 1.2.4 Make findings and recommendations to avert similar occurrences in future.

1.3 Methodology

In conducting the investigation the team approached the incident in four phases, namely the pre-arrival phase, arrival phase, post-arrival phase and exit phase, and conducted its work according to these phases.

The methodology adopted included the scrutiny of relevant documentary evidence; the scrutiny of departmental submissions; interviews with officials and individuals involved in the matter; investigations conducted within affected departments; and in loco visits.

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The visits consisted of the following:

- 1.3.1 On 9 May 2013: to the Chief of the South African Air Force (SAAF), Lieutenant-General F.Z. Msimang, which visit was further assisted by General Mcoetywa; interaction with Sergeant-Major Thabo Ntshisi at the Air Force Command Post; interviews at the base with Colonel Visser responsible for reception of VIPs visitors; Lieutenant-Colonel Mdluli, Officer Commanding Movement Control; and loadmasters Sergeants Mohlala and Manganyi.
- 1.3.2 On 10 May 2013 at the base with Lieutenant-Colonel Fredrikson; with Sergeant-Major Van Bentheim responsible for security; at the South African Revenue Service (SARS) with Commissioner Oupa Magashula, Chief Operating Officer Barry Hore, and Mr J.J. Louw, the Legal Advisor; at O.R. Tambo International Airport with Mr Ockert Jacobs, Deputy Director Port Health, Gauteng Province; with Lieutenant-General Nyembe, Chief of Defence Intelligence; and at the offices of the Department of Defence and Military Veterans with the Advisor to the Minister, Mr Michael (Mike) Ramagoma.
- 1.3.3 The Investigating Team conducted interviews on 13 May 2013 with Mr William Matjila from the Directorate State Visits in DIRCO; with Ms Marilyn Morris, Personal Assistant to the Chief of State Protocol, DIRCO; Warrant Officer Masilo from SAPS Border Police; Mr V. Ndwamato of the Directorate Air Transport, Department of Transport (DoT); Mr Andries Njani, Deputy Director Aviation Licencing and Permits, DoT; and Ms Adriana van der Westhuizen of the DoT. The team also met with the Minister of Transport, Mr D.B. Martins.
- 1.3.4 On 14 May 2013 Mr Mike Ramagoma visited the team to provide an explanation on his updated statement.
- 1.3.5 On 16 May 2013 the Investigating Team had a meeting with Ambassador Vusi Bruce Koloane.

In light of the availability of officials who had not been interviewed by the Investigating Team, the Team deemed it necessary to engage with them after the presentation of their report on 14 May 2013. The Investigating Team briefed the JCPS Ministers on the content on 17 May 2013, which concluded the Team's mandate.

2. CHAPTER 2: SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Based on the submissions received, the team understands the sequence of events to have unfolded as follows:

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2.1 Pre-Arrival Phase

In the pre-arrival phase, the following are the standard operating procedures that would be followed by departments in preparing for the arrival of a VVIP or VIP flight at the base:

- 2.1.1 Air Force Base Waterkloof would only receive flights classified as military flights, VVIP flights or VIP flights. The former would include Heads of State and/or Government and Ministers. No commercial or charter flights would receive permission to land except in an emergency situation. The Standard Operating Procedures for the issuing of such clearances issued in July 2007 state clearly in paragraph 7(b): "Note that only military personnel, Head and Deputy Head of State may make use of AFB Waterkloof".
- 2.1.2 The Embassy or High Commission would forward a Note Verbale to the Office of the Chief of State Protocol requesting the assistance of government with the visit.
- 2.1.3 The Air Force Command Post would interact with DIRCO for clearance of state visits or VVIPs prior to issuing the clearance for continuation of the nature of the visit.
- 2.1.4 Under the Customs and Excise Act of 1964, Section 7(1A)(a), non-military and non-VIP flights seeking to land at an airport other than one of the ten customs and excise airports, would need to obtain special permission prior to landing from the Commissioner SARS to do so. This would especially be the case when the passengers are not subject to the Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities Act of 2001.
- 2.1.5 Once clearance had been granted, the base would notify departments with immigration, customs, health, and phyto-sanitary responsibilities of the pending arrival to enable them to be in attendance at the time. This notification would take place in writing and/or via telephone notification. All the above departments would be notified for all incoming and outgoing flights. However, full protocol would only be provided during state and official visits.
- 2.1.6 DIRCO would convene and chair an interdepartmental meeting to deal with official state visits; the meeting would include the Presidential Protection Unit for visiting VVIPs and Special Envoys.
- 2.1.7 Protection for vehicle convoys of visiting delegations would be arranged at the national level by way of activation of the National JOINTS when the route crosses provincial boundaries. This is the responsibility of the National Commissioner of SAPS.

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- 2.1.8 The Department of Home Affairs would issue visas to the visitors against return flight tickets if travelling on a commercial flight, or if confirmed to travel on a charter flight.

The sequence of events in the pre-arrival phase in this specific matter is as follows:

- 2.1.9 In February 2013 Mr Tony Gupta approached the Airports Company South Africa to enquire about the use of O.R. Tambo International Airport (ORTIA) for the arrival of "at least five heads of state, ministers and senior Indian Government officials" invited to a four-day wedding event at Sun City (Source: ACSA Report; NICOC Report 1 May 2013). The Chief of State Protocol, Ambassador V. B. Koloane, attended a meeting of the Gupta family representative, Mr Tony Gupta; the Acting Chief Executive Officer of ACSA, Mr Bongani Maseko; and Minister of Transport Mr Ben Martins. At the meeting Mr Tony Gupta requested "to use facilities at the airport to welcome guests from India who were to attend a wedding" (Source: Statement by Minister Martins 13 May 2013). It was concluded that it would not be possible to use ORTIA given the request for an elaborate welcoming ceremony; this was a space used by the Department of Home Affairs for checking passports. Minister Martins agreed with ACSA's explanation (Source: NICOC Report 1 May 2013; written statement by Minister Martins). ACSA suggested that alternatives be considered, among them Lanseria or Pilanesberg airports. It was later determined that the runway at Lanseria was being upgraded. At a follow-up meeting and after enquiring with SAA, ACSA informed Mr Gupta that the apron at Pilanesberg could not accommodate an Airbus A330-200 (Source: ACSA Report).
- 2.1.10 In early March 2013 the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans was approached by Mr Atul Gupta. The Minister's Political Advisor, Mr Michael Ramagoma, was also approached by Mr Ashu Chawla on behalf of the Gupta family (Source: Response to questions by the Gupta family lawyer Mr G. van der Merwe 14 May 2013).
- 2.1.11 During the latter half of March 2013 the Political Advisor of the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans approached the Chief of the South African Air Force, Lieutenant-General F.Z. Msimang, to determine the regulations governing the landing and taking off of civilian aircraft at Air Force Base Waterkloof. The Chief of the Air Force informed the Political Advisor that it would be irregular for an aircraft carrying Indian wedding guests to land at the base. The Chief of the Air Force advised the Political Advisor that the matter should not be entertained any further. This was at the time of the military developments in the CAR, and of the air force helicopter crash in the Kruger National Park (Source: Submission by the Chief of the Air Force dated 10 May 2013; confirmed by Mr Mike Ramagoma in his interview with the Team).

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- 2.1.12 On 2 April 2013 the Chief of State Protocol contacted the Political Advisor to the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans to enquire as to progress with the request. The Ambassador stated that he was "under pressure from No. 1" on the matter. The Political Advisor stated that he was not in a position to respond at that point in time (Source: Political Advisor 10 May 2013; confirmed by Ambassador V.B. Koloane on 1 May 2013 and in the Interview with him on 16 May 2013).
- 2.1.13 On 3 April 2013 Mr Ramagoma met with Mr Chawla to inform him that the Minister had denied permission for a landing at the base (Source: Political Advisor 10 May 2013).
- 2.1.14 Mr Chawla then liaised with individuals in the Indian High Commission for assistance (Source: Response to questions by the Gupta family lawyer Mr G. van der Merwe dated 14 May 2013). On 4 April 2013 an individual at the Indian High Commission applied by faxed letter at 15h38 to the Air Command Unit at the Air Force Command Post for Overflight and Landing Clearance for a "Chartered Flight" at the base (Source: Fax IHC 4 April 2013). The accompanying document containing details is titled "Request for Diplomatic Overflight and Landing Clearance: South Africa". The purpose of the flight is cited under item 9 as "Delegation Visit" (Source: Indian High Commission Request 4 April 2013).
- 2.1.15 On 9 April 2013 the Chief of State Protocol telephoned Sergeant-Major Ntshisi at the Air Force Command Post to enquire as to progress with the clearance request from the Indian High Commission. Ntshisi informed the Ambassador that the base could only receive flights transporting "Heads of State and their deputies". The Ambassador responded that there would be "four to five Ministers on board". He added that the Minister of Transport, Mr Ben Martins, had been given instructions "by the President to assist the Gupta family"; that the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans "has no objection"; that "at a meeting of the Minister of Transport, the CEO of ACSA and the Guptas" he had been "told to assist"; and that "this was a unique case". Ntshisi requested "a note or a letter" from the Ambassador. The Ambassador responded that "the challenge was that this could not be put in writing". He added that he had met with Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson the previous week to "show them around the area"; Ntshisi should contact the Lieutenant-Colonel to confirm this. The Ambassador stated clearly that this was for "the Gupta family wedding". He instructed Ntshisi to call him back. On 13 May 2013, the Director-General in The Presidency stated that at no point did the President give instructions to Ambassador Koloane or discuss the issue of the landing of the aircraft with him. Regarding the specific questions posed to him relating to the pre-arrival phase, he denied that The Presidency had ever received a request for landing at Waterkloof Air Force Base from any person whatsoever.

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- 2.1.16 Sergeant-Major Ntshisi then telephoned Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson to enquire about the "217 Indian delegates". He was informed that she was not available and would return the call.
- 2.1.17 Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson returned Sergeant-Major Ntshisi's call. Anderson stated that she had just spoken to the Chief of State Protocol, who had informed her that Ntshisi had rejected the request. She questioned him as to how he could have refused such a request from the Chief of State Protocol. Ntshisi clarified that he had requested written confirmation. Anderson then stated that "in confidentiality (sic), I must be very careful now, our Number 1 knows about this. It is political. Allow them. I'll phone the Ambassador back to find out who's the senior minister". Ntshisi asked Anderson to confirm that the base could only receive flights carrying Heads of State and Ministers. Anderson responded that it depends on the visit type, and that it would be acceptable for a "private visit if DIRCO approves. It is not a problem. Yes my dear, they can".
- 2.1.18 The Chief of State Protocol then called Sergeant-Major Ntshisi and stated "I believe you have spoken to Colonel Anderson?" Ntshisi confirmed this and stated that he would go ahead with the clearance immediately. Ntshisi asked whether he should fax the clearance to Mr Matjila (Mr William Matjila – Directorate State Visits DIRCO). The Chief of State Protocol asked where Ntshisi was at the time and was unable to understand the explanation given. He then requested Ntshisi to e-mail a copy of the clearance to his private e-mail address and to his official e-mail address.
- 2.1.19 Mr William Matjila, Senior Foreign Affairs Assistant at DIRCO received a call from the Chief of State Protocol instructing him to assist with the clearance of the Indian delegation. This was the first ever and last call from the Chief of State Protocol, Ambassador Koloane to him.
- 2.1.20 In response to the request for a letter from Sergeant-Major Ntshisi, Mr William Matjila forwarded an e-mail sent to him by Ms. Marilyn Morris, Secretary of the Chief of State Protocol. It stated: "As per your discussion with Ambassador Koloane with regards (sic) to the request for flight clearances and landing at Waterkloof AFB for the Indian Delegation, kindly note that Amb Koloane telephonically approved the request" (Source: E-mail DIRCO at 08h33 dated 9 April 2013). All those involved confirmed this fact.
- 2.1.21 Mr William Matjila forwarded this e-mail to various recipients within State Protocol at DIRCO "for your urgent assistance and information" (Source: E-mail DIRCO at 08h57 on 9 April 2013).

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2.1.22 On 9 April 2013 Captain Kutty at the IHC forwarded a request titled "Fuelling Requirement: VVIP Chartered Flight at AFB Waterkloof" to the Air Force Command Post requesting 40 tonnes of fuel for "refueling of the VVIP chartered aircraft", and requesting that this be included in the request for overflight landing and clearance dated 4 April 2013 (Source: Indian High Commission Request 9 April 2013).

2.1.23 On 9 April 2013 Lieutenant-Colonel S.J. van Zyl, who has the authority to clear flights at the Air Force Command Post, signed RSA05 External Clearance on the strength of the documentation received and conversations conducted that morning. The clearance was sent to ATNS, the Civil Aviation Authority (CAA), the Department of Transport (DoT), the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), Chief of Joint Operations, Defence Foreign Relations and Senior Staff Officer. The clearance stated the following:

- (i) Requestor: India Delegation.
- (ii) Aircraft type: A330-200 with registration number VT-JWQ.
- (iii) Call sign: 9W 9900.
- (iv) Pax (passengers): 217.
- (v) Reason: Delegation visit.
- (vi) Fuel quantity: 13 000 litres.
- (vii) Parking/hangar facilities: N/A.
- (viii) Movements: VIP.
- (ix) Customs and/or Border Police: Yes.
- (x) Security: N/A.
- (xi) SARS: Yes.
- (xii) Foreign Operators Permit: Yes.
- (xiii) Import/export permits: Yes.
- (xiv) DOT authority required: Yes.
- (xv) Parking and landing fees to be paid: N/A.
- (xvi) "All ground handling requirements to be arranged with Lt Col Anderson at FAWK" (FAWK = Air Force Base Waterkloof) (Source RSA05 External Clearance Authority No. RSA05/N/8643/VT-JWQ/29-Apr-13).

2.1.24 On 19 April 2013 the SAPS Provincial Commissioner, North-West Province, Lieutenant-General Mbombo, received a letter from Ms Ronica Ragavan representing the Gupta family, requesting protection for the convoys that would be travelling from the base to Sun City (Source: SAPS Report 10 May 2013).

2.1.25 On 22 April 2013 Sun City Security applied to the SAPS for an Event Risk Categorisation. The request was from Mr Claud Horne, Security Manager at the Entertainment Centre, Sun City Resort. The application was forwarded to the Cluster Commander, Major-General P. Asaneng, and by the Provincial Commissioner to the

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North-West Province Crime Intelligence and Operational Response Services. On hearing about the nature of the visit, the Provincial Commissioner turned down the request, and also declined to attend the wedding as a guest. A second application that emphasised the attendance of Indian Ministers at the wedding was then presented. The applicant requested that the event be categorised as High Risk, but the Deputy Provincial Commissioner: Operational Services, Major-General Mpenbe, categorised the event as Medium Risk on 25 April 2013 (Source SAPS Report 10 May 2013).

2.1.26 On 23 April 2013 the base informed the following individuals and departments by fax of the arrival information of the Jet Airways flight:

- (i) DHA Immigration: J de Wet, Morare and Molefe.
- (ii) Health: Mr Jacobs.
- (iii) SARS: T. Mokhachane.
- (iv) Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries: Amanda Steyn and Lawrence Mochena.
- (v) Border Police: Superintendent Moloto.
- (vi) Nature Conservation: Messrs Steenkamp and Booysen.
- (vii) SSA: Ms A. Claasen.

2.1.27 On 24 April 2013 the Indian High Commission requested the Chief of State Protocol for assistance with arranging the reception and logistics at the base (Source: NICOC Report 1 May 2013; Interview with Ambassador V.B. Koloane on 16 May 2013).

2.1.28 On 24 April 2013 the Chief of State Protocol met with Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson and an individual in the Indian High Commission at the base to discuss arrangements (Source: NICOC Report 1 May 2013; Interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Mdluli 9 May 2013; Interview with Ambassador V.B. Koloane on 16 May 2013).

2.1.29 On 25 April 2013 an individual at the Indian High Commission sent the Air Force Command Post a written request for "Permission for Private Helicopters and Chartered Flights" to land at the base. The request stated that the aircraft would be required to ferry the delegation from the base to Sun City on 30 April 2013, and back again on 3 May 2013. Tail and registration numbers for the seven helicopters and two fixed-wing aircraft were provided (Source: IHC application dated 25 April 2013).

2.1.30 On 25 April 2013 the SAPS Cluster Commander, Major-General Asaneng, convened the Operation Bojanala and South African Music Awards plenary meeting at Sun City to initiate security planning. An Operational Plan with serial number 44/2013 dated 25 April 2013 was compiled. It was recorded that Major-General Asaneng would liaise directly with Major-General Gela of Gauteng SAPS to arrange for assistance. Gauteng Province did not develop an operational plan (Source: SAPS Report 10 May 2013).



- 2.1.31 On 26 April 2013 the loadmasters were briefed in their regular 15h00 daily meeting by Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson on "the arrival of the VIP flight from India on 30 April 2013" (Source: Interview with Sergeant Manganyi 10 April 2013). The Mission Board for 29-30 April 2013 lists the Jet Airways flight as "9W 9900 – A330-22 – VIP – Delegation Visit – Delhi-WK" (Source: Mission Board Air Force Base Waterkloof; Report by the Officer Commanding dated 10 May 2013).
- 2.1.32 Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson subsequently briefed the Officer Commanding Air Force Base Waterkloof, Brigadier-General T.S. Madumane, to the effect that "a VIP aircraft from India would be arriving on 30 April 2013 with Ministers on board" (Source: Report by the Officer Commanding dated 10 May 2013). Brigadier-General Madumane then instructed that the visitors must be accorded the requisite protocols as he would be on leave.
- 2.1.33 On 29 April 2013 the Air Force Command Post issued RSA04 Internal Clearance for the helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft (Source: RSA04 Internal Clearances RSA04/V/9405/ZS-HLM/30-Apr-2013 and RSA04/V/9401/B407/30-Apr-13).
- 2.1.34 On 29 April 2013 Jet Airways lodged a flight plan for flight JAI 9900 through the Civil Aviation Briefing Office at Indira Gandhi International Airport, New Delhi, at 14h33 UTC, 16h33 SAST. The flight plan was addressed to all air traffic control authorities that would handle the flight from departure to arrival at the base. Letters of Procedure were provided to the Beira (Mozambique), Johannesburg and Waterkloof Air Traffic Service Units (ATSU's) to coordinate the transfer of control of the aircraft amongst them (Source: ATNS Report 9 May 2013).
- 2.1.35 On 29 April 2013 the lounges at the base were decorated by an unvetted private company in preparation for the arrival of Flight JAI 9900.
- 2.1.36 On 29 April 2013 the SAPS Joint Operational Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Du Plooy, activated the Event Safety and Security Planning Committee (ESSPC) and all relevant role players as the plan went operational in keeping with the Standard Operating Procedures (Source: Status Report: National Commissioner of SAPS 12 May 2013).

2.2 Arrival Phase

In the arrival phase the following procedures would normally take place:

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- 2.2.1 Air Traffic and Navigations Service (ATNS) would manage the flight from its entry into South African airspace in terms of International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) standards, South African Civil Aviation Authority Regulations and Technical Standards, as well as the requirements and procedures published in the South African Aeronautical Information Publication.
- 2.2.2 The receiving airport radar would manage the actual landing.
- 2.2.3 Health procedures would take place according to the prescripts of Port Health.
- 2.2.4 Customs procedures would take place according to the prescripts of the Customs and Excise Act of 1964 and the Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities Act of 2001. The latter Act quotes the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 and the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963, which confer inviolability on a Head of State, Foreign Minister and Ambassadors; and lesser immunities and privileges on a Special Envoy, albeit with a certain degree of inviolability.
- 2.2.5 Immigration procedures would take place according to the Immigration Act of 2002. In terms of the latter, the Act requires that civilians present themselves physically to the Immigration Officer for processing.
- 2.2.6 Firearms would be cleared in terms of the Firearms Control Act, Act 60 of 2000.
- 2.2.7 Convoy protection for VIPs would be provided upon request by SAPS in terms of the approved Operational Plan under the Safety at Sport and Recreational Events (SSAREA) Act, Act 2 of 2010.

The arrival phase unfolded as follows:

- 2.2.8 At 05h01 on 30 April 2013 Beira Area Control coordinated Jet Airways Flight JAI 9900 with Johannesburg Area Control. The aircraft transponder was switched on for the duration of the flight using code 0527. The aircraft was under primary and secondary radar surveillance from entry into South African airspace until landing at the base. At 06h00 Johannesburg Area Control established contact with Flight JAI 9900 and confirmed the destination. At 06h17 Johannesburg Area Control made routing alterations to the flight plan due to weather conditions. At 06h38 Flight JAI 9900 established radar contact with Johannesburg radar. At 06h29 Johannesburg radar descended the flight to 8 000 feet. At 06h38, Johannesburg radar informed the flight to expect vectors for a long final approach into Waterkloof. At 06h38 Johannesburg radar descended the flight to 7 000 feet. The flight informed Johannesburg radar that it did not have Waterkloof in sight



due to the cloud cover. Johannesburg radar instructed the flight to climb to 8 000 feet for repositioning. At 06h39 the flight requested vectors for Runway 01 at the base, and at 06h45 for a ten-mile final approach to Waterkloof. At 06h50 Johannesburg radar descended the flight to 7 000 feet. At 06h53 Flight JAI 9900 informed Johannesburg radar that it had the base in sight. At 06h54, Johannesburg radar transferred the flight to Waterkloof Air Traffic Control Tower, and the ATNS service terminated. Air traffic controllers did not notice anything unusual in terms of the behavior of the flight while in South African airspace. The handling of Flight JAI 9900 was in accordance with standard operating procedures at all times (Source: ATNS Report 9 May 2013).

- 2.2.9 Seven helicopters and two fixed-wing aircraft landed at the base between 05h00 and 06h00 on 30 April 2013 and were marshaled by the loadmasters (Source: Interview with Sergeants Mohlala and Manganyi 9 May 2013). One of the helicopters and one of the aircraft bore the Sahara company logo (Source: Interview with Deputy Director Jacobs 10 May 2013).
- 2.2.10 Seven members of the SAPS Border Police from Lanseria Airport deployed on the airside at the base to undertake security scanning and a firearms check as per normal practice. No suspicious persons were identified, and no firearms were declared by the arriving guests (Source: Warrant Officer Masilo of SAPS Border Police stationed at Lanseria Airport, 13 May 2013).
- 2.2.11 Flight JAI 9900 landed at the base between 06h50 and 07h00. The flight was marshaled by Sergeant Manganyi assisted by Sergeant Mohlala. The operating agent, BidAir, placed the stairs against the aircraft and positioned its loadmasters to receive the baggage (Source: Interviews with Sergeants Mohlala and Manganyi 9 May 2013).
- 2.2.12 Health procedures were conducted by Deputy Director Ockert Jacobs of Gauteng Port Health. Deputy Director Jacobs received the disinfectant canisters and requisite health certificate from the crew and gave permission to disembark the flight (Source: Interview with Deputy Director Jacobs 10 May 2013).
- 2.2.13 BidAir commenced with the baggage offload (Source: Interview with Sergeant Manganyi 9 May 2013).
- 2.2.14 Flight Sergeant Van Bentheim, responsible for security at the base, escorted the transit vehicles to the airside. The passengers started to disembark and were well behaved. The situation was, however, somewhat confused with some passengers walking to the lounges and others being ferried there by white Range Rovers. A reception had been arranged at the entrance to the lounges consisting of music and dancing. Inside the



lounges refreshments were served (Source: Interview with Flight Sergeant Van Benthelm 10 May 2013).

2.2.15 Colonel Visser was on duty to receive VIP's. Two red carpets were laid out at the entrances to the lounges. No VIP's were identified. He ended up greeting everybody who greeted him (Source: Interviews with Colonel Visser and Lieutenant-Colonel Mdluli 9 May 2013).

2.2.16 The National Immigration Branch of the Department of Home Affairs processed the passports of the incoming visitors. This was done at the immigration counters, with Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson and two members of the delegation bringing the passports to the Immigration Officers (Source: Interview with Colonel Visser 9 May 2013).

2.2.17 At 07h10 the Chief of State Protocol received a telephone call from an individual in the Indian High Commission informing him of the arrival of Flight JAI 9900. He diverted to the base and found in excess of 50 vehicles there to transport the guests. In the interview on 16 May 2013 Ambassador Koloane was no longer sure of the number of cars present, although he noted that there were no familiar VIP protectors in the cars. Some of these vehicles had already departed for Sun City upon his arrival. He was informed by Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson and three individuals from the Indian High Commission that the arrival and processing of the visitors had proceeded smoothly. No DIRCO protocol officers were present (Source: NICOC Report 1 May 2013; Interview with Ambassador V.B. Koloane on 16 May 2013).

2.2.18 Border Police were present at the base to perform their normal border security functions. They reported no illegal activity (SAPS Report 10 May 2013).

2.2.19 Port Health stood in for the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries in terms of a standing arrangement between the two departments (Source: Interview with Deputy Director Jacobs 10 May 2013).

2.2.20 The baggage coming off the flight was scanned by the base security (Source: Interviews with Sergeant Manganyi, Flight Sergeant Van Benthelm and Deputy Director Jacobs 10 May 2013).

2.2.21 The helicopters, fixed-wing aircraft and vehicles left the base. The vehicles were divided into four convoys of 15 vehicles each, with one police vehicle to lead the convoy and one traffic vehicle at the rear. Members of the SAPS Flying Squad were present outside the base (Source: Interview with Flight Sergeant Van Benthelm 10 May 2013; SAPS Report 10 May 2013).

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2.2.22 SAPS Gauteng deployed 31 cars and 62 members for route security; half the cars and members were allocated to the in and out trips. Gauteng Province developed a highway patrol matrix to guide the process. Extraordinary deployments were made that necessitated the utilisation of members who were not on duty. These additional deployments, which were not planned for, cost the department approximately R47 000. The Gauteng Province SAPS provided route security from ORTIA and Air Force Base Waterkloof up to the boundary with the North-West Province at the Brits Toll Plaza. The North-West Province Flying Squad consisting of five cars and six members was deployed from there to Sun City. A total of 26 security vehicles were deployed by the event organiser from ORTIA to Sun City for the convoy and guest transport. A total of 70 security vehicles were deployed by the event organiser from the air force base to Sun City (Source: SAPS Report 10 May 2013).

2.2.23 The convoys passed through the Brits Toll Plaza. At 14h08 and 14h11 on the same day two payments of R4 585-00 and R6 806-00 respectively were made into the First National Bank account of the Brits Mainline Plaza. (Source: Brits Mainline Plaza Toll Collection Work Log Sheets 42579596 and 42579611).

2.2.24 Tshwane Metro Police officials were involved in the convoy moonlighting as escorts. These Metro Police officials have now been placed on suspension by the Metro.

2.3 Post-Arrival Phase

The following developments took place during the post-arrival phase:

2.3.1 As the convoy travelled to Sun City it was accompanied by public comment by way of phone-ins to radio stations and comment on social media networks. An analysis of the media coverage indicates that 55% of the reporting related to the matter was negative and 45% neutral or positive (Source: Media analysis by SSA 8 May 2013).

2.3.2 On 30 April 2013 the Government Communication and Information Systems (GCIS) coordinated a meeting of departmental communicators to manage the media environment (Source: NICOC Report 1 May 2013).

2.3.3 An extended meeting of the NICOC Principals was held from 18h00 to 21h00 on 1 May 2013 to discuss the matter and coordinate a response from the security cluster. The meeting was attended by NICOC, SSA, SAPS, Defence Intelligence, DIRCO, The Presidency, Home Affairs, Justice and Constitutional Development, SARS and GCIS.

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The meeting took the following decisions:

- (i) Directors-General should interact with their Ministers and advise against attendance at the wedding at Sun City.
- (ii) The National JOINTS should be convened at 21h00 to take control of the operation from the two provinces.
- (iii) The Provincial Joint Operational Committees (ProvJOCS) should be activated to action the decisions of the National JOINTS.
- (iv) SAPS should determine immediately whether the visiting "ministers" were receiving VIP protection or not, and corrective measures should be taken.
- (v) The aircraft at the base should be removed immediately.
- (vi) A port of entry should be identified for the departure of the visitors; that port should under no circumstances be Air Force Base Waterkloof.
- (vii) Home Affairs should immediately re-authenticate who had arrived and where they were staying, and ensure that this correlated with the eventual departure register.
- (viii) SARS should immediately travel to the venue to issue customs declaration forms.
- (ix) GCIS should arrange a government press conference on 3 May 2013 to address the matter, and all communication with the media should only take place through GCIS.
- (x) Directors-General should immediately brief their respective Ministers on the outcomes of the meeting (Source: NICOC Report 1 May 2013).

2.3.4 A meeting of JCPS Ministers took place on 2 May 2013. Ministers set up a team of Directors-General to investigate the incident. A framework media statement was drafted.

2.3.5 On 2 May 2013 the Jet Airways Airbus A330-200 was moved from the FAWK base to O.R. Tambo International Airport on the instructions of the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans. The transfer was done in accordance with normal procedure (Source: ACSA Report). The Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) imposed a fine of R80 000 on the airline for the flight not having had a Foreign Operators Permit (Source: CEO CAA 10 May 2013).

2.3.6 On 2 May 2013 the Director-General of DIRCO had a telephone discussion with the Indian High Commissioner, Mr V. Gupta. The High Commissioner stated that there were no Union (national) Ministers on the flight, but only state ministers. He added that the Gupta family had not asked him to assist with the arrangements for the visiting delegation (Source: DIRCO Report dated 2 May 2013).

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2.3.7 SAPS undertook a criminal investigation. On 3 May 2013 two Metro Police officials were arrested for using their official firearms during the escort and protection of the Gupta family wedding; it was determined that the registration plates of three of the vehicles used to escort the wedding party to Sun City were false; the private security company which protected the convoy on the way to Sun City was not registered with the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA) as a service provider; and it was determined that the security officials at the wedding were using their own firearms. It was also determined that an individual working for a bogus company had invoiced Mr Tony Gupta for the sum of R512 000 for protection services. Criminal investigations are taking place in all of these cases (Source: SAPS Report 5 May 2013). The Gupta family indicated that they had made it clear that they were prepared to pay for all services rendered by the state, and repeated that they are still prepared to do so (Source: Response from the Gupta family lawyer Mr G. van der Merwe dated 14 May 2013).

2.3.8 On 3 May 2013 the Director-General of DIRCO called in the Indian High Commissioner to discuss circumstances and procedures followed regarding the landing. It was pointed out to the High Commissioner that a Note Verbale had not been presented prior to the landing consistent with diplomatic protocol. The Indian High Commissioner responded that the failure to present a Note Verbale had been a lapse and that the point made was a valid one (Source: DIRCO Report 3 May 2013).

2.4 Exit Phase

During the exit phase the following transpired:

2.4.1 Six check-in counters were set aside at ORTIA to process the visitors (Source: DHA Report 7 May 2013). Immigration procedures were complied with, except that the seven state ministers had left on a chartered flight to Cape Town and would leave on a commercial Emirates flight to return to India (Source: DIRCO Report 3 May 2013). It was also determined that one of the arriving visitors originally listed as crew had in fact not yet left South Africa (Source: DHA Departure and Reconciliation List 7 May 2013).

2.4.2 SARS reported that no customs transgressions, apart from the late declarations, had taken place (SARS Report 10 May 2013).

2.4.3 On 8 May 2013 it was determined that the diplomatic passport numbers of three of the arriving visitors differed from the passport numbers provided to the South African High Commission in New Delhi by Sahara Computers (Pty) Ltd (Source: Undated Sahara Computers letter to the South African High Commission New Delhi; DHA Departure and Reconciliation List attached to DHA e-mail dated 7 May 2013).

3. CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS

The analysis pertains to each of the four phases.

3.1 Pre-Arrival Phase

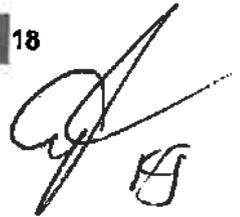
The first interaction occurred in February 2013 between Tony Gupta, the Chief of State Protocol, Ambassador Koloane, Minister Ben Martins and the Acting CEO of ACSA. The conclusion of this meeting was that it was not possible for ACSA to accede to the request to allow the Gupta family and their wedding guests exclusive access to the arrivals area for the purposes of their welcoming ceremony. The hosting of the arrival ceremony would not be possible as the Gupta-charted Airbus would land during the peak arrival time of international in-bound flights.

Shortly thereafter the Gupta family approached the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans and the Minister's Political Advisor. This direct approach and request for the use of a strategic entry point for a wedding was improper because this amounted to a request for untoward assistance. The refusal by the Minister based on the advice by officials was therefore correct, as she is not ordinarily involved in these approvals.

The subsequent interaction on 2 April 2013 between the Chief of State Protocol and the Political Advisor to the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans on the wedding of the Gupta family was again improper. During the interaction the Chief of State Protocol abused the name of the President of the Republic in an effort to exert pressure on the Political Advisor. This amounts to misrepresentation.

Between 2 and 4 April 2013, the approach transitioned from one characterised by the involvement of government officials in a family matter to an official diplomatic approach. This transition was effected by Mr Ashu Chawla, a fact confirmed by the Gupta family lawyer. This approach, which led to the abuse of the diplomatic channel, was a deliberate manipulation of the system to further wedding objectives couched as official business. The collusion between Chawla and an individual in the Indian High Commission to abuse the diplomatic channel to request flight clearance on 4 April 2013 is of concern, and improper in a number of respects. Firstly, the Indian High Commission failed to provide a Note Verbale to the Department of International Relations and Cooperation; this was a serious infringement of diplomatic protocol. The Indian High Commission admitted as much to the DG DIRCO in a subsequent interaction. Secondly, the request was one for "Diplomatic Overflight and Landing Clearance"; this amounts to a misrepresentation of the nature of the visit. Thirdly, the purpose of the flight was listed as "Delegation Visit"; this was again a misrepresentation of what was a wedding. It must be noted that the glossary of diplomatic terms found at www.eDiplomat.com defines a delegation as "an

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official party sent to an international conference or on some other special diplomatic mission". The United Nations Institute for Training and Research's 2005 "Glossary of Terms for Diplomats" defines a delegate as "a representative of a state or organisation who has been authorised to speak and act on its behalf and who has been duly accredited to a conference".

The occurrences of 9 April 2013 are the key to understanding the subsequent developments. They revealed a number of serious concerns. It cannot be coincidental that after this abuse of diplomatic channels, the Chief of State Protocol took it upon himself to facilitate an illegal request for landing. First, the Chief of State Protocol spoke directly to the Command Post; it was not normal practice for the Chief of State Protocol to interact directly with the Command Post to enquire as to progress with a specific clearance. Second, the Chief of State Protocol stated that there would be four to five Ministers on the flight; this was a misrepresentation of the facts, as the Ministers in question are State Ministers, the equivalent of Members of the Executive Council (MEC) in South Africa, not national Ministers which could have been accorded a different status. Third, the Chief of State Protocol mentioned the Minister of Transport, the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans, and the President in an effort to pressure the Command Post to issue the clearance; this was improper and inappropriate, and amounted to abuse of the political clout and office of members of the National Executive. Ambassador V.B. Kotoane on 1 May 2013 and 16 May 2013 confirmed that neither the President nor officials in the Presidency whether junior or senior, Ministers and Directors-General in DIRCO and Defence and Military Veterans had instructed him to assist with the landing of the aircraft. He said that he did this because he is obliged to assist official and non-official visits involving Ministers of other countries. Fourth, the Chief of State Protocol stated that this was a unique case in an effort to justify a request with which the responsible official in the Command Post was clearly uncomfortable. Fifth, the Chief of State Protocol retorted that he could not put his sensitive motivation in writing, a clear indication that he was aware of the fact that the request was dubious. Sixth, the Chief of State Protocol indicated that he had interacted with Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson on the matter, and that she could provide clarification; this amounted to abuse of an official working relationship to advance the interests of private parties. Seventh, the Chief of State Protocol admitted that the request was for the "Gupta family wedding", an admission that the status of the visit was clearly not official, diplomatic or military, and that the incoming party was not a delegation in the official understanding of the term. Whilst under normal circumstances, both official and private visits by Ministers, VIPs and VVIPs are afforded protocol services, the numbers of accompanying parties in this instance was out of the ordinary, and therefore did not qualify for such treatment.

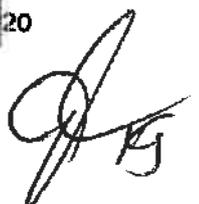
The instruction issued by the Chief of State Protocol to Mr William Matjila, Senior Foreign Affairs Assistant in his office at DIRCO, which the Ambassador confirmed in an interview on 16 May 2013, to assist with the clearance of the Indian delegation was the first ever telephone contact from the Chief of State Protocol to this official. The Senior Foreign Affairs Assistant requested

written confirmation for him to execute the instruction of Ambassador Koloane. Mr Matjila subsequently received an e-mail from Ms Marilyn Morris which indicated that Ambassador Koloane had telephonically approved the flight clearance request of the Indian delegation (Source: E-mail from Ms M. Morris to Mr W. Matjila dated 9 April 2013, 08h33). Mr Matjila confirmed in an interview on 13 May 2013 that no Note Verbale was received from the Indian High Commission.

It can be deduced from the opening exchange between Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson and the Command Post that the Lieutenant-Colonel had in the interim spoken with the Chief of State Protocol, because she questioned Sergeant-Major Ntshisi as to why he had rejected a request from the Chief of State Protocol. Ambassador Koloane confirmed the events as recorded. Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson also stated that "Number 1" was aware of this request; this again amounted to misrepresentation of the person of the President and his Office in the matter. The Director-General in The Presidency made it clear that no one in The Presidency ever gave an instruction in this regard. This included the Private Office of the President. Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson's statement cannot be a coincidence in light of the conversation between Sergeant-Major Ntshisi and Ambassador Koloane, which she was not privy to. This had an effect of bringing the person and the Office of the President into disrepute. Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson also undertook to follow up with the Chief of State Protocol to obtain the name of the Minister who would be on the flight; this was an attempt to satisfy the request by the Command Post. When questioned as to the fact that the base only receives flights carrying heads of state and ministers, the Lieutenant-Colonel obfuscated and stated that this would depend on the status of the visit; she then transferred ultimate authority for the decision to DIRCO; this amounts to disregard for official policy as to the use of the base.

The request from an individual in the Indian High Commission on 9 April 2013 to provide for the re-fuelling of the aircraft compounded confusion as to the exact status of the pending visit. The application described the visit as VVIP, which was a clear misrepresentation of the facts in the extreme.

There are a number of concerns with the content of the RSA05 External Clearance issued by the Air Force Command Post on 9 April 2013. The requestor was stipulated as an Indian delegation, despite this being a wedding party. The movements are classified as VIP, again a misrepresentation of the status of the incoming party. Despite the supposed VIP status, security was listed as not applicable. Lieutenant-Colonel S.J. van Zyl who signed the clearance, stated in his submission to the Investigating Team that parking and landing fees were waived as the flight was misrepresented to be official. The misrepresentation of this fact resulted in the base not levying the landing and parking fees, although we note attempts to reverse this through the re-levying of the landing and parking fees. The Standard Operating Procedures of the Air Force Command Post require that if these fees are waived, a reason must be stipulated on the



clearance, and the clearance should be forwarded to the Secretary of Defence to grant the waiver; this was not done. It must be noted, in addition, that the Officer Commanding Air Force Base Waterkloof does not have the authority to approve or deny clearances for landings; this authority belongs solely to the Air Force Command Post.

One of the conditions for the issuing of the flight clearance was obtaining a Foreign Operators Permit (FOP) from the Department of Transport (DoT).

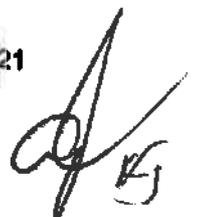
The absence of SARS at the base when the flight arrived has emerged as a concern. SARS was listed as a recipient of the fax sent by the base on 23 April 2013 to departments to notify them of the arrival of the flight. It has subsequently emerged that the SARS recipient of the fax was using a private fax to e-mail number to receive official communication of this nature, and had in fact left SARS a year prior to this incident. His details had, however, not been removed from the Air Force systems. This may go some way to explaining SARS's absence, as well as statements by personnel at the base that they had experienced difficulty in ensuring SARS's presence in recent months. Upon investigation it was determined that this official had continued to receive faxes about incoming international VVIP and VIP flights during the year since he had departed from SARS. This represented a major risk and could have potentially had far-reaching consequences for the security of incoming and outgoing flights.

An individual in the Indian High Commission requested the Chief of State Protocol on 24 April 2013 to facilitate arrangements for the reception at the base. This amounts to the use of a senior government official to arrange a wedding reception at a strategic entry point and was a major security violation. How this was done without raising alarm raises concern around the vigilance of officers at the base, particularly since the company involved was not vetted.

It is noteworthy that contrary to the statement by the Chief of State Protocol that he attended a meeting at the base on 24 April 2013 with Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson and a member of the Indian High Commission, Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson denies that the meeting took place at all. Clearly, someone is not telling the truth.

On 25 April 2013, an individual in the Indian High Commission applied for clearances for helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft as a continuation of a legend of an official delegation, when all and sundry knew by this point that it was a wedding. The officer responsible approved the landing as this was part of the so-called diplomatic package. This had the potential of compromising national security.

It must be noted that Lieutenant-Colonel S.J. van Zyl, who signed the clearances, stated that this approval was granted because the RSA04 and RSA05 clearances were regarded as a single package and hence approved as one. It was also noteworthy that Lieutenant-Colonel van



Zyl only started working in the Air Force Command Post at the end of February 2013 and was dependent on the advice of junior officers.

Regarding planning by the SAPS, it must be noted that in terms of the Safety at Sports and Recreational Events Act (SSAREA), Act 2 of 2010, the SAPS was obliged to plan for, and secure the wedding as foreign and local Ministers were attending the wedding. The failure to communicate by the two SAPS provinces is cause for serious concern, and was made worse by their non-observance of established protocol in seeking the approval of the National Commissioner. The Gauteng SAPS explanation that they were dependent on the North-West Bojanala plan is disingenuous, as they failed to obtain a copy of the plan they were supposedly dependent on.

3.2 Arrival Phase

A number of issues arose during the arrival phase.

The manner in which the aircraft was managed upon entering South African airspace until it landed at the base was in full compliance with all procedures mandated by ATNS in keeping with international conventions, procedures and protocols.

Concerning the supposed late arrival at the base by the Chief of State Protocol, and his subsequent statement to Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson that he had forgotten the date of arrival, Lieutenant-Colonel S.J. van Zyl from the Air Force Command Post stated in his submission that the Command Post informed Ambassador Koloane of the estimated arrival time by e-mail.

It is noteworthy, that during the arrival and welcoming at the lounges, no VIP's were identified or brought to the attention of the officials present to perform this function. This was in contrast to the listing of the flight on the Mission Board as a VIP flight. After the landing of Flight JAI 9900, Colonel Visser noted in the interview with him that he, Colonel Fredrikson and Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson had "agreed that the flight should never have landed there". It is ironic that Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson could agree with the observation of Colonel Visser in light of the fact that she was party from inception to the planning of this visit. Colonel Visser also noted that no celebrations had ever taken place upon the arrival of a foreign flight at the base in his recollection.

The Immigration Act requires that civilians entering the country present themselves physically with their passports to the immigration officials. This was not done, as Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson and the "Indian delegation" facilitated the processing of the passports as a batch in the absence of the visitors. These people were therefore accorded, in keeping with the legend, the diplomatic privilege of having their passports processed in their absence in addition to the use of the two red carpets and officials to welcome them.



The failure to conduct customs formalities arising from the absence of the SARS at the base was an infringement of the Customs and Excise Act of 1964.

3.3 Post-Arrival Phase

Despite the requirement that the flight be issued with a Foreign Operators Permit prior to arrival, this was not done in the case of Flight JAI 9900. It was confirmed by the Department of Transport that no application was brought by the operator for the FOP. The absence of an FOP on arrival resulted in SACAA levying a fine of R80 000 on the airline. This represents an infringement of civil aviation regulations and a condition of the flight clearance

A range of concerns arise from the involvement of the SAPS and a private security company in transporting the visitors to and from Sun City. The prediagnosis of the SAPS officers involved in the operation left much to be desired. There was no attempt to determine the identities of the individuals providing route protection and escort; there was also no attempt to verify the vehicle licence plates or their use of blue lights. It is clear from subsequent arrests that members of the SAPS and Metro Police were moonlighting during this operation. The use of official firearms during the operation is an infringement of the Firearms Control Act. The use of false vehicle number plates was an infringement of the Road Traffic Act. The use of an unregistered private security company was an infringement of the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority Act (PSIRA). The use of fitted blue and red lights in private security vehicles was also illegal, especially in the context of the existence of the so-called "Blue Light Gang". In addition, Major-General Taioe of SAPS found two BMW's fitted with blue lights. He also found three VW Golf GTI's and one Isuzu Bakkie which were fitted with blue lights. These belong to a civilian who as such is not entitled to have his vehicles fitted with blue lights. Furthermore, this individual was the subject of various criminal investigations that were subsequently dropped. The charges that had been preferred included two cases of impersonating a police officer and one of fraud.

The investigations conducted by the SAPS into the above matters indicate irregular invoicing of the event organiser using the name of a company that does not exist. It can be surmised that this could have taken place to take certain business transactions off the company's books and evade tax obligations, a common trait in organised crime.

The investigation reveals a number of discrepancies with the diplomatic passport numbers for certain of the visitors that were submitted by Sahara to the South African High Commission in New Delhi, and the actual passports used by these individuals. This matter is under investigation. Further, it has been determined that one of the visitors listed as crew did not leave the Republic with the rest of the visiting group, but is still in the country. This too is the subject of an investigation. Both are extremely irregular and leave much to be desired in the context of national security.

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The reference to an invitation from the Free State Provincial Government was opaque, as no member of this party travelled to the Free State for any such meeting. However, an Indian State Minister was received by the Free State MEC for Agriculture three days prior to the arrival of the Gupta wedding party; this Indian Minister therefore arrived and departed from South Africa completely separate from the Gupta wedding party, despite attending the wedding at Sun City.

The Indian High Commission then stated that the seven Ministers visited Cape Town prior to departing from the Republic on an Emirates flight from there. This raises a question as to compliance with the visa conditions and adherence to the provisions of the Immigration Act. This matter is work in progress.

3.4 Exit Phase

During the exit phase, procedures that would normally apply, and those instructed by the extended NICOC Principals Meeting of 1 May 2013, were partially complied with. Not all those who arrived with the flight departed on the outgoing flight; and SARS had not acted against the pilot for failing to comply within three hours of landing with the requirement that he inform SARS of the same in line with Section 7(1A) of the Customs and Excise Act of 1964. Jet Airways must be familiar with these conditions as they operated in South Africa until 2012.

4. CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

The findings of the Investigating Team are the following:

- 4.1 In February 2013 the Gupta family approached the Airports Company South Africa and requested landing rights and an elaborate reception for the wedding party. This would have disrupted the functioning of O.R. Tambo International Airport at the time of landing, particularly the operations of the National Immigration Branch at the airport. As a result, this was turned down. In March 2013 the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans and her advisor were approached by the Gupta family on different occasions. On 3 April 2013 this request was also turned down. The Gupta family then resorted to the use of the diplomatic channel with the support of an individual in the Indian High Commission who re-designated the wedding entourage as an official delegation to enable them to use the Air Force Base Waterkloof under the cover of diplomatic privilege. It is an undisputed fact that there was no official Note Verbale from the Indian High Commission to the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, and therefore due process was not followed. An individual in the Indian High Commission communicated directly with individuals at the Air Force Command Post. The collusion of officials resulted in the irregular approval of the flight clearance.

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- 4.2 Members of the National Executive were not required to issue any instructions, did not issue any instructions, and did not create the impression that they ought to have issued any instructions. This is evident in information at our disposal.
- 4.3 The aircraft in question was cleared for landing and the correct clearance procedures were followed, but based on false pretences as a result of the manipulation of the process by the Gupta family, individuals in the Indian High Commission, Chief of State Protocol Ambassador V.B. Koloane, and Officer Commanding Movement Control at the base, Lieutenant-Colonel C. Anderson, who shared a common purpose and acted in concert. This had the potential of damaging the good diplomatic and deep historical relations South Africa enjoys with India on the bilateral, multilateral, international and BRICS levels.
- 4.4 There are seven functions of the Air Force Base Waterkloof. They are operations; training flights; VVIP flights; foreign heads of state, envoys and dignitaries; registered military aircraft; diversion airfield for commercial aircraft; and conducting air shows.
- 4.5 As a result of the nature of these functions, the Air Force Base Waterkloof handles both civilian and military aircraft. This notwithstanding, the landing of the flight was a direct result of manipulation of processes and was undesirable.
- 4.6 The Air Force Base Waterkloof is a strategic military base that resorts under the Defence Act, Act 44 of 1957. The Air Force Base Waterkloof is not a National Key Point and is not governed by the National Key Points Act, Act 102 of 1980, which is managed by the SAPS. This being a strategic military base, which also serves as an entry point into South Africa, it has even more stringent security measures.
- 4.7 The landing of Flight JAI 9900 following the exercise of undue influence had the potential to compromise the credibility of the Government of the Republic, and could have caused severe reputational damage to the state itself. The exercise of this undue influence undermined good governance, legislative stipulations, regulations, departmental protocols and standard operating procedures.
- 4.8 The activities of Ambassador Koloane and Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson were a serious dereliction of duty in that they were advancing the objectives of this project to the detriment of their official responsibilities. Their activities also indicate the bringing to bear of undue influence on state officials, systems, equipment and infrastructure. This influence happened despite the denial of the exercise of undue influence by the legal representative of the Gupta family. The roles of the two individuals had a similar effect in

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that due to their seniority and knowledge of departmental systems and processes in their respective areas, they both grossly abused and undermined these processes.

- 4.9 All requirements in terms of health clearances, baggage scanning and a firearms check were complied with.
- 4.10 The use of private security vehicles to ferry disembarking passengers from the aircraft to the lounges was a security breach.
- 4.11 The use of red carpets to welcome the arriving guests was not in line with protocol prescriptions, which require that these are used to welcome visiting Heads of State and/or Government, the Minister of Defence and other senior diplomatic visitors only.
- 4.12 Further to the above deviations, there were two additional deviations from normal DIRCO processes in this instance: there was no review and/or recommendation from the Political Desk in DIRCO on this particular request; and the interdepartmental coordination process that normally ensues did not take place. In its stead the Chief of State Protocol facilitated a visit for the Indian High Commission and the service provider to the base.
- 4.13 The Chief of State Protocol was assisted by Lieutenant-Colonel Christine Anderson, Officer Commanding Movement Control at Air Force Base Waterkloof. By calling Sergeant-Major Ntshisi at the Air Force Command Post on 9 April 2013, she inverted command and control and unduly influenced the processing of the clearance. She is in a Level 4 post that gets instructions from Level 3. She abused her rank on Sergeant-Major Ntshisi when she said he could go ahead with issuing the clearance. She was just supposed to await the decision of the Air Force Command Post on that application.
- 4.14 In light of the challenges faced during the landing, including poor visibility as a result of cloud cover, as well as the fact that landing guidance systems on the runway are being reconfigured, the situation held potentially catastrophic consequences had there been an unforeseen incident or accident involving the wedding party.
- 4.15 The activities of some of the persons involved were driven by the undesirable practice of the exercise of undue influence, and abuse of higher office. These activities posed a threat to the culture of professionalism that ought to characterise a caring and professional public service rooted in the Batho Pele principle. The incident is antithetical to the notion of a capable state and the requirement that it be served by professional public servants with foresight to understand the implications of their conduct for the reputation of the state.

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- 4.16 While the flight was in South African airspace, all procedures, protocols and instructions from air traffic control were complied with. The dramatised reports in the media, including social media, about the flight taking a tour over South African cities and disrupting air traffic are therefore unfounded.
- 4.17 The police, in terms of SSAREA, having initially refused to police the wedding as a private matter, were within their rights to treat the matter as requiring police involvement. However, the lack of involvement of other departments deprived them of information and better insight into this wedding. Consequently, the SAPS in the North-West Province developed a plan for the protection of the event, although there is concern at their failure to report to the National Commissioner, who would have activated the National Joint Operations and Intelligence Structure (NatJOINTS) if deemed necessary, in keeping with established protocols. This could have provided another opportunity for the relevant role players to review the nature of the event and policing plans.
- 4.18 The involvement of law enforcement agencies under the auspices and leadership of the South African Police Services, in providing convoy protection services was authorised, but involved officers who were moonlighting contrary to regulations. The officials from the Metro Police who carried their firearms irregularly to protect the event are only authorised to bear their firearms within their respective Metro jurisdictions. Their use in this instance was a violation of regulations. Some of them also drove vehicles that were fitted illegally with blue lights.
- 4.19 In the interest of the safety of all road users and taking into account that 121 vehicles were deployed by the event organiser, it was necessary that law enforcement officers take charge of the convoy to Sun City. However, due to the lack of vigilance of the SAPS members deployed for escort duty, who did not identify the drivers as non-SAPS members, they placed reliance on those drivers. This made it possible for the cars fitted with illegal blue-lights to push people off the road, cause delays and inconvenience other road users. The public outcry that followed was therefore justified.
- 4.20 The following transgressions of the law took place, amongst others:
- 4.20.1 SAPS Act, Act 68 of 1995: Contravening of Section 67(2)(a): Conspiring or inducing or attempting to induce a member not to perform duty or act in conflict with his duty; and Section 68: Falsely pretending to be a police officer.
- 4.20.2 Road Traffic Act, Act 93 of 1996: Section 89(3) and Section 68(1) and (2): Use of false registration.

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- 4.20.3 Companies Act, Act 71 of 2008: Section 214(1)(b): Person with a fraudulent purpose knowingly provided false or misleading information in any circumstances under this Act; and Section 214(1)(c): Knowingly a party to an act of omission by a company calculated to defraud a creditor or employee of the company, or a holder of the company securities, or with another fraudulent purpose.
- 4.20.4 Firearms Control Act, Act 60 of 2000: Section 120(1)(a): Failure to apply for renewal of a licence/permit/certificate authorisation before end of period determined by the Minister.
- 4.20.5 Common Law Crimes: Fraud, falsely pretending or misrepresenting the existence of a company.
- 4.20.6 Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority Act, Act 56 of 2001: Section 20(1): Conducting of security service contrary to the Act.
- 4.21 The following cases have been registered:
- 4.21.1 Sun City CAS 16/05/2013: Contravention of the Firearms Control Act.
- 4.21.2 Sun City CAS 18/05/2013: Contravention of the National Road Traffic Act.
- 4.21.3 Sun City CAS 19/05/2013: Contravention of the PSIRA Act.
- 4.21.4 Sun City CAS 20/05/2013: Contravention of the PSIRA Act.
- 4.21.5 Lyttelton CAS 71/05/2013: Contravention of the South African Police Act.
- 4.22 It is now confirmed that all helicopters used in the operation were organised and funded by the Gupta family, and were neither SAPS nor SANDF helicopters. All of the black BMW's used in the convoys were hired from a private company.
- 4.23 Overall, the total deployment of government personnel during the operation was 194 persons and 88 vehicles. 296 private security officers were deployed at the expense of the event organiser. The organisers also deployed two fixed-wing aircraft and seven helicopters to ferry their guests from the base to Sun City. This was authorised as a package linked to the already-issued clearance for Flight JAI 9900.

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- 4.24 It is commendable, notwithstanding the manipulation by a few, that public servants in affected government departments and structures raised concerns without fear, favour or prejudice, some of them repeatedly, as to what was transpiring. However, their concerns were neither addressed, nor acted upon by those in positions of authority over them bent on manipulating the system.
- 4.25 Overall, the system for the management of foreign visits and the requisite permits, policies and procedures are in place and functioning. That is why flights arrive and depart on a daily basis without incident. The breach in this instance was a consequence of manipulation by the responsible persons, who contemptuously manipulated the system to advance the wedding objectives at all costs.
- 4.26 SANRAL and SAPS reports reveal gross violations of the Road Traffic Act in that a number of the Range Rovers used shared the same registration numbers; three black BMW's had false registration plates; and two Mercedes Benz shared registration numbers. These and other criminal activities uncovered in this investigation are a manifestation of a deep-seated organised crime culture waiting to be unleashed on the country.

5. CHAPTER 5: RECOMMENDATIONS

The Investigating Team provides the following recommendations for consideration:

- 5.1. All affected departments and entities must complete their investigations into this matter as soon as possible to ensure that justice is seen to be done, and the required disciplinary measures are fully implemented where deemed necessary. Criminal cases involving public officials or private persons must, as a matter of priority, be pursued to their logical conclusion.
- 5.2 To avoid any overlap of mandates and confusion over the management, command and control of bases including Air Force Base Waterkloof, it is not desirable to declare these National Key Points, as it would subject them to the control of the SAPS. These are military installations that must continue to resort under the Defence Act and serve the existing seven functions listed in paragraph 4.1.4 above.
- 5.3 Government, led by the Department of Public Service and Administration, should develop and implement a public service awareness campaign to discourage the negative culture of name dropping in the form of improper use of names of the National Executive

in the public sector. In addition, the definition of acts of misconduct should be amended across government to include name dropping as gross misconduct.

6. CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the landing of flight JAI 9900 at Air Force Base Waterkloof has brought to the fore serious issues that need immediate attention. These include the identified culture of undue influence, underpinned by poor ethical conduct and a lack of professionalism described in this report.

We believe that the unified public voice which condemned the incident, together with decisive government action, serves as a useful basis for the development of a partnership between our people and their government in the fight to combat crime and corruption in our country.

Notwithstanding the negative findings, the work of the Investigating Team has brought to light the many public servants who conscientiously and faithfully perform their duties and daily tasks, and whose work is a credit to the country that they serve.

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Annexure “CR17”

STATEMENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS FOLLOWING THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD 18-20 MARCH 2016

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress held its scheduled NEC meeting from 18th – 20th March 2016 at the St George's Conference Centre, Irene.

The meeting received the Political Overview from the President, the report from the National Working Committee, a report on South Africa's Economic Prospects and an in-depth briefing on the ANC's state of readiness for the 2016 Local Government Elections.

The State of the Economy

The NEC received a detailed presentation from the Economic Transformation Committee (ETC) on the state of the economy. The presentation focused on measures to build confidence and stimulate growth. This was supported by a briefing from comrade Pravin Gordhan on the recent investor road-show undertaken by the National Treasury.

The ANC reaffirmed its commitment to a mixed economy with the public sector, private sector and social sector, including township, village and cooperatives all participating and the state playing a pivotal and catalytic role.

The NEC reiterated the ANC's full commitment to implementing the National Development Plan (NDP) and the 9-point plan outlined by the President during the State of the Nation Address (SONA).

South Africa is experiencing challenges of weak economic growth, unemployment, high inflation and inequality and such challenges are exacerbated by the current drought and water shortages. The ANC-government is committed to resolving these challenges through targeted programmes aimed at creating jobs, reducing inequality, fostering sound relationships with stakeholders and improving labour relations. The ANC-government is taking decisive action to encourage ongoing investment in the economy. Some of the measures include addressing electricity supply issues, continued action to identify and reduce any regulatory processes that may impede or delay investments and enabling increased investment by South Africa in the rest of the continent. The NEC urged government to continue to draw on the work of the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation in the Presidency and its Socio-Economic Impact Assessment System (SEIAS) in its efforts to reduce the unintended consequences of new laws and regulations before they come into effect.

The NEC agreed that fiscal sustainability remains a priority for South Africa and that we need to stabilize and lower our debt to GDP ratio. The ANC endorses the commitment of our government to the cost containment measures announced in the 2016 State of the Nation Address and the Budget.



The ANC is committed to mobilising the South African people around a common programme that prioritises spending on growth enhancing, job creating activities and protecting social services for the poor. The NEC agreed that the country must defend the integrity of our financial institutions and that the organisation must work to ensure continued macro-economic stability.

The NEC directs that there should be speedy resolution of the unseemly public spats between the Finance Minister and public agencies. It affirms its full confidence in the Minister of Finance and applauds the work of the President and the Minister to boost confidence in the South African economy, attract investments and avoid further downgrades.

The NEC welcomes the establishment of Invest-SA, overseen by the Inter-Ministerial Committee on investment and chaired by the President. Invest-SA is a one-stop shop meant to facilitate investment into South Africa.

The ANC expects all state-owned companies to perform optimally, adhere to principles of good governance and continue to pursue both financial viability as well as their developmental mandate. Accordingly, the NEC expressed particular concern about the financial viability of South African Airways, continued governance challenges that have undermined its stability and competitiveness as well as its ability to pursue its turnaround strategy as adopted by Cabinet in 2013. Consequently, the NEC urged the government to rapidly resolve challenges facing the Board of SAA.

The ANC is confident that our policies and practices, as well as government's economic actions, will contribute to reversing our present economic challenges and will ensure that we continue to give leadership to our country's economic turnaround. This will be done in partnership with all social partners, including labour and business.

Local Government Elections

The NEC also received an extensive report on the preparations and state of readiness for the 2016 Local Government Elections. The NEC re-affirmed its commitment to the Back to Basics Programme and is satisfied with the progress already achieved in addressing the challenges faced by and in municipalities.

The NEC is happy with the work done and progress achieved in activating our local structures, establishing its Volunteer Corps and training them in preparation for the vibrant campaign that will get underway immediately after the launch of ANC Manifesto by the President on 16 April 2016, in Nelson Mandela Metro.

Furthermore, the NEC applauds and salutes all South Africans who have re-affirmed their registration, re-register and those that registered for the first time. We call on all South Africans who still have not done so to visit the Municipal Electoral Offices in their respective municipalities or to verify through the IEC website so that nobody is left behind during the coming important local elections. The ANC also urges South Africans, who have not registered, to register during the next registration period of 9-10 April 2016.



The NEC noted with concern the recent Electoral Court ruling on the Tlokwe matter and has joined the IEC Constitutional Court appeal as an amicus curiae. The people of South Africa fought long and hard, and made enormous sacrifices in order to attain the right to vote, and the ANC NEC believes that this right must not be taken lightly. The NEC is thus concerned that the unintended consequences of this ruling may result in millions of eligible voters being disenfranchised.

The NEC resolved that the ANC will announce mayoral candidates for metro and some other municipalities prior to the Local Government Elections. This will be done in line with the resolution of the 52nd National Conference:

"At local government level, the REC should make recommendations of not more than three names of cadres in order of priority, who should be considered for mayoralship, and the PEC will make a final decision based on a pool of names submitted by the REC. Those members of either the REC or PEC who are being considered for deployment should recuse themselves when decisions affecting them are taken."

The NEC is firmly convinced that the ANC will win the 2016 Local Government Elections decisively as South Africans remain confident in the leadership of the ANC and are fully aware of its record of delivery and its commitment to the people of South Africa and their wellbeing.

Alleged Business Influence on the State

The ANC NEC had frank and robust discussions on the serious allegations surrounding the Gupta family and its purported influence in the appointment of ministers, their deputies and other positions in key state owned entities in their interests. Such actions can have no place in the ANC or its government as they have the potential to undermine and erode the credibility and confidence of our people in the leadership of their organization, the ANC and its government. We reject the notion of any business or family group seeking such influence over the ANC with the contempt it deserves while also recognizing the need to act to protect the integrity of our government and our organization.

The appointment of ministers and deputy ministers is the sole prerogative of the President of the Republic, in line with the Constitution. To this end, the ANC continues to confirm its full confidence in our President. The ANC NEC mandated the Officials and the NWC to gather all pertinent information about the allegations to enable the ANC to take appropriate action on this matter. The ANC calls on all members who have information to approach the Secretary General's Office. The NEC will develop a Code of Conduct for ANC members doing business with the state.

In addition, the NEC expressed its utmost disgust at the arrogance, disrespect and reckless journalism displayed by the New Age Newspaper (18, 19 March 2016), ANN7 News Channel (16-18 March 2016) and representatives of the Gupta-family. They have characterized the ANC as a group of factions for and against President Zuma. The NEC also condemns the



reports in the City Press and other media outlets on 20 March 2016 containing similar allegations. The ANC reserves its full rights to take the necessary action in this regard.

Organizational Matters

The NEC reaffirmed the rule that all PGCs must be preceded by properly constituted Branch General Meetings (BGMs). Where this rule is not complied with, such a meeting will have the status of a Cadres' Forum.

The NEC confirmed that public representatives of the ANC are not required to sign a post-dated resignation letter.

The NEC regrets the decision of the High Court to grant parole to Janusz Walus, the murderer of Chris Hani and welcomes the decision of the Minister of Justice to take this decision on review.

Human Rights Day

The ANC dedicates this Human Rights Day to the advancement and promotion of a non-racial South Africa. The NEC urges all South Africans to fight racism in all its manifestations and to build unity and cohesion in our country.

Good Friday and Easter Weekend

We wish all Christians well over the Easter Weekend and safety on their travels to the various church gatherings across the country.

The ANC urges all South Africans to observe the rules of the road during this Easter Weekend, be patient with one another and Arrive Alive at their various destinations.

The ANC is encouraged by the efforts of the Secretary General of the United Nations (UN) to resolve the question of the independence and self-determination of Western Sahara. The NEC calls upon all peace loving people the world over to support these efforts.

The NEC congratulates the Minister of Health, Comrade Aaron Motsoaledi on receiving the USAID-TB Award in recognition of South Africa's leadership in the global fight against tuberculosis. The NEC further congratulates the newly crowned Miss South Africa, Ntandoyenkosi Kunene and wishes her well as an ambassador of our country.

Issued by:

Gwede Mantashe
Secretary General
African National Congress



STATEMENT OF THE MEETING OF THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

26 -28 May 2017

The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African National Congress (ANC) met in a scheduled meeting from the 26th to the 28th May 2017. The meeting received the Political Overview from the President, the National Working Committee (NWC) report, and reports on our engagements with traditional leadership and preparations towards the National Policy Conference.

The NEC expressed grave concern at the recent spate of brutal killings of women and children and commissioned a special presentation by the Wits City Institute on gender based violence with a particular focus on intimate partner femicide.

As a country we must consistently affirm the freedom of girl children and women. We will have been successful in our quest to build a truly non-sexist society and dealt with the brutal effects of patriarchy when in South Africa a young woman in the middle of the night, can walk alone without the fear of assault, attack or rape, going back home from wherever she comes from.

While there is no single magic bullet that will do away with violence against women and children overnight, condemnation of such behavior by society alone will not solve this problem.

The ANC therefore calls to action all its structures and society at large to become actively engaged in campaigns that involve communities in the prevention of femicide, rape and child molestation. ANC branches must actively lead a campaign to encourage the defense of the most vulnerable people in our society. We must also teach ourselves to drop the language of 'weakness' 'vulnerability' 'protection' and 'women and children' as these erode women's citizenship. We must affirm their inalienable right to justice, safety, freedom and equality.

This campaign must assist us all to understand the value of life and that physical, mental and sexual abuse robs people of their dignity. Accordingly the following are tasks for the branches:

- Establish street committees and lead and drive a Know Your Neighborhood Campaign
- Set up early warning systems where child abuse, the rape and abuse of girls and boys occur
- Establish a single contact point in each street for reporting of incidences of brutality and violence
- Meet every station commander to advise them of the contact points and issues arising from our early warning systems

Government for its part must strengthen the justice system to better deal with cases of gender based violence. Programmes of the ANC led government must target both victims and perpetrators. Amongst others we must ensure the establishment of a special unit in



each police station specially trained for this type of work. This will ensure that we reduce barriers to reporting sexual offences and domestic violence.

Our families must stop negotiating sexual cases and women themselves must stop withdrawing sexual cases. The law must be allowed to take its course.

As a nation we must redouble our efforts to reignite economic growth to ensure that women do not seek economic refuge in abusive relationships.

The ANC has met with all the three rating agencies as a matter of course and also following the investment downgrades. The key message from these rating agencies is that we need to be clear on our growth story and our political posture towards growth.

In this regard, the NEC commits to the expenditure ceiling in 2017 budget and commits to stabilize debt levels. In the meantime, we need to ensure progress in finalizing the Mineral Petroleum Resource Development Act (MPRDA) and the resolution of the impasse relating to the Mining Charter. Concerted effort must go into continuous improvement in good corporate governance in the State Owned Enterprises (SOEs).

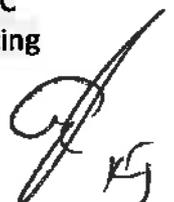
We noted the promising work being done to stabilize the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and discussed the current challenges facing Eskom. The NEC reaffirmed that the decision to reappoint Comrade Brian Molefe to Eskom be rescinded and not to wait for the courts to direct them on this decision. Government itself encourages judicial overreach when it fails to lead when it should.

As part of reigniting economic growth, long term structural reforms are needed in education outcomes at all levels including vocational training. There must be immediate work on growth and employment enhancing interventions in a number of sectors. We must also deal with oligopolies, and pay particular attention to increase investment to 30% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). These measures will require the support of all social partners and accordingly the ANC government will, as a matter of urgency, convene a NEDLAC meeting to engage them on these matters.

The NEC also reflected on a period which had been politically hectic for the organisation. Such period we defined as having heightened levels of a state of restlessness in society requiring the ANC to develop an approach and provide leadership to society.

The NEC accepted the proposal that was tabled in the Political Report for the establishment of a Judicial Commission of Enquiry into allegations of state capture without delay. The terms of reference of such Commission of Enquiry must be broad enough to uncover the influence of business on the state. The NEC expressed its desire to see all processes of reviewing the Public Protector's State of Capture report accelerated so that they are not an obstacle to the speedy establishment of the Judicial Commission into State Capture.

On the motion of no confidence against the President proposed in Parliament, the NEC reaffirmed its confidence in comrades deployed as Members of Parliament (MP) trusting



that they would continue to conduct themselves in line with Constitution, prescripts and norms of the African National Congress.

Regardless of whether a secret ballot is granted by the court or not, ANC MPs, as always, are expected to vote in line with the decision of the Caucus of the ANC. Failure to do so is in violation of Rule 25.17.16.4 of the ANC Constitution defines an act of misconduct as: acting on behalf of or in collaboration with:

- counter-revolutionary forces;
- a political organisation or party other than an organisation or party in alliance with the ANC in a manner contrary to the aims, policies and objectives of the ANC;

On the succession debate, the NEC acknowledged that to continue to assert that the organization was not in the grip of leadership election fever was foolhardy. The NEC agreed that we should continue discussing the principles that should guide election of leadership in the ANC but allow structures of the ANC to start discussing the names.

Such discussions should be based on the principles discussed and Through the Eye of the Needle. Nominations though will only be opened in September 2017. All these activities dealing with succession should be monitored and as comrades discuss the names, nobody should ridicule or defame any other potential candidate nor should they tarnish the name of the ANC in the process.

Umkhonto WeSizwe Military Veterans Association (MKMVA) is due for its National Conference this year. The ANC NEC has delegated 10 of its members to support and assist the MKMVA in the organization of such conference.

On tensions within the Alliance, the NEC emphasised that we should never tire in seeking to work for the unity of the ANC, the unity of the Alliance and the unity of society as whole. To this end, the Alliance Political Council will meet on the 4th and 5th June to deal with the differences and challenges between the Alliance Partners.

There was a call made in the NEC for the President to consider stepping down as President of the Republic. This we considered to be part of a broader discussion characterized by the restlessness manifesting itself in society, where certain sections have made similar calls. A number of members of the NEC were of the view that the ANC should listen to this call. Various contributions in support of and against the appeal to President to step down were raised. Many more were neither in favour nor against the appeal but emphasized the need for unity within the organization.

The NEC sought to have a detailed analysis of the consequences of removing the President; appreciating that some calls, especially those made by the opposition, are not so much about removing the President by rather dislodging the ANC itself from power.

The NEC concluded the matter by recommitting itself to focus on the task at hand and what our people expect from us. Implementing, refining and advancing policies that solve their problems of inequality, poverty and unemployment as we move towards the National Policy



Conference. We must also focus on ensuring unity and stability of the organization as part of leadership transition at the 54th National Conference.

Flowing from this difficult discussion, our branches are now directed to focus on their primary tasks, work together and ensure the ANC impacts positively on society.

The NEC discussed at length the need to reconnect with sectors of society that are drifting away from the movement. This is particularly important for those have been traditional allies of the broad liberation movement including some traditional leaders and sections of the faith based community led by, amongst others, the South African Council of Churches (SACC). We are aware and appreciate the need for decisive action from the ANC indicating renewal and our commitment to deal with issues that bring the organization into disrepute.

To this end, the NEC has welcomed the ongoing interactions with the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA) and traditional leaders in general. We have also committed to continue engagements with the SACC as part of broader societal dialogue on the challenges facing South Africa.

The NEC welcomed the appointment of Dr Tedros Ghebreyesus as the new Director General of the World Health Organization (WHO). This is the first time, in the sixty nine (69) year history of this organization, that the WHO elects an African to its helm. This is a significant victory for the continent and a significant pointer of progress and reform of this global multilateral institution.

As we conclude Africa month, the NEC recommitted itself to our responsibility to contributing to the building of a better Africa and a better world. The regeneration of Africa is yet to be accomplished. Beyond our own internal challenges and interests as a party and a country, we have a bigger role on the continent as the ANC and South Africa.

Issued by ANC NEC 



Annexure “CR18”

Statement of the African National Congress following the National List Conference and National Executive Committee Meeting held from the 27th to the 30th May 2016

31 May 2016

The African National Congress (ANC) convened a National List Conference (NLC) from the 27th to the 28th May 2016 at the Saint George Hotel in Irene, Tshwane. The National List Conference is the culmination of an extensive and thorough process of internal democracy that saw communities throughout the length and breadth of our country select their candidates for the 2016 Local Government Elections for the ANC. No other party in South Africa can legitimately claim the same extent of transparency and inclusiveness in the selection of candidates. As the ANC we are justifiably proud of this and the role our people play in their development - truly advancing people's power.

An ordinary meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC) followed the List Conference and considered and adopted the outcomes of the National List Conference, This statement reflects the resolutions of the NEC meeting inclusive of the adopted positions of the National List Conference. The NEC further received and deliberated on the following:

1. Political Overview from the President
2. Local Government Elections Report
3. Economic Transformation Sub-Committee Report
4. Report from the National Working Committee

On Candidate Selection

The National List Committee (NLC) is chaired by the Secretary General and is composed of 6 senior ANC members with no direct interest in the outcome of the candidate selection process as well as representatives from Alliance Partners and the Leagues. The NLC presented to the NEC the outcomes of the candidate selection processes. The process had commenced in December 2015 included:

1. Branch nominations where four (4) candidates are nominated in the Branch General Meeting (BGM)
2. This is followed by community meetings where the candidates are presented to community members
3. Communities engage the candidates in the presence of the screening committee which selects candidates depending on their performance in the community engagement
4. These outcomes are presented to the Regional List Committees which convene a Regional List Conference and;
5. The Provincial List Committees which convene a Provincial List Conference

The Regional List Conference considers the ordering of the Proportional Representation (PR) List. No tampering of the ward candidates is allowed. The outcome of the Regional List Conference is presented to the Provincial List Conference. It is the outcome of the Provincial List Conferences that is presented to the National List Conference. Provincial List conference may make adjustments to the list of no more than 15% to ensure adherence to the principles outlined below.



All candidate lists were extensively scrutinized by the National List Conference to ensure they meet the following unassailable principles that must characterize all lists:

1. A minimum of 50% of all candidates on the list must be women
2. A minimum of 20% of all candidates must be youth (35 years and below)
3. A minimum of 2% of all candidates must be people with a disability
4. A minimum of 60% of serving councilors must be retained in the candidate lists to ensure continuity

The African National Congress is proud to report that on aggregate these targets have largely been met across all provinces. This is an undisputable demonstration of the ANC's commitment to advancing our mission to create a non-sexist society, which empowers young people and people with disabilities amongst others. The ANC does not pay lip service to these commitments but tangibly enforces their attainment, especially within its ranks.

The NEC denounced in the strongest possible terms the incidences of violence that would have erupted in some areas during the candidate selection process. The NEC called for the relevant structures to act decisively in those instances.

We congratulate those comrades who have emerged as the choices of our people to contest as councilors in the upcoming elections. They will no doubt know that deployment, should they be elected, is an honour and a privilege. It can be withdrawn or changed at any time the ANC decides. In line with the commitments of the ANC Manifesto, all councilors will be required to sign performance and accountability agreements. They will be expected to work tirelessly to serve and keep constant contact with our people.

The NEC reaffirmed its decision to announce Mayoral Candidates for the Metropolitan Municipalities and other strategic municipalities. Consequently, the NEC urges the Regional and Provincial Executive Committees to urgently resolve on these matters in line with the Constitutional prescripts on the selection of Mayors.

On Local Government Elections and related matters

The NEC has urged all members and structures of the organisation to now focus on the intensification of election work to ensure an overwhelming and decisive victory for the ANC on the 3rd August 2016. We remain committed to full adherence to the Electoral Code of Conduct and peaceful, free and fair elections.

Consequently, the NEC condemned the use of any inflammatory language or other instances of political intolerance in the course of campaigning. ANC members and supporters are expected to exercise maximum restraint even in the face of provocation.

The NEC expressed itself strongly against the continuing practice of the destruction of private and public property as part of community protests. It is the view of the NEC that criminal acts should be dealt with as such. These include the burning of public facilities by agent provocateurs in institutions of higher learning masquerading as representing the genuine grievances of students.

The ANC government must move with speed to respond to the very real challenges that have been created as a result of our successes in expanding access to institutions of higher

education. Because of the ANC's pro-poor policies, now more than ever, children from poor backgrounds have swelled the ranks of those in tertiary institutions. This success of open access means that government is now considering greater support for these students, specifically on food security and accommodation. Government must urgently intervene in this matter to respond to student demands. We welcome the appointment of a task team by Cabinet to deal with this matter.

On the tragedy of Vuwani, the NEC encouraged government to continue with efforts to return children to school and restore normality in the area. Intimidation tactics by those opposed to education must not be tolerated. The NEC urges continuing engagement with the community of Vuwani to reach a lasting solution to the challenges in that area. The NEC called on communities to take a bigger responsibility in the protection of their community assets.

The NEC resolved that the Siyanqoba Rally would be hosted in the Greater Johannesburg Region, Gauteng Province on the 31st July 2016. In line with the resolutions from the National General Council (NGC), the NEC once again called for the consideration to eradicate VIP accreditation at our rallies. This practice increases social distance between the leadership and the masses of our people and should be strongly discouraged.

On Economic Transformation

The NEC received a report of the Economic Transformation Subcommittee, which sought to identify actions that will aid economic recovery, directly and urgently. The report of the ETC Sub-Committee together with the actions proposed was based on the accelerated implementation of the 9-point plan announced by government, which remains a meaningful instrument to bring about tangible change in the economy.

The NEC identified the following as being critical to halt the decline in South Africa's economic growth forecast:

1. Ensuring security of energy supply
2. Revitalizing agriculture and agro-processing
3. Encouraging private investment
4. Re-evaluation and reform of the role of state-owned companies and development funding institution

The NEC noted that good progress made the past 20 years in improving the living standards of our people. However, the global financial crisis has undermined these gains and as a result South Africa and, and many other countries around the world, continue to experience a prolonged period of low economic growth and rising unemployment.

During these difficult conditions, the government responded by pursuing counter-cyclical measures in order to promote economic growth and development. Due to the prolonged nature of the crisis, we are now experiencing rising debt levels. The new priority for fiscal policy now is that expenditure must be controlled and tax revenues raised in order to avoid a debt trap. Accordingly, the ANC supports the government's fiscal stance with its associated cost containment measures.



The NEC welcomed the labour market interventions. The ANC supports the engagements between government, organised labour, business and communities in dealing with, amongst others, the duration and violent nature of strikes.

The NEC further noted and welcomed the report indicating progress on the implementation of the National Minimum Wage. We trust that all social partners will speedily conclude all outstanding matters in this regard. Youth unemployment, in particular within the 15 to 24 year old cohort, must receive greater attention. To this end, the NEC adopted a proposal to massively broaden focused vocational training amongst this group. By so doing, government will develop much needed technical skills in our economy, increase productivity and reduce unemployment. A task team to implement this proposal has been established and is expected to ensure the programme commences by January 2017.

While land reform remains the focus of our redistribution pillar, the NEC resolved that special attention be given to the production side as well. Support measures such as access to finance and markets, quality and efficient extension services, infrastructure etc were identified. The Land Bank was placed under National Treasury to ensure good cooperate governance and improved financial management. That purpose has been achieved. It will now be moved back to the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries and its mandate will be reviewed. There will be a special focus in rural areas and rural towns and all under serviced areas.

There are continuing discussions on the role of Development Funding Institutions (DFI) in supporting development and small, medium and micro enterprises. The NEC welcomed the increase in tourists arrival by 13 % and 18% in January and February respectively and resolved to put more effort to grow this industry as it is labour intensive. There will be a discussion to review the industrial incentives towards labour absorbing sectors.

The assessment of the Ocean Economy is that it could generate an estimated GDP contribution of R129 - 177billion by 2030. In its 18 month operating period , it has already unlocked about R17billion investments.

Progress has also be made to remove the electricity constrains. New rounds of IPP rollout are in progress. The Integrated Energy Plan (IEP) and Inetgraged Resource Plan (IRP) will be concluded soon. Government is working on improving the technical capacity of the infrastructure management and there will be review of the portfolio to shift the focus towards labour absorbing projects.

Report of the National Working Committee (NWC)

The NEC received a report on the engagements that had been undertaken with ANC structures and other stakeholders on the alleged business influence on the state as well as the Constitutional Court judgement relating to the security upgradings at the President's residence in Nkandla. Overwhelmingly, the branches of the ANC confirmed the decision of the NWC not to recall the President. Branches emphasised the importance of unity of the movement and accepting the apology of the President must contribute to unity of the



movement. As we accept the apology we also reminded ourselves that we should devise a formula for dealing with the mistakes we are committing.

Following the call by the ANC for comrades to provide any information about alleged business influence on the state, a number of comrades came forward to engage with the Office of the Secretary General. It was unfortunate that only one person could make a written submission on the matter. The allegations made were serious, they cannot be treated lightly and many warrant a comprehensive investigation. The NEC has advised comrades to formalise their complaints to institutions that deal with complaints of this nature.

The NEC acknowledged the progress made in strengthening the unity of the Alliance following the recently held Provincial Alliance Summits. The outcomes of the candidate selection process are indicative of greater collaboration and cooperation between the ANC and its Alliance Partners in the provinces.

To strengthen the ANC's organizational and mobilizing capacity, the NEC resolved to appoint Comrade Fikile Mbalula as the Chairperson of the ANC NEC Subcommittee on Organising. We wish him well in this task and have no doubt of his capacity to lead the ANC's organizational machinery.

The NEC congratulated winner of the Comrades Marathon, David Gatebe, and commended him for joining other great sportsmen and women who have flown the South African flag high in this the greatest race of human endurance.

The NEC has called on all members of the ANC to close ranks and dedicate themselves to working for an overwhelming victory of the ANC in the Local Government Elections. Everything else must be subordinate to elections work. Our branches must effectively play the role of leading society and advancing people's power in every community.

Issued by

Gwede Mantashe

Secretary General



Annexure “CR19”

Statement on the outcomes of the National Executive Committee held 26th to 28th November 2016

29 November 2016

The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African Nation Congress (ANC) met in an ordinary meeting at St. George's Hotel, Irene. The meeting initially scheduled for the 26th and 27th November 2016 was extended to the 28th November 2016, owing to the fact that it was the last meeting of year and needed an extra day to conclude its business.

The NEC received the Political Report delivered by the President, the report of the National Working Committee and discussed amongst others the roadmap to the 54th National Conference to be held in December 2017.

The NEC resolved to continue with and intensify its programme of engagement with various sectors of society and structures of the ANC. To this end, the NEC welcomed the report of meetings held by the ANC with business, faith based organisations and the veterans and stalwarts of our movement.

In these engagements we have encountered many differing views. The meetings with churches and the veterans in particular, without exception, have advised us to work for the unity of the movement as a critical element of the programme of renewal and have made a commitment to contribute towards finding solutions.

The NEC further committed itself to accelerate work in progress to resolve problems created by the manipulation of candidate lists in various branches across the country. We have further resolved to invest even more in unifying the ANC; driving a programme that is underpinned by political education.

We have been encouraged by the growing interest of our branches to make greater use of the ANC's base documents, Through the Eye of the Needle and the Strategy and Tactics. These assist to politically and ideologically anchor members of the ANC. The stability of the ANC can only be assured with the improved ideological clarity of the membership.

The NEC cautioned itself and the ANC at large, that the biggest danger to the unity of the ANC is engaging each other through the lens of the upcoming 54th National Conference, where everyone is suspicious of one another. In the words of Cuban revolutionary, Cde Jose Marti -

"Once the candidates are nominated, pails of mud are dumped upon their heads. Lies and exaggerations are knowingly spread. Bellies and backs are polished. All manner of infamy is considered legitimate. All kinds of blows are good as long as they stun the enemy. Whoever invests an effective villainous act struts about like a peacock. Even prominent men believe themselves excused from the more trivial duties of honour". It is critical for the unity of our movement that we disabuse ourselves of this posture.

The meeting held with the veterans on Monday, 21st November and continued on Friday, 25th November, affirmed that we cannot be stronger unless we work together for unity and

cohesion of the ANC. We resolved that together, we would work for effective solutions to the challenges confronting the ANC and society.

To this end, the veterans committed themselves to work closely with structures of the movement and availed themselves to participate in programmes of the ANC. We further agreed that the veterans would form part of the process that will culminate in the Veterans League's Conference; and working with MKMVA, convene an assembly of all ex-combatants. These initiatives are all part of our framework of broad societal consultation and intended to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the movement. We remain committed to working together with all stalwarts of our movement who wish to use their capacity and experience, gained over many years and different epochs of the ANC and the struggle, to contribute positively to the life of the organisation.

On the call for a Consultative Conference, the NEC resolved to extend by one extra day the National Policy Conference scheduled for the 30th June to the 5th July 2017. The first two days of Conference will be utilised to assess the state of the organisation as envisaged in the veteran's call for a Consultative Conference. In that way, the Policy Conference is able to deal with issues that were raised as necessitating a Consultative Conference.

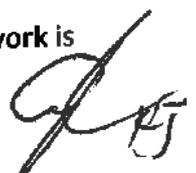
The NEC further adopted the ANC NEC Calendar for 2017. Accordingly, the 105th Anniversary celebrations will be held on Sunday, 8th January 2017 in Gauteng. All members of the NEC are expected to arrive in Gauteng no later than the 3rd January 2017 to take part in build up programmes towards January 8. On the 4th January 2017, there will be a special meeting of the NEC to consider and adopt the NEC Statement for the 105th Anniversary Celebrations of the ANC.

The roadmap to the National Policy Conference to be held 30th June to 5th July and the 54th National Conference on the 16th to the 20th December 2017 was also adopted. 2017 further marks a centenary since the birth of Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo, a doyenne of unity and ANC's longest serving President. The NEC has committed itself to a rolling year-long programme in celebration of this colossal icon of South African liberation struggle.

The NEC congratulated Cde Parks Tau for being elected President of United Cities and Local Government (UCLG). The UCLG is the world body of local government with membership from one hundred and forty-eight (148) countries, constituted of more than one thousand (1000) leading cities in the world.

His election is recognition of the strategic importance of the contribution of South African Local Government Association (SALGA) in general and Cde Tau in particular, to global governance, having been affirmed by a resolution of the Afri-Cities Summit and endorsed by the African Union. Having noted the requirement for the continued presidency of the UCLG, the NEC agreed to engage ANC deployees that are delegates to the SALGA Conference to support and confirm Cde Parks Tau as Chairperson of SALGA.

On economic policy, the ANC adopted a framework on "Turning South Africa into a construction site" with specific focus on township and rural communities. The framework is



intended to challenge the untenable and unsustainable situation of a "two-worlds country", which continues to define the South African landscape. It speaks to the design and implementation of a massive ten-year socio-economic infrastructure build programme, focusing on township and rural communities, with meeting basic human needs as the underlying perspective. This policy framework will be further deliberated and consolidated in the January 2017 Lekgotla.

The NEC appreciated the commitment made by the President during the question and answer session in Parliament where he reiterated that no child would be denied the right to access higher education at the start of the academic year as a result of financial factors. The NEC called on all stakeholders to continue engagement to realise this very important commitment.

The NEC has repeatedly said that introspection and self-correction is a process not an event. This NEC meeting placed at the centre of its discussions, the question whether the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is still on track. This entailed the extent to which the ANC is leading transformation to deal with the political and socio-economic manifestations of apartheid colonialism. This also meant assessing how far we are in the task of nation building, which is the consolidation of a single, collective South African nation, dispelling of narrow ethnic, tribal and racial nations.

The discussion was also guided by, amongst others, the principles for choosing the best cadres to lead transformation as outlined in Through the Eye of the Needle.

During the course of these discussions, a call was made for ANC President, Comrade Jacob Zuma, to consider stepping down as the President of the Republic of South Africa. The NEC decided that even though the issue was neither on the agenda nor in the Political Report, the debate should be allowed without any suppression.

After extensive deliberations, the NEC came to the conclusion that the NDR remains on course, however the revolution is facing serious threats being racism, ethnic nationalism and monopoly capital.

Ethnic triumphalism is beginning to emerge and becoming emboldened, expressed in factions and certain unrests in society. We must defeat narrow ethnic nationalism and all residual contradictions, which formed the basis of apartheid colonialism.

On the call for the President to consider stepping down as President of the Republic, the NEC took time to elaborate on what we have previously identified as a negative narrative directed towards the President.

The essence of engagement and discussion is persuasion in order to arrive at consensus. As such, the NEC of the ANC always seeks to persuade one another through argument. It does not seek to conclude matters through voting. Following robust, honest, candid and at times difficult discussions, the NEC did not support the call for the President to step down. The NEC resolved it was more urgent to direct the energies of the ANC in its entirety to working towards the unity of the movement.



All members of the NEC had an opportunity to raise, in the meeting, the issues they feel are hurting the movement and the country. All these are very important and are being given due consideration by the NEC.

The National Executive Committee, on behalf of the ANC, sent its sincere condolences to the Cuban people on the passing of former President and leader of the Cuban revolution, El Comandante en Jefe Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz. We express our immense gratitude for their selflessness and sacrifices during our liberation struggle as well as their continued support in the reconstruction and development of our country. After holding a moment of silence for Comandante Fidel Castro, the NEC adopted a Special Resolution in his honour, which is attached.

Issued by
Gwede Mantashe
Secretary General
African National Congress
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Annexure “CR20”

STATEMENT OF THE MEETING OF THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**26 -28 May 2017**

The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African National Congress (ANC) met in a scheduled meeting from the 26th to the 28th May 2017. The meeting received the Political Overview from the President, the National Working Committee (NWC) report, and reports on our engagements with traditional leadership and preparations towards the National Policy Conference.

The NEC expressed grave concern at the recent spate of brutal killings of women and children and commissioned a special presentation by the Wits City Institute on gender based violence with a particular focus on intimate partner femicide.

As a country we must consistently affirm the freedom of girl children and women. We will have been successful in our quest to build a truly non-sexist society and dealt with the brutal effects of patriarchy when in South Africa a young woman in the middle of the night, can walk alone without the fear of assault, attack or rape, going back home from wherever she comes from.

While there is no single magic bullet that will do away with violence against women and children overnight, condemnation of such behavior by society alone will not solve this problem.

The ANC therefore calls to action all its structures and society at large to become actively engaged in campaigns that involve communities in the prevention of femicide, rape and child molestation. ANC branches must actively lead a campaign to encourage the defense of the most vulnerable people in our society. We must also teach ourselves to drop the language of 'weakness' 'vulnerability' 'protection' and 'women and children' as these erode women's citizenship. We must affirm their inalienable right to justice, safety, freedom and equality.

This campaign must assist us all to understand the value of life and that physical, mental and sexual abuse robs people of their dignity. Accordingly the following are tasks for the branches:

- Establish street committees and lead and drive a Know Your Neighborhood Campaign
- Set up early warning systems where child abuse, the rape and abuse of girls and boys occur
- Establish a single contact point in each street for reporting of incidences of brutality and violence
- Meet every station commander to advise them of the contact points and issues arising from our early warning systems

Government for its part must strengthen the justice system to better deal with cases of gender based violence. Programmes of the ANC led government must target both victims and perpetrators. Amongst others we must ensure the establishment of a special unit in



each police station specially trained for this type of work. This will ensure that we reduce barriers to reporting sexual offences and domestic violence.

Our families must stop negotiating sexual cases and women themselves must stop withdrawing sexual cases. The law must be allowed to take its course.

As a nation we must redouble our efforts to reignite economic growth to ensure that women do not seek economic refuge in abusive relationships.

The ANC has met with all the three rating agencies as a matter of course and also following the investment downgrades. The key message from these rating agencies is that we need to be clear on our growth story and our political posture towards growth.

In this regard, the NEC commits to the expenditure ceiling in 2017 budget and commits to stabilize debt levels. In the meantime, we need to ensure progress in finalizing the Mineral Petroleum Resource Development Act (MPRDA) and the resolution of the impasse relating to the Mining Charter. Concerted effort must go into continuous improvement in good corporate governance in the State Owned Enterprises (SOEs).

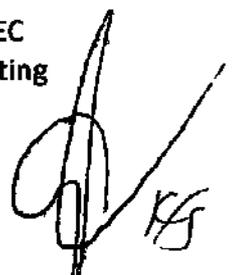
We noted the promising work being done to stabilize the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and discussed the current challenges facing Eskom. The NEC reaffirmed that the decision to reappoint Comrade Brian Molefe to Eskom be rescinded and not to wait for the courts to direct them on this decision. Government itself encourages judicial overreach when it fails to lead when it should.

As part of reigniting economic growth, long term structural reforms are needed in education outcomes at all levels including vocational training. There must be immediate work on growth and employment enhancing interventions in a number of sectors. We must also deal with oligopolies, and pay particular attention to increase investment to 30% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). These measures will require the support of all social partners and accordingly the ANC government will, as a matter of urgency, convene a NEDLAC meeting to engage them on these matters.

The NEC also reflected on a period which had been politically hectic for the organisation. Such period we defined as having heightened levels of a state of restlessness in society requiring the ANC to develop an approach and provide leadership to society.

The NEC accepted the proposal that was tabled in the Political Report for the establishment of a Judicial Commission of Enquiry into allegations of state capture without delay. The terms of reference of such Commission of Enquiry must be broad enough to uncover the influence of business on the state. The NEC expressed its desire to see all processes of reviewing the Public Protector's State of Capture report accelerated so that they are not an obstacle to the speedy establishment of the Judicial Commission into State Capture.

On the motion of no confidence against the President proposed in Parliament, the NEC reaffirmed its confidence in comrades deployed as Members of Parliament (MP) trusting



that they would continue to conduct themselves in line with Constitution, prescripts and norms of the African National Congress.

Regardless of whether a secret ballot is granted by the court or not, ANC MPs, as always, are expected to vote in line with the decision of the Caucus of the ANC. Failure to do so is in violation of Rule 25.17.16.4 of the ANC Constitution defines an act of misconduct as: acting on behalf of or in collaboration with:

- counter-revolutionary forces;
- a political organisation or party other than an organisation or party in alliance with the ANC in a manner contrary to the aims, policies and objectives of the ANC;

On the succession debate, the NEC acknowledged that to continue to assert that the organization was not in the grip of leadership election fever was foolhardy. The NEC agreed that we should continue discussing the principles that should guide election of leadership in the ANC but allow structures of the ANC to start discussing the names.

Such discussions should be based on the principles discussed and Through the Eye of the Needle. Nominations though will only be opened in September 2017. All these activities dealing with succession should be monitored and as comrades discuss the names, nobody should ridicule or defame any other potential candidate nor should they tarnish the name of the ANC in the process.

Umkhonto WeSizwe Military Veterans Association (MKMVA) is due for its National Conference this year. The ANC NEC has delegated 10 of its members to support and assist the MKMVA in the organization of such conference.

On tensions within the Alliance, the NEC emphasised that we should never tire in seeking to work for the unity of the ANC, the unity of the Alliance and the unity of society as whole. To this end, the Alliance Political Council will meet on the 4th and 5th June to deal with the differences and challenges between the Alliance Partners.

There was a call made in the NEC for the President to consider stepping down as President of the Republic. This we considered to be part of a broader discussion characterized by the restlessness manifesting itself in society, where certain sections have made similar calls. A number of members of the NEC were of the view that the ANC should listen to this call. Various contributions in support of and against the appeal to President to step down were raised. Many more were neither in favour nor against the appeal but emphasized the need for unity within the organization.

The NEC sought to have a detailed analysis of the consequences of removing the President; appreciating that some calls, especially those made by the opposition, are not so much about removing the President by rather dislodging the ANC itself from power.

The NEC concluded the matter by recommitting itself to focus on the task at hand and what our people expect from us. Implementing, refining and advancing policies that solve their problems of inequality, poverty and unemployment as we move towards the National Policy



Conference. We must also focus on ensuring unity and stability of the organization as part of leadership transition at the 54th National Conference.

Flowing from this difficult discussion, our branches are now directed to focus on their primary tasks, work together and ensure the ANC impacts positively on society.

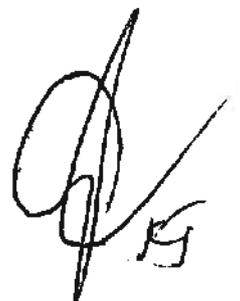
The NEC discussed at length the need to reconnect with sectors of society that are drifting away from the movement. This is particularly important for those have been traditional allies of the broad liberation movement including some traditional leaders and sections of the faith based community led by, amongst others, the South African Council of Churches (SACC). We are aware and appreciate the need for decisive action from the ANC indicating renewal and our commitment to deal with issues that bring the organization into disrepute.

To this end, the NEC has welcomed the ongoing interactions with the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA) and traditional leaders in general. We have also committed to continue engagements with the SACC as part of broader societal dialogue on the challenges facing South Africa.

The NEC welcomed the appointment of Dr Tedros Ghebreyesus as the new Director General of the World Health Organization (WHO). This is the first time, in the sixty nine (69) year history of this organization, that the WHO elects an African to its helm. This is a significant victory for the continent and a significant pointer of progress and reform of this global multilateral institution.

As we conclude Africa month, the NEC recommitted itself to our responsibility to contributing to the building of a better Africa and a better world. The regeneration of Africa is yet to be accomplished. Beyond our own internal challenges and interests as a party and a country, we have a bigger role on the continent as the ANC and South Africa.

Issued by ANC NEC 



Annexure “CR21”

Statement of the African National Congress following special meeting of the National Executive Committee held on the 12th February 2018

The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African National Congress (ANC) convened a special meeting on Monday, 12th February 2018 at the Saint George Hotel, Tshwane. The meeting was called to reflect on the current situation as it pertains to the position of the President of the Republic of South Africa, Comrade Jacob Zuma.

The NEC received a report from the Officials on their engagement with President Zuma. These engagements had been informed by the commitment to pursue firstly the interest of the country and the ANC and the determination to handle the matter with utmost dignity.

The NEC noted the report of the Officials that the President had agreed in principle to resign and had proposed time frames extending from three to six months. While appreciating President Zuma's proposal, the NEC noted that South Africa is going through a period of uncertainty and anxiety as a result of the unresolved matter of transition. Further that this uncertainty and anxiety will erode the renewed hope and confidence among South Africans since the 54th National Conference of the ANC.

The National Executive Committee firmly believes that this situation requires us to act with urgency in order to steer our country towards greater levels of unity, renewal and hope. We are determined to restore the integrity of the public institutions, create political stability and urgent economic recovery. Some of the matters we are contending with are the opportunistic manoeuvres by the opposition in parliament including motions of no confidence in the President, calls for dissolution for parliament and other desperate acts. The ANC's approach to this matter has, at all times, been informed by the interests of the South African people.

Sensitive of the need to handle this matter with dignity, the NEC once again sent a delegation to brief the President Jacob Zuma about the need to shorten the timeframes so that this matter is speedily resolved. The NEC received feedback from the delegation that the President of the Republic did not accede to a shorter time frame.

The NEC therefore decided as follows:

To recall its deployee, Comrade Jacob Zuma, in accordance with Rule 12.2.21.2 of the ANC Constitution, which accords the NEC the authority to "recall any public representative".

There should be continuing interaction between the officials of the ANC and the President of the Republic.

The decision by the NEC to recall its deployee was taken only after exhaustive discussion on the impact such a recall would have on the country, the ANC and the functioning of government.

The decision of the NEC provides certainty to the people of South Africa at a time when the economic and social challenges facing the country require urgent and resolute response by all sections of society.

It is critical that South Africans are united around the task of growth, job creation and economic transformation.

This decision will be communicated publicly and through appropriate forums to all structures of the ANC, Alliance Structures and all the Mass Democratic Formations.

All necessary parliamentary processes that arise from this decision will now ensue.

Issued by



Ace Magashule

Secretary General

African National Congress

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Annexure “CR22”



organizations that constitute it loses the class character of the alliance.”

Alliance Summit Declaration

01 July 2015

The national leadership structures of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the South African National Civic Organisation met over five days from 27 June till 01 July 2015.

Forged in the trenches of struggle, the alliance remains a critical force to ensure that the goals of the Freedom Charter and NDR are achieved. It has been 21 years since the democratic breakthrough. Significant progress has been made while there are also many persisting challenges. With sustained, overwhelming democratic electoral support, the leader of the alliance, the ANC, has carried the responsibility for governance. This has introduced new internal, organisational challenges, not just for the ANC, but also for the alliance.

This Summit was therefore convened primarily to ask the hard questions of ourselves. Are we optimally organised to address the expectations that millions of South Africans have vested in us? What impacts have the new realities, including the new realities of governance, had on us as an alliance and as individual components?

Organisational Renewal, Internal Democracy and Discipline

Discussions in the Summit focussed considerably on a range of internal weaknesses, difficulties and challenges found across all our formations. These include:

A growing social distance between leadership and our mass constituency, including

- a disconnect between the focus of branch activities and the social and economic realities of communities
- crass displays of wealth and arrogance.



These problems reinforce and are connected to the deliberate manipulation and subversion of internal democratic processes through the manipulation of membership through gatekeeping and the use of money to advance individual ambitions and factions based on patronage and nepotism. This behaviour is also the entry-point for corporate capture and private business interests outside of our formations to undermine organisational processes.

The Summit resolved that these deviations must be dealt with firmly and without fear or favour. Those guilty of funding factions and those guilty of accepting money for these purposes must be exposed.

- Internal disciplinary processes must be pursued speedily and consistently
- Where money intended for our organisations is diverted into private pockets, civil and criminal cases must be preferred
- Those found guilty in court must be placed on the Registry of National Treasury which makes them ineligible for being awarded public tenders.

Let us remind ourselves that leadership of society must be earned through exemplary conduct and adhering to revolutionary morality.

The Summit agreed that each alliance partner, having identified the challenges, will work out its specific responsibilities and that these will be reported to the Political Council. The Political Council will monitor implementation and execution of responsibilities.

The alliance directs that the initiatives from this Summit be taken forward in a series of national alliance-led provincial and regional meetings with organisational structures.

Let us defend the unity of COSATU and the unity of the working class

The alliance partners are united in defending the unity of COSATU along the principle of 'one union; one industry; one federation; one country.' An injury to one alliance partner is an injury to us all. The independence of COSATU as a strong militant and fighting force for the rights of workers is affirmed. The Summit also affirms its support of the right of COSATU to make its own decisions concerning internal discipline.



The challenges within COSATU are not unconnected to massive restructuring of the workplace and the segmentation of the working class underway since the mid-1990s. Capital flight, casualisation, labour brokering and mass retrenchments have resulted in de-industrialisation and a decline in union density in the private sector.

The alliance supports COSATU's commitment to a back to basics strategy focussing on service to members, internal union democracy and worker control. At the same time, the increasing segmentation of the working class requires more creative ways in order to reach the most vulnerable sectors. In this context, all alliance partners have a role to play.

The Movement will continue to engage with all workers who are in unions that are not affiliated to COSATU and will work for the unity of the working class.

People-centred, people-driven transformation

During the difficult days of Apartheid, millions of ordinary South Africans understood that they needed to be their own collective emancipators. The liberation struggle was grounded in community activism, solidarity struggles and neighbourhood organisation. These traditions have not disappeared in many poor communities through voluntary work, home-based care and participation in community safety forums. This resourcefulness of South Africans is a remarkable asset, but these strengths and traditions have become somewhat weakened by a message that *"the state will deliver."* While public resources must play the major part, a different relationship between state and communities must be fostered. Our grassroots organisational structures must play a leading role in mobilising communities to appreciate that freedom comes with rights and responsibilities.

The alliance is proud of what we have achieved together over the last 21 years and we reiterate the call made in the ANC's 2015 January 8 Statement that we must unite behind a common goal of putting in place a democratic and prosperous South Africa. Society at large; all employers, trade unions, civic organisations and ordinary South Africans must work together to put in place a better life for all.



Emancipation of Women

Women are, more often than not, at the forefront of community development and regeneration initiatives and programmes. Important progress has been made in advancing gender rights and in women's active participation in both the public and private sectors. However, indicators on poverty, employment and inequality show that women still bear the brunt of exclusion.

We note that the majority of the members of many of our organisations are women. However, this reality is often not reflected in the leadership profile at all levels of our formations. This is indicative of the pervasive levels of patriarchy and our immediate task must be to intensify the fight against patriarchy and affirm the positive presence of women on the ground and throughout the Movement.

Mobilising the Youth

The youth of today is more informed and more connected than ever before. In many ways, they have been the direct beneficiaries of a liberated society. However, legitimate hopes and aspirations and youthful energy are often blunted by the realities of exceedingly high youth unemployment and lack of opportunities.

In this context, the Summit recommended that we take forward the debate on the introduction of a National Youth Service. An expanded, multi-sectoral youth service can be an important means for providing training and life skills and for countering social alienation manifesting as gangsterism and drug and alcohol abuse.

We call on the Progressive Youth Alliance to develop joint programmes of mobilisation of youth on campuses, in schools, villages, towns and cities.

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The dangers of racism, tribalism and regionalism

After 21 years of non-racial democracy, there are still manifestations of racial arrogance that plays itself out in social media, and in the commentary sections of online newspapers. In many workplaces, including the security, farming and domestic work sectors, *baasskap* still prevails. This in turn, sometimes provokes anti-white racism. We condemn all forms of racism unreservedly.

There are also more subtle forms of racism that are playing out in complaints that 'standards are dropping' and 'things were better off before' and other similar utterances from those who benefited from an unjust system. Afro-pessimism and pseudo-liberal arrogance seek to display the ANC-led government that continues to garner massive public support, as genetically incompetent to lead the country.

The founding principle of the ANC is fighting the demon of tribalism, but we are now seeing a re-emergence of tribalism linked with further exclusionary elements of regionalism. The alliance rejects such backward tendencies as they are against our core values and principles and are often used as a means for excluding others from our structures. At the same time, the alliance is proud of the diverse cultures of our people. Let us celebrate our heritage; united in our diversity.

Building a non-racial society and Movement requires ongoing engagement with our communities, doing the right things in our structures (such as eliminating gatekeeping and other exclusionary practices) and recruiting progressives from all sectors of society.

Ideological Development and the Battle of Ideas

The battle of ideas is being fought on various platforms such as social media, traditional media and academic environments on an ongoing basis. The dominant ideas spread in these platforms, such as consumerism and individualism, are counter-productive to the progressive project of building social cohesion and solidarity.



The alliance remains firm in our conviction that there is no substitute for direct engagement and making sure that our activists and cadres are part of social movements in their communities.

The Summit expressed deep concern at the erosion of the SABC's ability to fulfil its public mandate. This is caused by inadequate public funding, private corporate capture and the virtual monopoly of pay-TV by a single company. Linked to this has been the sale of the SABC Archive to Multichoice and thus the privatisation of what should be our shared national heritage. A further consequence is that public access to live parliamentary debates and continuous news coverage is limited to those who can afford pay-TV.

Governance

The alliance recommits to putting in place a capable, patriotic and efficient public service in all spheres of government. In this regard, we support, amongst other things, the proposal in the National Development Plan (NDP) that the Public Service Commission (PSC) should play its rightful role in determining the levels of staffing and the requisite competencies and qualifications of staff.

Our legislatures must be forums for serious multi-party debate and forums in which we give legislative effect to the will of the people. Public representatives are further entrusted with doing oversight and it is incumbent upon us to empower ANC public representatives to carry out this important mandate.

Hooliganism and anarchy detract from public representatives' ability to perform the critical tasks entrusted to our legislatures. The alliance commends our public representatives who have endeavoured to perform their duties in the face of provocative, anarchic behaviour and call on them to continue to behave in a firm, disciplined and dignified manner.

Marikana

This incident was one of the greatest tragedies of our recent history.



The Summit noted the ongoing work of various arms of government to provide support to the families of those injured and killed and to their wider communities. Already 560 new houses out of the planned 7000 in depressed mining areas on the platinum belt have been built. At Marikana a new primary and secondary school have already been built. In the sending areas of rural Eastern Cape, families have been assisted by the department of social development. This work must continue and be expanded.

We welcome the release of the Farlam Commission Report and support the decision by government to work with unions and the mining industry to give effect to the Commission's recommendations.

The mining houses, not least Lonmin, must adhere to the obligations and commitments undertaken in the Mining Charter in regard to social-labour plans, amongst other things.

The absence of centralised bargaining in the platinum sector was a contributing factor and we repeat our call for the introduction of centralised bargaining to avoid destabilising the sector. There needs to be better training of company human relations departments and trade union negotiators to stabilise relations and overcome raw hostility.

A comprehensive review of the migrant labour system must be undertaken to ensure a more humane dispensation that allows for more stable family life.

Public order police must be better prepared, trained and equipped to deal with disturbances to the public order, and generally the capacity of the police service to be able assure the safety and security of communities must be enhanced.

The alliance further re-iterates support of the right to strike and to peaceful protest, but we condemn the bearing of weapons in strikes and public protest action and the use of violence against fellow workers and community members.

Nkandla

This matter was discussed and it was agreed that Parliament should conclude work on the issue speedily. The alliance calls on government and the courts to conclude all civil, criminal



and disciplinary matters directed at those responsible for the gross inflation of both the scope and costs of the project.

Contrary to disinformation propagated in much of the commercial media, the Report of the Public Protector found explicitly that no undue influence was brought to bear by the President nor was there any indication of corruption on his part. Suggestions to the contrary are part of an attempt to delegitimize the head of state and our democratically elected government.

Transformative and independent Judiciary

The Alliance Summit reaffirms the importance of an independent judiciary as one of the critical pillars our democracy.

We remind ourselves of the ANC's 2015 January 8 Statement which enjoins us to work tirelessly to ensure that the judiciary represents all the people in South Africa. It is important that we attract the best progressive legal minds to the judiciary.

The summit expressed concern at the emerging trend, in some quarters, of judicial overreach, thus bringing into question the very fundamental principle of separation of powers on which our democracy rests.

There are already commonly expressed concerns that the judgments of certain regions and judges are consistently against the state, which creates an impression of negative bias.

The summit also expressed concern at statements of the Deputy Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court. Speaking at Georgetown University in Washington in 2012, he said that in South Africa the judiciary should take a more direct political stance than even in the US. By implication, the Deputy Chief Justice gave notice that our courts should be involved in matters that are properly in the jurisdiction of the executive and parliament.

In a more direct inference during a speech in 2014, in the name of defending the Constitution, he raised concern at the "uncanny concentration of power" in the President in regard to appointments. Amongst other things he refers to the President's responsibility (after



consultation with the Judicial Services Commission and the leaders of parties in the National Assembly) to appoint the Chief Justice and Deputy Chief Justice. This is, precisely, an explicit requirement of Section 174 of the Constitution. Is he proposing changing the Constitution in the name of defending the Constitution?

Safe, reliable, affordable and accessible public transport

The Summit took note of a new set of challenges emerging from Putco's decision to cancel some of their operating routes in Gauteng. The working class continue to suffer from a range of challenges associated with apartheid spatial development, which are exacerbated by the lack of safe, reliable, affordable and accessible public transport. We urge the provincial government to review the resourcing and strategic prioritisation of initiatives aimed at increased mobility and accessibility for commuters.

In particular, concern was expressed that car-commuting freeways and elite modes of public transport have been disproportionately favoured at the expense of the 70% of households who rely entirely on public transport.

There is still not unanimity in the Alliance about the desirability of e-tolls, but the Summit commends the review of e-tolls by government and acknowledges that this shows that our Movement listens to and cares about the people.

State Owned Enterprises

State owned enterprises and development finance institutions are essential components of the developmental state we are seeking to build. They have a key role in achieving our economic and social strategic priorities. They also have a major potential capacity to provide skills development for young South Africans. It is important that the Boards and management of SOEs and DFIs are competent, familiar with the sector and understand the strategic importance of the entity concerned.



The Summit, in particular, emphasised the importance of a major turnaround in the South African Post Office. With an extensive footprint in communities around South Africa, it has significant development potential. The Postbank should have a key role in the roll-out of social grants rather than relying on private for-profit companies.

Global balance of forces

The Summit was honoured to be visited by the Cuban 5 and deeply moved by their expression of gratitude for the role that our alliance played in the global mobilisation for their release from US jails. Their presence, at our Summit, underlines the continued imperative of international solidarity for peace, development and the rights of nations to pursue their own democratic, sovereign mandate.

Since 1994, there have been important shifts in the global balance of forces. Global inequalities have deepened, transnational corporate land-grabs in Africa and in the South in general have dislodged 100s of millions of rural households into teeming urban slums and provoked a flow of desperate refugees. Last year, an unprecedented 1 billion migrants crossed international borders. Imperialist inspired wars have created large swathes of instability and the rise of terrorism.

At the same time, there has been a popular revolt throughout Latin America and in Southern Europe against punishing austerity programmes. The emergence of new economic powers, notably China, and the formation of blocs like BRICS and South-South cooperation, have created space for advancing alternative developmental agendas relatively free from neo-liberal unilateralism. For SA, advancing a regional and African agenda in this context is crucial.

This is the global context in which the unity of our alliance and the consolidation of a broad patriotic agenda is essential.

Conclusion



As delegates to this Summit, we pledge to take forward the spirit of unity, self-critical evaluation and a determination to implement the key decisions we have agreed upon.

We believe that this Summit marks a turning point in the unity and cohesion of the Movement, working together in common action to realise the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'C. J. R.' followed by a large flourish.



**Closing Remarks, by the President of the African National Congress, Comrade Jacob Zuma,
at the Alliance Summit, St. George's Hotel, 01 July 2015.**

Comrades

I want to start by thanking all of you for your active participation in this Special Alliance Meeting.

We indeed have had frank and honest discussions.

Many comrades have welcomed the opportunity to speak frankly and express their views as fully as possible without pressure to finish the meeting.

It is striking that the views expressed and the issues raised are very similar. This is not surprising because we all come from the same Movement.

It is also not surprising that many of our conclusions are similar because we base them on the policies of the Movement. We convened the meeting in this form as I said when we began, so that we could collectively look at the many organizational challenges we are facing and chart the way forward.

Our overriding aim is to emerge with confidence that we are of one mind on the central tasks that face our Movement and our revolution. We have indeed reaffirmed our position that the Alliance that consists of the four independent components and that is led by the ANC leads society as a whole.

We have emphasized the importance of principled unity on a common minimum program of measures to address the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment ravaging our society.



Comrades from each component expressed their views largely without seeking to impose the positions of their respective components. I think we should appreciate this as evidence that the Alliance is united.

Reflecting on this unity many years ago Chief Luthuli said: *"the ANC is our shield and SACTU our spear."* I believe that his assertion is still relevant today.

We are in this Alliance because we all believe that it still has a role to play in the pursuance of the National Democratic Revolution. In other words we are in the Alliance because we understand that we all need each other. As one comrade, quoting Govan Mbeki indicated that the Party is like the yeast to the ANC in the bread making process.

Comrades, differences of thought that exist represent the healthy tension that must exist between the strategic visions of the Alliance partners. Perceptions about the existence of anti-communist tendencies and what one comrade called entry-ism were handled in a constructive spirit as they should. This bodes well for principled Alliance unity.

One issue that came up sharply relates to the stance we should take as the Movement towards non-Cosatu Unions. I think at the end a high level of agreement has been reached. Still I want to make a few comments as a former member and operative of SACTU before and after it was banned. SACTU was active inside the country as a distinct formation throughout the struggle for liberation. It recruited non-unionized workers and workers who were already members of trade unions operating legally in the country. It directed those comrades to strengthen the trade union movement; and strengthen the Congress Alliance.

Comrades may recall that some of those unions had a black consciousness orientation. Some of them were what were generally described as workerist, including the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). Members of the leadership of SACTU were also members of the ANC and MK. The ANC and SACP acknowledged and respected the independence of SACTU.

Inside the country, with due regard to the rules of underground work and ideological persuasion, our operatives recruited workers into the other components of the Alliance as well. The stance of the ANC and the SACP towards unions falling outside the Congress Alliance remained principled.



Comrades have summarized the position of the ANC leadership on the expulsion of the former General Secretary of COSATU and of NUMSA very well respectively.

Comrades also emphasized correctly that our positions are informed by the historical task of leading all of society as the ANC and the Alliance. I am confident that through engagement and commitment to principle we will always find each other and take the struggle of our people forward.

The misunderstanding that manifests itself now and again to some degree arises from poor communication between comrades on these matters. We have identified many weaknesses that we have the power to eliminate.

When we came here many were anxious that the problems we face were insurmountable but discussions and engagement over the past few days have proven that we have both the capacity and political will to rise above the current challenges. Many of the challenges that we face today, we must admit, start with us.

The first challenge perhaps, has to do with the fact that we are not at the same level of political consciousness. There is a gap that exists in understanding the nature of our struggle and its strategic objectives as well as different roles of various components in each phase. It is for that reason that we must address the matter of political education urgently within the Alliance and amongst Alliance partners.

We must have a clear programme of political education which must also address discipline of members of the Alliance and how to behave in a proper political conduct. Some of the challenges are as a result of the conduct of our leadership which promotes foreign cultures and encourage our membership to do wrong things in order to pursue their selfish personal interests in the name of our movement.

Among other things we have identified the debilitating effect of money politics. Many comrades gave concrete examples about how some of us participate in the practice of buying other comrades to vote for us.



We have noted that these practices are corroding our Movement. There is something that I hope we have observed. The things we say about ourselves are said about us by our enemies and political rivals. Even the language and tone is often the same. This may be simply that the reality is the same. But worryingly it may well be that we are internalizing the negative picture of ourselves that our enemies and opponents project.

It is important that we should confront the reality of our weaknesses. This should however be balanced with the reality of our considerable strengths. We are able to confront our weaknesses because we are strong. We are wary of complacency because our strength rests on firm foundations.

Again I want to underline that it is important that comrades speak their minds freely even after others have pointed out where they are mistaken. The only requirement is that we all speak and act in a manner that deepens unity of the Congress Alliance. That requires that we also differentiate also between the audiences we are addressing.

We must avoid giving a message that will be received and used by mischievous elements inside and outside the Movement to undermine our unity. It is important that we challenge some of the views we have about ourselves and our actions, especially in terms of whether they are based on fact or not.

Take the belief that comrades in the Movement are unable to put forward views that are not approved by the leadership. In many meetings I attend of the ANC led Alliance structures there are robust discussions, with comrades often taking different positions. The important thing here is that each of us subjects himself or herself to the decisions adopted by the majority and does not behave like a free agent.

It must worry all of us when any of our comrades become afraid to speak their minds in our meetings. The suppression of open engagement and free expression of ideas is not part of ANC culture.

Some comrades say they are afraid because then they will be marginalized and purged. That is Stalinism, we cannot allow the rise of Stalinist tendencies within the ANC. We know their impact on society. There are two problems here. The first problem is that comrades from a revolutionary Movement declare themselves not to have the courage of their convictions.



They declare that they take positions that benefit them personally.

Comrades were once prepared to lay down their lives to advance the objectives of this Movement and the revolution. They were prepared to suffer detention without trial, torture and imprisonment. What has happened to that culture? How could it be that we become paralysed out of fear today?

The aim of this Alliance Meeting is precisely to place us in a position to become more effective in discharging our mission. A comrade from COSATU very early gave the warning and stated the hope that this Alliance Meeting will be different and follows through on the decisions we take. He suggested that the meeting should at least come up with about five interventions the Alliance will make sure we implement.

I want to believe that we are all individually and collectively committing to do what is necessary to indeed make this Alliance Meeting the turning point we want it to be. I do not intend to go over the many important issues and perspectives that emerged in the discussions except just to emphasize some.

We said that this meeting is not the usual Summit where we seek to reach final positions on a whole range of issues and challenges. For this reason we agreed not to have caucuses beforehand but rather give ourselves the chance to discuss the issues freely without the constraint of caucused positions.

It may also be the case that we are learning together how to discuss issues in this particular way. We did for example want to discuss some specific issues to determine where we agree and disagree, why that is so, and how we should sometimes agree to disagree and implement those things on which there is broad consensus.

Comrades were allowed to talk on views already covered by others. I think it was correct to do so to enrich the way we come to different positions and conclusions.



The more we discuss like this; the more we bring our views together. The closer we bring our views together the less time we shall need to talk, and the more time we shall have to implement our decisions effectively and efficiently.

I shall not comment on all issues but I will comment on a few for emphasis.

One issue is the tolling of roads and the Gauteng e-tolls in particular. A comrade from Gauteng outlined how we have been able to agree on a dispensation that may be different from what some of us wished for.

We should all commend the comrades who worked hard to reach agreement on the matter. Much time was taken on this and we must admit that it is unfortunate that at some points the leadership of the Movement came across as divided on the way forward. I am confident that we all took lessons from this experience.

Comrades have pointed out that sections of our society will continue to agitate for the scrapping of the user-pay principle as such. It is important that we continue to discuss the matter in context without paralysing ourselves.

We will often have to take decisions that require that society as a whole takes some pain. What is important is always to seek ways to ensure that the burden is not shouldered by the working and poor people.

We must always find compensating measures as required.

I want to talk briefly on the challenge we are having on the membership system, especially how we have approached it as primarily a technical matter. Virtually all comrades talked about this. Comrades have talked about instances where the membership system is abused, manipulated and subverted. We have talked about people being given money and wined and dined in exclusive hotels.

In other words comrades here know who has been given money, by whom, when and how. The question is whether we reported this to the relevant structures? What has been done about it? Does a list exist of cases that are being investigated and what progress has been made? The Officials and the NWC should give urgent attention to this.



Corruption is another issue that virtually all of us who got the opportunity cited as a cancer in the Movement. What is missing is what practical actions have we taken to combat corruption within the movement. South Africa is an outstanding example of a country where a comprehensive framework exists to eliminate public corruption in terms of legislation, institutions, and practice.

People are dismissed from the employ of the State and some are prosecuted and imprisoned. Comrades I must reiterate that we all have a duty and responsibility to report to the relevant institutions in the Movement and the State and provide the evidence of public corruption wherever we find it.

It is highly irresponsible to spread rumours about corruption on the part of others without providing evidence and follow through that it is acted on. It is in fact counter-revolutionary as it feeds into the narrative of the enemies of the revolution and sow mistrust among comrades through innuendo.

Some comrades confirm what some media report, that the Movement ignores recommendations of the Integrity Commission.

What decisions and who has ignored them? What concrete proposals are we putting forward to address this? I think the Officials and the NEC will take this forward with a greater sense of urgency.

Comrades have also talked about consultation among the Alliance on key issues and programs. Some comrades also talked about lack of consultation between Government and the elected political leadership.

To borrow a formulation from the SG may I say that there is dynamic contact between the President of the Republic and the President of the ANC which leads the Alliance. Similarly Provincial Chairpersons of the ANC are Premiers and members of the PEC's and PWCs.



May I also point out that we have a fair balance of leaders of all the Alliance in the NEC and the Cabinet? This provides a platform for varying perspectives to be brought to the table so that rich decisions are taken. Comrades have also said that the overwhelming majority of communists are members of the ANC.

We have also said that a considerable number of the members of Cosatu and SANCO are members of the ANC. The point I am making is that we as individuals and groups are responsible for the quality of consultations. We must therefore take full responsibility to improve it.

We have agreed here that the Political Council should meet soon and then meet as often as we resolved it should. I explained my anxieties about the leaking of information in a way that is damaging to the Movement and Government of the ANC. I am confident that we will all ensure that the Political Council does its work effectively.

The Officials and the Alliance Secretariat will facilitate the revival of the Task Team to discuss economic transformation issues.

It will also facilitate the convening of the Special Summit on economic transformation. I want to make further comment on the issue of working with the various sectors of society.

The mobilization and organization of the youth and students is a critical task of the Alliance for the reasons comrades have indicated. All of us must therefore partner Deputy Minister Manamela in the various programs of Government to address the challenges facing this sector. The same applies with regard to the programs championed by Minister Shabangu also in the Presidency focusing on issues that affect women in particular. Several comrades emphasized the urgency for the Alliance to champion the struggle to destroy patriarchy. This is indeed the task of every one of us, men and women in that order.

Our deployees in the national legislature have indicated some of the shortcomings and challenges in that forum and some of areas where we should support them. Comrades also made useful inputs on the global balance of forces and how we should respond to this. I am glad that there is a high degree of consensus. I am confident that the points made will find their way to our international relations work.



I thank you.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized initial 'A' followed by a surname that appears to be 'F'. The signature is written in a cursive, fluid style.

Annexure "CR23"

SACP CC press statement: Raising the Red Flag higher against venal conduct, defending our democratic national sovereignty and advancing the second radical phase of the NDR

5 June 2016

The South African Communist Party met in its regular quarterly Central Committee in Johannesburg over the weekend of 3-5 June. The CC discussed at length a political report from the secretariat. The CC was also addressed by Minister of Finance, cde Pravin Gordhan on current global and domestic economic challenges, while Deputy Minister of Cooperative Governance, cde Andries Nel briefed the CC on government's Integrated Urban Development Framework policy and implementation plan.

The CC reaffirmed the Party's firm commitment to ensuring an overwhelming ANC-led alliance electoral victory in the August 3 local government elections. The CC congratulated the ANC in Gauteng on mobilising a massive 80,000-plus electoral rally in Johannesburg on Saturday in the face of many doubters and nay-sayers. The rally turn-out did not emerge from thin air. It is testament to the consistent commitment of the ANC-led government in the Gauteng province to engage actively with township protests, to listen to the grievances and challenges facing working class communities, and, together with these communities, to seek collective solutions. It is also testament to the effective ANC, SACP, COSATU and SANCO working unity that has been a hall-mark of the province over the recent past. The unity of our alliance is essential for ensuring that local, metro governance in the economic hub of South Africa does not fall into the hands of neo-liberal forces bent on preserving apartheid-era privileges and segregations, now under the guise of giving free rein to property speculation and unrestrained market forces.

We commend the important mobilising role played by SACP structures in the province for this rally, and earlier the successful May Day rally. The CC also noted the massive SACP-led march in eThekweni in late April, estimated by the SAPS at over 100,000 strong. It is important that the momentum and confidence built up through this mobilisation activity become the springboard for intensive engagement in communities in Gauteng, KZN and throughout South Africa to ensure ANC election victories in August. The ANC, together with its Allies, must also use the post-election period to address the many challenges thrown up in the run up to the elections

In the course of the election campaign we should not be in denial about the many challenges facing workers, the urban and rural poor, and a broad spectrum of middle strata, professionals, students and the youth in general. Consistently, public opinion surveys underline that the two greatest concerns advanced by the majority of South Africans are the unemployment crisis and corruption. While our persisting crisis-levels of unemployment have many systemic underpinnings, there can be no doubt that corrupt rent-seeking by a parasitic bourgeoisie and its political associates diverts billions of rands out of the productive economy, thus contributing to persisting unemployment, racial inequality and poverty.

The dangers and reality of corporate capture

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This was the context in which the CC strongly supported the main theses advanced by the secretariat's political report on the dangers of corporate capture. The CC commended in particular our second national deputy general secretary, cde Solly Mapaila, for his forthright condemnation of those, like the Gupta family, involved in the most brazen forms of buying political influence and of even directly seeking to usurp executive powers.

In its formal declaration, last year's Alliance Summit convened by the ANC, noted chronic problems within some of our formations, involving "the use of money to advance individual ambitions and factions based on patronage and nepotism." The declaration went on:

"This behaviour is also the entry-point for corporate capture and private business interests outside of our formations to undermine organisational processes."

We believe that it is misguided, therefore, for those in the ANC's leadership who now seek to dismiss concern about corporate capture as if it were just a marginal issue. We certainly agree that neither the ANC nor government are corporately captured in their entirety. But the problem is widespread, and threatens to become endemic. It is also misguided to believe that raising this issue is a distraction from the ANC local election campaign. In fact, it is only by addressing the challenges of parasitic corporate capture head-on, without fear or favour, that we will reaffirm the values of our liberation struggle, and begin to regain the respect of millions of ANC supporters and South African citizens in general.

At the same time, we must not allow the struggle against parasitic corporate capture to itself become factionalist, or simply oppositionist grand-standing. And that is why the SACP, in raising a red flag against the venal conduct of the Gupta family, has always insisted that they are not alone in their parasitic behaviour. Equally, we reject with contempt the claim that criticising the parasitic bourgeoisie amounts to support for imperialism or established monopoly capital - as if the Guptas were the ANC's strategic answer to the Ruperts and Oppenheimers!

It would be surprising if monopoly capital and imperialist circles were not actively engaged in seeking to shape our unfolding South African reality. The CC secretariat political report advances the thesis that imperialism's preferred strategic agenda is less about regime change in South Africa, and rather "neo-liberal regime perpetuation". In the words of the political report, this is a strategic agenda:

"to preserve the elite pact features of the early 1990s settlement, bearing in mind that these were never the complete reality of what was, in many respects, an immensely progressive popular victory. The first choice for imperialism is to preserve, defend and consolidate its not inconsiderable influence over the ANC and government".

As one partial glimpse into this strategy, the CC noted the recent revelation that a group of military officers from Britain's Royal College of Defence Studies visited SA last year with the assignment to "assess the political threats to continuing ANC rule in South Africa". The military officers were required to "devise a medium term strategy, with concrete deliverables, for the party to retain power at the next general election."

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The UK Ministry of Defence refused to divulge further information and claimed (implausibly) that it was all simply an "academic exercise". However, the military officers conducted intensive meetings with corporate interests, including HSBC, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and Lonmin, the British-owned platinum mining company operating in South Africa. These revelations provide a small window into what is certainly a wider strategic agenda.

To make sense of the complexities confronting the progressive movement in South Africa it is useful to distinguish two broad camps within the bourgeoisie:

South African (typically trans-nationalised) monopoly capital, integrated into an imperialist agenda, together with the now relatively established (and often compradorial) first generation BEE stratum; and

A parasitic bourgeoisie based on state capture in its most brazen forms - seeking to influence appointing and dis-appointing cabinet ministers, capturing the boards of key parastatals, illegal expatriation of capital to secret accounts in Dubai and elsewhere, tax evasion, money laundering, and much more. All of this is based on the direct corruption of government and party political officials.

Of course, it would be wrong to imagine that there is a water-tight compartmentalization between these two broad camps within the bourgeoisie. Established monopoly capital also indulges in illegal activities - see for instance the collusive activity of the construction cartels, or Multi-Choice's active involvement in corporate state capture. However, the principal source of profit of established monopoly capital is through (of course exploitative capitalist) economic activity, and not simple looting.

The cabinet re-shuffling events of December 2015 starkly exposed differences in strategic interests between these two camps. The parasitic bourgeoisie's rent-seeking greed clearly knows absolutely no bounds. They are quite prepared to loot our economy into a Zimbabwean-style failed economic scenario. There are suggestions that, with insider knowledge, some have deliberately "shorted" the rand - that is, speculatively driven down the rand's exchange value. They are clearly prepared to cut-and-run to Dubai leaving behind the wreckage. This activity poses a threat to the livelihoods of the great majority of South Africans, wiping out the value of pensions and other savings, amongst other things.

Monopoly/imperialist capital is certainly not virtuous, but it has a vested interest in not seeing the economy collapse, hence, for instance, the British Army visit to SA - alarmed, no doubt, by EFF demagogic threats, Marikana and AMCU, and, of course the wrecking-ball activities of the Guptas. But monopoly/imperialist capital, while it does not want to see a Zimbabwean-style economic collapse in South Africa, will also strenuously resist any attempt at the progressive transformation of our political economy along the lines of a second radical phase of our democratic transition, aimed at overcoming our systemic and racialized crises of unemployment, poverty, and inequality. It is for this reason that for the British army officers (and the imperialist forces behind them) the strategic agenda is not anti-ANC regime change, as such, but rather the elimination, or at the very least, the substantial reduction of SACP, COSATU, progressive ANC, and broader popular influence over the ANC and the state.

Unless we deal decisively with the parasitic bourgeoisie, our ability as a democratic state and popular movement to confront our principal strategic opponents (monopoly capital) will be eroded. If Treasury, the South African Revenue Services, SAA, Denel, Eskom, and parts of the prosecutorial and intelligence services are captured by parasitic interests working with the worst security branch elements from the apartheid past, then we will lose much of the strategic capacity not just to deal with the parasites, but to drive a radical second phase of our democratic transition against the strategic interests of monopoly capital and imperialism.

This is why the SACP over the past months has, correctly, played a leading role from within the Alliance in exposing the Guptas (and other instruments of parasitism) and in defending Treasury without simply becoming the cheerleaders for factions of monopoly capital or their comprador BEE associates.

It is precisely this positioning by the SACP that has also prevented monopoly capital from walking away with a clear-cut victory from the events of December when the president was compelled to replace the newly appointed Minister of Finance with a former Minister of Finance, cde Pravin Gordhan. However, our support for Treasury must not be factional, or simply personal, it must now be consolidated into assisting Treasury, including through mass struggle, to play a constructive role in advancing a second radical phase of the NDR.

In our engagement with cde Pravin Gordhan over the weekend, these SACP perspectives were candidly tabled. The CC, of course, congratulated cde Gordhan for the leading role he has played in fending off parasitic activity and for his central part in mobilizing a wide array of South Africans to collectively ensure that Friday's Standard and Poor rating of SA did not carry us into junk status territory. Whatever we might think of the ratings agencies, junk status would have dire consequences for the majority of South Africans. The SACP pledged to play an active role in supporting cde Gordhan in this essentially patriotic struggle in defence of our democratic national sovereignty.

Appeal Court decision on set-top boxes

The CC noted and welcomed last week's Supreme Court of Appeal judgment that the Department of Communication's policy decision in favour of unencrypted TV set-top boxes "was made in an irrational and thus unlawful manner and is inherently irrational as well." The SACP has consistently argued that obduracy in this matter flies in the face of the ANC National General Council's own decisions, as well as the ANC's Communication Commission. It is hard not to draw the conclusion that this stubbornness has been directly influenced by Koos Bekker's Naspers media empire, with Multichoice currently holding an extremely lucrative monopoly on encrypted TV programming in South Africa. Persistence in trying to drive through unencrypted set-top boxes in defiance of ANC policy has delayed South Africa's digital migration and indirectly the roll-out of digital migration. We have fallen far behind less developed countries in our continent, including Rwanda, Kenya and Tanzania, all of which now have 100 percent coverage. Once more corporate and parasitic capture of parts of the state is gravely undermining development in our country.



Also in the same media context, the CC emphasises the formal statement of last year's ANC-led Alliance Summit which attributed the SABC's inability to fulfil its public broadcaster mandate to: "private corporate capture and the virtual monopoly of pay-TV by a single company." The recent high-handed editorial decisions made irregularly and without consultation by Hlaudi Motsoeneng and much to the embarrassment of SABC journalists in the field are a case in point.

Mine-workers court victory

The SACP welcomes the decision of the High Court in Johannesburg to certify a class action by mine-workers against gold mining companies in South Africa. This landmark judgment paves the way for tens of thousands of mine-workers and former mine-workers suffering from silicosis and TB to sue mining companies for damages. This judgment follows the R500m settlements in London for compensation of former Anglo American and AngloGold Ashanti workers. Let us never forget that the accumulated wealth and present powers of monopoly capital has been secured at a deadly cost for hundreds of thousands of workers from throughout Southern Africa.

Muhammed Ali - farewell to the greatest

The SACP joins millions world-wide in bidding farewell to one of the greatest sports-persons and personalities of modern times. Born into humble beginnings, Muhammed Ali gave a voice and a sense of pride to the downtrodden and to the racially oppressed world-wide. His brave stand in refusing to be conscripted to fight an imperialist war in Vietnam was exemplary. As a result, he lost two years of competition at the very height of his boxing prowess. Here in South Africa, in the midst of the granite years of apartheid, Ali's formidable example was very much part of the revival of an anti-racist, anti-imperialist groundswell.

We dip our banners in honour of cde Mohammed Abdelaziz

The leader of the Polisario Front, cde Mohammed Abdelaziz, passed away on Thursday last week. For many decades cde Abdelaziz has led the brave struggle of the Saharawi people against the illegal Moroccan colonial occupation of large parts of Western Sahara. Let us honour his memory by intensifying our solidarity with the Polisario Front and the long-suffering Saharawi people.

Issued by the Central Committee of the SACP

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Annexure "CR24"



SACP

14th NATIONAL CONGRESS

10-15 July 2017

POLITICAL REPORT

Defend, Advance, Deepen the National Democratic Revolution:
The Vanguard Role of the SACP

Political Report 2017



14th National Congress

Political Report

10-15 July 2017

**Defend , Advance, Deepen the National Democratic Revolution:
The Vanguard Role of the SACP**

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The SACP is calling for an official inquest into all circumstances surrounding Hani's assassination. The Party strongly believes the truth has not been fully disclosed.

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**Advance, Deepen and Defend the National Democratic Revolution!
The Vanguard Role of the SACP**

SACP 13th Congress Central Committee Political Report to the 14th Party Congress

This 14th SACP National Congress takes place at an exceptionally challenging time for our society, for the South African working class, and for the broad popular forces of our country. The major democratic and constitutional breakthrough of the early and mid-1990s, the first phase of our national democratic revolution, which had promised so much, is now under threat of erosion and reversal.

These challenges impose a significant responsibility on this 14th National Congress. We, the delegates to Congress are representing more than a quarter of a million SACP members – by far the largest membership ever in the 96-year history of our party. It is a membership that has grown by leaps and bounds over the past year. And this is no accident – it is testament to the public role the SACP has been playing over the past decade, and particularly in the recent period.

However, as delegates to this Congress we are not only representing the interests of the SACP. A wide array of non-communists in the ANC-SACP-COSATU-SANCO alliance, in trade union formations beyond COSATU as well, and many other patriotic South Africans who, perhaps in the past have been dismissive of, or even cynical about the Party, all are now looking with some hope and anticipation at our Congress. Why?

It is an open secret, admitted by itself, that our leading alliance partner, the ANC, is threatened with serious decline, buffeted as it is by factionalism, moneyed patronage networks, and corporate capture. The internal crises affecting the ANC have begun to impact on its electoral performance, with a very steep decline in support, much of it due to a voter stay-away in many of our core mass bases. If the current trajectory is not reversed, the ANC is unlikely to pass the 50 percent mark in the general elections scheduled for 2019. Its ruling party role will, therefore, be challenged by one or another opportunistic coalition of current opposition parties as has already happened in many of our major metros.

Much, but not all, of this popular decline, is related to the almost daily revelation of scandals involving highly-placed ANC politicians in government and particularly those who have been entangled within the notorious Gupta empire, including the president's own family. The phenomenon of "state capture" of critical and sensitive state organs and state-owned enterprises by a web of parasitic capitalists has created a parallel, shadow state, or even, as some leading academics have argued, a "silent coup".

Unfortunately, the perversions of parasitic-patronage networks are not confined to the national sphere alone. In many localities, moneyed factions gate-keep over ANC branch participation, and actively rig membership audits.

But we must balance this negative picture with the recognition that everywhere from within the ANC, whether it is from within the National Executive Committee, or the ANC Parliamentary caucus, or on



provincial and regional structures, or from veterans, stalwarts and many genuine (we underline genuine) MK veterans, or as a major under-current in last week's ANC National Policy Conference, there is resistance to these pathological developments. In many of these sites of struggle, it is communist ANC MPs, for instance, or former MK fighters who are Party members who have been in the forefront. But we have not been alone as SACP members in the fight against corruption, nepotism and state capture.

The resistance has grown both in its spread and boldness.

But is this growing wave of resistance from within the ANC and ANC-led structures against parasitic-patronage networks and state capture sufficient to enable the ANC itself, at its December 2017 national conference, for instance, to make a decisive break with the current trajectory? Will the parasitic network even allow the December ANC conference to take place if the signs are not propitious for their cause? All of this remains uncertain. And this fluid, uncertain, and frankly dangerous, reality presents key challenges for this Congress.

We now shoulder a major responsibility as the SACP for the advance, deepening and defence of the NDR. How do we play this role without over-reaching, without exaggerating our own strengths, but, equally without failing to rise to the demands and responsibilities of the situation?

Let me, on behalf of the outgoing Central Committee, right at the outset state that one of the responsibilities of this Congress will be to discuss the issue of SACP leadership renewal and succession. There is definitely a need for leadership renewal and that is a matter we need to handle with care and the necessary sensitivity.

Indeed, a critical sub-theme of our Congress, we suggest, needs to be: STRATEGIC CONSISTENCY, ANALYTICAL ALERTNESS, TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY.

What is the future of our Alliance? In asking this question we should bear in mind that the Alliance is not (or should not be) a market-place, not a transactional arrangement primarily concerned with wheeling and dealing over deployment, it is not even a coalition. This is an Alliance that was forged in struggle over many decades. It is an Alliance in which at different times the ANC has helped to rescue the SACP from narrow sectarian tendencies. At many other times, it is the SACP that has played a critical vanguard role in helping the ANC to overcome major crises.

Uniquely, in international terms, the alliance between the two political formations in the Alliance (the ANC and SACP) involves (and has involved since the late-1920s) overlapping, dual membership. This is not to suggest that this is a necessarily permanent reality, or that dual membership might not be abused to hem in and marginalise the independence of the SACP. Indeed, there have always been narrow nationalist tendencies within the ANC that have sought to do this.

So what posture must the SACP strike in the current fluid situation? The outgoing Central Committee has consistently expressed deep concern at the state of affairs within the ANC and uncertainty as to whether the ANC has the capacity to self-correct. We cannot depend on the ANC, we cannot simply hand over all responsibility for the NDR to the ANC, and then hope for the best.

At the same time, we have committed the Party to help to re-build the ANC on the basis of a principled shared programme of action. This is an ANC that does not belong to a faction. This is an ANC that we, as communists, have helped to build over generations. We will not push the ANC off the cliff, but nor will we allow the SACP to be pulled off the cliff by those in the ANC whose greed and recklessness are carrying the ANC, and indeed our country, headlong towards the edge.

It is difficult to predict with certainty what will happen over the coming six months.

Political Report 2017



Which is why we say that this will require of the SACP:

- STRATEGIC CONSISTENCY, not free-floating opportunism or short-term emotional responses;
- ANALYTICAL ALERTNESS, what Lenin described as the capacity to provide a “concrete analysis of the concrete situation” (and not be locked into mouthing timeless platitudes about the class struggle in general); and
- TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY (the ability not to be caught flat-footed while still being guided by strategic consistency).

There is an African proverb that “if you want to go quickly, you go alone. But if you want to go far, you go together.”

But together with whom? The fundamental question is not the SACP’s relationship to state power, or with the ANC, but the Party’s relationship to the working class and popular masses in general. Historically, this relationship has been considerably deepened by our alliance with the ANC. But whether this will persist is now, increasingly, an open question. We must be prepared for different eventualities.

These, then, are among the challenging intra-ANC Alliance dynamics that this Congress must help to analyse and to provide resolution on clear directions forward that must leave the SACP neither flat-footed, nor isolated in sectarian purity, nor strategically opportunist.

A vanguard of the workers and the poor

But as we address these critical intra-ANC Alliance issues, we must also be careful of not becoming over-preoccupied with them, at the expense of the wider reality.

Let us never forget the wider picture. These Alliance dynamics are occurring at a time when the lives of the working class, of the rural and urban poor, and of significant numbers of the middle strata have become increasingly precarious. Despite major redistributive efforts since the democratic breakthrough of 1994, including 17 million social grants, subsidised housing for the poor, close to 100% school enrolments, and major improvements in access to water and sanitation – the triple crisis of unemployment, poverty and inequality persists. In some respects it has worsened.

Statistics SA’s most recent data indicate that in the first quarter of 2017 a further 48,000 jobs were lost, adding to the 9-million unemployed. The narrow definition of unemployment is now 27.7 percent, and the unemployment rate among youth is at catastrophic levels. The household debt crisis is equally grave. It impacts upon the poor and the middle strata, not least, the much vaunted “new black middle classes”. The latter, without inherited assets, owe their precarious toe-hold in a suburban life-style to high levels of indebtedness. Home and vehicle repossessions are rife.

To the standard triple crisis list of unemployment, inequality and poverty, a fourth and related scourge must be added. Millions of South Africans live in a state of personal and household insecurity. The criminal justice system is failing poor communities, and particularly women and children.

While poverty and insecurity are the daily bread of the majority, a tiny capitalist elite live with excessive wealth. South Africa is notorious for being the most unequal society in terms of income inequality. A recent Deloitte survey of CEOs and CFOs at the top 100 JSE-listed companies found that on average they were getting a total pay package of R17.9-million a year, or about R69,000 a day! Thirty years ago, the ratio of an executive salary to that of a worker in South Africa was around 50 to 1. Now it is 500 to 1. And, remember, here the class comparison is between executives and those who are lucky to actually have employment.



Why, despite the democratic breakthrough and despite a major redistributive effort, have these obscene levels of class inequality (with strong racial, gendered and geographical overtones) worsened?

The documents tabled at Congress seek to provide answers to this question, while encouraging further debate and discussion. Above all, of course, we need not just to diagnose, but also to ask and answer the key question: What is to be Done?

At the broadest strategic level the answer is – a second radical phase of the national democratic revolution. But what do we mean by a national democratic revolution? Is this just a tired recitation of an old slogan, or does the concept of an NDR hold real and relevant meaning? We submit that the latter is absolutely the case.

Strategic consistency:

The continued relevance of a National Democratic Revolutionary strategy

After a prolonged revolutionary struggle, the 1994 democratic breakthrough in South Africa finally abolished the institutions of white minority rule with their origins in centuries of colonial domination. This radical rupture, a first radical phase of the NDR, laid the basis for a democratic dispensation within a progressive, non-racial constitutional order.

Since 1994, the SACP has been actively campaigning for a new push, a second radical phase of the struggle to advance and deepen the national democratic revolution (NDR), on the basis of the bridgehead of the 1994 democratic breakthrough.

We have consistently argued that without urgently opening up this new front of struggle, without an uninterrupted second radical advance, the gains of the first phase would be threatened; the liberation credentials of the ANC-led movement could be increasingly eroded as memory of the anti-apartheid struggle receded; popular power might be dissipated into passive expectation of state delivery, or individualistic consumerism, or, at best, fragmented into thousands of localised and sectoral protest actions. Any undue pause, we have further argued, would allow South African-based private monopoly capital, historically sheltered behind colonial and white minority rule, to re-group. All of these likely tendencies, we said, would leave the structural legacy of apartheid colonialism and the socio-economic crises affecting the majority of South Africans largely intact.

In 2017 it is obvious that these concerns have been substantially correct.

Does this mean that the strategic concept of an NDR is itself inherently flawed? Are national liberation movements inherently “bourgeois-democratic” in nature? Worse still, once in power after two decades or so, are national liberation movements bound to degenerate? Is the current fragmentation of our own liberation movement inevitable (and therefore irreversible)? These have long been the arguments of an anti-ANC left, as well as of liberal forces who regard the “national question” as irrelevant.

To help to answer these questions, one important step is to re-visit the historical roots of our strategic perspective of a radical NDR.

A brief re-visiting of the history behind the concept of an NDR is all the more relevant in this year of 2017, the centenary year of the Bolshevik October 1917 Revolution. Perhaps the greatest and most enduring legacy of the Bolshevik revolution on the South African struggle relates to the national question.

Moreover, this 14th Party Congress will elect a Central Committee that will take the SACP to the

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centenary of our Party in 2021. It is therefore appropriate that we use the occasion of this 14th Congress of our Party to begin to reflect, briefly of course, once more on the long road we have taken building on a proud Bolshevik legacy.

The two tendencies within national liberation struggles – the origins of the strategy of a radical NDR

The Comintern and the National Question

The strategic concept of an NDR was developed within the international communist movement nearly a century ago.

Soon after the 1917 Bolshevik October Revolution in Russia, the question of the relationship between anti-colonial nationalist struggles and emerging Communist Parties in largely peasant-dominated societies arose. At the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, there was a “Commission on the National and the Colonial Question”, in which Lenin and the Indian communist, MN Roy, played leading roles. In his report back to the Congress on the commission’s work, Lenin wrote:

“We have discussed whether it would be right or wrong, in principle and in theory, to state that the Communist International and the Communist parties must support the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries. As a result of our discussion, we have arrived at the unanimous decision to speak of the national-revolutionary movement rather than of the ‘bourgeois-democratic’ movement.”

We can see here the origins of the communist strategy of supporting national democratic revolutionary struggles in colonial and semi-colonial conditions. As Lenin goes on to explain, the idea of a “national-revolutionary movement” was advanced to distinguish between two diverging tendencies within national liberation struggles – the one national-revolutionary, the other a “bourgeois-democratic” reformist tendency: “if we speak of the bourgeois-democratic movement, we shall be obliterating all distinctions between the reformist and the revolutionary movements. Yet that distinction has been very clearly revealed of late in the backward and colonial countries...”

The Comintern urged Communist Parties in countries like India and China to work closely with, and to help radicalise, the “national revolutionary” tendency in the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist national struggles.

Private monopoly capital and industrialisation in South Africa

When the SACP (the CPSA as it was then known) was launched in 1921, the socio-economic context was different to that prevailing in societies like India and China which had overwhelmingly peasant majority populations and strong feudal features.

At that point, for nearly half-a-century, much of the southern African region had already been plunged into a massive process of monopoly capitalist-driven transformation. Rapid industrialisation, centred on the diamond fields around Kimberley and then the gold fields of the Witwatersrand, drew huge flows of private monopoly capital from the imperialist centres. There were major investments in mines, and also in rail and port infrastructure connecting the mining hinterland to the colonial ports. The Anglo-Boer war, the largest armed conflict of its time, forcibly consolidated disparate states, establishing a single geographical political entity, the Union of South Africa, under British imperial hegemony. In 1910, the Union of South Africa became a semi-independent British dominion under local white minority rule.

Above all, this massive capitalist-driven industrial revolution transformed the hard-pressed African peasantry and traditional African societies within the borders of the new Union of South Africa,



and, indeed increasingly throughout the southern African region, into impoverished labour reserves. Earlier colonial wars of dispossession had laid the basis. Now an active and violent process of proletarianisation was launched – that is to say, the expropriation of independent means of production, forcing hundreds of thousands and eventually millions of rural migrants on to the capitalist labour market on extremely unfavourable terms.

The early Communist Party in South Africa

Inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution socialists in South Africa formed the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) in 1921 as an affiliate of the Communist International. The CPSA sought to build working class solidarity between white and black workers in a struggle against mining monopoly capital. Already by 1924 the majority of the CPSA's non-racial membership was African. However, at first the CPSA did not recognise the interconnection between the class struggle for socialism and the national question in South Africa.

It was the 6th Congress of the Communist International in 1928 that mandated the CPSA to pursue a national democratic struggle as a "stage" towards a "workers' and peasant republic". This mandate called for the recognition that mobilisation around the grievances and aspirations of the nationally oppressed majority of South Africans was the critical motive force in the struggle for socialism against a double colonial reality – the continued hegemony of British imperialist capital and emergent domestic private monopoly capital buttressed by an "internal colonialism" (white minority rule).

While acknowledging that the 1910 Union of South Africa had accorded a degree of political independence to South Africa under white minority rule, the Comintern correctly argued that South Africa remained an essentially COLONIAL reality. This is how the Executive Committee of the Comintern in its Resolution on South Africa put it:

"South Africa is a British Dominion of the colonial type. The development of relations of capitalist production has led to British imperialism carrying out the economic exploitation of the country with the participation of the white bourgeoisie of South Africa (British and Boer). Of course, this does not alter the general colonial character of the economy of South Africa, since British capital continues to occupy the principal economic positions in the country (banks, mining and industry), and since the South African bourgeoisie is equally interested in the merciless exploitation of the negro population."

The same Comintern resolution instructed South African communists to pay particular attention to the still small emergent black, nationalist formations, with the ANC (and also trade unions) specifically mentioned. This new strategic line was adopted by the CPSA in 1929. Today, the SACP is criticised in some ANC quarters for paying "too much attention" to the ANC, but we have been paying considerable attention to the ANC for many decades, and we do not apologise for it.

The two tendencies in the South African National Liberation Movement

Through much of the first half of the 20th century the ANC held a broadly progressive, but essentially liberal-reformist perspective on the nature of the national struggle. In the late-1940s and through the 1950s, with rising mass and working class struggles, the ANC increasingly moved towards a more radical approach. The Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People, marked a decisive step in the radicalisation of the movement's strategic vision.

However, it is important to remember that within the ANC there have always been tensions between both more narrowly nationalist and more bourgeois reformist tendencies on the one hand, and more progressive left-leaning tendencies on the other. For these reasons, the ANC was, for instance, not at first able to formally adopt the Freedom Charter. Its eventual adoption by the ANC in 1956 (a year

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after it was adopted by the Congress of the People) provoked a subsequent split in the shape of the PAC – which rejected both the non-racial (the inclusive African nationalist) vision of the Charter, as well as its commitment to the common ownership of the mineral resources of our country, arguing that this was a “foreign Communist” idea.

The 1962 SACP programme, “The Road to South African Freedom”, reaffirmed the revolutionary national-democratic nature of the South African struggle. In characterising apartheid South Africa, the SACP’s 1962 programme introduced the important concept of “colonialism of a special type”, (CST), referring to the fact that, while South Africa continued to be a semi-peripheral economy subordinated to the interests of imperialist capital, the dominant colonial power (exercised through white minority rule) occupied the same spatial reality as the nationally oppressed black majority.

The crucial ANC 1969 Morogoro Conference, which marked a critical turning point after the major strategic defeat suffered by our movement in the mid-1960s, in effect, reaffirmed Lenin’s distinction between national struggles that were bourgeois-democratic, and those that were national-revolutionary. The Morogoro “Strategy and Tactics” document clearly associated the ANC with the national-revolutionary line of march:

“our nationalism must not be confused with chauvinism or narrow nationalism of a previous epoch. It must not be confused with the classical drive by an elitist group among the oppressed people to gain ascendancy so that they can replace the oppressor in the exploitation of the mass.”

The Morogoro Conference argued that the viability of a radical NDR in South Africa was made possible by two factors:

1. A global conjuncture – “The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition to the Socialist system...”; and
2. The fact that in South Africa, compared to most other societies embarked on national liberation struggles, the working class here was the overwhelming majority – “The perspective of a speedy progression from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation is made more real by the existence in our country of a large and growing working class whose class consciousness complements national consciousness.”

This strategic vision of “a speedy progression” from formal liberation to a radical NDR in many ways inspired the great rolling waves of semi-insurrectionary struggles from the mid-1970s, through the 1980s and into the early 1990s. It was a strategic vision that helped the ANC once more reclaim its hegemonic leadership role within the broader South African struggle.

These semi-insurrectionary mass struggles were the decisive factor in forcing the hand of the apartheid regime into finally engaging with the liberation movement in negotiations. However, the radical NDR vision was to be challenged from within the ANC itself at the very moment that the 1994 democratic breakthrough became imminent.

The collapse of the Soviet bloc played a major role in this revisionist turn. It was no longer easy to proclaim, as the ANC had done in 1969, that our struggle was taking place in a global context marked by an inexorable forward march, “within an international context of transition to the Socialist system”.

But if the global context had become less favourable for a radical national democratic revolution, this, surely did not negate the imperative of still pursuing that path. Nor did the global situation change the objective class realities in South Africa – in which the employed and unemployed proletariat constituted



the overwhelming majority, and in which the massive domination of private monopoly capital would make formal liberation relatively meaningless without a radical advance.

Indeed, notwithstanding its general optimism, the Morogoro Strategy and Tactics document introduced an important note of caution:

“We do not underestimate the complexities which will face a people’s government during the transformation period nor the enormity of the problems of meeting the economic needs of the mass of the oppressed people. But one thing is certain – in our land this cannot be effectively tackled unless the basic wealth and the basic resources are at the disposal of the people as a whole and are not manipulated by sections of individuals be they White or Black”.

(In our current reality it is important to note the “or Black”).

In short, Morogoro, while recognising likely difficulties, did not see these as reasons to abandon the strategy of a radical national democratic revolution.

The 1994 democratic breakthrough...what next?

But abandonment is exactly what started to happen within prominent circles within the ANC in the early 1990s.

It is interesting to contrast, as an example, the key messages that the SACP and the ANC respectively sought to advance in the immediate aftermath of the landslide ANC-led alliance electoral victory in April 1994. The message from the SACP’s Central Committee was clearly spelt out on the cover of the May 1994 issue of *The African Communist*: “A luta continual” – “the Struggle Continues!”, accompanied with an editorial elaborating on this perspective along with photographs of the winding thousands-strong queues outside voting stations to make the point that the democratic breakthrough was itself mass-driven.

This was in contrast to the front cover of the ANC’s official publication at the time *Mayibuye*, which carried the relatively demobilising headline “Free at Last!”, and a cover photograph of the Union Buildings and an air-force jet formation flying overhead at the inauguration of President Mandela. The accompanying *Mayibuye* editorial begins: “The moment has arrived. Liberation. Real change. National Democratic Revolution. Call it what you may.” It then goes on to envisage a modest, largely state-driven, top-down process: “Now is the time to make good the election pledge... In June, allocations from the budget will be decided upon. A modest beginning can then be made...”

From the very outset of the post-apartheid period, then, there was a determined ideological and strategic thrust to reassert a revisionist, liberal-reformist vision of the NDR.

The first post-apartheid decade-and-a-half

The first phase of our NDR, we argued, was constituted by the radical breakthrough in the 1994-1996 period. This radical breakthrough saw the abolition of the institutions of white minority rule, the achievement of one-person one-vote representative democracy, and a progressive constitution drawn up through an elected constituent assembly.

Our position in the mid-1990s (a position we continue to believe was correct) was that a second radical phase of the NDR should have begun IMMEDIATELY, using the bridge-head of the 1994-1996 breakthrough.

In arguing for a radical approach in the mid-1990s, the SACP was well aware that an adventurist “great leap forward” was not possible. The rolling back and relative stagnation of liberation movement

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advances within our own region; the 1989-1991 collapse of the former Soviet bloc; and the ensuing unchallenged US-led imperialist global domination had created an unfavourable correlation of forces internationally.

However, the landslide 1994 ANC electoral victory; the unextinguished popular and working class struggle traditions at the time that had made the negotiated transition possible in the first place; and the fact that South Africa-based private monopoly capital, given its deep complicity with white minority rule, was off-balance, created relatively favourable domestic conditions for radical advances.

These would necessarily include, as the SACP argued in 1995, a socialist orientation within an ongoing NDR – building capacity for, momentum towards, and elements of socialism in the present. This perspective was encapsulated in our strategic slogan: “Socialism is the future – Build it Now!” In other words, we understood the ongoing NDR and struggle for socialism in the new conditions to be essentially a struggle for “revolutionary-reforms”, of progressive transformational measures. This strategic position also meant that we understood that socialism was not a “second stage” to be pursued (that is to say, delayed) only “once the NDR was completed”. Neither the NDR nor socialism is an “event”. This was a strategic perspective of a relatively protracted struggle, a “war of position”, on the terrain of a constitutional, majority-rule democracy to contest and achieve radical transformation in all key sites of power. This required “going to the root” of the deep structural legacy of colonialism of a special type.

Unfortunately, after our 1994 democratic breakthrough an alternative strategic orientation was adopted, which the SACP characterised as the “1996 class project”. Despite contestation from within the ANC-led alliance, it became the dominant strategic line in the ANC and in government.

This strategic line, influenced strongly by a range of Western think-tanks, borrowed liberally from the perspectives of the first Bill Clinton administration (1993-1997), and later adopted by Tony Blair and most of Western Europe. This was essentially a drastically watered-down social democratic stance, calling itself the “Third Way”, and embracing neo-liberalism, financialised globalisation, a technocratic state, with “modernised” centre-left (often alternating electorally with more or less identical centre-right) political parties led by “electable” centrist politicians enjoying strong support from key sectors of capital. This is what some have described as “the extreme centre”. Barack Obama was possibly the last major representative of this current.

The ongoing global economic crisis that began in 2007/8 in the US as a financial crisis has shaken the assumptions of this project to the core. The economic crisis has now also become a crisis of political representation. Centrist, “Third Way” politics is now off-balance in many advanced capitalist societies, with the popular rejection of “establishment” politics in the US (the election of Trump), in the UK (Brexit), and across much of the EU.

The two decades of “Third Way” political hegemony has witnessed growing inequality both on a global scale as well as within dominant capitalist societies. Even within developed capitalist economies, trade union and welfare advances have been eroded, large sections of the working class, middle strata and professionals now find themselves unemployed or in precarious work.

Governing Third Way political parties (along with their centre-right colleagues) in the imperialist centres have typically supported NATO, and have been actively complicit in the military destabilisation of vast stretches of the Middle East and North Africa. War has been waging in Afghanistan since the 1980s, and in Somalia since the 1990s. Along with climate induced crises, and structural adjustment programmes resulting in economic collapse, imperialist military interventions have now produced the largest flow of internal displacements and of cross-border refugees since the end of the Second World War. By far the largest numbers of refugees and desperate economic migrants are located within third



world societies, including South Africa. However, there have also been major flows of migrants and refugees into Europe and the US.

De-industrialisation, growing employment precariousness, deepening inequality and the flow of migrants has been the terrain on which populist, rhetorically anti-establishment, right and extreme-right wing political parties and personalities have surged electorally within the US and many European countries on the basis of xenophobic, anti-immigrant demagoguery.

But there have also been important left-leaning regroupings either from inside of established centre-left parties, or through the formation of new movements, with the latter sometimes working with existing communist and radical left parties. Many of these movements take their direct inspiration from the diverse, anti-neoliberal, centre-left and radical left movements that swept through most of Latin America in the 2000s.

South Africa obviously has its own specific features, but it is possible to recognise many similar crises of representation dynamics at play that began to come to a head in the 2007-2009 period in our own country – the loss of credibility of the neo-liberal Third Way – “the 1996 class” - project; the emergence of a narrow populist nationalist right tendency; and the imperative of a regrouping of the left. However, in South Africa, these dynamics began to play themselves out largely WITHIN the ANC and ANC-led alliance.

How did we get here? The Polokwane moment

After 1994 there were consistent efforts from within the ANC and ANC-led movement to counter the neo-liberal Third Way project (or the “1996 class project” as the SACP dubbed it). These efforts came to a head in the “Polokwane” conjuncture of 2007/8. One of the organising perspectives of the upheaval that occurred at this point was the assertion that the “ANC (or the Alliance, in another version) is the strategic political centre” – and, not, therefore the state-presidency where Mbeki’s technicist approach had sought to locate it. At face value, and for many, this assertion of the strategic primacy of the ANC-led movement represented an attempt to reassert the democratic and mass-based, movement character of the ANC and its alliance.

However, in practice the Polokwane moment involved a marriage of convenience (or, perhaps, an unholy alliance) of the broad left, anti-neoliberal bloc with demagogic forces for whom the assertion of the ANC as the strategic political centre was a move to displace incumbents in the state with their own, in order to advance an even more aggressive parasitic, rent-seeking agenda. These latter forces identified patronage-based mobilisation within the ANC as the soft underbelly from which to capture strategic positions within the state to advance their parasitic agenda.

In other words, there were two very distinct understandings of what was meant by the “ANC as the strategic political centre”.

The first Zuma-led ANC administration (2009-14)

In the first Zuma-led ANC administration (2009-14) there was a relative balance of forces between the divergent agendas that had come together in a marriage of convenience at Polokwane. In some sectors (health with a major shift on AIDS, trade and industrial policy, state-led infrastructure spend, recalibrating competition policy as a means to leverage economic transformation, a greater emphasis on vocational training, etc.) space was opened up for progressive advances, including developing a better working relationship between the state and social movements (the social movement campaign for anti-retroviral treatment being the most obvious case).

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However, in terms of sustaining and re-building the ANC-led movement's capacity to mobilise the key motive forces, these and other positives in state deployment, coincided with the weakening of COSATU, partly as a result of the global economic downturn and resultant retrenchments. There was also a loss of momentum on the SACP side in terms of active working class and popular mobilisation (a failure to sustain a very successful financial sector campaign for instance). Deployment advances in some sectors noted above, however, were always (and surely deliberately) held in check by other deployments in the 2009/14 administration.

These checks-and-balances involved transactional deployment trade-offs between three tendencies (putting it very schematically) – a more left-leaning tendency; a more narrow BEE tendency; and a more centrist grouping, including many from the Mbeki project who had remained in ANC/state leadership positions (the National Development Plan was essentially the product of this last-mentioned tendency). This last-mentioned tendency was cultivated as the business-friendly, outward-looking project seeking to appeal to investors, while the more left-leaning and narrow BEE tendencies competed for support within the movement and among popular strata. There was also considerable, largely tactical, instability within the two last-mentioned groupings, resulting in the NUMSA split from the alliance on the one hand; and the belated expulsion of Malema from the narrow nationalist parasitic tendency on the other.

Important advances were made in the 2009 administration, but the constraints noted above meant that the structural problems within the political economy were not radically and systemically addressed. Where there was significant massification of programmes – the 17-million social grants reaching some 10 million beneficiaries, for instance, or the largest roll-out of ARVs in the world - critical gains were achieved. The floor of poverty was lifted and there have been significant and rapid gains in life expectancy. While these were absolutely essential interventions they were not inherently transformative.

In other cases, where there were significant budgetary allocations – in the major state-led infrastructure build programme, for instance – much of it (in the outgoing Mbeki-led ANC administration) had been spent on non-transformative vanity projects (2010 FIFA World Cup stadia and other related infrastructure – the Gauteng Freeway Infrastructure Programme, the King Shaka International Airport and Dube Tradeport, the Gautrain). In the first Zuma-led ANC administration, with the establishment of a Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission there was progress in re-orienting state-led infrastructure spending into a more coordinated and integrated approach. However, weaknesses and parasitic activities in key SOCs (notably, but not only, Eskom and Transnet), and in different spheres of government constrained the potential impact. The massive over-spending at Zuma's Nkandla homestead symbolised both the continuation as well as the personalisation of the vanity project phenomenon.

As for social infrastructure, the mass low-cost RDP and other subsidised housing programmes (some 4 million houses) have largely entrenched apartheid spatial patterns by building working class housing in peripheral locations far from work and other resources. This has served simply to reproduce working class marginalisation and black poverty – as well as a deeply skewed property market. The Gauteng signature housing project, the mixed-income Cosmo City development, was targeted at both subsidised housing for the working class and poor, and mortgaged houses for the emergent black professional and other middle strata. However, only a small percentage of the original beneficiaries/owners are still staying in their houses as a result of the enormous cost of transport because of its location. The subsidised houses are being sold at far below the cost to the state of their construction as the original beneficiaries move out. There are also wide-scale bank repossessions of mortgaged homes in Cosmo City, with auctioning-off sales on average fetching 30% less than nominal market value.

Other potentially critical pillars of a radical second phase of the NDR – like the state-led industrial action programme - have simply not received the scale of funding that would enable a qualitative step-



change. In some cases, the worst ravages of neoliberal-driven de-industrialisation and job losses have been halted, and some level of employment stabilisation has remarkably been achieved in a sector like clothing and textiles – indicating what could be achieved more widely if there was sufficient political will and resourcing.

Public employment programmes – the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and the Community Work Programme – while achieving relative massification (at around one million work opportunities a year), are, given the extraordinary levels of unemployment, nowhere near the scale required and envisaged in Chapter 3 of the National Development Plan. The effective resourcing of these programmes should aim strategically to move us towards the objective of the universal right to work (as envisaged in the Freedom Charter) as well as a socialist de-commodification of the very notion of work.

As for Land Reform and Restitution, again the required financial and human resources allocated have been woefully inadequate, and, even worse, there has been a strategic muddle. At best land reform is little more than a handful of dispersed projects, many of which collapse within a matter of years as a result of the failure to follow up making land available with concerted state technical, market and financial support. There has also been a failure to appreciate that, while access to rural land is key, the most significant land crisis is now urban.

In short, none of the potentially radical, “game-changing” sectoral measures have been sufficiently resourced or championed politically, or effectively conceptualised strategically, to ensure the kind of mass-scale, transformative impact required. This is not to say that, for instance, a transformative infrastructure build programme, state-led re-industrialisation, public employment programmes, and land reform (all of which can and should be connected) could all have necessarily been scaled-up simultaneously and equally. The trouble is - none have been.

Constraining serious radical transformation has been the deliberate “balancing of forces” within cabinet and key departmental and SOC deployments. Throughout the first Zuma-led ANC administration, Treasury remained firmly in the grip of a neo-liberal orientation. The SACP’s partial policy victory at the ANC’s 2009 Polokwane conference for the establishment of a state planning organ was watered down into the National Planning Commission, basically outside of state structures. And, consistently, throughout the 2009-14 administration, the president kept a very close control over the key departments in the criminal-justice sector.

These factors, coupled with the impact of the global economic crisis, meant that popular discontent and a proliferation of township and other protests increased. It was in this context that the ANC at its 2011 Mangaung national conference resolved on the necessity of a “Second Radical Phase of the NDR”. Unfortunately, no attempt was made initially from the side of the ANC to give meaning and content to the idea of a “second radical phase” – an inability reflecting the ideological paralysis caused by different currents and tendencies within the movement.

Post-2014 – State Capture takes off on steroids as the bourgeois-democratic tendency degenerates into parasitism

The fifth democratic administration, and particularly since December 2015, has seen the dramatic disruption of the pre-existing, but always unstable, post-Polokwane relative correlation of forces within the ANC and government. Essentially this has been the result of a more determined, more reckless, but relatively well coordinated, and well-resourced drive by a networked parasitic-patronage faction connected to the narrow BEE tendency and actively supported from the highest echelons of the ANC and state.

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Since 2014 we have seen a greater boldness and recklessness from this networked tendency, associated with:

1. Accelerated rent-seeking activities based on state capture
2. Increasing signs of a parallel shadow state and parallel movement
3. Creeping authoritarianism and ambitions for a more presidential system; and
4. An attempt at developing a pseudo-radical, populist ideological platform to cover for these activities.

Accelerated rent-seeking based on state capture

This networked parasitic patronage faction is held together by the plundering of public resources, rent-seeking activities that have focused considerably on parasitic relations with SOCs – not to privatise these entities, but to milk them and direct their billions of rands of procurement into private corporate and even individual pockets. Some of the current parasitism is directed at building war-chests to subvert the ANC's December 2017 national conference. The continued association with and defence of the Guptas, and the attempt to prolong the Cash Paymaster Services social grant contract are, in part, an aspect of the war-chest agenda.

A parallel shadow state and movement

In order to advance this agenda, but also to deal defensively with the growing exposure and popular outcry against it, there has been brazen abuse of the presidential deployment prerogative into sensitive institutions (SARS, SSA), and particularly into institutions involved in criminal investigation and prosecution – NPA, Hawks. However, while these deployments have delayed, or buried critical investigations and prosecutions, the calibre of those deployed and the resulting inner factional turmoil (for instance in SSA or SARS) has further deepened the crisis. With obvious presidential support, a parallel state has developed – SARS, the Hawks, the NPA are unleashed against Treasury; a rogue unit in SSA is launched as a factional arm within the ANC and ANC-led movement. Attempts to bypass cabinet are becoming more common – the Zwane bogus "cab memo" being the most obvious example. On the policy front, shadowy presidential and ministerial advisers from outside of the state and even the movement are brought in and act parallel to constitutional structures in the university crisis, on the SASSA matter, on nuclear policy, etc.

Growing authoritarianism

Linked to all of the above are growing inclinations to authoritarianism and presidentialism. Nostalgia for military-style, top-down command and control is openly expressed.

In July 2016 President Zuma said: "If it were up to me and I made the rules, I would ask for six months as a dictator. You would see wonders, South Africa would be straight. That's why if you give me six months, and allow Zuma to be a dictator, you would be amazed. Absolutely. Everything would be straight. Right now to make a decision you need to consult. You need a resolution, decision, collective petition, Yahl! It's a lot of work."

If opposition to Mbeki at the 2007 Polokwane Conference was centred on the struggle against over-centralisation within the Presidency, we are clearly now in a much worse situation. "Imperialist conspiracies", "regime change" threats are invoked in order to justify this dangerous drift – as if the accusers were not themselves involved in a "silent coup" against a democratically-elected government, and as if they were not actively betraying South Africa's democratic national sovereignty.



Assassinations of ANC and alliance cadres often go unsolved, and an emerging pattern of intimidation is apparent, most recently the theft of sensitive personnel data from the Constitutional Court and now the Hawks offices. There is threatening behaviour directed at the former Social Development DG's private residence. There is the intimidation of journalists and particularly the disgraceful harassment of SABC journalist Suna Venter who was literally hounded into death at the young age of 32.

However, both the sometimes amateurish calibre of elements involved in these activities, as well as the broader socio-political-constitutional setting in our country (a strong independent media, growing judicial confidence in holding the line, a powerful monopoly capitalist sector, and still relatively strong trade unions) often result in the early exposure of these activities, which does not make them any less sinister. What it does underline is that South African "civil society" has a much greater depth and resilience, whether from the capitalist or popular sectors, than Mugabe's Zimbabwe or Putin's Russia.

The growing authoritarianism at the top has its complementary counterpart at the regional and local levels. Thuggish militias, funded by provincial grandees, operate in several provinces, including the North West (where they wear T-shirts branding themselves as "Bang Fôkols"), in Mpumalanga, and KZN. They are used to break-up constitutional meetings of the ANC and its alliance partners, and may also be involved in more sinister activities. There also appears to be collusion between these forces and elements within the SAPS, with attacks on community leaders and activists going untouched.

A diversionary populist ideological platform

In the face of growing public exposure of their misdeeds, there have been a number of ideological interventions from the parasitic-patronage faction.

On the one hand, these have involved setting up (or attempting to suborn existing) ideological apparatuses – the SABC under its former CEO, Hlaudi; the Guptas' ANN7 and The New Age (whose "business models", like most Gupta-operations, consist in funding through parasitism on SOCs, the SABC, and endless advertorials from the premier league); and the recent Bell-Pottinger operation, using social media with "fake bloggers" and "Twitter bots", linked to pop-up "think tanks", ... etc.

Other institutions with a popular base among the alienated and largely a-political have also become stop-overs. These are platforms that include evangelical sects, like the Incredible Happenings Church, and celebrity prophets who convey blessings upon factional personalities in deep trouble and a curse upon their "enemies" in events that are organised as "press conferences".

Much of the ideological content from this leading faction is purely demagogic, eclectically tailored to the presumed interests of the audience (the National House of Traditional Leaders was promised an improbable "pre-colonial land audit" ahead of any "radical land reform").

Generally, the stance of the parasitic-patronage network has been a populist anti-intellectualism ("clever blacks" are disparaged.) For the first time in many decades, the ANC no longer has a journal of ideological discussion and debate.

However, over the past several months there has been an attempt to craft a more coherent ideological platform, evoking black and particularly narrow nationalist (including ethnic nationalist tendencies) or chauvinist themes and the notion of "radical economic transformation" (in the process narrowing the until recently forgotten Mangaung resolution calling for a "radical second phase of the NDR").

This move seems in large part to have been motivated by the hugely negative impact on the parasitic-patronage network of the growing revelations of their subordination to and complicity with the Gupta family. The Gupta connection clearly has zero positive resonance either with the mass base, or even

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with the many local aspirant rentier factions who resent the favouritism bestowed upon (or extracted by?) the Guptas.

Ironically, given its attempt to cast itself in radical, pseudo-left Africanist terms, much of the content and narrative for this ideological platform was developed by the UK-based PR firm, Bell-Pottinger, working on behalf of the Guptas. Indeed, the recently leaked e-mails demonstrate that Bell-Pottinger was literally writing speeches for some leaders in the ANC Youth League and so-called MK Veterans Association. Adopting the same victimhood strategy used by Zuma in 2007, the Guptas' propaganda machinery has sought to portray the multiple revelations of wrong-doing on their part, and the belated closing of their banking accounts, as a conspiracy directed against them by "white monopoly capital" working in tandem with Treasury. (Of course, since this did not square with the narrative, there was silence from these quarters when in February 2017 the Chinese Central Bank also shut down the accounts of a Gupta-related company, VR Laser Asia involved in a dodgy deal with Denel. There has also been silence about the recent closing of Gupta accounts by the Venda Building Society, which could hardly be described as "white monopoly capital".)

Over the past several months this parasitic-patronage faction has sought to re-calibrate its public positioning somewhat. While the Gupta family (and the networks left behind by its erstwhile Bell-Pottinger PR agency) clearly lurk in the background in many cases, there has been an attempt to downplay links in this direction and adopt a more radical sounding, Africanist posture. However, "radical", in these quarters, is largely rhetorical and is almost entirely focused on advancing narrow black elite accumulation. This very narrow version of BEE evokes "blacks in general, and Africans in particular", but in effect, it's about "ME and MINE specifically". The reduction of "radical economic transformation" almost entirely to a question of private black corporate "ownership, control and management of the economy" side-lines any notion of SOCIAL OWNERSHIP, or of POPULAR control, or of WORKER management.

We are told that companies directly controlled by blacks only own 10% of the JSE, but what is left unexplained is: if individual blacks owned 80% of the JSE how would that impact on the triple (and racialised) crises of unemployment, poverty and inequality? The same applies to the constant references to "WHITE monopoly capital" – if it became black monopoly capital would that change the lives of the majority of South Africans? The fudging of class is carried through in the way in which correct statistics are presented but abbreviated – for instance, we are told "White households earn five times more than black households". Shamefully, that's true, but notice what is missing – the word "average". The StatsSA finding from which this is drawn says: "The AVERAGE white household earns five times more than the AVERAGE black household". That reality is, of course, absolutely scandalous and is the source of social instability. But when you omit the word "average", you omit CLASS and willfully omit the growing class divisions and diverging class interests within the ANC itself. The top 10 percent of earners in South Africa earn as much as the remaining 90 percent, but half of that 10 percent is now black.

The major ideological counter-offensive that the parasitic-patronage network has attempted to deploy, thus far, has been the fig-leaf of a narrow Africanist, "black first, land first" variety. However, more recently, there have also been attempts to advance a more Marxist-flavoured narrative as an alibi for parasitic plundering – hence the evocation of "white monopoly capital" portrayed as the chief enemy of the NDR, as if aspirant "black monopoly capital" was the cutting edge of the struggle.

The SACP and others have come out, correctly, to criticise the manner in which "white monopoly capital" ("WMC") is being evoked and to expose the agenda that lies behind this sudden interest, from these narrow nationalistic right-wingers, in private monopoly capital. They have responded to us by pointing out that in the past (occasionally let it be said), the SACP has used the term "white monopoly



capital". We did so as a short-hand to refer to the obvious fact that overwhelmingly capital-ISTS in South Africa have been (and are) white (and male).

But that was a short-hand because, strictly speaking, capital (and therefore monopoly capital) is not a person or persons, nor is it even merely a "thing". Capital shifts its embodiment, as Marx exhaustively analysed in the volumes of *Capital*, sometimes assuming a money form, at other times it assumes the form of land, or machinery. Capital (privately accumulated) is, essentially, an exploitative process extracting surplus and profits from the exploitation of the direct producers. Capital, as such, has neither a colour, creed, nor gender – although capital-ISTS, persons, the principal agents and beneficiaries of capitalism of course do have colour, cultures, and gender. But whatever their colour, culture, gender – **AND THIS IS THE CRITICAL POINT** – they are, at the end of the day, bound by the inexorable laws of private capital accumulation, failing which, sooner or later, they cease to be capitalists. This is why Saki Macozoma, one of the early beneficiaries of BEE policies, quite correctly asked "Why do people expect black capitalists to behave any differently from white capitalists?"

None of this is to deny that genuinely broad-based black economic empowerment initiatives can have an important role to play in the NDR. The condition must be that these initiatives help to de-concentrate our excessively (privately) monopolised economy, that they help to foster job-creating, productive entrepreneurs who are not mere fronts for globalised monopoly capital, who, therefore, are objectively locked into local sustainability. So-called black economic empowerment that is simply looting public resources, that is involved in money laundering and massive illicit capital outflows to places like Dubai is something entirely different. Progressive broad-based black economic empowerment cannot be public investment in a dairy farm in Vrede that is laundromated through Dubai and morphs into a private wedding party hosted by newly minted, post-1994 dubiously naturalised South African citizens who have the audacity to arrive en masse at a national security key-point, the Waterkloof air-base. What an absolute insult to our democratic national sovereignty!

Of course the SACP does and should support using state procurement and targeted tendering to ensure re-industrialisation through localisation, beneficiation, de-concentration, and the promotion of **PRODUCTIVE** black industrialists, etc. (By the way the concept of the corporation is not the only form of the social organisation of industrialists). These are important pillars of any second radical phase. But the current Gupta-type dominant fractions of "tender-based capitalists" are **NOT** productive industrialists, they are a parasitic-patronage network supported from the highest echelons of the state and ANC. Key levers of radical transformation – Eskom, Transnet, Prasa, SAA, SASSA and even critical ideological/cultural institutions (the SABC) – have been massively weakened through parasitic robbery. And the post-Polokwane entry-point into these critical strategic sites of power has been through control over the ANC by way of whole-sale patronage networks that buy membership and rig internal ANC elections, which is actively leading to the demise of the ANC's popular support.

It is important that the imperative of a radical second phase of the NDR is rescued from the demagogic clutches of the parasitic-patronage network, and the SACP has a critical role to play in this regard by providing real content and a substantive programme of action that gives meaning to the call for a second radical phase of the NDR. This is precisely what the SACP's "Going to the Root" discussion document set out to do. Let us briefly outline, therefore, a shortened and updated version of the main points in this document.

A second radical phase of the NDR – Going to the Root

Despite major redistributive efforts on many fronts since the 1994 democratic breakthrough (including 4-million subsidised "RDP" houses; 17-million social grants; 7-million household electricity connections, etc.) crisis levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality persist. These crises are strongly marked by racial, gendered, and geographical factors – the poorest of the poor remain African rural women.

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Why the persistence of these crises? Is it because of poor government “delivery”? There are certainly many weaknesses in government capacity, and there is a need for significant improvement – but in relative international terms we have carried out a major redistributive programme. Is it because of weak growth? If we “grow the cake” then can we do better? But even during the previous decade of sustained growth in the post-apartheid period, the triple crisis persisted.

Clearly the problems are **STRUCTURAL**, they are embedded within the systemic features of our political economy. Growth along the same trajectory simply reproduces all of the deep-seated problems. This is why any solution has to be “radical” – that is to say, we have to go to the root of the problem. There has to be a **STRUCTURAL** transformation.

So what are the origins of this problematic, deeply-rooted structural legacy?

The problematic, systemic features of our political economy are rooted in South Africa’s colonial and white minority-rule history

The capitalist industrial revolution in South Africa in the late 1800s did not emerge “organically” from within South Africa, but was built around the mining revolution, which combined:

- A high dependency on (and subordination to) foreign finance capital and technology; and
- A massive reserve army of “cheap labour” – drawn from “native reserves”, and, indeed from throughout southern Africa.

Although much has changed in South Africa since the late 19th and early 20th centuries, these core features of the capitalist industrial revolution in our country have produced (and re-produce) systemic features, what is sometimes called a “path dependency”, which still persist today:

- Extremely high levels of private monopoly capital domination, especially in the mining, banking and energy complex – and, therefore, a relatively weak manufacturing and SMME sector;
- The semi-peripheral subordination of SA within the global capitalist value chain – despite its very early industrialisation, SA has been locked into a growth trajectory as an exporter of low-value, un-beneficiated natural resources and as an importer of technology and capital goods;
- Spatial inequalities – Not only was the political formation that emerged in 1910 as the Union of South Africa a semi-peripheral political economy serving a distant imperialist core, but the massive reserve army of labour was sourced from and reproduced in local (and regional) rural peripheries – principally the “native reserves”, later Bantustans. This “internal colonial” relationship played out between peripheral labour reserves and industrial mining and port centres. With the advance of the 20th century, it was also (and increasingly) reproduced in the core/periphery relationship of urban African townships on the distant outskirts of South African towns and cities.
- Patriarchal oppression – patriarchal values and oppression are found in most societies, but these were acutely intensified for the majority of women in South Africa by the “indirect rule” system through which the mining houses and successive colonial and white minority regimes exerted control over labour reserves. This was done through the simultaneous conservation and perversion of a “traditional” patriarchal subordinate apparatus – kings, chiefs and headmen, appointed by colonial and white minority rule authorities. Pre-capitalist societies in South Africa had both regressive patriarchal and progressive communal, democratic features. The latter we still honour today, partly in words (izimbizo/makgotla; ubuntu; masakhane; communal land, etc.), but also in the many every-day practices of social solidarity and cooperation in working class



communities (like stokvels). Successive colonial and white minority administrations preserved the worst authoritarian features and entrenched these in a system of indirect rule which later morphed into Bantustan authorities. Still today one-third of South Africans, a majority women, live as quasi-citizen-subjects under one or another form of chiefly authority. It was through this indirect rule system that girls, young men acting as "herd-boys", and especially women were forced into bearing the brunt of the reproduction of "cheap" (for the mining houses) migrant male labour – through child-rearing, care for the sick and injured, and the elderly, while scratching the barest of livelihoods from survivalist farming. On the mines themselves, the mining houses also reinforced labour discipline through an ethnic "boss-boy" system.

The lumpen patriarchy that is so much in evidence in contemporary South Africa, the extraordinarily high-levels of violence against women and children, male-based gangs, shack-lords, quasi-trade union formations like the Five Madoda, and, perhaps, we should now add the political militias and goon squads like the North West province's "Bang Fokols" all have multiple origins. But the de-humanising impact of decades of colonially-distorted "traditional" patriarchy should not be underestimated. Nor should we forget that around one-third of South African citizens are also "subjects" of patriarchal authority in the former reserves. The majority of those affected are women.

- A segmented labour force – although the institutionalised segmentation of the labour force, with racially defined job reservation, labour preference areas and the like, has been abolished, the working class still remains stratified along racial lines. Artisanal and skilled positions are still disproportionately occupied by whites, and low skilled work almost entirely performed by blacks. A massive reserve army of labour has long been the core feature of South Africa's capitalist economy and of its relationship to the rest of the southern African region. High levels of unemployment have been disguised in rural dumping grounds and in township "informality", giving rise to migrancy by annual, seasonal and daily, contract labour, and the inhumane treatment and casual discarding of workers. These largely racialised patterns continue with over 9 million workers unemployed and many more in precarious work. In addition, economic crises and urban and rural poverty in our wider southern African region have effectively transformed countries like Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho into labour-exporting reserves ("Bantustans") for post-apartheid South African capitalism by way of a huge flow of economic refugees.
- Education and training – the reproduction of both class and racial inequalities was deliberately perpetuated through decades of colonial and apartheid education and training policies and practices. In the pre-1948 (pre-apartheid) period, the reproduction of class and race inequalities in the education system was largely by way of neglect of the African majority. However, in response to growing capitalist labour market needs for a semi-skilled labour force, the apartheid regime introduced the Bantu Education system. While the inferior character of this education system is often and correctly criticised, the scale of the roll-out is sometimes forgotten. When the National Party took power in 1948, the average black child spent only four years in school, and only a quarter of black children of school-going age were enrolled as pupils. Under the Bantu Education system the number of places for black pupils increased rapidly. But the racial inequalities in terms of government spending were massive, and with the growing intake of black pupils the per capita inequality increased. In 1953 government spending per African pupil was 14 per cent of that for each white pupil, by 1968 it had declined to 6 per cent.

This significant expansion of education for blacks was not, of course, due to any enlightened philanthropy on the part of the apartheid regime. It was a strategic response to the growing

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demand for more literate, more numerate semi-skilled labour, while professional training and qualifications in the expanding but limited black universities ("bush colleges") was intended to be reserved for staffing "homeland" administrations in the Bantustans.

Since 1994, at a formal institutional level we now have a single, non-racial public education system and important progress has been made in terms of achieving near universal school enrolment. However, in practice, vast inequalities persist throughout the education system, and these serve to reproduce race and class inequalities.

- Unsustainable environmental destruction – Pre-colonial African societies lived in relative harmony with their natural environment. Everywhere, capitalism's voracious need for ever-expanding growth has resulted in the destruction of the metabolic relation between societies and nature. Colonialism in the era of capitalism was particularly destructive of both human lives and wider nature as it embarked on an often genocidal process of primary accumulation. In South Africa, colonially-orchestrated, capitalist-driven industrialisation was based on an especially ruinous path - mineral extraction that has plundered our non-renewable national wealth at huge cost to human health, and to the environment, of which the current Acid Mine Drainage crisis is but one symptom. Formerly cheap and abundant coal resources have also locked our energy system and wider productive economy into an excessively carbon-intensive path.

All of these systemically-interlinked legacy features of our political economy point to key RADICAL STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION features that need to be the critical pillars of a second radical phase of the NDR.

They also point to why the National Question and therefore a NDR strategy remain central features of our struggle, not least our struggle for a socialist South Africa.

Key pillars of a second radical phase of the NDR

A key task of this Congress is to lay the basis for the updating of our core programme, "The South African Road to Socialism" (SARS), adopted at our 13th Congress. We propose that a draft updated programme must be presented for adoption at our next Augmented Central Committee, guided by the discussions and resolutions taken at this Congress. A key part of SARS was the outlining of the tasks of the SACP in all key sites of struggle. Obviously these different sites are ultimately all interconnected, but for the purposes of developing action strategies, SARS listed them as:

- The terrain of the state;
- The economy;
- The work-place;
- Communities; and
- The battle of ideas.

Five years on, and with a view to updating SARS, we will flag a few current issues regarding progress, setbacks and challenges in each of these key sites of struggle.

The SACP and State Power

At our 13th Congress we identified the consolidation of a strategically disciplined National Democratic developmental state as a key objective. We noted that the 1996 class project had undermined the developmental potential of the post-apartheid state through restructuring based on the neoliberal-



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related “New Public Management” doctrine that transformed the state into a largely contractual state – what we sometimes referred to as “tenderisation” of the state. We also noted that our 2007 call for an effective state planning capacity was only partially achieved in the 2009-2014 administration with a National Planning Commission that was, effectively, a non-governmental body. We also noted the crisis of sustainability throughout much of the local government sphere.

Since 2012, generally these problematic features have persisted. Even more seriously, as we have noted at length earlier, the parasitic State Capture reality has further undermined the developmental capacity of the state. It is for these reasons that as immediate priorities the SACP has called for:

- An independent judicial commission of enquiry into state capture to be established immediately. The terms of reference of the commission must be based on the findings of the Public Protector, and must not be so broadened as to render the commission ineffective;
- The commission must not be a reason to delay the immediate investigation and early prosecution of those involved in corruption, money laundering, illegal sharing of top secret government information with private parties, and much else that has been exposed by, amongst other things, the Gupta-related e-mail leaks;
- The termination by the state of all dealings with Gupta-related businesses;
- Rapid interventions to ensure that good governance is restored to key State Owned Enterprises, notably Eskom, Transnet, Prasa, Denel, SAA, as well as at the public broadcaster, the SABC and SARS.
- Likewise, the disastrous mishandling of the whole Social Grant payment dispensation, and growing evidence of serious corruption in the water sector must be rigorously dealt with.
- Abuse and factionalising of the criminal justice system must be rooted out – notably in the Hawks, the NPA and the intelligence services; and
- The covert attempt at foisting on our country a costly nuclear procurement deal that we neither need, nor can afford must be halted.

What about SACP members serving in the executive and in legislatures, including in municipal councils? While these comrades serve under an ANC mandate in the first instance, over several recent congresses we have resolved to establish more effective Party accountability structures and Party Discussion Forums (PDFs) in legislatures. In practice there has been uneven and often weak implementation of these decisions. However, the outgoing Central Committee has ensured that all SACP members serving in the national executive as ministers and deputy ministers have reported on their work to the Central Committee. Generally, it is our view that overall SACP members serving in the national executive have acquitted themselves generally well, and some have been targeted and demoted for refusing to bow to illicit pressures.

Any assessment of the SACP and the class struggle on the terrain of the state must also take into account the role of key public sector unions and the ability of the SACP to play a supportive role. Again, generally speaking, the relationship between the SACP and POPCRU, SADTU and NEHAWU has been solid with important shared activities, including political education work. The organic links with SAMWU and workers in the municipal sector has been less effective.

In flagging some of the key issues relevant to the question of the SACP and State Power we have deliberately not reduced it to the (nonetheless important) question of the SACP’s approach to electoral politics.

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Let us remind ourselves of what the 13th National Congress and "The South African Road to Socialism" (SARS) had to say on this issue:

"The modalities of the SACP's participation in elections are not a matter of timeless principle. As an independent political party, the SACP has every right to contest elections in its own right – should it so choose. Whether the Party does this and how it does this are entirely subject to conjunctural realities and indeed to engagement with our strategic allies. There are, however, three fundamental principles that will continue to guide us in this matter:

- The SACP is not, and will never become, a narrowly electoralist formation;
- Our approach to elections will be guided in this phase of the struggle by our overall strategic commitment to advancing, deepening and defending the national democratic revolution – the South African road to socialism; and
- Our strategic objective in regard to state power is to secure not party political but working class hegemony over the state."

There will, of course, be a separate session as well as discussions in commissions on the question of the Party and state and popular power. We believe that, as this Congress discusses the electoral modalities through which the SACP engages with future elections, the broad principles articulated in SARS remain valid. However, as we noted at length earlier in this Political Report, the current situation, not least within the ANC and the ANC-led alliance, is extremely fluid and uncertain. We need to assess the likely impact, for better or worse, on the ANC in its national conference, scheduled for December, of any decision that this SACP Congress takes now in July. We should not be opportunistic about this, but nor should we be blind to the impact of any SACP decision at this point.

What is clear is that the manner in which the Alliance is currently functioning is unsustainable. At the very least, and we are not just referring to election campaigning, a major reconfiguration of the Alliance is imperative. We absolutely cannot rule out the prospect of the SACP contesting elections in its own right, which will bring advantages but also many challenges. There are many other issues that need to be thought through strategically. When we say, as some do, that the Party must "go it alone" - do we mean LITERALLY "alone", or do we mean at the core of, for instance, a reconfigured National Democratic movement, or a United Left Front?

Delegates will recall that in the opening sections of this political report we said that our challenges and our responsibilities in the present require of the SACP:

- **STRATEGIC CONSISTENCY**, not free-floating opportunism nor short-term emotional responses, that have long-term consequences;
- **ANALYTICAL ALERTNESS**, what Lenin described as the capacity to provide a "concrete analysis of the concrete situation" (and not be locked into mouthing timeless platitudes about the class struggle in general); and
- **TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY** (the ability not to be caught flat-footed while still being guided by strategic consistency).

These watch-words are, of course, generally applicable to all of our work in the present, but they certainly have a special relevance to the question of the Party's positioning on the electoral front.

Economic transformation

As we gather at this Congress our economy is facing grim challenges. We are now in technical



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recession. When we met in 2012, the state had succeeded in driving the single largest investment into economic and social infrastructure by government in any five-year period. The increase in infrastructure spending alone since 2008 had cumulatively boosted real GDP by 2.2% by 2016. Without this major, public sector led effort, South Africa would have long been in deep recession.

Countries like Nigeria, Russia and Brazil were plunged into recession much earlier than South Africa owing to the global commodity price crash. Appreciation of this reality needs to be a critical part of our understanding of why State Capture is so perilous.

There are already many clear and deeply concerning indications of the impact of parasitic corporate capture of key SOEs. These are SOEs that have been central to driving our major public-sector led infrastructure build programme. There are now signs that the infrastructure build pipe-line in energy, transport, and water is slowing down as a result of parasitic plundering.

Many sectors of our economy are facing a huge job loss bloodbath, such as the commercial sector, impacted by the increase in online shopping that is further replacing demands for local goods. COSATU affiliate, SACCWU, has for instance informed the SACP that about 90% of furniture sold in South Africa is now sourced from outside the country. The big warehouses that are mushrooming in our major cities are a reflection of the fact that the world is fast becoming one global shopping centre.

While we now have a much more activist Competition Commission, the challenge of de-monopolisation still looms large. For instance whilst our financial sector campaign had notched some important victories over the last decade or so, these were largely consumer type victories (for example, the Mzansi account, regulation of the credit bureaus, etc) and did not in any significant way touch the core systemic structures of the banking and the financial architecture in our country.

Over the last five years the SACP also launched a campaign to focus on the de-monopolisation of the media space, especially the over-arching dominance of Naspers. This campaign has not yielded the results we need as yet, though it has helped to identify and mobilise potential allies in this regard. It is for instance unacceptable that pay TV in our country is dominated by one single monopoly, Multi-Choice. It is going to be important that we call on the Competition Commission to investigate monopoly in the pay TV industry, as part of taking our campaign to higher levels.

Since our 2012 Congress a new term "the Fourth Industrial Revolution" has come into vogue. While, of course, we should guard against fashionable tag-lines, it would also be a mistake to ignore the massive impact on economies and on the world of work of a series of advances in digitised technologies, including robotics, artificial intelligence, 3-D printing and the internet of things. These developments are set to bring about disruptive change, not just in productive sectors but also in service activities, including retailing, legal services, accounting and health services, among others.

In theory, these new technologies have the potential to significantly advance human welfare, liberate humanity from mind-numbing labour, and provide better solutions to a myriad of developmental challenges. In the current capitalist and imperialist context, however, these changes also have the more likely potential to significantly widen inequalities with negative "disruptive effects" on workers, with lower levels of skills especially in developing countries.

For instance, earlier this year Adidas moved production from low wage factories in Asia back to Germany – on the grounds that robotics and 3-D printers were cheaper than low paid workers. In Marxist terms we can see that what is underway is an effort by capital to surmount the continuing ongoing global crisis by raising relative surplus value.

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What then could this so-called Fourth Industrial Revolution under current capitalist conditions mean? Among other things we are likely to see job losses across the world, particularly focussed on lower skilled workers, and the relocation of industries, as in the Adidas example.

Unless we are very vigilant, Africa's intended industrialisation programme, in which the South African government is playing a leading role, is likely to be frustrated and choked by the fourth industrial revolution technology. Unquestionably, the fourth industrial revolution is likely to exacerbate global inequalities.

However, there are also some potential positives, for instance the lowering of barriers to entry of more innovative small businesses using 3-D printing or other digitised technologies to compete more effectively against larger less dynamic transnational and local monopoly corporations.

Faced with the so-called Fourth Industrial Revolution, there are issues requiring immediate attention for the working class. They include:

1. The shortening of the working day. In the so-called First (the steam-powered) Industrial Revolution, worker struggles led to the introduction of the 8-hour working day. With the new technologies, a further shortening and the sharing of work across a larger number of people is both possible and necessary. But, of course, as in the 19th and 20th centuries, this will only happen as a result of intensified class and wider social struggles.
2. Linked to this, there is the need to advance the struggle to de-link income and work, at least partially. There is some resurgence of interest, for instance, in campaigns for basic income grants.
3. But we also need to de-commodify what we mean by work itself. While new technologies are even entering into many social spaces like health-care, education, early learning centres and the like – it is important to uphold the principle that many tasks, which might not be profitable for capitalist bosses, are inherently about human interaction. We must not reduce the notion of work to alienated and exploited work for a boss. Countering the capitalist understanding of what is "real work" is one of the core principles we should be aiming for with our public employment programmes – the EPWP and Community Work Programme. We should also be promoting more dynamically the idea of a solidarity or social economy, relatively de-linked from the exploitative value chains of the capitalist mainstream economy.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution also has implications for education and training, calling for closer attention to, for instance, what kind of graduates we should be producing from our universities as well as Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges.

The workplace

Linked to the job loss blood bath referred to above, the capitalist restructuring of the workplace continues apace. Generally, capital has, in many workplaces and economic sectors, mastered the art of circumventing and undermining our progressive labour laws. This is worsened by four interlinked factors: failure to curb labour brokerage and casualisation; weaknesses in the Department of Labour's inspectorate; weakening of industrial unions in the workplace; and increasing absorption of vulnerable workers from the SADC region into some sectors of our economy. In essence the SADC region has become a cheap labour reservoir for South African private capital, almost reminiscent of the role of the Bantustans in apartheid South Africa. Congress will have to discuss in some detail these four factors contributing to weaknesses in the workplace.



Since our last Congress, most of COSATU's industrial unions have become weaker, including the fragmentation in unions that organise in South Africa's industrial sector. The formation of the latest union federation, SAFTU, is unfortunately compounding the fragmentation of the labour movement at a time when we need to be working towards maximum unity and towards organising the millions of unorganised workers rather than cannibalising membership from each other.

It is therefore going to be absolutely important for the SACP to clearly define its role in supporting working class struggles in the workplace. It is absolutely necessary that we support and unite workers in common actions and struggles across federations. There are many issues that unite rather than divide workers. One of those is the mobilisation of the working class against corporate capture of the state and against corruption. This would be over and above the need to organise unorganised sectors, as well as struggles against labour brokers and casualisation.

South Africa also has a capitalist class that has historically been dependent on cheap labour and unwilling to train workers beyond the most minimal requirements. For instance in both the metal and mining industries, it is estimated there are more than 40 000 artisan aides. These are workers who perform the work of artisans and require upgrading to become full artisans. But employers are unwilling to provide them with further training so that they become fully qualified artisans, as this will cost the bosses more.

The workplace is also an important site for training new entrants and young workers to acquire basic skills. It is going to be important for the SACP to work closely with the labour movement in this regard.

The workplace continues to reproduce patriarchal forms of interaction between male and female workers, including the absence of facilities to look after children. These are struggles that the trade union movement should be supported to take up.

Community struggles

This is one area where we can say that, unfortunately, from the point of view of our organised formations, there is continued weakness if not regression. This is despite the fact that three of the alliance formations (ANC, SACP and SANCO) are supposed to be highly organised in communities, with branches and civic organisations, and even in the case of the Trade Union movement, the strong traditions of community-based shop steward councils have almost disappeared.

Most of our townships and villages are in distress mainly due to high levels of unemployment (especially youth unemployment). Manifestations of this problem include drug and substance abuse and increasing levels of gender based violence, violence against children, and generally very high levels of violence.

Despite these major problems, everywhere in working class and poor communities, there are social networks in which, somehow, households and communities survive, building social cohesion through voluntary work, and through traditions of solidarity in stokvels, burial societies, local sports associations, voluntary home based care activities, much of it organised around faith-based organisations. Sometimes these activities are reinforced by the numerous participatory democratic arrangements we have introduced post-1994 - school governing bodies, ward committees, community policing forums, etc. However these latter often become sites of factional battles. Generally, it is women who are in the lead of the extensive social economy activities that are happening in poor communities.

The question that faces this Congress is where are our branches and civic formations, and what is their role? For the SACP in particular the question is where are our Voting District (VD) based branches? Are they functioning? It looks like our branches are not acting as catalysers of community mobilisation,

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building dynamic and organic relations between themselves and other community initiatives. Could it be that our branches are more consumed by matters of lists, AGMs, conferences and congresses and not dynamically rooted in our communities?

As the SACP we have generally embraced the idea of building vibrant township and village economies. We however need to study closely examples of attempts where these have been made, especially the evolving township economy models in a province like Gauteng. A lot of work and popular mobilisation is required on this front. For example, one of the most important tasks is to strengthen co-operatives and small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in our townships and villages, without simply turning these social economy formations into cannon fodder for political aspirations.

The development of vibrant local economic and social activity that is more premised on providing socially useful services and goods to communities and less on maximising profit faces many obstacles. One of the biggest is that the four big monopoly retailers have carved out and identified most of our townships and villages as places to build malls that undermine local economic activity. Our municipalities for instance often do not undertake socio-economic assessments on the impact of malls on local economies. Why? The SACP can take up a campaign that no mall should be built without a proper socio-economic assessment and that many of our areas in our townships and villages must be deliberately set aside for co-operatives and SMEs. This is an important part of the vanguard role of the SACP.

A related matter in building and strengthening local economies in our community is to struggle for the enforcement of the implementation of what is known as 'set asides'. For example there has been much talk that the provision of school feeding should not be based on a competitive tender-based approach open to major players, but rather a 'set-aside' for local productive co-operatives in our communities.

The struggle to build co-operatives (including co-operative banks) must be one of the important struggles in building and strengthening our communities. We must, in the first instance, work to strengthen existing savings co-operatives like stokvels and burial societies. But we must support the organic, bottom-up emergence of new social economy initiatives as well. Without effective government support this will not be possible. For instance, in some countries every municipality is required by law to bank a percentage of its monies with local co-operative banks. It is mostly women who are active in these economic institutions of our communities. We must support their already existing self-organisation around these activities as part of building a progressive women's movement from below.

The organisational weaknesses of our Alliance formations in communities and the tendency to over-politicise (in the narrowest sense of the word "political") our local activities, seeking to hijack local community formations into narrow factional and electoral battles, does not mean that there has not been ongoing popular mobilisation in townships and rural villages. But much of this has taken the form of so-called "township service delivery protests", expressing the frustration of communities with real or alleged municipal, for instance, corruption.

Unfortunately, in the absence of effective leadership from Alliance formations, these protest actions are often inward turning – with backyard dwellers turning against informal settlement dwellers around who should be first in the housing queue; or one taxi formation fighting against another over access to routes. There have also been tragic flare-ups of xenophobic mobilisation. In many situations poorly trained, overwhelmed and demoralised policemen and –women, themselves from these communities, bear the brunt of community anger. There have even been attacks against emergency service workers. In all of these cases it is the poor attacking the poor in their ghetto spaces, while the wider struggles for the right of all to the resources and amenities of our towns and cities are largely neglected. The rich continue to live in their comfort zones.



Worse still, many community protest actions are characterised by violence and the destruction of public property. Legitimate frustration over, for instance, delays in the building of an access road, leads to the shut down and even destruction of schools. Community halls, clinics and libraries are sometimes destroyed by protestors who believe that this is the only way to get the attention of those higher up in government. We must, of course, condemn these self-defeating actions, while admitting that they are, in part, symptoms of our own failures.

What is radically absent in all of this is a sense of community ownership and control (and therefore responsibility for) local resources and amenities. There are many reasons for this, among them the top-down delivery paradigm that, in government, we have too often inculcated – turning communities and citizens into little more than voters, whose only responsibility is to vote for us every five years or so..

An important aspect of community mobilisation is that of rebuilding close relations between workplace and community struggles, including the mobilisation of communities to support worker struggles. We also need to ensure that we organise in all communities, also as part of building non-racialism, especially in the light of the emergence of very regressive and narrow Africanist views from inside the ranks of our movement. Particular attention will have to be paid to black communities, especially Africans and Coloureds.

Ideally all this work in communities should be the bedrock of joint alliance activities to ensure that our Alliance does not only work during elections, but on an ongoing basis in all our communities.

The battle of ideas

We believe that, on the terrain of the battle of ideas, the SACP has, indeed, played a vanguard role. We have already spoken at length about the ideological challenges surrounding the most immediate danger confronting our constitutional democracy – parasitic State Capture. It was the SACP that first introduced the now wide-spread idea of “corporate capture of the state” into public discourse, and it is the SACP that has consistently exposed the ideological agenda (led by Bell-Pottinger – PR firm now, ironically, with a major PR headache of its own) to divert our Alliance and our country from the struggle against parasitic Guptaisation. Given the fact that this dangerous and perverted demagoguery has sought to adopt Marxist-flavoured terminology, the SACP has a particular responsibility. By advancing popular slogans like: “Neither the Guptas, nor the Ruperts” we believe that the Party has generally played a significant ideological role in this space. The welcome broad back-lash against populist, pseudo-left demagoguery in last week’s ANC National Policy Conference is a welcome indication that our Party’s interventions on this terrain have played a real vanguard role across the broader ANC and alliance.

Of course, the immediate battle on this particular front is not the only ideological responsibility of the SACP. We need to continue our all-round ideological work, and particularly anti-capitalist agitation. We are the only Alliance component with a theoretical journal (‘The African Communist’) that we have produced regularly over the past 23 years, since the democratic breakthrough of 1994, not forgetting the AC’s consistent publication since 1959. This is something we should not take lightly. We also produce Umsebenzi and its weekly online version, and we need to continue with this. We also need to explore the new technologies to take this work forward. Let us harness our many activists, not least those from the YCLSA, active on social media to deepen our ideological work and the battle of ideas.

Let us also use this year, the centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia to intensify our work in promoting and debating the meaning and relevance of socialism in the 21st century.

Political Report 2017



Socialism in the 21st century

In the late-1980s and early-1990s the SACP played a relatively important international role in keeping the red flag of socialism flying. It was an internationalist responsibility that the SACP at the time well understood. With the Soviet bloc of countries rapidly unravelling, and with once mass-based communist parties in countries like Italy and France losing momentum, and with the historic communist party and trade union left in much of Latin America still reeling from decades of imperialist and military junta oppression, the ANC-led breakthrough in South Africa was one of the few radical popular developments of the time.

At the time, the SACP appreciated that this imposed an internationalist duty on the SACP to, as it were, keep the red flag (and our very name as a COMMUNIST party) flying. This meant neither being demoralised nor being in denial about the reasons for the major set-back that the collapse of the Soviet Union represented. As a Party that had from its outset been inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and that had been closely associated with the Soviet legacy for many decades, we had a particular responsibility both to our own broader movement and to left forces internationally.

In the early 1990s two important interventions were made from the side of the SACP. Our General Secretary at the time, Cde Joe Slovo, published "Has Socialism Failed?" in 1990, and in 1995 the SACP at its Congress formally adopted a new strategic approach to the struggle for socialism – encapsulated in the slogan "Socialism is the Future – Build it Now!" This slogan, interestingly, has since been taken up in several Latin American countries.

The thrust of Slovo's intervention was that it was not socialism that had failed, but rather a socialist project, in the face of unremitting imperialist aggression, that suffered from a deficit of democracy. He argued that capitalism can survive with or without formal democracy, relying on the threatening whip of unemployment and the bait of consumerism to drive people into alienated and exploited work. However, in the Soviet Union an extensive social wage but without vibrant democracy, including democracy in the work-place itself, resulted in social stagnation and mass alienation. Slovo's conclusion was that without a vibrant popular and working class democracy, socialism could not thrive.

In further SACP discussions, and particularly in the light of immediate challenges the Party was facing in the post-1994 period, Slovo's critique of 20th-century "existing socialism" was taken forward. A strong "economistic" tendency in the Soviet system was identified, involving a forced march into industrialisation, and an over-emphasis on developing and "modernising" the forces of production to the detriment of thoroughly democratising the relations of production. This resulted in further problems, the harsh treatment of other popular classes, notably the peasantry, and the attempt to "catch-up" with the West at any cost, with a neglect of the devastation to the environment.

Socialism in the 21st century will need to place a premium on the socialisation of work itself, while ensuring food security for its people, on sustainable livelihoods, sustainable households and communities, and the sustainable use of natural resources.

The SACP's 9th Congress (1995) and 10th Congress (1998) built upon and took further Slovo's perspectives on socialism. In particular, these Congresses decisively broke with the "stage-ist" conception of the relationship between a radical National Democratic Revolution and the construction of Socialism. This break with "stage-ism" was particularly important at a time when the Mbeki-period "1996 class project", sought to strategically re-define the NDR as essentially about "completing" the capitalist revolution in South Africa, which meant "de-racialising" capitalist ownership and control – but not increasingly abolishing capitalist ownership. The "1996 class project", used "stage-ism" to argue that, yes, there was no problem with socialism (and therefore with the SACP), but socialism and the SACP belonged to a distant future.



While continuing to assert that in South African conditions a radical NDR is the most direct "route" to socialism, with the slogan "Socialism is the Future – Build it Now!", the Party committed to injecting a socialist-orientation into present-day struggle. The argument was that defending, advancing and deepening the NDR requires building capacity for socialism (including, therefore, a class conscious working class), momentum towards socialism (through pursuing anti-capitalist struggles in the midst of the NDR), and even building elements of socialism in the present. Among the elements of socialism to be built in the midst of the NDR, are:

- The increasing de-commodification of basic needs – health-care, education, housing, the environment, culture and information, and work itself. In other words, taking basic needs out of the sphere of the market.
- Transforming the market – the decommodification of key areas of our society does not mean abolishing the market altogether, but rather the rolling back of its empire. To transform markets means intervening with collective social power to challenge and transform the capitalist dominated market-place using active labour market interventions; state procurement leverage; regulatory controls; and effective consumer negotiating forums.
- Socialising the ownership function – by building a strong, democratic public sector; fostering an extensive co-operative and social-solidarity economy sector; ensuring much more effective strategic worker control over social capital (like pension and provident funds).
- Socialising the management function – in the public sector by struggling against bureaucratic aloofness and ensuring greater levels of public participatory engagement; and, in the private sector, ensuring that the management function is not one-sidedly dominated by profit-maximising objectives – by using effective work-place forums, safety committees, etc.
- Democratic planning – both at the central level and in devolved locations where appropriate.

None of these measures in themselves, or in isolation, amount to socialism. All of them are open to being co-opted into the capitalist system. This is why on our terrain of revolutionary-reforms, in the context of contesting all sites of power, the question of momentum and transformative coordination are critical. We must seek constantly to build working class and popular confidence and power. We must seek constantly to advance transformational interventions that place our principal strategic opponent, private monopoly capital, off-balance. In short, we must build working class and popular hegemony in all sites of power.

This requires both a vanguard party of socialism and a broad national democratic movement. Which is why we say:

**Defend, Advance, Deepen the National Democratic Revolution:
The vanguard role of the SACP!!**



Annexure “CR25”



COSATU Central Executive Committee Statement 28-30 August 2017

Bheki Ntshahintshali, COSATU General Secretary, 31 August 2017

The Congress of South African Trade Unions held a scheduled meeting of its Central Executive Committee from 28-30 August 2017, which was attended by all members of the CEC.

The meeting discussed and resolved on a number of organisational, political, international and socio-economic issues affecting the workers and the working class in the country and around the world.

This meeting took place after a very hectic period for the Alliance in which all the leading alliance formations held strategic national meetings. This included COSATU's 6th Central Committee, the ANC's 5th National Policy Conference and the SACP's 14th National Congress.

All of this was also happening in the context of a deepening crisis of capitalism, acutely marked by the continuing global economic crisis that also saw the economy of South Africa being downgraded into a technical junk status. The rate of unemployment, poverty and inequality has reached historically high levels, with unemployment under an expanded definition now sitting at 38%.

The CEC took some time to remember the victims of the 2012 Platinum strikes, including those who perished during the Marikana tragedy.

We remember the 58 workers that were killed in the course of the Lonmin and Impala disputes of 2012. These include 5 workers that were killed at Impala Platinum, 6 workers at Aquarius Platinum, and 47 at Lonmin Marikana (10 before the 16th of August, including 2

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police officers whose bodies were mutilated) 34 that were killed by the police on 16th August, and the 3 workers after the 16th August).

Their deaths remain a classical example of the immorality of Capitalism, its festering greed and government betrayal. The mine bosses have to acknowledge and confront the fact that they are primarily responsible for fostering discord and violence in many workplaces in the sector. The undeniable fact is that it is their quest for super profits that has created orphans and cost workers their lives. Currently workers in the mining sector are being assassinated in their own homes and their houses are bombed. There is also a disturbing inconsistency in how the police are dealing with the violence in the mining sector. We also send our message of support to the victims of the Kusasaletu Mine accident.

The federation expressed concern about the carnage on our roads, as symbolised by the horrendous taxi accident in KwaZulu Natal. We are seeing more workers and students daily being killed in car accidents every day. The student transport in this country needs to be reviewed because we cannot afford to have our children massacred in this way. COSATU demands a safe, affordable reliable accessible and integrated transport system can no longer be postponed.

We also received a presentation from the Minister of Finance Mr Mahusi Gigaba on the state of the economy, including the recently released Government's Inclusive Growth Action Plan. We have agreed that going forward we will continue to engage with the minister, including convening a bilateral to respond to some of the issues raised he raised in his presentation.

Organisational Assessment

The CEC spent a considerable amount of time discussing the state of the federation and that of its affiliates. The meeting reiterated its assertion that the task of building a strong workplace organisation must be anchored by intensification of the ongoing Back to Basics and Listening Campaign.

While we are happy with the progress made so far to translate the Back to Basics programme into a meaningful practical activity, there is still a lot of work to be done to help the affiliates that are experiencing internal challenges.

The CEC has resolved that COSATU should not only engage with the leadership of these identified unions but it should escalate the process of engagements to the real owners of the unions the workers.

We shall be announcing a programme in the next two weeks to meet with members of SATAWU, SAMWU, and CEPPWAWU to discuss the state of their unions.

These workers meetings will be convened all across the provinces. The problems in some of our unions are not ideological but are about money and service providers, who want to influence leadership election in unions so that they can continue their business relationship at all costs. This issue is also not just a COSATU problem but it is a cancer that can be found all across the labour movement.

The infighting in some of these unions has left the workers vulnerable and has made it very difficult for these unions to defend them and also wage sustained campaigns. The CEC is clear that only honesty and hard work by affiliates and everyone will help us to forge a united and militant federation under these current difficult conditions, which include the steady decline in the rate of unionisation, dire economic situation, the fragmentation and mushrooming of new trade unions.

The CEC congratulated the membership of COSATU for a successful Central Committee meeting that was held in May this year. The CC represented the continuation of the momentum of unity from the 2015 Special National Congress and the 12th National Congress, especially considering that in 2014, we could not convene a Central Committee meeting as per our constitution.

The Central Committee proved beyond doubt that the unity of COSATU was no longer an issue which needed to be proven but a reality which was demonstrated for all and sundry to see. It is not false unity, but unity based on robust and yet comradely engagements. It is unity which is anchored on the founding principles of the federation including the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism.

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The federation shall continue to visit, engage and listen to workers from their places of work, and prioritise campaigns that are aimed at reducing wage inequality and improving workers retirement benefits.

During this bargaining season we expect all our unions, including the public service to take up the fight for better wages and improved benefits to the employers without fear or favour.

COSATU unions like SAMWU, NUM, SACCAWU, and NEHAWU are already showing an admirable resolve in representing the interests of their members.

Our union's approach to the negotiations will be guided by the framework adopted by the 2013 Bargaining Conference.

We shall also be talking to SASAWU and SAFFU members, who have been writing to COSATU and visiting our provinces asking for an intervention after some of their leaders pushed for the union to leave COSATU.

Socio-economic Assessment

The CEC expressed concern regarding the government's adherence to the current Neoliberal paradigm, especially since this is taking place in the context where around half of the population is poor and experiencing food insecurity and hunger.

The recent Statistics South Africa's report on poverty trends in South Africa has confirmed our assertions that the socioeconomic status of the majority in South Africa is deteriorating, despite the fact that few people are getting richer due to economic policies that favour the rich.

South Africa has the highest jobless rate of more than 60 emerging and developed countries.

This is made worse by the fact that JSE listed companies are continuing with their investment strike. They are now sitting with more than R 700 billion in cash deposits in South African banks.

These poverty figures did not come as surprise considering that 17 million people are depended on social grants, 50% of the workforce earns below R4000 per month and most workers spend more than 25% of their salaries on transport.

Of the 25 million people with bank credit cards 10 million are unable to repay these loans on time and some default on their debts.

Whilst 60% of government expenditure is linked to social wage, which includes social grants, health and education, the quality of these services remains very poor because a substantial portion has been diverted to benefit consultants.

We understand and appreciate that in 1994 the ANC inherited a country which was highly indebted to foreign and local capitalists, and whose growth was based on racial discrimination and subjugation of black majority, cheap labour and granting of benefits to only the white minority.

While we agree that the poverty levels we have today can be traced back to the days of British colonialism and apartheid, which were both based on segregation and separate development, however, the fact that poverty continues to affect mainly black people and to a certain extent coloured communities is as a result of policy choices by the ANC government post 1994.

The CEC attributed all this to the ANC government's decision to adopt neo liberal capitalist economic policies that were based on the view that if we remove regulations on business, cut taxes for companies and the rich; the benefits of this economic liberalisation will result in jobs and income redistribution for everyone.

COSATU, which has opposed this for the better part of the last two decades, has been sadly vindicated because these policies have been a spectacular failure.

Considering that the ANC's election campaign for 1994 was 'better life for all', the black people of this country have every right to feel betrayed. The CEC called on the ANC government to change its economic policy trajectory fast because the people are running out of patience and the ANC is running out of time.

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Building the capacity of the state

The CEC reiterated its previous assertion that a capable developmental state will not be declared in boardrooms or in public podiums but it will have to prove itself through its own actions.

In its reflections, the CEC concluded that because of weak political oversight and leadership since 2009, the gains of Polokwane and Mangaung have been reversed; firstly, by remnant elements of the '96 Class Project in the Treasury and by the adoption of the NDP, whose chapters on the labour market and macroeconomic policy not only contradict but undermine the manifesto objective of building a capable developmental state.

We have therefore resolved that to achieve a developmental state or any notion of radical socioeconomic transformation, we need to extricate the South African state from the shackles of private interests, the established white business, the emerging black business and the parasitic bourgeoisie.

The influence of white business can even be seen in policy development not only at the Treasury but across government.

This means that we need to pushback against a right-wing ideological model of the public sector that seeks to change the public service and parastatals to operate along the lines of the private sector.

We shall therefore intensify our fight against the introduction of private-sector practices such as public-private-partnerships, outsourcing, agencification, privatisation, etc.

The CEC has concluded that there will be no developmental state while government still insists on the user-payer principle (e.g. such as the e-tolls) as opposed to cross-subsidisation of the poor by the rich.

We continue to reject the commodification of public services, where citizens are treated as "customers" or "clients" in the practice of the delivery of public services.

To achieve this goal of a developmental state; the institution that is National Treasury needs to be rehabilitated from its addiction to neoliberal economic policies.

For years, we have witnessed a situation where every time the economy takes a downturn our government goes back to the old logic of neo-liberal economic responses

COSATU remains unyielding in its assertion that the task of fundamental transformation of our economy, the creation of decent work and the provision of basic services to the majority of our people cannot be left to the market forces.

Guided by the ANC policies and the May 2008 Alliance Summit that called for a moratorium on privatisation and outsourcing and the review of current outsourced public sector utilities, we shall continue to oppose privatisation of SOE's.

Instead of attempting to privatise SOEs, we believe that we need more of them in strategic sectors of the economy like in the mining sector (the state mining company), construction (the state construction company), pharmaceutical sector (the state pharmaceutical company), the financial sector (the state bank and the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank), etc.

We shall continue to engage with the Minister of Finance on some of his proposals because we do not believe that they will help us to build a developmental state. There is nothing new in what the minister has proposed and he also acknowledged that this is about building confidence and trying to kickstart the economy. We think that the issue of the recapitalisation of SOE's cannot be delinked from the improvement of management and governance systems in these entities. We do not want to see workers retirement savings being used to prop up corrupt parastatals and also to make BEE deals that benefit the elite minority.

If government is planning to use workers money to bailout SOE's, these entities should be led by capable and untainted leaders. Jobs should be prioritised and the SOE's themselves need to start helping to deliver on the government's developmental agenda.

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We remain constructive partners in the quest to find answers to the bigger economic questions ;but we also warn government that we also remain a formidable opponent ready to fight against any rightwing developmental model or policy proposals. We also want the minister to clarify on what does government mean by core and non-core assets with regard to partial privatisation.

Reserve Bank

COSATU continues to call for the review of the mandate of the reserve bank.

The federation favours an approach that incorporates both the developmental imperatives and the protection of the currency. This issue is not a matter of a dichotomous trade-off between protecting the value of the currency and development (job creation, etc.). These according to us are mutually reinforcing rather than contradictory.

We appreciate that unfortunately in the current reality that is dominated by finance capital, higher inflation rate suggests structural imbalance and becomes an impediment for investors, including our own companies as they become hesitant to invest.

So we agree that price stability is important even from a point of view of radical socioeconomic transformation – as long as we currently depend on capitalists for job-creation and growth.

The federation argues that the reserve bank is only notionally independent currently, as it generally subscribes to the dominant and conventional but failing policies received from finance capital – even at the expense of real producers of wealth in mining and manufacturing sectors. COSATU wants the Reserve Bank to account to the public through their representatives in Parliament on the implementation of this broad mandate that we are calling for.

National Minimum Wage

We are concerned about the continued arrogance of big business regarding the implementation of the national minimum wage.

There is deliberate attempt to delay the implementation of the National Minimum Wage by big business. Business must know that we will fight to the bitter end for the implementation of the NMW on the 1st May 2018

National Health Insurance

The CEC condemned the National Department of Health's decision to push ahead with the establishment of various committees to participate in the implementation of NHI. These committees are designed to undermine the Cabinet approved National Health Insurance Policy (NHI).

We view the establishment of these committees as nothing but the corporate capture of one of the most significant social policy reforms since 1994.

The terms of reference of most of these committees published in government gazette last week, are the opposite of the features and principles of NHI Policy as set out in the Green and White Papers.

It is now obvious that Minister Motsoaledi has handed over the NHI to institutions such as the Clinton Foundation. This new betrayal by the Ministry confirms our fears that Government has no interest in non-racial and non-biased Universal Health coverage.

COSATU calls on government to stop the process of appointing these committees immediately and implement NHI programme, according to steps clearly outlined in the NHI White Paper. COSATU will be convening an urgent meeting with the Minister so that he can account on this matter.

Renewable energy

COSATU recognises that there is a worldwide impetus to move away from fossil fuels to cleaner energy. Cleaner environmentally friendly forms of industrialisation are increasingly being preferred as governments seek to tax high emitting sectors.

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There is a need to move towards "low carbon and climate resilient economies" and the labour movement needs to be at the forefront of ensuring that a just transition that will create new employment opportunities and re-skill workers takes place.

The CEC has resolved that each union needs to carry out sector specific research to identify how the sector will be affected by the transition to an alternative energy source and develop a response that will ensure the sustainability of jobs in the future.

COSATU will also commission a study on the Koeberg power plant in order to answer critical questions surrounding the debate on nuclear, which include; the feasibility of nuclear, the lifespan of the plant, the possible job creation as well as health and safety.

Whilst we welcome renewable energy, we remain opposed to any attempts to use clean energy introduction to get rid of workers. A just transition means that the government must have a jobs plan before they can move from coal to other forms of energy.

In this regard we remain opposed to the current introduction of independent power producers as they are likely to result in an increase in electricity tariffs particularly in the short term. They are also likely to result in the privatisation of Eskom and closure of coal mines and retrenchment in industries that use fossil fuels.

Eskom should not be used to prop up the renewable energy sector. In the short term it would be expensive to buy clean energy and this may result in high electricity tariffs and back door privatisation of Eskom.

We condemn the DA's Patricia de Lille court case in which she wants to force government to allow her to buy renewable energy from independent producers.

We reject any call for the break-up of Eskom into a generation and distribution company. We call on Eskom to take over the introduction of renewable energy and to stop buying renewable energy from the private companies.

Job Summit

The CEC has resolved to continue with our push and consultation with social partners for the convening of a Jobs Summit. Companies continue to submit section 189 retrenchment notices showing their intention to retrench more workers.

Pick n Pay is planning to cut 10% of its workforce with AngloGold Ashanti and Bokoni Platinum Mine in Limpopo also planning to retrench 8 500 and 2651 workers respectively. Accelor - Mittal SA is planning to retrench more than 50 workers despite receiving government protection against Chinese steel imports. General motors' (GM) has left South Africa with 1500 jobs.

All these figures do not include companies in the supply chain which were also negatively affected.

As a result of disinvestment by the GM, a company that has been supplying GM, called Coega Autospray which is employing 79 people is facing liquidation.

We already have a framework for South Africa's Global Economic Crisis adopted on the 19th of February 2009 that we can build on and work on its principles to formulate our collective response to this economic crisis.

We understand that there can be no shortcuts to dealing with the economic challenges facing this country, especially on the issue of job creation but we think a collective approach is essential.

We need to appreciate that the unholy alliance between government and big business at the exclusion of the workers and the poor majority has brought nothing but suffering for the workers and those at the bottom end of the economic pyramid.

We cannot therefore afford postpone the process of finding a uniquely South African developmental model that will help us solve our country's socio- economic problems.

Section 77 on State Capture, Corruption and Job losses -National Day of Action

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The CEC resolved to go on a nationwide strike on the 27th of September 2017 to fight corruption, state capture, and job losses.

The twin evils of corruption and state capture have cost workers their jobs and communities of much needed services. We shall be starting with our mobilisation campaign ASAP across all the sections of society.

We have already received a strike permit following our Section 77 Notice on State Capture and Corruption that was submitted to NEDLAC on the 17th of July 2017. This will be a legally protected strike that will affect all sectors of the economy.

Campaigns

These are some of the Socio-economic campaigns that have been adopted by the CEC.

- a) Job Losses
- b) Heightening the campaign against Labour Brokers
- c) Public Transport and the scrapping of e-tolls
- d) Implementation of the National Health Insurance System Now
- e) Comprehensive Social Security & Retirement Reform
- f) Focusing on Unclaimed Benefits
- g) Land – developing a position paper on agriculture and land holding
- h) Fighting against the use of Independent Power Producers
- i) Taking forward COSATU campaign on Climate Change
- j) Calling for the scrapping of Provinces
- k) Non Trading Public Holidays
- l) Fight against the spread of HIV and Aids
- m) Elevating occupational Health and Safety issues in the work place
- n) Fighting racism in the workplace

The Mining Charter

COSATU supports the objective of the mining charter as far as it supports the empowerment of workers.

The Mining Charter as published in June 2017 among others seeks to enhance the participation of black people in the sector by increasing their ownership levels to 30% and increasing worker and community's stakes in the mines.

A mining charter that prioritises community and worker development and the sharing of mining profits would send a positive signal to the whole economy that transformation cannot be delayed anymore.

Corruption and State of the capture

The meeting resolved that the federation should continue to fight corruption at all levels of our society.

We shall fearlessly fight both public sector and private sector corruption in equal measure.

We reiterate our call for a Judicial Commission of Enquiry to look into the alleged corporate capture of the state by private interests. We still insist that the investigation into the State Capture should extend beyond the limited scope that was given to the Public Protector.

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We need an investigation on the extent that government institutions have been captured, seeing that many organs and functions of the South African state are outsourced to capital, including policy-making and research.

COSATU wants an investigation that will go back all the way to pre 1994 era, government of national unity to the present. We are also not happy with the illicit outflows of cash in this country because of the Reserve Bank and Treasury's indifference. We also do not believe that state capture issue can be resolved without tackling the company collusions and price fixing as exposed by the Competition Commission.

The recent revelations that the National Treasury wasted R1 billion on an integrated financial management system which after more than a decade it has yet to implement points to sorry state of our affairs.

COSATU calls for a thoroughgoing investigation of this matter and the people implicated need to be held accountable for this wastage of taxpayer's money. We salute the internal auditors of the National Treasury for doing their work diligently.

On politics

The meeting expressed concern that the Alliance is struggling to meet since the unilateral cancelation of the Alliance Political Council meeting by the ANC.

We reiterate our call for the convening of the Alliance Political Council meeting to discuss the future of the Alliance and its relevance in achieving the goals and aspirations of the working class.

We reaffirm our commitment to building a strong, reconfigured and functional Alliance.

SACP

The CEC congratulated the SACP for convening a successful National Congress.

It also called on both COSATU and the SACP to try and put more effort in implementing the decisions taken in our bilateral meetings, in order to intensify our class battles. We have also noted the SACP congress decision regarding state power. We shall convene a bilateral meeting with the SACP on this position and other related matters that took place during the congress.

Members of COSATU have been encouraged to continue to discuss this issue of the SACP contesting elections and a decision will be taken by the 13th National Congress to be convened next year.

ANC 54th Conference

The CEC assessed the current political developments and the implementation of the federation's decision to lobby and influence the ANC structures to support Deputy President Cde Cyril Ramaphosa to be the next leader of the ANC.

We are happy with the progress so far, and we strongly believe that the majority members of the ANC will elect the current Deputy President Cde Cyril Ramaphosa as the next president. We have been encouraged by the principled posture of many members of the ANC, who are refusing to be intimidated and silenced from supporting Cde Ramaphosa.

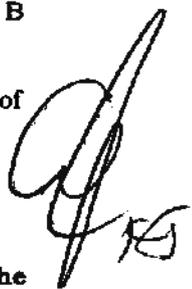
The CEC made it very clear that the federation does not have a plan B or C on this matter.

We are supporting Cde Cyril Ramaphosa with the intention to ensure that he is elected as President of the ANC in December and of South Africa in 2019. We reject any talk of a plan B because we support this campaign with the intention to see him win and not lose.

We shall continue to further reflect and engage with various ANC structures on the calibre of the leadership collective that will work with him to take the movement into the future.

This leadership collective should act as the centre and also be guided by the resolutions of the ANC.

We shall also continue to be guided by the following criteria in our consideration of the leaders to support:



31/03/2021

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Commitment to the radical NDR and thorough-going transformation
 Proven commitment to the Alliance
 Commitment to the fight against corruption
 Commitment to the unity of the ANC and the democratic movement
 Commitment to make this decade truly a decade of workers and the poor
 Commitment to defending and preserving the anti imperialist and internationalist character of the ANC.
 Rooted in or with a background in working class movement

International

· We reaffirm our international solidarity with Cuba in defence of the Cuban revolution, against US imperialism and to assert the country's sovereign right to pursue an independent path of social, political and economic development

· We condemn the arbitrary nature of the Trump administration's decision to reverse some of the policy decisions of the Obama administration regarding the thawing of relations between the two countries.

We offer our solidarity to the leadership of the Bolivarian revolution led by the President Nicolas Maduro, who is under attack from the imperialist forces and their internal rightwing agents.

We reaffirm our support to the Palestinian people and demand an end to the Israeli aggression against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

We demand the removal of all settlements from the Palestinian lands which Israel seized after 1967

· We re-affirm our support for the Saharawi people and all people suffering occupation and colonial aggression as Western Sahara. We reiterate our condemnation of the re-admission of Morocco in the AU and we view it as a slap in the face to the people of Saharawi, but also a huge slur and a breach of the AU's constitutive act mainly the principle on state sovereignty.

· We also reaffirm our unwavering support for the struggle of the people of Swaziland. The CEC has resolved to take up a consolidated and active programme of action, which includes the two elements; trade union and political situation as a context of the overall struggle.

We shall be strengthening our relationship with the progressive trade union federation, TUCOSWA and its affiliates through a joint programme focusing on areas such as organising and campaigns, research and education, as well as international solidarity.

End

Issued by COSATU



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31/03/2021

Gmail - Fwd: COSATU CEC Statement - August 2017

Cape Town 8000, South Africa

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Annexure “CR26”

For the Sake of Our Future**Press release****Dated: Thursday 27th October 2016****Embargo: None.**

The objective of this press release is to give you some background to a meeting that took place on Tuesday the 25 October.

This press release has been prepared on behalf of long standing stalwarts (names attached) of the African National Congress (ANC) who have been and remain deeply concerned about the present situation within our country and our movement.

The signatories have come together out of a profound sense of commitment to the ANC and importantly, to the future of a united, prosperous, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. We remain devoted to the principles and values that have been the hallmark of the ANC for over 100 years, values that are encapsulated in the Constitution of our country and the Freedom Charter.

Given the signatories' length of service to the ANC and the country we would add value to the process of introspection to which the ANC has committed itself.

Collectively and as individuals we have attempted to engage with the President of the ANC and the other senior five elected office bearers[1] of the ANC, (through the Office of the Secretary General (OSG), the letter was sent directly to the President as well), in the belief that our diverse and long standing involvement and knowledge of the movement could contribute to correcting many of the ills that have befallen our organisation. Regrettably, the response by the OSG has focused on administrative and structural internal processes of the movement and appears to show a lack of awareness of the urgency that the signatories feel.

The pace of events unfolding in the ANC, Government, and civil society severely limits the ability of many within the African National Congress to use the normal internal processes

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and largely dysfunctional structures to raise concerns and potential solutions; there is simply not the time. We believe that the overwhelming majority of ANC members who are committed to the real values of the ANC will understand this and give their support to any initiative that helps strengthen the movement, government, the role of Parliament, and the institutions of the state to ensure the necessary corrections take place, before it is too late.

Any initiative of this nature will see people who seek to question motives. This is understandable, and the loudest criticism will come from those who do not necessarily have the best interests of our movement and the country at heart.

As signatories we stand in solidarity with the Minister of Finance, Pravin Gordhan and the other accused, Oupa Magashula and Ivan Pillay. We strongly believe the charges are without foundation and clearly show a misuse of state agencies, when the NPA and other agencies should be focusing on cases of corruption and the misuse of public funds. We urge all members of the ANC to show their support for the three accused on Wednesday, 2nd of November 2016 at the Pretoria regional court. No stalwart who believes in the historical values of the ANC can abstain from this issue.

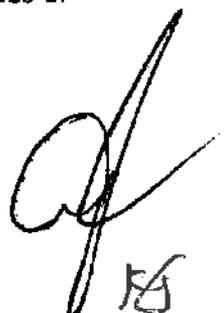
As with any political organisation there are mistakes that need to be corrected. Historically, the ANC has faced many challenges, but because of leadership, introspection and honest self-criticism, the movement has been able to grow in strength and stature, in the eyes of our membership, communities of South Africa and the international community.

The trust between the ANC and communities, built over up over so many years, is

now severely under threat. Communities that have looked to the ANC for leadership and who we should serve, increasingly see self-enrichment, corruption, nepotism and the abuse of power - the moral high ground that the ANC enjoyed is being lost..

As stalwarts and long serving members of the ANC we have a profound responsibility to the movement and the country to ensure that the principles and values of the ANC are not destroyed. We believe that the overwhelming majority of our citizens embrace the values of the Freedom Charter and the Constitution of our country and share this view.

A press conference will be held next week, to give members of the media an

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opportunity to engage with some of the signatories and to release for public consumption the document that was to be used in our proposed dialogue with the senior six officials of the ANC. Details of the press conference will be circulated in the near future.

We believe that the document will promote meaningful dialogue and open up a new chapter of honest reflection and renewed commitment to the values embodied in our Constitution and Freedom Charter.

We hope that you will be able to send senior staff to this press conference, who can critically engage with the stalwarts of our movement and enable you to help open up the meaningful dialogue that we believe is so necessary.

If you refer this press release to a specific journalist, would you kindly send their contact details to sakeofourfuture@gmail.com so that any additional information, including an electronic copy of the document and subsequent press releases can be sent directly to her/him.

For post press conference interviews would you kindly communicate via sakeofourfuture@gmail.com and we will attempt to link you up.

We recognise that a significant number of you, as members of the media, will not be located near the venue of the press conference. However, as this is not a provincially based initiative we would like to ensure that you have the opportunity to interview other signatories who may live in your area. Again kindly send your contact details to sakeofourfuture@gmail.com.

The following four stalwarts will make themselves available immediately after the Press Conference and you can contact them directly to arrange interviews:

- 1. Cheryl Carolus caroluscheryl2@gmail.com**
- 2. Frank Chikane fchikane@gmail.com**



3. Sydney Mufamadi sydneym@uj.ac.za and

4. Murphy Morobe mafisonm@gmail.com

We look forward to engaging with you at the planned press conference.

END

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Annexure “CR27”

SACC Report to the Church Public on the Unburdening Panel Process

Regina Mundi Church, Soweto. May 18, 2017

Why we are here: In 1996, President Nelson Mandela addressed a gathering of African Ombuds Officers – the Public Protectors of Africa, then hosted by South Africa, and he said:

“Our experience had made us acutely aware of the possible dangers of a government that is neither transparent nor accountable. To this end our Constitution contains several mechanisms to ensure that government will not be part of the problem; but part of the solution. Public awareness and participation in maintaining efficiency in government within the context of human rights are vital to making a reality of democracy...” (Nelson Mandela, 1996.)

We have come to the conclusion that the danger that Mandela warned of, and that we now have “a government that is neither transparent nor accountable”. If government has become a huge part of the problem in our country, do we have, as Mandela suggested, a Constitution with “several mechanisms to ensure that government will not be part of the problem; but part of the solution”? Constitutional experts can throw light on that. What we are able to do is take on the latter part of Madiba’s statement, the call for “Public awareness and participation in maintaining efficiency in government within the context of human rights”. Undergirding our considerations is the preamble of our constitution that calls on us to:

- “Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights”; and Prophet Amos cries out: “Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream”. (Amos 5:24)
- Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; and Proverbs says: “When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked rule, the people groan”.
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person...

And the preamble ends by saying “May God protect our people”. This is indeed the constitutional imperative for the church to rise to protect the people of South Africa in the name of God, for “we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us” (2 Cor. 5:20a). The Book of Proverbs admonishes: “Like a roaring lion or a charging bear is a wicked ruler over a helpless people”. (Prov. 28:15)

We come here seeking to ensure that our communities are aware of the challenges we face, in order to reflect from an informed position when we meet at the SACC National Conference in June. What is patently clear is that South Africa is in desperate need of divine intervention! We need prayer and action – to kneel and pray dutifully, and “gird up

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our loins” to work and reverse the national hurtle to mis-governance and chaos.

We are grateful that Christians of all traditions, and indeed all people of faith from all religious backgrounds are praying hard for this nation. There is a powerful prayer network of Christians with a daily program linking prayerful people across the land in a steady campaign to soak the country in prayer. It began at Easter and will conclude the present phase at Pentecost. The National Church Leaders Forum of the South African Council of Churches requests that Christians should add to the present campaign an intensity around the two upcoming holy days – Ascension on May 25, and Pentecost the last day of the present campaign. We appeal that people should plan to gather to pray in their local churches on Thursday May 25, between noon and 2pm (12h00 – 14h00), and ring bells where they have them. Ascension Day is also Africa Day, and we should add the Africa dimension to our prayers for our continent. In addition, we appeal for national interdenominational prayer gatherings from 14h00 on the afternoon of Pentecost Sunday, so that we mark the end of the present phase of our national prayer campaign with a collective cry for the Holy Spirit to descend to convict us and heal our land.

We further appeal that the national prayer networks should only pause for a moment and not tarry long, but request the organizers to set the next quarterly prayer target from end of June to the end of September, with the last prayer phase for 2017 going into December to possibly close with a major prayer Rally of Healing and Reconciliation on December 16, ahead of Christmas.

In the context of this reality the leaders of our churches have been meeting each year during March/April to reflect on the State of the Nation. In 2015 we committed “to soak the country in prayer”; we committed to use the Solemnity of Good Friday for people in our congregations to mount their pains on the cross of the crucified Christ:

- The pains of rampant drug abuse, gangster terror, wanton rape and domestic violence;
- The pains of abandoned families, children without care, and the maltreatment of the helpless such as the 100+ Esidimeni victims;
- The pains of fearsome crime that renders society unsafe at home and in public places;
- The pains of rampant corruption in business deals, especially with the government; State Capture and the growing impunity of those in power, compounding the challenge of poverty and deprivation.

We committed to pray and work for the promise of the post apartheid South Africa in sync with the values of the Kingdom of God (Psalm 12:5; Isaiah 11: 1-9; Amos 5:24; Luke 4:18-19; John 10:10), the promise of a just, reconciled, sustainable and equitable society; free of racial, tribal, ethnic, xenophobic and gender prejudices; free of corruption and deprivation; and with enough food and shelter for every citizen; and for each child born to grow to its God given potential. That is the South Africa We Pray For!

In December 2015 we came to this historic Regina Mundi Church to declare our commitment to strive for this. We committed to work and pray; focusing on:

Healing and Reconciliation

Fabric of family life

Poverty and Inequality

Economic Transformation, and**Anchoring Democracy, which includes the concerns of corruption and maladministration, and the loss of public trust in public institutions.**

Today we are therefore seized with Anchoring Democracy, as we have come to recognize that South Africa may just be a few inches from the throes of a Mafia State, from which there may be no return – a recipe for a Failed State. Anchoring Democracy is our campaign pillar that has huge crosscutting impacts on everything else in the land. It is here that our prophetic ministry coincides with our civic responsibility at its thickest and most profound.

The SACC Unburdening Panel Process: In April 2016, the SACC created the Unburdening Panel as a safe space and a “facility” offered by the churches to any person in the Republic of South Africa who may wish to relieve herself or himself of the burden caused by an experience of someone – an individual, a representative of a business interest, of a political party or of a person of influence – your superior or someone you couldn’t say “No” to, suggesting that you do something inappropriate in return for a promotion, an attractive position or money or shares in a company, or any other favour or incentive whatsoever. This was essentially a pastoral process for the people, and not an investigation.

As the word says, it is a provision for people to “unburden” themselves and tell what they wish to tell freely. The unburdening notion is based on the bible text that says: “Bear one another’s burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.” (Gal. 6:2). The Panel is chaired by the SACC President, Bishop Siwa. Other members of the Panel are Madam Justice Yvonne Mokgoro, retired Justice of the Constitutional Court; Dr Brigalia Bam, a previous General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches and former Chair of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC); and Bishop Mosa Sono, Presiding Bishop of Grace Bible Church in the Evangelical Alliance of South Africa. Working with a team of voluntary lawyers and researchers, for the public good, the General Secretary of the SACC, Bishop Malusi Mpumlwana has been coordinating the Secretariat of the Panel.

The panel was intended to work in the following manner:

1. The people indicate through the office of the General Secretary their desire to tell their stories. And they are referred to the lawyers to listen to them and, based on the nature of their matter be categorized.
2. The General Secretary, on account of his role as SACC spokesperson, would not be involved in any listening of matters, but would direct people to the lawyers for professional legal deposition.
3. The lawyers would group the cases into their categories and some presented for oral discussion with the panel.

Depending on the wishes of the person concerned, their information would:



- Be utilized by the churches for advocacy in the Anchoring Democracy pillar of *The South Africa We Pray4* campaign.
- Be made public, for South Africans to know what is going on.
- As is appropriate, be given to a constitutional body like the Human Rights Commission or the Public Protector, and any organization identified by the person concerned.

The Unburdening Panel process was indeed triggered by the Jonas and Vytjie Mentor revelations in 2016. When the governing party proved unable to deal meaningfully with these revelations, and instead seemed to live with the view that there would be no room for following up on these as “all hell would break loose” because the leadership all had their “smallanyana skeletons”, the SACC opted to create the listening facility. It was to hear from people who had either been pressured to participate in corrupt wrong doing or had witnessed such. Some came forward only to share their experiences with no desire to be publicly revealed, but to clear their chests only. Others were ready to go public, and these we encouraged to go to the Public Protector and they did. Their stories are now before the nation in the State of Capture report that has yet to be acted upon by the government.

Although the Jonas and Mentor Gupta revelations, and the ANC non-response triggered the creation of this process, we declared at the time that:

“The Unburdening Panel will receive information of any corruption experiences that only cover the period of South Africa's democratic era. It is also understood that there are many cases of corrupt practices that impact on people, that are a roll-over from improper opportunities of apartheid days. As these impact in the democratic period, they will be entertained.”

We have yet to receive any person who has information of the pre-1994 era, or even the shenanigans of the transition period. We have been intrigued by the recently published book “Apartheid Guns and Money”, by Hennie Van Vuuren, that makes very interesting reading.

The workings of the panel process changed in two unexpected respects:

Firstly, most people who came to us were broken people who just wanted to unburden, as they would say, “so that I can sleep”! They insisted on talking only to the General Secretary as a priest, the thought of going to the lawyers frightened them. This was a significant change in the process, occasioned by the genuine fears expressed by the people. They were terrified of anybody finding out that they had talked to us, for, as they said, “if my story is told, “THEY” will know that it came from me, and my life and that of my family would be in danger. If in the age of constitutional democracy, we have citizens who are so terrified of their own government and its agents and operatives, as to fear for their lives, then we have a serious problem.

There were cases of people at municipal and provincial level, who were pressured to divert funds inappropriately to certain activities that had nothing to do with the work and

purpose of the budget. There were people who were prevailed upon to rig tender process in favour of certain companies and individuals, or bend and tailor regulations for a specific desired outcome. This is sometimes referred to *shaking down* the people, accessing money and opportunities through deceitful and illegal ways of pressuring vulnerable people or companies.

While most of the people opted for the security of what we called the “Anonymity Option”, where the deponents are not divulged, some of people chose to go public with the information they were giving the SACC Unburdening Panel Process. A number of those gave much of the same information to the Public Protector, feeding the State Capture report.

The second and most radical change in the process was in the very nature of the process. It began mainly as a receptacle of stories being shared in unburdening; but soon it became apparent that there were discernible patterns of the systemic undermining of governance that go beyond “petty” corruption, so as to seriously threaten constitutional democracy. Therefore, while corruption, which is part of the brief in Anchoring Democracy, the SACC processes on democracy are concerned also with the broader issues of South Africa’s constitutional democracy.

When it became clear that the trouble was beyond “petty corruption”, we shifted from a “listening” for unburdening, to the mode of the SACC approach of SEE-JUDGE-ACT. “SEE” is rigorous research to understand as fully as possible the state of the question on the matter at hand; the “JUDGE” is applying the lenses of the Gospel to say what is the value judgment call on this matter now that we know what we know. And the “ACT” is when a resolution is taken to act as informed by the application of the Gospel values. In the SEE part we have previously worked with research entities like the Human Sciences Research Council, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, and also the Nelson Mandela Foundation. This time we linked up with diverse research volunteers that work from different locations and coordinate their work and findings. This, together what we already know from the initial Unburdening Process, becomes the SEE part of our work, which must be followed by a theological JUDGE process, leading to Conference where the ACT will be resolved. What has emerged in the SEE process is disconcerting.

It now seems that the problem is far greater than corruption, but organized chaos. We have now come to learn that what appears to be chaos and instability in government may well be a systemic design of the madness that ill our governmental environment – a chaotic design. A careful analysis makes the case for the following observable trends of inappropriate control of State systems through a power-elite that is pivoted around the President of the Republic that is systematically siphoning the assets of the State. They do this by:

1. Securing control over state wealth, through the capture of state-owned companies by chronically weakening their governance and operational structures.
2. Securing control over the public service by weeding our skilled professionals.
3. Securing access to rent-seeking opportunities by shaking down regulations to their advantage, and to the disadvantage of South Africans.

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4. Securing control over the country's fiscal sovereignty.
5. Securing control over strategic procurement opportunities by intentionally weakening key technical institutions and formal executive processes.
6. Securing a loyal intelligence and security apparatus.
7. Securing parallel governance and decision-making structures that undermine the executive.

We now illustrate these 7 Measures of control by the Power Elite.

This is part of a large research project that is going public, and within which we identify the elements on which we shall pronounce on the basis of our gospel values. In the 1980's we had to examine theologically, the presumed legitimacy of the apartheid government, from which we went on to examine the theology of the Just War in the context of the justness of the war of liberation waged by the liberation movement against an illegitimate government. It was a difficult debate. Now the questions before us are what theological instruments should we use to determine how and at what point the church should withdraw its recognition of the moral legitimacy of a democratically elected government. It seems sufficiently clear to us that the government of the day has lost the moral radar that should inform the public service of *batho pele*, in a "people first" governmental culture. Its operations seem to be driven by an outside interest, strategically located at the top of the Executive, in order to periodically raid the various attractive units of the State, of which a legitimate government should be steward.

What we see persuades us that the present government has lost moral legitimacy. The question that this has raised is in the constitutional dimension. Does the conduct of the government render it to have violated its constitutional mandate? That is a matter for the lawyers to explore further. The lawyers will examine whether the government is not in breach of Section 41 of the Constitution in Chapter 3 on the "Principles of Co-operative government and Intergovernmental Relations". Three subsections of Section 41 (1) says that all organs of State "must":

- (b) Secure the well-being of the people of the Republic;
- (c) Provide effective, **transparent, accountable and coherent** government for the Republic as a whole;
- (d) Be loyal to the Constitution, the Republic and its people.

Chapter 10 is quite instructive of the values, principles and ethical standards of the public administration in our constitutional dispensation. Likewise there may be legal and constitutional questions about the manner that Parliament has conducted itself. All these revolve around the continued constitutional legitimacy of government, beyond the moral legitimacy that we are seriously questioning at this time.

We urge the African National Congress as the governing party to examine itself and mend the ways of government before we reach the point of no return – for this has implications for the ANC in government, for its leadership and members. We appeal to the civil servants in government, to note and remember that whereas governments come

and go with elections, they as civil servants are part of the permanent State system of the citizenry, and the instrumentation of the public good envisioned in our constitutional dispensation.

Ours at this point is to facilitate the availability of what we have seen, for as Stanley Henkeman of LJR said, "You cannot 'unsee' what you have seen". We invite all to see what we have seen, in the knowledge that it can never again be unseen.

Prophet Amos is today addressing our nation:

How you hate honest judges!
How you despise people who tell the truth!
You trample the poor,stealing their grain through taxes and unfair rent.
Therefore, though you build beautiful stone houses,you will never live in them.
Though you plant lush vineyards,you will never drink wine from them.
For I know the vast number of your sinsand the depth of your rebellions.
You oppress good people by taking bribesand deprive the poor of justice in the courts.So those who are smart keep their mouths shut,for it is an evil time. (Amos 5:10-13)

We pray and hope that no one must shut their mouths. The SACC's Unburdening Panel remains open for business. Tell about all the corruption and the stealing of public resources; yes, from the days of the 1994 transition. Let us know what is there so we can together create the environment to heal the nation.



Annexure "CR28"

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Secretary General



A DIAGNOSTIC ORGANISATIONAL REPORT: NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE
JUNE 30TH-JULY 5TH 2017

"We did not tear ourselves apart because of lack of progress at times. We were always ready to accept our mistakes and to correct them. Above all we succeeded to foster and defend the unity of the ANC and the unity of our people in general."

(President OR Tambo, 48th National Conference, 1991)

1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 Ordinarily, the National Executive Committee does not submit an Organisational Report to the Policy Conference. The Policy Conference focuses on policies as developed and reported by the subcommittees of the NEC.
- 1.2 The NEC decided that the first two days of the Policy Conference would focus on the health of the organisation. The decision stemmed from being persuaded by the proposal of the veterans and stalwarts to allocate time and space to diagnose the health of the organisation and attempt to come up with solutions and programmes. It was observed that the movement is under siege from external forces, and that internal subjective factors reduce the capacity of the ANC to withstand such an offensive.
- 1.3 The veterans and stalwarts have, however, since rejected the idea of the two days. They preferred to delink the National Policy Conference in the form and structure they designed. In summary, essentially, their proposal was for them to take responsibility of running the National Policy Conference. In this regard, the thrust to

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
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A DIAGNOSTIC ORGANISATIONAL REPORT: NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE
JUNE 30TH-JULY 5TH 2017

such a consultative conference would be their document, "For the Sake of Our Future". Another area of disagreement was about the involvement of the branches. In their view, the branches were of such a poor quality that they should not be part of the National Consultative Conference.

- 1.4 The veterans and stalwarts were joined by the MK Council in rejecting the idea of the two days. In doing so, the MK Council cast aspersions on the constitutionally mandated National Policy Conference as "the much publicised... costly detraction from requisite efforts to save the ANC."
- 1.5 Against this background, the NEC concluded that the two days should not be cancelled. The Policy Conference should, as proposed, still dedicate the days to interrogating the health of the organisation and seek to find solutions. This structure of our movement, with the involvement of the branches, should engage itself in an exercise of trying to pull the ANC out of trouble and arrest the imminent decline.
- 1.6 All historically allied structures of our movement beyond the Alliance partners have been invited. Their contribution in finding solutions to the problems and challenges facing the ANC is much appreciated. Veterans and stalwarts and members of the MK Council who are participating in the conference, in their different capacities, are invited to contribute freely and be prepared to engage.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Secretary General



A DIAGNOSTIC ORGANISATIONAL REPORT: NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE
JUNE 30TH-JULY 5TH 2017

- 1.7 Since the 2009 General Elections, our electoral performance has been on a decline. Between the General Elections in 2014 and the Local Government Elections in 2016, there was an accelerated decline. Our intention is to diagnose the causes of the decline, and to utilise the Policy Conference as the beginning of a serious process of self-discovery and self-correction. This is aimed at continuing the process of introspection, strengthen efforts of the NEC initiated since August 2016 where branches and regions were engaged. The envisaged conclusion being proposed solutions and processes thereto, some of which are made alongside the identified challenges and weaknesses.
- 1.8 The offensive from external forces, with the regime change agenda at its core, is real. The colour revolution is the mode of the offensive, possibly graduating the offensive into a hybrid combining soft and hard forms of the attack, with the potential to return Southern Africa into its Cold War era of conflict. The weaknesses that are described as the manifestation of the decline reduce the capacity of our movement to withstand, fight and defeat the offensive. The intensity of our internal fights makes it impossible for the movement to appreciate the threat to the revolution.
- 1.9 The decline is multi-faceted and manifest in many ways. The diagnosis should thus be regarded as an introduction to the two organisational papers to the Policy Conference: Organisational Renewal and Strategy and Tactics. Tools provided in these two papers should be used to resolve the challenges facing the

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Secretary General



A DIAGNOSTIC ORGANISATIONAL REPORT: NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE
JUNE 30TH-JULY 5TH 2017

organisation, and re-instil confidence of society in their movement. The first step towards that goal is to acknowledge that the movement reached a plateau in the 2004 General Elections, following which it began to decline. Any normal organisation goes through such a phase. When it recognises that something dramatic should be done, it arrests the decline and initiate a new growth trajectory. This is the stage our movement is approaching.

1.10 In addressing the decline, the diagnosis will focus on a few key aspects that need of urgent attention, that is;

- Blurring of the common purpose for the cadres of the movement
- The growing trust deficit between the people and their movement
- The decline in the ethics, values and traditions of the movement
- The impact of the perception of the ANC as entirely corrupt
- The poor quality of the branches and the membership in general
- The decline in the ideological outlook of the movement
- Divisions and factions that have become a seemingly permanent feature of the movement
- Rapid collapse of the organisational discipline
- Low levels of trust among comrades
- Failure to focus on solutions

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1.11 We will then propose some suggestions on how to regain our leadership of society.

2. EXTERNAL (OBJECTIVE) THREATS TO THE REVOLUTION

2.1 Regime change, as an agenda, is a reality facing all progressive governments in developing countries. The Russians and the Chinese characterise regime change as *"the increasingly widespread Western practice of overthrowing legitimate political authorities by provoking internal instability and conflict against governments that are considered inconvenient and insubordinate to their interests, replacing them with pliant puppet regimes that then pander to their interests."*

2.2 The programme seeks to guarantee the West access to the natural resources the developing countries are endowed with, and also have those countries as their markets. This is not a new phenomenon in Southern Africa where it appeared in 1983. Robert Cooper, who was a Foreign Affairs advisor to Tony Blair, outlined the rules as: *"The challenge to the postmodern world is to get used to the idea of double standards. Among ourselves (West), we operate on the basis of laws and open co-operative security. But when dealing with more old-fashioned kinds of states outside the postmodern continent of Europe, we need to revert to the rougher methods of an earlier era-force, pre-emptive attack, deception and whatever is necessary to deal with those who still live in the*

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nineteenth Century world of every state for itself. Among ourselves we keep the law, but when we are operating in the jungle, we must use the law of the jungle.”

2.3 Colour Revolution, as a mode, escalates protest movement from service delivery to challenging state power or provoking the security forces of a target state. Features of the Colour Revolution, as manifested in the Rose Revolution in Georgia, the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, the Tulip Revolution in Kirgizstan, Arab Spring in North African Countries and the hybrid revolution in Syria and Yemen, are visible in the protests we have seen in recent times. For example, Marikana, #FeesMustFall, and #ZumaMustFall movement.

2.4 The intensity of in-fighting and factionalism dis-empower the ANC to do an objective analysis of the protests that border on being a revolt against the Government and the ANC. Some sections of the ANC that are impatient and wanting to see the back of the President immediately, feel justified in joining the Zuma Must Fall marches, or vote with the opposition in the motion of No Confidence in the President of the country. Analysing the consequences of such actions is left to only a few leaders. Other sections of the ANC that project themselves as the sole protectors of the President, feel justified when making reckless statements in defence of the President. How such statements hurt the reputation of the ANC is left to a few to analyse. Ultimately, we fall prey to the external forces

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and weaken the movement ourselves. This situation confuses society, and the movement slides into decline.

3. BLURRING OF COMMON PURPOSE

3.1 There is a general confusion that is a result of departure from the vocabulary of the movement. This appears to be innocent, but the effects of such a deviation are far-reaching and distort the political space.

3.2 The Policy Conference must re-affirm the National Democratic Revolution as the primary programme of the ANC, and the minimum programme of the Alliance. It must re-affirm *that "the strategic goal of the NDR is the resolution of the three basic and inter-related contradictions of Colonialism of a Special Type. These antagonisms found expression in national oppression based on race; class super-exploitation directed against Black workers; and the triple oppression of the mass of women based on their gender: the main content of the NDR therefore remains the liberation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general from political and socio-economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female".* (Strategy & Tactics).

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3.3 Summarising the first two decades of freedom, the Strategy and Tactics quantifies progress towards achievement of the national aspiration of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa. In this regard, it is important that we must first remind ourselves, and society generally, that the ANC has never been anti-white, but has always been against white domination. It never had a programme of replacing white domination with black domination. The ANC always committed itself to the resolution of the historical injustices and building a democracy as described in the Strategy and Tactics document. It has never been about revenge for the injustices, but about correcting them.

3.4 Understanding and recommitting to the common purpose will help us avoid overly compensating for what is seen as still outstanding in the programme of the NDR by being adventurous and populist. Herein, our historians have a duty to draw lessons from other revolutions on the dangers of adventurism and populism. For instance, revolutionaries become haphazard and deviate from the systematic implementation of their revolutionary programme. This collapses the revolution all together. These tendencies apply when the revolutionary movement is in decline and seeks to regain its popularity and support. Mostly, the opposite happens and the revolution is totally derailed. Principles get replaced by expediency, greed and corruption. Until the revolutionaries arrest the trend, the revolution gets destroyed. The Chinese Communist Party wishes to forget the cultural revolution when soldiers took a stand, and a few got arrested, to stop the decay and decline. The revolutionary land redistribution programme in Zimbabwe, which is populist and

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adventurous, has strong features of a cultural revolution. It destroyed food production in a country that was the bread basket of the continent.

3.5 Avoiding adventurism and populism should not be relegated to conservatism where we become a movement that fears change. Where the status quo is maintained at a huge cost to the motive forces that stand to benefit from change. We must effect transformation responsibly, at a pace necessary to correct injustices. The ANC must be systematic and programmatic in the implementation.

4. A GROWING TRUST DEFICIT BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE MOVEMENT

“The primary task of the ANC remains the mobilisation of all the classes and strata that objectively stand to benefit from the causes of social change. The dictum that the people are their own liberators remains as relevant today as it was during the days of anti-apartheid struggle.”

4.1 Given this task, we must ask if the growing trust deficit is part of the general decline of legitimacy of the political and business elite, or not. It is our view that this general trend is part of the problem, but one accelerated by our own behaviour. In the run-up to the 2016 Local Government Elections, our research confirmed that less than 50% of the population was positive about the direction the country was taking. Prominent issues for the people were employment, corruption, and crime; ahead of basic services. Research also

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identified factors influencing the mood of voters, also creating doubt about our ability to govern, ahead of the 2016 Local Government Elections as:

- ANC candidate selection
- Cabinet reshuffle and reaction by Treasury
- Concourt Decision

- Spy tapes judgement
- Vuwani protests
- Tshwane and Western Cape
- SABC and SAA challenges

4.2 Leaders and members of the ANC are generally negative about their own organisation. Our public pronouncements communicate a message to society that we cannot be trusted. Attempting to be transparent about our challenges, we stop at communicating negative messages; not owning up and showing an ability to rise to the occasion. This is either a sign of being overwhelmed or lack of capacity.

4.3 Opposition forces exploit our own weaknesses. They communicate them in a way that appears to be coherent and, therefore, convince society that our movement cannot pull itself out of the deep hole. The leadership of our movement either balks under pressure or displays arrogance by claiming that it is invincible, and that society is driven by ignorance.

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- 4.5 The fact that in order to correct basic mistakes, sometimes genuine mistakes, we get directed by courts, communicates a message of a movement that does not know the difference between right and wrong. Consequently, we witness judicial over-reach, which is itself unhealthy for democracy. We are fast drifting towards “lawfare”, which is a contested term agreed to mean *“the use of the legal system to play politics and legitimise a constructed false narrative to achieve operational objectives, going against the principle of law; that the onus is on those who accuse to prove the guilt of the accused.”* It is about the abuse of the law and our judicial systems to undermine the very systems they stand for. This is amplified by the media which relates this false guilt and create a psychological situation where this becomes the truth. This state of affairs sees those in the system: the judges, justices, magistrates and prosecutors act in a collaborative manner. Lawfare could lead to juristocracy. Juristocracy, being the state where the democratic political system and its institutions are wittingly subverted as the courts arrogate to themselves powers to make ultimate decisions on controversial political matters and public policy decisions. Brazil is a fresh and good case study for South Africa and her people.
- 4.6 In most cases arrogance that opens the movement to this kind of abuse, is a manifestation of internal factions at war with each other. The dominant faction becomes reluctant to listen to different views in the organisation. There are also instances where the movement refuses to hear voices from the various sectors of society, including forces allied to it.

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4.7 The Policy Conference should answer the question whether we remain loyal to the conviction of serving and leading the motive forces of the Revolution. In the last few NEC meetings we engaged in a debate about the restlessness in society. Without going into detail about the motive forces being agitated against their own movement, we posed the question of formations that are historically allied to the movement beginning to look for alternative allies. There was a strong temptation to see these historic allies as having become reactionary, or mobilising support for a particular faction of the movement. The Policy Conference must take us beyond that point. This should include discussing the dangers of our allies being engaged in a campaign that seeks to hurt the movement under the guise of this being the time to change the leadership of the Alliance, and therefore of society. Do we believe that new life can come out of the carcass of the ANC, which can be described as short-termism?

4.8 The challenge, therefore, is to find a formula for reconnecting with society. This will include engaging forces that appear to be hostile to the movement. The drive to corrode the social base of the "enemy", and broaden the social base of the liberation movement, is relevant in the current situation. Society, unlike a tap of water, cannot be switched on and off as we like. Society will only be convinced that we are serious about leading them when our actions and message become coherent.

5. NEED TO UPHOLD ETHICS, VALUES AND TRADITIONS OF THE MOVEMENT

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5.1 Revolutionary morality is about the leadership of our movement adhering to higher standards of behaviour. It is refusal to compare our leadership to apartheid or any other reactionary leadership, because that is to use the lowest common denominator to measure our standards. When our people protest against unethical behaviour of our leadership, they do so not out of hatred but from feeling betrayed as they expect better and higher standards from revolutionaries.

5.2 The consciousness of an individual can be influenced by the material conditions one finds himself or herself in. We owe it to ourselves first, the movement and society, to analyse in detail the implications of a liberation movement that has ascended to power and, therefore, controls huge resources. Being in power is rapidly becoming a source of political bankruptcy, in that members of the ANC fight for deployment either as councillors, MPLs and MPs – respectively, as if there is ‘no tomorrow’. In the last Local Government Elections, infighting was a common factor everywhere – be it in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro, Tshwane or with the political killings in KZN, or in some parts of the Eastern Cape –where our electoral support decreased. It is foreign to our movement for comrades to see deployment as a source of material benefit rather than the reason to serve the people. These fights among comrades turn the interest of our people off, and push them away from the movement.

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5.3 The use of money to buy votes for elections in the party, is at the heart of the decline of the quality of structures across the board. Money has replaced consciousness as a basis for being elected into leadership positions at all levels of the organisation. The ethical behaviour of leaders is no longer an issue, as it has been replaced by status. Ethics is seen as an elitist approach to politics and has developed social distance as an effect. Social distance accelerates the growth of the trust deficit between leaders and society, leading to decline of support for our movement.

5.4 Cadres of the movement should be guided by the values of honesty, humility, hard work, commitment, sacrifice, and selflessness. We hardly talk about these values which, in some sections of our movement, are seen as backward and a hindrance to people accessing quick material benefit. Emphasis on values is sometimes interpreted as incriminating some individual leaders of the movement. It is really strange that talking about foreign tendencies to the movement can even be remotely seen as attacking each other.

5.5 Traditions of the movement belong to what is called continuity, which must co-exist with change and adaptation. It is the values and traditions of our movement that provide it its distinguishing character. When the movement begins to look or sound the same as certain sections of the opposition, then our troubles are much bigger. It is this sense of similarity that makes people perceive the opposition as an alternative to the movement. Our duty is to develop

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and strengthen the distinguishing features that continue to give the movement credibility. Behaviour that has a negative impact on the reputation of the movement must be condemned and not tolerated.

6. THE ANC PERCEIVED AS INHERENTLY CORRUPT

- 6.1 A principle we must remind ourselves of is that, those who hold positions either in Government or in the structures of the movement have no private life. All our actions attract the attention of society. This is the meaning of being a public figure and, therefore, seen as being of public interest. When a leader of the ANC falls sick or receives an achievement award, that constitutes a subject of talk-shows and public discussion. Mistakes committed at Government level affect the ANC directly, and the organisation cannot claim not to be involved.
- 6.2 An example of this is the debate on State Capture, which was started within the movement and the Communist Party was vociferous about. The issue of the Gupta family being too influential in the decisions of the state has become a household discussion. The temptation is to regard such discussions as an invasion of privacy and tempering with personal relations. It is, indeed, correct to state that the Guptas can do business anytime anywhere with whomsoever. However, their relationships with the families of prominent leaders attract the attention of the people. When there are benefits that accrue to families of the leadership, it is assumed to be corrupt in that the political leaders are supposed to have facilitated the accrual of benefits. The leadership of the ANC should never be

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taken by surprise when society reacts to such relations. In our case, we become dismissive and defensive about it.

6.3 The public outcry about the influence of the Gupta family has led to investigations by both the Office of the Public Protector and the South African Council of Churches. Serious allegations were made against a number of the leaders of the ANC. Instead of dealing with the reality facing the movement, a defence was developed by using the real threats we face as a movement. A narrative was developed to link any discomfort with the influence of the Gupta family to the regime change agenda. While it must be acknowledged that regime change is a real threat that needs to be analysed and a strategy to defend the country and the movement needs to be developed, this cannot be used as a response to the perception or reality of corruption. Both objective and subjective factors in this regard need to be understood.

6.4 Linking regime change to state capture reflects the decline in our analytical capacity. The series of e-mails that are released in tranches each day cause more harm to the movement. Our reaction cannot be careless, but it needs to be comprehensive. Where we must own up, individual comrades should do so by providing reputable explanation, as a few have done. Blatant denial lacks credibility in the eyes of society.

6.5 Another defence that has been bandied about is the one that counter-poses the behaviour of this family to (White) Monopoly Capital. White monopoly capital is invented as if it is a new

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phenomenon, instead of affirming that its defeat is at the heart of the revolution and the essence of the NDR. A related disadvantage of this narrative is that, it uses the lowest common denominator by comparing revolutionaries to the Apartheid state. If we are comparable, then we must accept that corruption is therefore systemic in our movement, as was the case with the Apartheid state.

6.6 Stories of corruption in our Government make weekly newspaper headlines. There is no effort to rebut them, thus creating space for them to take root. An emerging narrative is that we must not talk about corruption unless we have evidence, because it hurts the ANC. Society, on the other front, expects the ANC to take a stand against corruption, by taking serious action or being seen to do so. It expects our movement to deal “with both tigers and flies” when it comes to corruption. They expect to see arrests, prosecution and conviction of both the small fries and important individuals. With more than half of the NEC members having been to China on a political exchange programme, the ANC leadership should be able to understand the concept of “dealing with both tigers and flies”. This Policy Conference should thus come up with ideas on how our movement can reclaim its image in the eyes of the people quicker rather than slower. Failure to do so will accelerate the decline.

7. DECLINE IN THE QUALITY OF BRANCHES AND MEMBERSHIP

7.1 The general decline in the quality of membership is a product of the following factors:

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- Mass recruitment of membership, not a problem in itself, adversely quality over time.
- The weak induction programme leads to a big membership that does not understand the organisation. This weakens the values and traditions of the organisation.
- Although the membership of the ANC is more literate now, the culture of reading policy documents of the movement is dying, because political and ideological clarity is no longer the deciding factor for election to leadership positions and deployment.
- Comrades get introduced to perspectives/groupings and factions before they understand the politics of the movement. This lack of understanding translates into brutality against one another in a phenomenon of being with us or against us.
- Activism is in decline, depriving new members of the training ground. As a result, overall, very few branches run campaigns.
- A projection of arrogance, which hides the reality.
- Incoherent political education in the organisation.

7.2 The poor quality of branches is, in fact, lack of capacity at the level where it matters the most. As a result, responsibility to campaign even for elections is heavily dependent on provincial and national leadership. That is why in the case of by-elections, in almost all the provinces, there is an expectation that not only the NEC members, but the National Officials should visit the wards. There is nothing wrong with that, but when it reaches a stage of being an expectation, it reflects on the quality of leadership in general.

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8. DECLINE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL OUTLOOK

- 8.1 There is a general decline at leadership level, to anchor debates, addresses and closed discussions, on the basic policy documents. The term 'revolution', or its opposite 'counter-revolution', hardly features in our vocabulary. Even the NDR is referred to only a few times and far apart. Terms like 'colonialism of a special type' are hardly seen except in political classes.
- 8.2 This has created space for the opposition forces to appropriate the legacy and symbols of our movement. When we defend our space, we are less enthusiastic and, therefore, less convincing. Society is fast forgetting the overall strategy of the movement and is quickly dissociating our policies from the movement. There is a growing allergy to engage in politics as we tend to retreat into being technical, and there are emerging ideologues who continue to feed the movement with analysis.
- 8.3 This decline in political consciousness and ideological awareness makes our organisation vulnerable to divisions. Even when we should be agreeing we differ, not because we disagree ideologically, but because we differ on points of emphasis. Two examples to illustrate this reality are:
- o Our positions on the land question are not ideologically different, but emphasise different points. We are unable to develop a comprehensive approach because the debate is polemical and

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destructive, concentrated around a fight between factions that want to win points publicly. We must first appreciate what we agree on, and then determine how to achieve it. Both populism and conservatism are enemies of progress. Do we want to achieve x number of hectares without clarifying the purpose?

- o We agree on the need to implement Radical Economic Transformation. But we are distracted by the temptation to disagree on what we really mean. We tend to look for disagreements so that we can confuse society. Why is it impossible for the ANC to develop a coherent approach and speak with one voice, instead of being polluted by the coming National Conference where we will elect the new leadership of the organisation?

9. DIVISIONS AND FACTIONS

9.1 Divisions and factions are a reality in our organisation. This makes it attractive to attack individuals we perceive to be our enemies. It involves consciously deciding to undermine one another, including the various offices of the organisation. Although we deny it because we know that it is wrong, we are beginning to put personal interest ahead of the organisation.

9.2 We defy the organisation, because the factions say so. When the NEC takes a decision, which directs that only principles must be

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discussed on the succession question, comrades go ahead and pronounce on their preferred candidates. The NEC decides that we can discuss names against the principles, comrades go ahead and pronounce on their line-ups. It is not because comrades do not understand, but they are deliberately undermining the organisation.

9.3 Factions are divisive, destructive and subjective. As long as we put our factions and personal ambitions ahead of the organisation, we are actively destroying it. The Political Education Sub-Committee produced a paper on factions, and that paper must be re-distributed to remind ourselves of the dangers of factionalism.

10. DECLINE IN ORGANISATIONAL DISCIPLINE

10.1 The ANC is a rules-based organisation. Its membership is expected to comply with the rules in the form of values, traditions, directives or decisions of the structures of the organisation. When members defy these, it becomes a free-for-all with everyone acting at will; and anarchy and chaos reign. We are fast approaching that stage as comrades do not feel obliged to be guided by the directives of the organisation. Those of us who project themselves as 'holier than thou' contribute to the chaos, because of a conception that a leadership they despise does not need to be respected. In the process, we fail to respect our own decisions.

10.2 Discipline does not start at the point of the disciplinary process, but when the organisation makes pronouncements. When comrades deviate, a phone call from the senior organs should be regarded as

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part of the disciplinary process. When one ultimately gets censored, it is a very serious stage, close to the last resort. Deliberate deviation from the rules is ill-discipline of the highest order. When the various structures of the organisation fail to discipline comrades at the point closest to where the transgression took place, discipline collapses. The comrades then expect the NEC or the SGO to discipline comrades at all levels of the organisation, which is a serious sign of the collapse of discipline.

- 10.3 Another manifestation is when comrades undermine structures and prefer a hot line with the national leadership. It starts as a genuine expression of unhappiness, but ends up being a serious effort of factionalising the national leadership and to contact them selectively. An ordinary matter such as the failure to form a quorum ends up being discussed with the Head Office. The motivation is that the comrades do not trust the structures close to the occurrence.

11. LACK OF TRUST AMONG COMRADES

- 11.1 The organisation has lost one of its key defining characteristics when comrades cannot trust one another with their lives. As a result of the factions that are part of the body politic, comrades do not trust each other and also hate one another. Fall-out in any of the factions leads comrades to seek to destroy one another. Deployment is used to punish those who are not part of the dominant faction. Genuine discussions among comrades are replaced with tale-bearing and back-biting.

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11.2 When all these tendencies overflow, and become common knowledge in the communities, people refuse to trust an organisation of leaders who fight among themselves. The organisation then gets detached from the base.

12. FAILURE TO BE SOLUTION-ORIENTED

12.1 The leadership, when confronted by challenges, gravitate to general discussions. It seeks to find solutions that make it difficult to find proper closure and, therefore, fudge issues. This creates a reality of a leadership that cannot give direction when it is needed the most. This shows defensiveness in the face of challenges. For instance, there is no reason why many cases in Government should end up in the courts. One good example is the Constitutional Court Judgement on Nkandla. The judgement is, in fact, the conclusion we came to more than three years earlier. However, because that view was perceived to be an attempt by some trying to trap the President into an admission of guilt, no firm decision could be taken. Our failure to take decisive decisions creates an environment for a Judicial Overreach. This must change.

13. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Cumulatively, all these challenges lead to the decline of our organisation. The Policy Conference must confront these challenges, and begin the process of finding solutions.

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There are a few issues that should be considered together with the resolutions of the National Policy Conference, that is:

- In our work, we must reach-out to friendly forces internationally for support and solidarity. The ANC must disabuse itself of the view that it is the darling of everyone in the world.
- Strengthening BRICS is not a luxury, but a necessity for the long-term survival of developing countries. This does not suggest being hostile towards the West, but to be realistic about these relations.
- We must deal with our mistakes and challenges without understating the external threat to the revolution. Regime change is a reality that must never be used to defend our own subjective mistakes.
- The ideological content of the programme of the movement must be strengthened. The starting point is to be committed to the well documented policies and programmes of the movement.
- All the structures of the movement must develop programmes that force us to interact with community structures where we stay and where we are deployed to do mass political work.
- The various streams that are emerging as a result of unhappiness for one reason or the other must be encouraged to go to the structures of the ANC and strengthen them, rather than undermine them. When we are united we become strong and when we destroy the ANC with the hope of coming up with something new, we become weaker and splintered.
- Unity is the bedrock on which our movement must be anchored. There is no substitute for unity even in the run-up to the National Conference.

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Annexure “CR29”

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

6

CLOSING ADDRESS BY ANC PRESIDENT COMRADE CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

National Chairperson, Cde Gwede Mantashe,

Outgoing President of the African National Congress,
Cde Jacob Zuma,

Members of the newly-elected National Executive
Committee,

Members of the Electoral Commission,

Representatives of the Alliance, fraternal parties and
observers,

Distinguished guests,

Delegates,

This is a deeply humbling moment, to address the closing session of the 54th National Conference of our beloved and glorious movement, the African National Congress.

There is no doubt that this has been a Conference of enormous importance and great significance.

In the months and weeks before this Conference, speculation was rife that this 54th National Conference would either not be held or that it would collapse.

Your attendance at this Conference, representing your branches, is a victory over the doomsayers and those who do not wish our movement well.

We therefore congratulate you for having defied the negative speculative predictions by making this Conference happen and ensuring it is successful.

There were some who even suggested that Nasrec would represent the end of the ANC as we would emerge from here divided.

We are still here. Standing almost 106 years later. United.

Nasrec 2017 has not only united us. It has strengthened us.

It has galvanised us and rejuvenated us.

We continue to confound our critics.

Over the course of the last five days, our movement has grappled with the challenges and tasks of this critical moment in the history and life of our people and our country.

The ANC has listened to the aspirations, hopes, wishes, cries and concerns of our people through the voices of the delegates representing our people from the length and breadth of our country.

As delegates representing branches of our movement you have given expression to our peoples hopes through the resolutions you have adopted here and the leadership you have chosen.

In electing the leadership, you, as the delegates to this Conference, have turned your back on the politics of the slate.

You have insisted that the people who lead this movement should not be from one or another faction, but should serve our people in their own right as representatives of the membership as a whole.

This Conference has given us an opportunity to confront difficult truths.

In recent times, we have seen the ANC at its worst.

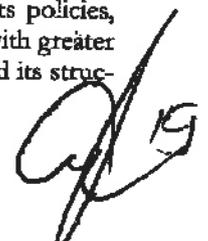
We have seen an organisation divided against itself.

And yet, we have also seen glimpses of the ANC at its best.

Over the last few days, we have seen the ANC that we know and love.

As representatives of nearly a million members, you as delegates have demonstrated that the ANC is an organisation that is alive to the needs of the people and that it is hard at work to develop policies and programmes that respond to these needs.

More than that, we have seen at this Conference a movement that is determined to enhance its policies, to strengthen implementation and to work with greater determination to unite its members and build its structures.



REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Our people will judge this Conference not only by what we have done here over these five days, but – perhaps more importantly – by what we do next.

The people of South Africa want action. They do not want words.

Our people want an ANC that lives up to its promise and is true to its mission.

They want an ANC that lives the values that it espouses and holds fast to the principles that have long defined it.

They want an ANC that uses public office not to serve vested interests, but to build a truly developmental state and a vibrant, inclusive economy that creates jobs and improves lives.

As we leave this Conference, we are resolved to humble ourselves before the people.

We are resolved to respect our people and earn their respect.

We are resolved to cast aside those attitudes and practices that have seen a gulf grow between those in public office and those they were elected to serve.

The African National Congress wishes to send a clear message to all South Africans that we are resolved to be a more responsive and more accountable leadership and movement.

We will continue to be rooted in communities through our branches and always seek to champion the interests of the people.

We must examine, critically and honestly, our commitment to gender equality.

We must be conscious of the practices and attitudes that reinforce patriarchy within our organisation and society – and we must work together to end them.

We need to become a more youthful organisation, more representative of the age profile of our population.

This Conference has resolved that we engage and pay heed to the views and insights of the veterans of our movement, organisations that have always worked with us, and many others.

We will reach out to community organisations and other organs of civil society, understanding that they are critical for the exercise of people's power and are valuable partners for development.

We shall do so because we have a historic responsibility as the ANC to lead society.

The Alliance has faced many challenges and problems in the recent past.

We will work with our Alliance partners to repair relations between the four formations that our people expect to lead the National Democratic Revolution.

As this Conference, we are in agreement that the ANC cannot be strong and effective unless we are part of an Alliance that is strong, united and cohesive.

We are confident that the outcomes of this Conference will assist in advancing efforts to unite the former combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We must make the achievement of unity between MK-MVA and the MK National Council a priority of the incoming leadership.

As we leave this Conference, we are resolved to pursue with greater determination a radical path of socio-economic transformation, premised on growth, job creation and equitable distribution of income, wealth and assets.

The issue of land has been a matter of great concern to our people whose land was taken from them.

We will accelerate our programme of land reform and rural development as part of our programme of radical socio economic transformation.

This Conference has resolved that the expropriation of land without compensation should be among the mechanisms available to government to give effect to land reform and redistribution.

It has also resolved that in determining the mechanisms of implementation, we must ensure that we do not undermine the economy, agricultural production and food security.

As the ANC, we have been the central driver of progress in our country and the economy over the last 23 years.

Our efforts have been aimed at eradicating poverty, inequality and reducing unemployment

We have placed the challenge of unemployment at the forefront of all our actions in the economy.

Our focus on education and skills training is beginning to bear positive results.

Our social development programmes have been aimed at addressing poverty amongst our people.

The policies we have adopted here provide a platform for faster and more meaningful implementation of the National Development Plan.

We will elaborate the decisions of this National Conference more fully when we release the NEC Statement on January 13 when we celebrate our 106th year of existence.

At the state level we must confront the reality that critical institutions of our state have been targeted by individuals and families who, through the exercise of influence and the manipulation of governance processes and public resources.

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This has led to the weakening of our State Owned Enterprises whose governance structures need to be revamped.

Whether we call this state capture or simply corruption, this has undermined the integrity of our institutions, cost our economy hundreds of billions of rands and contributed to the further impoverishment of our people.

Given all these challenges we are called upon to act against corruption, collusion and other economic crimes prevalent in the public and private sector.

We must investigate without fear or favour the so-called 'accounting irregularities' that cause turmoil in the markets and wipe billions off the investments of ordinary South Africans.

This Conference has resolved that this must be acted upon and stopped.

We must also act fearlessly against alleged corruption and abuse of office within our ranks.

We embraced the Integrity Commission at our NGC and endorsed that decision at the 53rd National Conference.

The setting up of the Integrity Commission is therefore not in question as there is consensus that the Integrity Commission should be supported and empowered to do its work without fear, favour or prejudice in order to restore the Integrity of the ANC and help cultivate and promote ethical leadership.

The terms of reference including its duties and powers should be discussed and finalised by the National Executive Committee.

This Conference has resolved that corruption must be fought with the same intensity and purpose that we fight poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Through your deliberations, we have together developed a clear line of march for the movement and for the new leadership.

You have, over and over again, emphasised that the ANC is the strategic centre of power for all its cadres.

The actions of Comrades who are deployed by the movement should always be informed by the interests of our members and our people, not personal gain.

Their actions should always be a source of pride, and not a cause for embarrassment.

They should take us closer to the National Democratic Society to which we aspire, not undermine it.

This National Executive Committee that you have elected commits itself to follow the instructions that you have issued from this, our 54th National Conference.

You have instructed us to forge a united ANC.

You have also directed us to unite the Alliance and ensure that its programmes are underpinned by unity.

Another overarching task you have charged us with is to unite the people of South Africa and work harder to heal the wounds of conflict and division.

We must focus afresh on the task of building a non-racial country, guided by the injunction in the Freedom Charter that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

Personally, I wish to thank you, with all humility, for the confidence that you have shown in me.

I shall strive to serve our members, our supporters and the nation with commitment and diligence.

As the newly elected National Executive Committee, and as President I speak on our behalf, we accept without reservation your clear instruction that we must work together as a collective, undivided and motivated by a single purpose – the service of our people.

We are aware that leadership in our movement is not confined to those who hold office.

I wish to pay tribute to Cde Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, who contested the position of President, for the manner in which she demonstrated commitment to our movement during the campaign.

Together with the other candidates, we all pledged to work closely in pursuit of the objectives of our revolution whether we succeeded in our election bid or not.

On your behalf, I wish to thank those people who have made this Conference possible – the management of NASREC, the Electoral Commission and the Elections Agency, technical staff, marshalls, security officials and the many service providers, donors and exhibitors.

The SGO and the Steering Committee have done a sterling job to ensure that we hold a most successful conference.

I wish to thank the media for having reported the proceedings of this Conference to our people and the broader global community.

As revolutionary democrats, we recognise the vital role that the media plays in facilitating the free flow of information and in promoting transparency and accountability.

We register our concern about an incident at this Conference involving a journalist and security officials.

We have sought a report on what happened and must look at how we ensure such incidents do not occur in the future.

I wish to thank our Alliance partners, representatives of civil society organisations, guests from fraternal parties and members of the diplomatic corps who have been

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with us in various capacities over the past five days.

Above all, I wish to thank all our branch members, whose wishes and aspirations we had come here to represent.

To all delegates thank you for your attendance and patience and forbearance with delays in voting and programme planning.

As Officials we have already observed a number of things we can improve.

We will make sure that our next NGC and Conference becomes a better experience for all delegates.

Please travel safely, arrive alive and have a peaceful festive season.

Make sure to have a good rest and come back from the holidays revitalised for the hard work that lies ahead in 2018 and beyond.

We look forward to meeting again at the ANC's 106th anniversary celebrations in East London on the 13th of January.

Next year, we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of our founding President, Isithwalandwe Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

True to his legacy and inspired by his remarkable life, let us hold fast to the principle that guides us as the ANC – that we serve the people of South Africa!

We serve them with humility, integrity and unwavering commitment.

We serve them without expectation of reward or recognition.

We serve them because we have chosen, each one of us, to become members of the African National Congress and thereby to become selfless agents of revolutionary change.

Finally, I would like, on your behalf, to thank President Jacob Zuma for the 10 years he has spent as the President of our movement and for a lifetime of service to the people of this country.

It was during your tenure Nxamalala, and thanks to your vision, that the National Planning Commission was established and produced the country's first National Development Plan.

This is a framework for economic and social change that will guide our country for many years to come.

History will record that it was at your insistence that South Africa expanded its antiretroviral programme rapidly and progressively to be the largest in the world.

Through your intervention, we have made great strides in combating the epidemic, many lives have been saved and many infections prevented.

We cannot close this, the 54th National Conference of the African National Congress, without paying tribute to you for your contribution over many decades to the struggle for freedom, democracy and development.

I thank you.

Annexure “CR30”

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**STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE OCCASION OF
THE 106TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

8 JANUARY 2018

Fellow South Africans,

The African National Congress turns 106 years this year.

We are in the Eastern Cape, the home of legends. As the newly elected leadership of the ANC, we visited and laid wreaths at the graves of the first ANC President, John Langalibalele Dube and former Presidents Chief Albert Luthuli, Josiah Gumede, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela. We shook their bones and sought their blessing as we take the ANC into an era of unity and service to the people. We take this opportunity to reaffirm the ANC's commitment to the values and principles to which so many of our legends dedicated their lives.

The African National Congress was formed to heal the wounds that had been inflicted on our people by colonial conquest. Our organisation belongs to the people of South Africa and it is our duty to safeguard and nurture it. The core ideal that is the reason for the ANC's existence – the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, prosperous and equitable society – is yet to be fully realised. As its newly elected leadership, we commit to our membership that we shall remain faithful and diligent custodians of this glorious vision.

This year, we mark the anniversaries of several milestones in the history of our struggle for democracy:

- It is 210 years since the 1808 rebellion of slaves in the Cape seeking a free state and freedom for all slaves. The rebellion, which was quashed by the colonial authorities, was one of the earliest instances of organised multi-racial resistance to tyranny and injustice in South Africa.
- It is 105 years since the 1913 Land Act and 95 years since the Native Urban Areas Act, two pieces of legislation that were central to the deprivation of black South Africans of their land, assets and livelihoods. The effects of these laws continue to be felt today.
- It is 100 years since the formation of the Bantu Women's League, a forerunner of the ANC Women's League and the first organisation in the country to take up the struggle of South African women.
- It is 75 years since the adoption of the Africans' Claims in South Africa document, which set out the demands of black South Africans for equal rights and self-determination. This seminal document was a precursor to the Freedom Charter, the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines and the country's democratic Constitution.
- It is 65 years since the Bantu Education Act was introduced, effectively depriving generations of black South Africans of quality education and skills and consigning them to grinding poverty.
- It is 55 years since the start of the Rivonia Trial, during which Nelson Mandela and other leaders of Umkhonto we Sizwe were sentenced to life imprisonment for having the courage to take up arms against the apartheid state. We use this opportunity, today, to pay tribute to the two surviving Rivonia trialists, Isithwalande Andrew Mlangeni and Dennis Goldberg.



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- It is also 55 years since the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity, which was formed to help bring about independence from colonialism and promote the unity and solidarity of the African continent.
- It is 45 years since the Durban strikes, which signalled the start of a new era in the struggle of the black working class and in the broader struggle against apartheid.
- This year, we mark the 25th anniversary of the assassination of Chris Hani, whose murder at the hands of right-wingers on the eve of our democratic breakthrough remains a source of pain and anguish to our nation. We also mark the passing, two weeks later, of that giant of our struggle, former President Oliver Tambo.

The ANC has produced many great sons and daughters who lived lives of extraordinary activism in service to the people of South Africa.

This year, we celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of one of the greatest leaders this country, this continent and the world has known – Isithwalandwe Seaparankoe Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

We shall celebrate his centenary not only as the people of South Africa, but also as a continent and as the broader global community. We shall pay tribute to the contribution that he made, over the course of his 95 years, to the struggle for freedom and the cause of building humane social relations across the globe.

We shall draw lessons and inspiration from his life as we confront the challenges of the present. We shall use this historic occasion to unite, rebuild and renew the movement to which he dedicated his life and intensify our work to build the free and equitable society for which he fought.

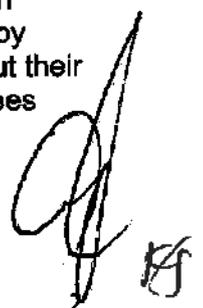
As we do so, we shall reflect on the past year, in which we commemorated the life of his friend and comrade, former President Oliver Reginald Tambo, and the profound impact that that centenary had on every aspect of the political work of the ANC and the Alliance.

This year, as we celebrate the centenary of the birth of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, we shall intensify our efforts to realise his vision of a united South Africa in which all live in peace with equal rights and opportunities.

We shall renew our focus on comrade Mandela's vision of a non-racial society in which the social and economic barriers that have separated black from white are torn down. We shall redouble our efforts to build a society in which black poverty and white privilege are consigned to the past, replaced by respect, solidarity and non-racial equality.

We shall place at the top of our agenda Madiba's vision of a non-sexist society in which the oppression and exploitation of women – whether in the workplace, in communities or in the home – is eradicated. We will work to ensure we achieve comprehensive development of women in all spheres of life so as to ensure that there is equality between women and men.

We shall work to rekindle Madiba's vision of a democratic society in which all citizens have equal opportunity to determine their own destiny. We shall achieve this not only through strengthening the instruments of representative and participatory democracy; but also by ensuring that people have economic opportunities and the ability to make choices about their own lives. We shall work to strengthen organs of civil society, including street committees and other community-based organisations, understanding that they provide the means through which people can participate fully in changing their lives for the better.



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In 2018, as the African National Congress, we shall work to restore the confidence of the South African people in a shared vision for radical social and economic transformation. We shall confront, together, the lack of broad-based economic participation and the social marginalisation of millions of poor and landless people. This we shall do, proceeding from the understanding that, an equitable society is in the interest of all South Africans, whatever their race, gender or social status.

Drawing on the wisdom of Madiba, and led by his example, we shall focus all our efforts on improving the lives of all South Africans, especially the poor.

This year, we will also celebrate the centenary of the birth of Albertina Nontsikelelo Sisulu, a stalwart of our struggle who is remembered for her strength, compassion and tireless commitment to the people of this country. As a prominent leader of the ANC, ANC Women's League, Federation of South African Women and the United Democratic Front, Ma Sisulu represented the epitome of selfless service to the people. We will use this year to remember her life and outstanding contribution to the cause of freedom and democracy.

RENEW THE ANC AS THE VANGUARD OF TRANSFORMATION

At the centre of all our efforts this year must be the fundamental renewal and revitalisation of the African National Congress.

The ANC's 54th National Conference, which met in Johannesburg in December 2017, recognised that the movement has become deeply divided through factionalism, patronage, corruption and competition for resources. Structures of the movement have been weakened and the confidence of the people in the ANC has been eroded. This, and the development of social distance between elected leaders and the electorate, has damaged the bond between the ANC and the masses of the people.

Conference decided that the ANC should embark with immediate effect, on a far-reaching programme of organisation-building and renewal aimed at making it a more effective instrument of social and economic change. This will also involve extensive engagement with formations with which we used to work in the mass democratic movement and with organised civil society. We will reach out to our people as a whole through the various structures in which they are organised, from sports bodies to chambers of commerce to community based organisations and faith based groups. We will reach out to the veterans of the movement to ensure that they play a meaningful role in rebuilding the ANC and restoring its values. In doing this, we will build unity of purpose, ensuring that the ANC is strengthened as a vanguard of the process of social transformation.

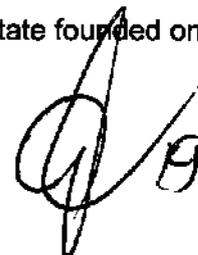
In electing the new national leadership of the organisation, delegates at the 54th National Conference gave the new leadership a clear and unequivocal mandate to unite the movement, the Alliance and the people of South Africa.

PROGRESS IN IMPROVING PEOPLE'S LIVES

We find ourselves at a critical time in the history of the country, in the life of the African National Congress and in the course of the National Democratic Revolution.

Together with our Alliance partners and with the support of broader society, we have, over the last 24 years, qualitatively advanced the National Democratic Revolution.

We have made significant progress in forging a unitary democratic state founded on a Constitution which guarantees equal rights for all.



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We have done much to dismantle the political, social and economic features of colonial exploitation and apartheid oppression, establishing enduring democratic institutions that are able to champion the will of the people.

We have directed public resources towards 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 17.4 million social grants to almost 12 million South Africans.

In 1994, we inherited a dysfunctional economy that had been in decline for many years. As the incoming government, we were forced to make some difficult decisions to turn around an economy in decline, and this at precisely the moment that our people's expectations were at their greatest.

For much of the first two decades of democracy, the ANC-led government managed to ensure sustained economic growth, macroeconomic stability and prudent management of public resources, while pursuing redistributive policies.

We sustained high levels of investment in education and skills development, ensuring that 77% of learners in public high schools enjoy free basic education. There are currently almost a million students enrolled in higher education, up from just over 500,000 in 1994. We have directed resources to meet the needs of the poor while improving their prospects for access to opportunities. Government provides free meals to nearly 12 million school children every day, that is more than 75% of learners in more than 20,000 public schools.

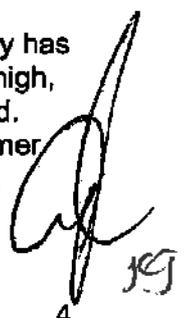
South Africa is also poised to make more significant contributions in the technology field, for instance, through our work on the Square Kilometre Array, which, when completed, will be the world's largest radio telescope, significantly expanding our ability to study space and answer fundamental questions of science. We were awarded the bid to build 65% of the SKA in 2012; and through the Meerkat telescope which will be completed in March 2018 South Africa and the continent at large will host the largest and most sophisticated research infrastructure. This is a scientific first for Africa and South Africa.

The number of people in employment in our country rose from 8.9 million in 1994 to around 16 million today. Even in the aftermath of the global financial crisis which started some 10 years ago, we were able to invest over R1 trillion in infrastructure over the last 5 years. As a consequence of these efforts and through our broad-based black economic empowerment policies, we have seen the black middle strata grow from approximately 1.7 million to 6 million.

Despite the progress we have made, we know that the most difficult challenges still lie ahead. As we noted in the National Development Plan, South Africa remains a highly unequal society where too many people live in poverty and too few have access to economic opportunities.

That is why the ANC's 53rd National Conference in Mangaung declared that we were now entering the second phase of our transition, with a methodical focus on socio-economic emancipation.

Yet, despite the attention we have given to socio-economic transformation, our economy has not performed well. Economic growth has remained low, unemployment has remained high, and some of the advances we made in reducing poverty are in danger of being reversed. Levels of investment have dropped, our budget is under pressure, business and consumer confidence is low, and we have recently suffered a number of credit rating downgrades.



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In the main, this is the result of an economy whose structure is largely unchanged since the end of apartheid. Over the last few years, this has been exacerbated by the effects of the global financial crisis, lower demand for our commodities and domestic challenges such as infrastructure constraints, low skills levels and the erosion of our manufacturing capacity. Our economy has also been severely undermined by corruption and state capture, institutional instability, policy inconsistency, poor performance of state-owned enterprises and a sense of drift within the ANC.

Therefore, if we are to turn the economy around and get the National Democratic Revolution firmly back on track, we need to work with urgency and seriousness to address these challenges.

We are encouraged by recent signs of faster growth following the country's emergence from a technical recession and the recent stabilisation of our currency, the rand. We have noted indications from a number of investors who are expressing renewed confidence in our country and are looking at new investments that would lead to job creation.

A PROGRAMME FOR ACCELERATED RADICAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

The ANC 54th National Conference, which was held in Johannesburg last month, addressed many of these issues and adopted policies to accelerate the fundamental transformation of our society.

While it is undeniable that the ANC has made significant strides in meeting the basic needs of the people, it is equally true that the legacy of colonialism and apartheid still remains deeply entrenched in our society. We therefore require a programme of fundamental and radical socio-economic transformation that will ensure that, in the words of President Mandela, political freedom goes side by side with 'freedom from hunger, want and suffering.'

Guided by the National Development Plan, we aim to restore our focus on building an economy in which all South Africans can flourish, an economy which benefits the people as a whole, rather than a privileged few.

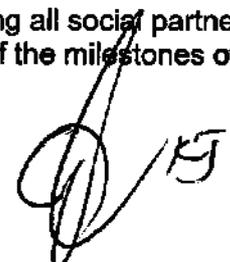
We seek an open, dynamic economy that embraces technological innovation, pursues higher productivity, creates jobs that pay better and improves the quality of life of our citizens. We recognise the challenges of modernisation and the imperatives of structural change in all sectors, especially in mining, manufacturing, agriculture and finance.

Our vision is an economy that encourages and welcomes investment, offers policy certainty and addresses barriers that inhibit growth and social inclusion. Our commitment is to build strong partnerships in which efficient and accountable government agencies, responsible citizens and businesses, effective trade unions and civil society work together for the common good.

Fundamentally, we are determined to build an economy that reverses apartheid injustices and corrects continuing patterns of deprivation and inequality.

It is for this reason that the resolutions adopted at our 54th National Conference focused on the measures we need to take now to significantly advance growth, development and transformation.

Critical to the success of these measures is strong collaboration among all social partners. While such collaboration has been essential to the success of many of the milestones of our



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young democracy, we must acknowledge that we have not sustained these partnerships in recent years.

Guided by the decisions of Conference, the ANC aims to forge a social pact between government, labour, business and communities urgently to reignite economic growth and accelerate the process of transformation. Each of the social partners needs to make specific commitments on the contribution they will make to promote far greater levels of investment and job creation.

While this social pact will be wide-ranging, it will need to focus in particular on youth unemployment, whose devastating impact on young people is cause for major concern. Despite the progress we have made in expanding access to education, millions of young people do not have the skills that the economy needs. Even those with skills lack the work experience and readiness that most employers look for. Conference therefore agreed to prioritise effective public employment programmes, internships, job placement, youth entrepreneurship and set-aside programmes.

Critical to the expansion of access to economic opportunities is the implementation of a free higher education for students from poor and working class backgrounds whose household income is less than R350,000.

This will be implemented by providing full bursaries for tuition and study materials to qualifying South African students at public TVET colleges and universities, and subsidised accommodation or transport capped at specific levels for those who qualify, starting with first time entry students in 2018. For returning existing university NSFAS funded students, in 2018 and going forward, their loans will be converted into full bursaries.

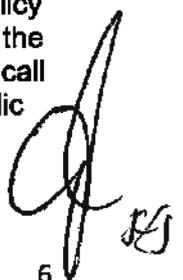
This historic decision, which vindicates many decades of struggle for free education for the poor, will be implemented in a phased approach to ensure sustainability of government finances and radically expanded access to education.

This is a critical contribution to ensuring that students from poor backgrounds are able to access the kind of skills required for meaningful participation in the economy. This is giving effect to our objective of a skills revolution, which requires that we sustain our significant investment in basic education. This will enable us to modernise our economy, improve the beneficiation of our natural resources and prepare our workforce for the fourth industrial revolution.

The concentration of ownership of our economy in the hands of a white minority constrains sustainable growth and transformation. We will work to change the ownership structure of our economy through, among other things, ensuring access to, and ownership of, financial institutions by black people, youth and women. This will include new approaches to regulation and licensing in the financial sector to foster diversified ownership and competition.

Development finance institutions and state banks should be directed to give greater emphasis to employment creation, empowerment, industrial diversification, and the development of small businesses and cooperatives.

The Reserve Bank plays a critical role in the life of any nation with regard to monetary policy and safeguarding and promoting the value of its currency. The ANC once more reaffirms the role, mandate and independence of the Reserve Bank. As mandated by Conference, we call on government to develop proposals, in line with international practice, to ensure full public ownership of the Bank.



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South Africa needs to pursue a multi-faceted growth strategy. Among the efforts to promote job creation on a far larger scale, we need to revitalise our manufacturing sector through a number of measures, including preferential procurement in both the public and private sectors to stimulate demand for local goods and to reduce domestic manufacturing costs. Learning from the experiences of other emerging markets, our industrialisation strategy should focus on sectors with the greatest potential for growth and where we can make most effective use of our resources including in tourism, agricultural and mineral resources.

In order to reduce concentration of ownership and control in the economy and to open the market to new, black-owned companies, we have agreed to expand the mandate of the competition authorities. These institutions will have the responsibility and the means to reduce monopoly control of our economy and increase competition. State procurement and the award of concessions are going to be used more effectively to promote broad-based black economic empowerment and encourage greater worker ownership and board representation.

Another critical element of broad-based black economic empowerment are the ongoing interventions that are aimed at promoting township and rural economies. Our rural areas and townships were designed as labour dormitories. It is pleasing that work is already underway in many parts of the country to develop such areas as economic centres. Through targeted investment, improved infrastructure and the creation of a conducive regulatory environment, more townships and rural areas can become sites for manufacturing and the expansion of the services industry.

We are pleased that agreement has been reached on the national minimum wage, which will be implemented on 1 May 2018. While recognising that the starting minimum wage is not a living wage, it is nevertheless a significant mechanism to immediately improve the lives of as many as 6.6 million low paid workers and establish a platform for further measures to reduce income inequality.

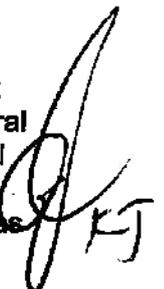
We applaud all social partners for having reached this historic agreement. We salute, in particular, our ally COSATU, which has struggled relentlessly for the realisation of this demand of the Freedom Charter.

The National Conference underlined how profoundly the dispossession of the indigenous people of this country of their land has contributed to poverty, hardship, unemployment and social dislocation. While important progress has been made in improving security of tenure and undertaking land restitution and redistribution, the pace has been too slow and the impact limited. There has also not been a sufficient link between the return of land and the provision of support to beneficiaries.

The 54th Conference decided that the historic injustice of land dispossession, therefore, needs to be addressed with greater urgency. There was overwhelming support at the Conference that the ANC must pursue the expropriation of land without compensation. We will do so in a manner that not only meets the constitutional requirement of redress, but also promotes economic development, agricultural production and food security.

At the same time, we will pursue the enormous potential of agriculture to promote industrialisation, create employment and transform our economy. By modernising agricultural production and developing a substantial pool of skills in this area, we would not only improve food security, but also develop agro-processing, the manufacture of agricultural inputs and increase exports. This would have a profound effect on the sustainability of rural communities.

We need also to act with urgency and purpose to restore state owned enterprises (SOEs) as drivers of economic growth and development. Several key SOEs are in financial distress,



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threatening not only their own operations, but the national fiscus. Many of these enterprises have experienced serious governance lapses and poor delivery of their mandate. These challenges have been exacerbated by state capture, through which billions of rands have been illegally diverted to individuals. Governance of these state owned enterprises has been severely weakened and confidence in the public sector generally has been undermined.

Building on the work already underway in government to reform SOEs, we will act urgently and decisively to improve governance, financial management and performance in all SOEs and protect them from improper interference.

Corruption in SOEs and other public institutions has undermined government's programmes to address poverty and unemployment, weakened key institutions, discouraged investment and contributed to division within the ANC and the Alliance. The ANC therefore welcomes the announcement by President Jacob Zuma of the establishment of a commission of inquiry in line with the findings of the Public Protector's report on state capture.

Anti-corruption efforts within the state must be more effectively coordinated and all forms of corruption must be exposed and prosecuted. This includes corruption, collusion and other criminal activity in the private sector, which must be fought with equal diligence and determination.

Strong and efficient law-enforcement agencies are critical to the fight against corruption and crime generally, and to the restoration of the integrity and legitimacy of the state. In this regard, the ANC is of the firm view that the country's intelligence services, the police and prosecutorial authorities should be strengthened and fortified to act with professionalism, and without fear, favour or prejudice. They should continue to be at the forefront of the fight against corruption and state capture, and work with communities to deal decisively with acts of criminality that threaten to tear communities apart. These include child abuse, gender-based violence, substance abuse, human trafficking and many contact crimes that have been on the rise.

Improving access to justice and accelerating the transformation of the judicial system remains a key priority for the ANC. Conference reaffirmed the imperative to continue enhancing efficiency and effectiveness of the legal services across all levels of government. There was a further commitment to widen the allocation of the State's legal work for broader participation by black people, in general, and women in particular.

We will intensify efforts to improve the health of our people, particularly in the context of the devastating impact of the AIDS epidemic and the emergence of other diseases. As South Africans, we must never accept as permanent or irreversible our status as the country with the world's biggest HIV epidemic. We need to take decisive steps to bring an end to the epidemic through systematically implementing the 90-90-90 strategy, which will entail, among other things, the addition of two million more people to our antiretroviral treatment programme.

We are alarmed by the dramatic growth of non-communicable or lifestyle diseases. We need to launch a sustained national campaign against cancer and intensify our efforts to reduce smoking, alcohol and sugar consumption.

The present outbreak of listeriosis, a disease that has been in South Africa for the past 40 years and has suddenly grown into an epidemic, is worrying. While the Department of Health and scientists are searching for the source, we call upon South Africans to heed the advice of the World Health Organization and the Department of Health, which have five key commandments for food safety. These are to keep clean and wash hands before and while preparing food; to separate raw and cooked food; to cook food properly; to keep food at safe temperatures; and to use safe water and raw materials.



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The ANC 54th National Conference reaffirmed the ANC's vision of a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society.

We must follow Madiba's example and become activists for the cause of non-racialism. This becomes particularly important at this time in our history when there is a seeming resurgence of racism and narrow ethnic nationalism across many parts of the world. The ANC must remain a beacon of hope for progressive values.

The 54th National Conference resolved on a range of measures aimed at building social cohesion and a common national identity. In this regard, one of the most important tasks of ANC cadres is to be effective leaders of change and be integrally involved in community dialogues and community fora. Members must have dynamic links with inter-faith organisations, sports and cultural leaders, the private sector and traditional leaders to enhance moral regeneration, social cohesion and nation building.

More importantly, every ANC member must fight the demon of racialism, guard against narrow ethnic nationalism and other backward tendencies such as xenophobia. As a country, we must condemn all acts of racism and work together to end all racist practices.

South Africa has made tremendous strides in the emancipation of women, but much more must be done. We must confront the seeming resurgence of patriarchy and backward attitudes towards the role of women in society.

Members of the ANC must be at the forefront of all campaigns aimed at engendering equality between men and women at all levels. We call on ANC men in particular to be activists in the campaign to eradicate gender stereotypes that not only oppress women; but also have the effect of keeping men in psychological bondage. Part of this campaign should be the socialisation of children to respect one another and to shun gender stereotypes.

Gender-based violence and violence against other vulnerable groups such as children, the elderly, people with disabilities and members of the LGBTQI community is a scourge that needs to be eradicated.

The ANC also commits to practical measures aimed at the full realisation of women's leadership potential.

In building a caring society that is cohesive and which protects the vulnerable, the 54th National Conference resolved that street, block and village committees, in which ANC members are active, are key vehicles of social cohesion and transformation. These committees must know exactly what is happening in each street in relation to violence against women and children, substance abuse, crime and be able to ensure that there are safe houses for victims, and that the police and social workers fulfil their functions. ANC branches must also be active in and strengthen the Community Policing Forums and Community Safety Forums. Members of the communities must know their neighbours and be concerned about their lives.

The above programmes must be backed up by practical measures such as making access to education easier for the girl-child by providing safe and reliable public transport for learners who live far from schools and providing free sanitary products to indigent learners and young women.

An important component of building a non-sexist society is to promote gender equality in sports at all levels and to enhance support for women's sport.



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FINAL

Madiba was resolute that because we live in an interdependent world, we must learn from and take advantage of what is happening in other parts of the world. He was fully aware that South Africa depended a great deal on international solidarity and was adamant that the ANC and South Africa will always stand with the oppressed and marginalised across the world.

Our membership of BRICS is an important tool to enhance multilateralism and we must leverage our 2018 chairpersonship of BRICS for the advancement of South Africa's national interests and the promotion of a more equitable world order.

The ANC has a long tradition of internationalism, based on the understanding that an injury to one is an injury to all. It has consistently lent its support to the peoples of the world living in situations of conflict, who have been displaced and who are subject to discrimination, oppression and exploitation. We are particularly concerned about the resurgence of slave trading in Africa and will work with partners on the continent and further afield to combat it. We salute those South African organisations and individuals that are actively engaged in international solidarity work and humanitarian assistance.

The ANC reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. The ANC condemns the withdrawal of Morocco from the UN-led peace process and calls on the UN to bring all parties back to the negotiating table.

The ANC will continue with its work of supporting the peace process in Sudan and South Sudan so as to find lasting solutions to the outstanding matters on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and solutions to the border conflicts.

The ANC reaffirms its commitment to give practical support to the oppressed people of Palestine and we are of the firm view that the downgrade of the South African embassy in Israel to a Liaison Office would help to send a strong signal in this regard. The ANC calls on the South African government to increase trade between South Africa and Cuba as a reinforcement of our international solidarity with the people of that country. We call on the United States to remove the illegal economic embargo against Cuba.

TASKS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

In giving practical expression to the resolutions of the 54th National Conference – and inspired by the life, contribution and vision of Nelson Mandela – the following priority tasks for the movement have been identified for 2018.

- We shall undertake a deliberate programme of organisational renewal that decisively addresses problems of division and dysfunction within the organisation. This will include concrete steps to empower members of the ANC to determine the direction of the movement and to decide – free from manipulation and coercion – on who should lead the movement. They need to guide its policies, priorities and programmes informed by the needs and concerns of the communities in which they are located. We shall therefore work to get rid of the gate-keeping, vote buying and undue interference that strips ANC members of their rights, responsibilities and influence. We will build a membership system that is transparent, efficient and credible.
- We shall work to restore the integrity and credibility of the ANC. We need cadres who are committed to serve no other interest than the interests of the people, who seek no advantage for themselves or their families from the positions they occupy, and who safeguard public resources. We shall strengthen the Integrity Commission to deal with matters of ethics in the organisation and finalise its standing and the status of its decisions by June this year.

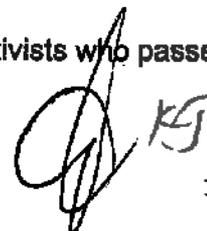
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- We shall undertake measures to bring the ANC closer to the people, building our branches as vibrant, dynamic units that take up the most pressing social and economic challenges in our communities. Our branches need to attract the most active, brightest, most upstanding, and most committed members of our communities – young and old, women and men, black and white – and thus become examples of the best citizens that our society offers.
- The ANC will work with renewed determination to unite all South Africans – regardless of race, class or affiliation – around a shared vision of fundamental transformation. We need to restore the unity of purpose and sense of common destiny that was forged under the leadership of Nelson Mandela.
- We shall mobilise all social partners, in particular government, labour and business, behind an economic recovery plan. The urgency of this task is underlined by low levels of growth and job creation, constrained public finances, ratings downgrades and corruption which undermine efforts to tackle poverty and inequality. It is only through working together, in pursuit of a common objective underpinned by mutual respect and trust, that we shall be able to turn the economy around.
- We shall confront corruption and state capture in all the forms and manifestations that these scourges assume. This includes the immediate establishment of a commission of inquiry into state capture. The investigation and prosecution of those responsible will be given top priority. Mechanisms for the appointment of individuals to senior government positions, state owned entities and law enforcement agencies will be strengthened to improve transparency, prevent undue influence and ensure adequate vetting of candidates.
- We must work to restore the credibility of public institutions, including state owned enterprises and law enforcement agencies, by addressing excessive turnover in senior positions, undue political interference, poor coordination and corruption.
- As part of the work needed to improve access to relevant quality education, we must urgently develop and implement an affordable and sustainable funding model to ensure that poor, working class and ‘middle class’ students progressively receive free higher education. We must do this not only to promote social justice and redress the inequities of the past, but to ensure that we produce capable graduates on a scale that feeds economic growth and social development.
- We shall implement a comprehensive approach to land reform and agricultural development that utilises a range of mechanisms to accelerate the redistribution of land to black South Africans and to provide the necessary support to ensure that this is accompanied by an increase in agricultural production and food security. The NEC will develop proposals with regard to expropriation of land without compensation as part of the mechanisms available to government.

These are the central tasks that must occupy all ANC structures, leaders, cadres and members during the course of 2018. As we work to implement all the resolutions of the ANC 54th National Conference, we are resolute in our commitment to make this the year in which we rebuild our movement and turn around the South African economy.

TRIBUTE TO FALLEN HEROES

The ANC honours the courage, dedication and selfless service of those activists who passed away over the past year.



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We dip our banner in honour of Ahmed Kathrada, Major General Mxolisi Petane, Sindiso Magaqa, Emma Mashinini, Essa Moosa, Laloo Isu Chiba, Mochubela Seekoe, Ronnie Mamoepa, Kay Moonsamy, John Ncinane, John Pilane, Reverend Jakes Alberts, Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, Keorapetse Kgositsile among others.

Their contribution to the struggle for humane social relations must continue to guide and inspire our actions.

In recognition of the enormous responsibility we have to unite, rebuild and revitalise the movement and lead an urgent programme of economic growth, job creation and transformation, the NEC declares 2018 as **'100 YEARS OF NELSON MANDELA: THE YEAR OF RENEWAL, UNITY AND JOBS.'**

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Annexure “CR31”

LET'S GROW SOUTH AFRICA TOGETHER

VOTE ANC



2019 ELECTION MANIFESTO

**A PEOPLE'S PLAN FOR
A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL**



ANC

A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

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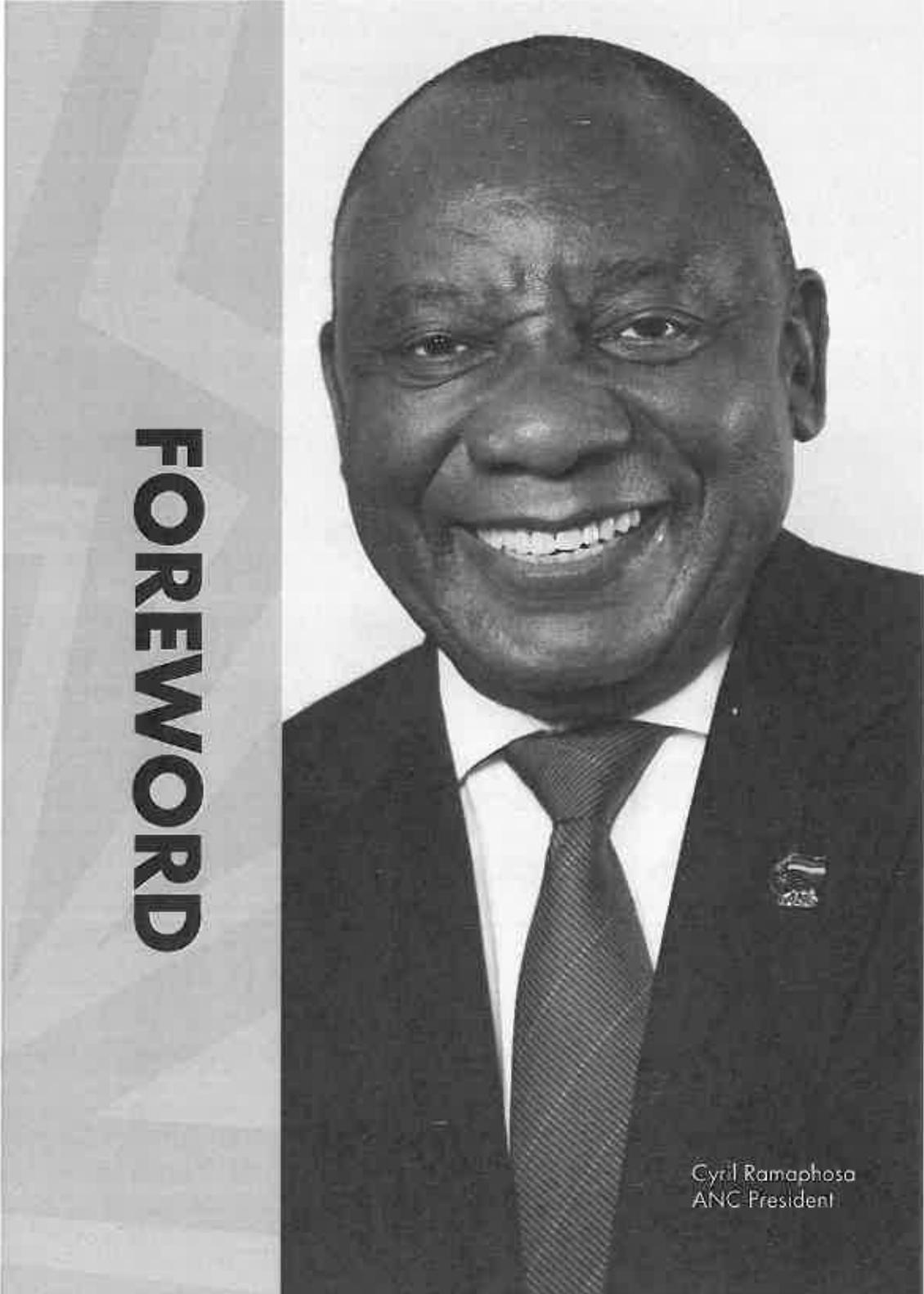
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FOREWORD



Cyril Ramaphosa
ANC President

FOREWORD

Fellow South Africans,

The freedom we enjoy today was achieved through struggle, determination and great sacrifice. Despite challenges and setbacks, we won our freedom by working together and never giving up.

As we continue to work as a nation to create jobs, end poverty and build a better life for all, we must act with greater determination. Only by working together, can we strengthen democracy and grow South Africa.

Over the past 25 years, the lives of the people of South Africa have changed for the better. Millions of people have houses, electricity and access to clean drinking water. Children from poor communities have access to free education. In the past five years the number of HIV positive people on antiretroviral treatment has doubled while the overall rate of new infections is decreasing. Over 17,5 million of our most vulnerable citizens receive social grants. We advanced the cause and rights of workers to organise, collectively bargain, refuse dangerous work, and to strike. A National Minimum Wage comes into effect from January 2019, improving the lives of over six million workers.

Although much has been achieved, we could have moved faster and the quality of services could have been much better. We accept that mistakes have been made and in some critical areas, progress has stalled.

This is a moment of renewal. It is an opportunity to restore our democratic institutions and return our country to a path of transformation, growth and development.

The country's future is now in the hands of those who believe in it the most. The voter.

Together with the people of South Africa, the ANC is ready to write the next chapter in our country's history.

A chapter of new hope in the fight to eradicate unemployment, poverty and inequality.

A chapter where we uproot corruption.

A chapter of renewal.

A chapter of rebuilding.

A chapter that pursues shared prosperity and inclusive growth.

Let's turn the page and **Let's Grow South Africa. Together.**



OUR VISION AND PLAN

OUR VISION AND PLAN

The African National Congress is a broad movement of the people with the historic mission to build a united and democratic South Africa that is non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous. Many people fought a long and hard struggle and sacrificed much to bring about freedom and democracy in this country.

The Freedom Charter remains our inspiration and our strategic guide to realising a better life and a South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it.

The Freedom Charter is the living soul of our country's progressive constitution and is the foundation of Vision 2030 of the National Development Plan (NDP). Everything we are doing is in pursuance of the vision of the NDP to address the triple challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality.

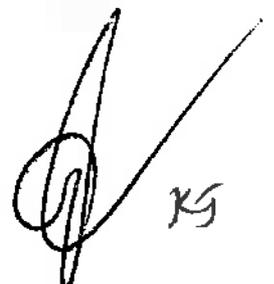
Over the past 25 years, the dignity of our people has been restored. The lives of South Africans have improved. We promoted nation-building, social cohesion and celebrated our diversity as a nation. We pursued world peace and advanced an agenda for a better Africa and a better world.

Much of what we set out to do in the 2014 Manifesto has been implemented with varying degrees of success.

So much remains to be done to bring us closer to the achievement of the Freedom Charter.

Our struggle for radical socio-economic transformation continues.

Our economy has not been fundamentally transformed to serve all people. Unemployment remains high, particularly among the youth. The land question has not been fully addressed. The country has obscene levels of income and wealth inequality. Gender-based violence has reached crisis proportions and drugs, violent crimes and gangsterism are wreaking havoc in many communities. Corruption continues to raise its ugly head,



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threatening the very moral and ethical basis of our young democracy. Our education, training and health systems still need radical improvements.

The ANC acknowledges that we made mistakes and veered off course.

As a nation, we have learned the harsh impact of corruption on society and the economy. We have witnessed the loss of integrity in some of the institutions of state, business and political and other organisations. We have learned hard lessons about the vigilance needed to stop lawlessness, greed and selfishness from taking root.

We are resolved to work with our people to address this cancer in our society.

After a difficult time, we are on the cusp of a new era of hope and renewal – the New Dawn is upon us.

The ANC has a unique history of advancing the aspirations of South Africans. The commitments we make in this Manifesto are in the spirit of Thuma Mina that inspires the New Dawn. At critical moments in our country's history, we have demonstrated that we can mobilise and unite South Africans around the common challenges facing the country.

We have shown the capacity to self-correct where mistakes have been committed. We are a movement with experience in governance and a clear resolve to advance an agenda of radical socio-economic transformation.

This Manifesto is informed by the 54th National Conference of the ANC and, true to our tradition, we have consulted widely and listened to many voices in drafting the Manifesto. These voices include those of our Alliance partners and a broad range of organisations in the wider civil society. The peoples' priorities are incorporated in this Manifesto.

Our Manifesto is a coherent and bold people's plan for a better life for all, addressing the persistent realities of unemployment, poverty and inequality. The NDP will continue to guide government's policy agenda and will be implemented at a brisker pace.

Our Manifesto is about:

- **Transforming the economy to serve all people**, through interventions that promote a developmental growth path to create more jobs and decent jobs. This will need sustainable and radical land reform and a plan to broaden ownership of the economy. It will mean that we must address monopolies, excessive concentration and the growth-inhibiting structure of the economy and advance an industrial plan for localisation. We must drive innovation and the digital revolution, increase levels of investment in the economy, accelerate the provision of infrastructure to support the economy and meet basic needs, transform and diversify the financial sector, consolidate support for small businesses and cooperatives, as well as the grow the township and village economy. These interventions will be accompanied by the development of an appropriate macroeconomic framework to support the transformation of the economy to serve all people.
- **Advancing social transformation** that continues to make education and health our priorities to radically improve access and quality, building more homes, a modern, integrated, affordable, accessible and reliable public transport system, and working towards a comprehensive social security system to protect the well-being of the people and society. Our Manifesto focuses on keeping our communities safe by ensuring there is security in our streets, our homes, our schools and our borders. This includes our fight against gender-based violence, drugs and gangsterism.
- **Stepping up the fight against corruption throughout society and safeguarding** the integrity of the state and ethical leadership.
- **Re-building and renewing a capable and developmental state**, re-organising the way government interacts with the people, rebuilding and improving local government, and improving public accountability and responsiveness to the needs and concerns of the people, and rebuilding and improving the local government system.
- Advancing **nation-building and social cohesion**, stepping up the fight against racism, sexism, homophobia and other intolerances.
- **Building a better Africa and a better world.**

This manifesto sets out how we will improve the lives of South Africans and grow South Africa together.

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19

CELEBRATING 25 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY

CELEBRATING 25 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY

Twenty-five years ago, the South African people changed the course of history and broke the bonds of colonialism, apartheid and patriarchy.

On April 27, 1994, we finally held South Africa's first non-racial, democratic election and the nation delivered a decisive majority to the African National Congress. It is through this election that our beloved President Nelson Mandela assumed the helm with a commitment to build a better life for all South Africans.

Today, we look back at this process of critical political and social change full of pride because of what the ANC, its allies and the people of this country have achieved.

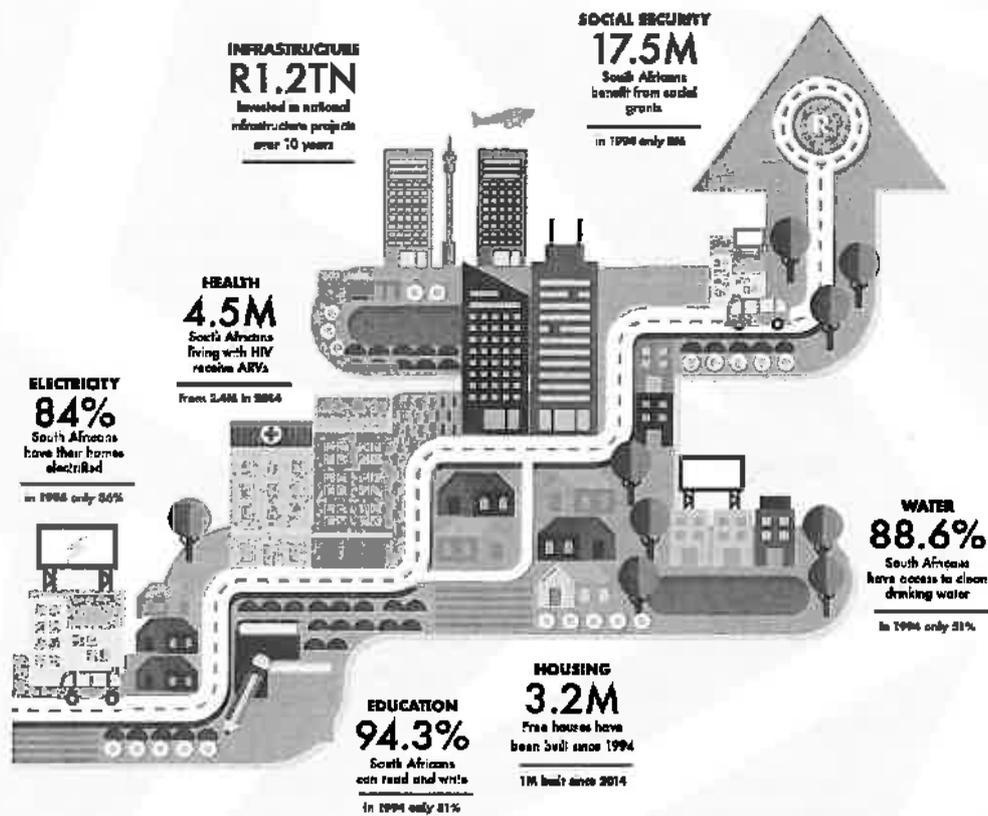
We have made progress and faced challenges in our foundational aspiration to build a united and democratic South Africa.

- Our constitution is embraced by all South Africans, advancing the individual and collective rights of our people. Our robust Chapter Nine institutions, judiciary and parliament are critical safeguards to protect these rights.
- We have improved the representation and empowerment of women in the public and private sectors through our constitutional commitment to non-sexism and gender equality.
- Our democracy unleashed the creative energies of all people in sports, arts, music, literature, film and dance, as well as science, technology and innovation.
- Although the demon of racism is far from defeated, we have a society that refuses to accept racism as the norm.

The lives of the majority of South Africans have improved:

- **Electricity:**

- In 1994, only 36% of the population and only 12% of people in rural communities had access to electricity.



THE LIVES OF THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE VASTLY IMPROVED

- Today, 8 out of 10 South Africans, including those in rural areas, have their homes electrified. This has improved the quality of lives and reduced exposure to dangerous levels of air pollution from using coal, wood or charcoal for cooking and heating. Progress towards universal access is now integrated with the use of renewable electricity from the sun, wind and water to power buildings, transport and industry.

• Water:

- In 1994, only 6 out of 10 South Africans had access to clean drinking water. Today, that figure has increased to nearly 9 out of 10 South Africans.

- The improved access to water services has reduced the time spent, mostly by women and girls, on gathering water and has given more time for productive

activities, adult education, empowerment activities and leisure. We will continue to maintain water infrastructure and expand access to water for all, while enhancing quality control and management for the sustainable use of our water resources.

• **Housing:**

- Since 1994, over 4,7 million free houses have been built benefiting over 14 million people. This has meant a massive extension of home ownership, growing the productive assets of our people. In the recent period, we have been hard at work to ensure that more and more South Africans live closer to economic opportunities and that we eventually overcome the race-based spatial separation of our people inherited from apartheid.

• **Education:**

- In the 2014 Manifesto, we committed ourselves to eradicating illiteracy. Today 9 out of 10 adult South Africans can read and write, and an illiteracy-free South Africa is within our reach.

- Ninety percent of public schools have become no-fee paying schools, and learners are benefiting from school feeding schemes and subsidised public transport. This has contributed to the increase in school attendance from 51% in 1994 to 99% today.

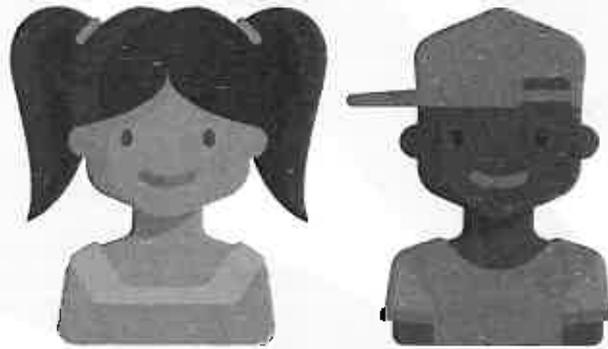
- We have achieved near universal access to basic education for young children aged 7-14 years of age.

- The number of learners who passed matric increased from 50% before 1994 to around 78% today, with a major shift in the balance of high performers to schools with learners from poor backgrounds. We will continue to build a solid foundation for quality teaching and learning well before Grade 12.

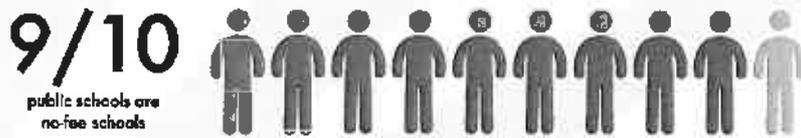
- Our support for university and TVET college students from poor and working class backgrounds through the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) has hugely increased from R70 million in 1994 to nearly R15 billion in 2018. This has contributed to the enrolment of students doubling over the same period to over two million, significantly transforming the racial and gender composition of the student population.

- Building on the NSFAS programme, in 2018 we introduced free higher education at first year level for students from poor and working class families. This policy will be extended to second year students this year and by 2024 all undergraduate students will be fully funded by NSFAS.

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Near universal access to basic education for young children aged 7-14 years of age.



80%
Secondary school enrolment
in 1994 only 51%



78.2%
Learners passed matric
in 1994 only 50%



1M
Students enrolled into universities in 2017
in 1994 only 347 000

Fee-free education in universities and colleges for students from poor and working-class backgrounds

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- 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.

• **Health:**

- More South Africans are living longer, with average life expectancy increasing to 64 years in 2018 from a low of 53 years in 2005.

- Progress in life expectancy reflects improvements in the quality and availability of health care, our massive campaign to turn the tide against HIV and Aids and our efforts to meet basic needs like access to clean water, electricity and adequate housing.

- More than 4.5 million South Africans living with HIV receive antiretroviral treatment, up from 2.4 million in 2014, making it the biggest antiretroviral treatment programme in the world.

- We have made dramatic progress in the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV. In 2004, over 70,000 of babies born to HIV positive mothers became infected. By 2018 this figure had plummeted to 4,500, saving tens of thousands of new born babies per year.

- New HIV infections have decreased but our collective fight continues for an AIDS-free generation.

- 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 for all today.

- Thousands more medical doctors, including from poor families, have been produced by our public medical schools. More needs to be done to improve the production of more health professionals.

- We have begun the process of establishing the National Health Insurance (NHI) by rolling out various pilot sites across the country and drafting the enabling legislation for the country-wide introduction of the NHI.

• **Comprehensive social security:**

- The number of individuals on social grants increased from 3 million in 1994 to 17.5 million in 2017, benefiting children, the elderly, people with disability and veterans.

- The Unemployment Insurance Fund has been extended to help most workers (including domestic workers) and the benefit payment period has



been increased from 6 months to 12 months.

- 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.

- More recently, we introduced unprecedented legislation in South African history, the National Minimum Wage, which will improve the wages of at least 6 million workers who are currently being paid below the national minimum wage level of R20 an hour. This National Minimum Wage forms part of the broader reforms aimed at achieving a living wage for most South Africans.

• **Economy:**

- Since 1994, we have seen sustained growth, tripling the size of the economy and improving the GDP per capita. Sustained growth has been crucial for enabling redistribution of public resources to meet the basic social needs of our people.

- Employment also picked up since 1994 compared with the pre-1994 period. Today seven million more people are working, making a total of over 16 million. However, employment growth has slowed since 2013 due to a combination of global and domestic factors. We face a more significant challenge to meet the target of 24 million employed by 2030.

- We have advanced the rights of workers and protected vulnerable workers through progressive labour legislation. At the same time, relative to full-time employment, we have seen the growth of more precarious forms of work through casualisation and labour brokering.

- The black middle class has grown significantly thanks to the ANC's progressive policies on affirmative action, black industrialisation, broad-based black economic empowerment and gender equality.

• **Infrastructure:**

- We have invested more than R2 trillion in infrastructure projects over the past 10 years to build more schools, clinics, roads and the freight logistics network.

- These achievements and many others have been the most critical factors in the support the ANC has received from the voting public since 1994. People have affirmed the confidence they have placed in us to achieve the vision set out in the Freedom Charter.

- Throughout these years, the majority of the South Africans have voted for an ANC government and renewed its electoral mandate to continue with its historic mission of building an inclusive South Africa and contribute to a better Africa and a better world.



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TRANSFORM THE ECONOMY TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

We aim to transform the economy to ensure it serves the people. Our Manifesto builds on the recently announced stimulus and recovery plan and sets out our key commitments to change the structure of the economy. Too many people are unemployed, particularly among the youth and too many jobs are lowly paid and insecure.

1. Our Plan for **More Jobs and Decent Jobs** takes forward the outcomes of the Presidential Jobs Summit aimed at protecting and creating decent jobs, with a focus on addressing youth unemployment. The public and private sector must take concrete steps to bridge the gap between skills and the labour market, including the implementation of mass apprenticeship opportunities for young men and women.
2. Our Plan for **Broadening Ownership** promotes mixed ownership of the economy, with a focus on extending worker ownership across the sectors of the economy.
3. We will carry out a **Sustainable Land Reform Programme** that expands participation in, and ownership of, agricultural production, advances food security and helps reverse the apartheid spatial separation of our cities and towns. This will be done through a range of measures, including expropriation without compensation.
4. We will address **Monopolies, Excessive Economic Concentration, Abuse of Dominance by Large Corporations and the Growth-Inhibiting Structure of the Economy** by de-concentrating and transforming the economy and opening it up to participation by small and medium enterprises, emerging co-operatives and township and village enterprises.
5. Our **Investment Plan** aims to increase the levels of investment by R1.2 trillion over the next 4 years to grow our economy and create jobs. We will create a publicly-led infrastructure fund to build more roads, schools, health facilities, water and sanitation infrastructure, transport networks, ICT systems and energy generation and distribution capacity.

TRANSFORM THE ECONOMY
TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

6. Our **Industrial Strategy** will accelerate industrialisation by supporting enterprises, including black industrialists, to save and create decent jobs in the core industries of manufacturing, agro-processing, mining and beneficiation, and tourism. Industrial policy support will include sectors of the future, such as renewable energy. We will address the rising energy prices and strengthen public procurement and other regulatory tools which will be leveraged to support locally produced goods and services and promote the Buy Local Campaign. We will work with the private sector and organised labour to drive the industrialisation of South Africa and Africa.

7. The country and the world are at a critical point in the **Digital Revolution**. We must craft our common digital future and devise a national programme for innovation that will unleash the talents and creativity of South Africans. Our country must become the centre of digital transformation in Africa. Its benefits must be spread across the economy and society rather than reinforcing existing inequality.

8. We will help grow **Small Enterprises, Co-Operatives and the Township and Village Economies** for economic transformation, job creation and innovation and encourage all forms of entrepreneurship.

9. We will **Transform and Diversify the Financial Sector** and ensure the industry serves the economy and the people.

10. Our **Macroeconomic Framework**, through fiscal and monetary policies, will be aligned to support the commitments made in this Manifesto.



MORE JOBS, MORE DECENT JOBS

**Working with labour, business and communities,
we will create many new jobs and ensure that all
workers can earn a decent living.**

- Create an extra 275,000 jobs each year by boosting local demand for goods, investing more in mining, manufacturing and agriculture and expanding export markets
- Massively increase internship and training opportunities for young people
- Implement the national minimum wage to improve the lives of 6 million workers
- Mobilise R1.2 trillion in new investment over 4 years
- Establish an Infrastructure Fund to build roads, rail lines, hospitals, schools, dams and other infrastructure vital for a growing economy

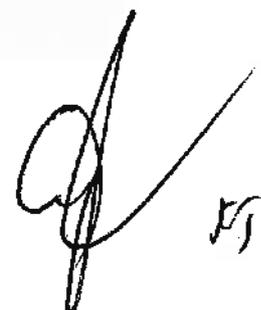


JOBS, DECENT JOBS

Too many of our people are without decent jobs. Our plan is to draw more South Africans, particularly youth and women, into decent employment and self-employment. Much work still needs to be done to promote decent work.

We will:

- Work with social partners (business, labour and communities) to implement the Presidential Jobs Summit framework agreement, which has the potential to create around 275,000 jobs annually.
- Ensure that we not only create new jobs, but work hard to protect existing jobs. In line with the Presidential Jobs Summit outcomes, we will take active steps to ensure that retrenchments are the last consideration taken by employers and that retrenchment procedures are reviewed.
- Set bold but achievable targets for youth internships, including prescribing a minimum percentage in the public sector while securing concrete commitments from the private sector.
- Increase employment through programmes that expand early childhood development sites, primary health care services and increase police visibility in our communities.
- Remove work experience as a requirement for employment of young people, especially in the public sector, as it robs the youth of employment opportunities.
- Scale-up support for micro, small and medium enterprises, co-operatives and township and village enterprises, including through the rapid implementation of measures contained in the Competition Amendment Bill. Support for these enterprises will include enterprise development, public and private procurement and access to funding and enterprise development.
- Increase participation in public employment programmes such as the Expanded Public Works Programmes through a guaranteed placement of TVET graduates and increasing private sector placement for beneficiaries of public employment programmes.
- Roll out the implementation of the National Minimum Wage to cover workers in domestic work, farming and forestry and other vulnerable sectors and ensure effective compliance.
- Ensure adequate legislation is in place to give effect to the Constitutional Court's ruling on labour brokers.
- Develop a short and medium-term plan to insource support services back into the public sector.
- Ensure that the laws of the country are observed in the employment of foreign nationals by firms.



INVESTING IN THE ECONOMY FOR INCLUSIVE GROWTH

The rate of investment in the productive economy and infrastructure has slowed in the recent past. Increasing such investments will help us grow the economy faster, create jobs and boost incomes. This should help us to strengthen our infrastructure for more roads, schools, toilets, clinics and hospitals, housing, public transport, communications systems, energy generation and distribution.

We will:

- Work tirelessly to increase the levels of investments by R1,2 trillion over the next four years as part of our plan to grow the economy and create jobs. We are within reach of our target. These investments will help diversify the economy in sectors like mining, forestry, manufacturing, telecommunications, transport, energy, water, agro-processing, consumer goods, pharmaceuticals, infrastructure and financial services.
- Investigate the introduction of prescribed assets on financial institutions' funds to unlock resources for investments in social and economic development.
- Build a social compact on infrastructure investment with business and organised labour to build more and better infrastructure. These investments will boost faster economic growth and improve the lives of many South Africans.
- Establish a Sovereign Wealth Fund to invest in strategic sectors of the economy and long-term social and environmental needs of the country.
- Establish an Infrastructure Fund to finance key economic and social infrastructure projects. Strengthen the Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission (PICC) to unblock and fast-track the delivery of infrastructure projects, such as the public passenger transport system, water infrastructure and integrated communities.

AN INDUSTRIAL PLAN TO SUPPORT LOCALISATION

The ANC will strengthen the country's industrialisation path by boosting domestic demand through public and private procurement, building our core industries of manufacturing, agriculture and agro-processing, mining and beneficiation, energy and renewable energy, tourism, the ocean economy and creative industries.

On localisation, we will:

- Strengthen government and state-owned enterprises procurement and leverage private sector procurement to support local enterprises, including township and village enterprises, black industrialists, and support stronger job creation and localisation.



- Increase designation of products that are locally produced to facilitate an expanded Buy Local Campaign, stronger support for the Local Procurement Accord agreed to at NEDLAC and greater partnerships with and commitments by the retail sector to support local industries.
- Impose penalties for state institutions or agencies that do not comply with the government's localisation commitments and ensure this forms part of the performance agreements with accounting officers.
- Attach conditionalities to all forms of state support, including incentives, to encourage the private sector to match government local procurement commitments. These conditionalities will be similar to the Tax Clearance Certificate required for all enterprises doing business with the state and receipt of incentives.
- Build an institutional capacity to support localisation, including SARS with an urgent focus on combating illegal imports, smuggling, invoice fraud and dumping.
- Apply targeted tariffs and non-tariff measures where necessary to protect and incentivise labour-intensive industries, including agriculture, clothing, textile and footwear and other manufacturing industries.

On renewable energy, we will:

- Continue to support the use of renewable technologies in the country's energy mix to reduce the cost of energy, decrease greenhouse emissions, build the local industry through increased localisation and create jobs, while recognising the



reality that we have large coal reserves that can provide cheap energy that can also assist with affordable prices.

- Take forward NEDLAC's Green Economy Accord on renewable energy. We will ensure that workers are treated fairly and reskilled and that the needs of people and the environment are at the centre of a just transition to a sustainable and low carbon energy future.
- Develop and implement a dedicated education and training programme on renewable energy targeting young people.
- Contribute to investment to boost greater demand in the renewable sector – particularly solar, municipal waste, biomass, biogas and wind – to support rural development, localisation, research and development, small enterprises and co-operatives. The universities in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape will offer academic programmes in renewable energy.
- Reposition Eskom to play an active role in the renewable energy sector and promote public ownership in renewable energy infrastructure.
- Investigate the cost-benefit of introducing solar panels in state buildings and mandate new commercial and residential developments in the medium term to use renewable energy technologies to reduce utility costs. These should include deploying clean energy solutions to provide lighting and small power needs in the informal settlements.

On reducing administered prices, we will:

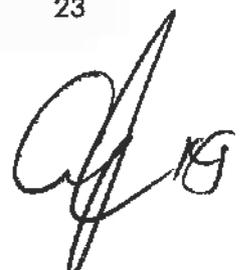
- Use administered prices as an intervention for growing the economy and supporting localisation in specific sectors.

On mining and beneficiation, we will:

- Support the local recycling industry, especially metals, rubber and paper. For scrap metals used by local foundries and steel mills, we will introduce an export tax to ensure greater local use of the resource to create local jobs, reduce energy emissions and support the national infrastructure programme.
- Ensure that the Mining Charter provisions benefit state, community and employee ownership. The state mining company will be strengthened to play a significant role in the industry.

On clothing, textile, and footwear, we will:

- Support the growth of the industry through boosting existing initiatives, including strengthening the Buy Local Campaign and intensifying the fight against illegal imports.



- Increase opportunities for women entrepreneurs, worker-owned businesses and SMMES in urban and rural areas through access to funding and markets, including public procurement and engagements with the retail sector to support local enterprises.

- Consider the establishment of a Special Economic Zone for clothing, textile, and footwear.

On the pharmaceutical industry, we will:

- Establish a state-owned pharmaceutical company as part of our programme to promote an affordable and reliable supply of medication and localisation, especially in the production of vaccines and active pharmaceutical ingredients.

- Support the local pharmaceutical industry through a range of measures, including access to public procurement and the black industrialist programme.

On the tourism industry, we will:

- Increase support for the tourism sector, including cultural tourism, to boost its job creation capacity by adopting a 'whole-government approach' to tourism, including reducing visa requirements for tourists and measures to ensure the security of tourists.

- Identify iconic and landmark sites that can be expanded for domestic and international tourists.

On the creative industries, we will:

- Promote and support the diverse creative industries, from folk art, festivals, music, books, paintings, performing art to the film industry, broadcasting and video games.

- Ensure public funding schemes do not exclude the creative industries and work with the private sector to increase investment in the sector.

- Develop and implement cultural projects in schools and communities that raise awareness of career opportunities in the creative industries.

- Develop and implement cultural projects in schools and communities that raise awareness of career opportunities in the creative industries.

- Promote and invest more in museums, archives, heritage and cultural projects. These will include support to conserve, protect and promote the country's Liberation History and Heritage – archives, struggle sites, values, ideas, movements, veterans and networks.

- Work with stakeholders to ensure that innovators and artists are justly rewarded for their labour in the digital age and protect the copyrights of artists.
- Actively promote the growing African film industry by:
 - producing more local content and investment in local infrastructure, especially in townships and rural areas,
 - developing skills in capital raising, post-completion and distribution,
 - providing capital for producing content and extending funding to address sales, marketing and distribution.
- Ensure demand for creative goods and services by tourists by supporting the development of creative industries.

On the ocean economy, we will:

- Establish an integrated governance framework for the sustainable growth of the ocean economy that maximises socio-economic benefits while ensuring adequate ocean environmental protection.
- Promote investment in offshore oil and gas exploration and production as new growth areas.
- Continue to support infrastructure development in marine transport as well as modernising and expanding the capacity of our ports.
- Finalise fishing quotas and ensure this is given effect to support aquaculture and sustainable livelihoods.
- Develop a marine policy that ensures the use of South African ships as part of our trade with the rest of the world.





INNOVATION, DIGITAL AND DATA REVOLUTION

The world and our nation are at a critical point in the rapid digital transformation linked to the 4th industrial revolution. This is reshaping the future of work, social interaction and industrial production. The rise of new technologies in robotics, artificial intelligence, big data and the internet-of-things will all have a profound impact on our country.

We will:

- Create a legal and regulatory framework for promotion of innovation.
- Work with stakeholders through the Presidential Digital Industrial Revolution Commission to shape a common digital future that places people at the centre of digital transformation and ensure that its benefits are spread across society.
- Increase spending on innovation and aim for more technological breakthroughs critical to the country's development through support for research.
- Scale-up skills development for the youth in data analytics, the internet-of-things, blockchain and machine learning, to enable training of young people to develop and operate new technologies.

- Work with partners to train workers and unleash their talents and creativity. A just transition framework will be developed with all stakeholders address re-skilling and support for workers displaced by new technologies.
- Reduce the cost of data through the work of competition authorities and the communication regulator, ICASA. Lowering the cost of data will be one of the major requirements in the licensing of the much-needed radio frequency spectrum this year.
- Extending the government broadband rollout programme.
- Ensure there is significant localisation of new technologies and ensure that SMMEs and co-operatives are drawn into the digital economy.
- Support e-commerce which will enable SMMEs and co-operatives, including rural producers, to sell their products online, allowing them access to national, regional and global markets. This will include access to digital secure storage facilities known as data centres and cloud computing.
- Open opportunities for young people to develop new software and applications, devices and equipment through specialised start-up support programmes for use by all spheres of government and society. A digital innovation centre will be established for this purpose within the next three years.
- Strengthen and consolidate efforts to digitalise government, utilise big data in planning and execution, and expedite the implementation of e-governance so that citizens can access public services from any location as they become connected. Priority will be given to effective use of new technologies for public infrastructure as we build smart public schools and smart health facilities and smart community policing to fight crime.
- Create rules to ensure safety and enforce our constitutional values on the web especially that of women and children.

"We see a country that has embraced the benefits of technology for economic growth, social development and for more effective governance. We are producers of knowledge and drivers of technological progress."

President Cyril Ramaphosa



A GROWING ECONOMY FOR ALL

We will build an economy in which all our people have a meaningful stake and from which they can all benefit.

- Enable workers to own stakes in the companies they work for and share in the profits
- Create space for new emerging companies by ending monopolies and behaviour that stifles competition
- Allocate at least 30% of government's procurement spend to small businesses and cooperatives
- Reduce the cost of data and extend free Wi-Fi to many more sites across the country
- Work with the financial sector to increase industrial and enterprise financing for small businesses, black industrialists and cooperatives
- Accelerate land reform and provide greater support for emerging commercial farmers

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BROADENING OWNERSHIP IN THE ECONOMY

Broad-based ownership of the economy is one of the fundamental building blocks for transforming the economy to serve the people. The ANC has always been in favour of a mixed economy in which there is public, private and social ownership with distinct but complementary roles, thereby contributing towards shared prosperity.

We also believe that employees of successful companies must have a share in the profits and should continue to benefit should they retire or leave the company. Moreover, promoting worker ownership adds to broad-based black empowerment by distributing wealth to broader sections of our people.

We will:

- Introduce legislation for the extension of company ownership to a broad base of workers through an employee ownership scheme and similar arrangements to supplement workers' incomes and build greater partnerships between workers and owners to build these businesses. Social partners (government, labour and business) will put together the minimum thresholds and conditionalities to govern the establishment of worker-ownership funds, paving the way to empower millions of workers across the economy.
- Provide public assistance to enable employees to purchase viable private businesses from retiring owners that wish to sell their businesses to employees either through a worker-owned co-operative enterprise.
- Develop a policy framework to support the distinct and vibrant social and solidarity economy which is based on addressing social and environmental needs rather than profit maximisation. This sector includes co-operatives, community-based enterprises, trade union based enterprises, informal enterprises and non-profit organisations.
- Strengthen and consolidate existing state-owned enterprises to ensure they remain focused on their mandates to support socio-economic transformation while improving their governance systems and containing the cost of their operations. The ANC will extend public ownership, guided by feasibility studies, in pharmaceuticals, renewable energy and banking.
- Promote and ensure compliance in the ownership of black people, youth, persons with disabilities and women through the revised broad-based black economic empowerment programme.

SUSTAINABLE AND RADICAL LAND REFORM

Land reform is about redressing historical injustices and dispossession of the black majority. It is also a vital opportunity to unlock growth and promote socio-economic transformation. Our land reform programme provides a sustainable but radical



way to address the land question. We will use our land reform programme to build productive assets for our people, unlock agricultural productivity, secure food security and address the persisting reality of apartheid spatial separation.

We will:

- Support the amendment of section 25 of the Constitution to clearly define the conditions under which expropriation of land without compensation can take place. This should be done in a way that promotes economic development, agricultural production and food security
- Submit the revised Expropriation Bill to parliament to provide explicit circumstances under which land expropriation in the public interest may happen without compensation. The Bill will ensure that laws regulating expropriation will include the principle of expropriation without compensation through just and equitable provisions set out in the Constitution.
- Speed up the resolution of all outstanding land restitution claims
- Work with the established agribusiness to:
 - ensure that the sector continues to increase its contribution to export earnings,
 - develop greater support for emerging and small-scale farmers;
 - invest in agricultural research and new smart technologies to enhance the sector's market share in global trade;
 - work with like minded countries to ensure just international agricultural trade regime;
 - develop a sustainable agriculture strategy to mitigate the impact of climate change and identify new growth areas for production as well as diversification to new agricultural products that will ensure food security
- Address the domination of agricultural inputs by big business and the monopoly domination in agro-processing and food retail that keep out small players.
- Consolidate all government support provided to small-scale farmers to ensure expanded production, including promotion of their co-operative activities or eco-systems through joint marketing and joint processing of their produce to ensure better impact.



- Address domination of agricultural inputs by big business and the monopoly domination in agro-processing and food retail that keeps out small players.
- Ensure that no land is wasted or underutilised through enacting and implementing measures to promote urban agriculture and community food gardens to provide national food security and reduce hunger.
- Give priority to land administration, management and development of skills in land related careers such as land valuation, land surveying and town and regional planning.
- Introduce measures to address high land and property costs, which push the poor majority into the periphery and deepen racial inequalities.
- Accelerate the transfer of title deeds to the rightful owners as part of the rapid land release programme that makes parcels of land available for those who want to build houses themselves.
- Ensure tenure security through adequate recognition and protection of the rights of long-term occupiers, women and labour tenants in communal land tenure.
- Advance women's access to land and participation in agriculture and rural economies.
- Promote sustainable use of water resources, including smart agriculture, to mitigate the impact of climate change.

"Vacant land near the centres of cities and towns must be turned into affordable housing for the poor and working class, close to shops and parks, schools and clinics, public transport and places of work."

President Cyril Ramaphosa

ADDRESS MONOPOLIES AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY

Central to boosting economic growth and allowing greater participation and empowerment of new entrants in the country's economy is the need to deal with excessive economic concentration and abuse by large corporations and the grow inhibiting structure of the economy.



We will:

- Ensure the competition authorities have the legal power and the financial resources to address the problem of monopolies, excessive economic concentration and abuse of dominance by large players that keep SMMEs and co-operatives out of the mainstream economy.
- Institute measures to determine the level of ownership concentration and to take remedial action to de-concentrate the economy.
- Combat discrimination against SMMEs in the economy, including the abuse of buyer power, and unfair, excessive and predatory prices and other trading conditions that are imposed on small enterprises.
- End the abuse of dominance by large vertically-integrated firms.
- Ensure broad-based ownership, including worker ownership, in companies, during merger proceedings.

SMALL BUSINESS, CO-OPERATIVES AND TOWNSHIP AND VILLAGE ECONOMIES

Micro, small and medium-sized enterprises, socially-owned enterprises such as co-operatives and revitalisation of township and village economies are critical for economic transformation, inclusive growth and job creation and can help drive innovation and all forms of entrepreneurship.

These enterprises provide great potential for women, youth, military veterans and people with disabilities. Over the years, the ANC government has developed and provided a range of financial and non-financial support measures to many of these enterprises.

We will:

- Scale up small business support measures, including access to funding and improved competition legislation. We will set up incubation centres in townships and rural areas.
- Facilitate access to markets for small businesses, co-operatives and township and village enterprises. At least 30% of government procurement spend will be



allocated to goods and services from these enterprises. We will encourage the private sector to do the same.

- Implement a special dispensation or set asides in the awarding of medium- and long-term contracts to small businesses, co-operatives and township and village enterprises to allow for a period for incubation and other support to help reduce failure rates.

- Increase support measures for co-operative enterprises by implementing critical elements of the newly amended Co-operatives Act, including operationalising the co-operative development agency and the training academy.

- Establish a township and village economy fund to support the productive activities and the development of industrial parks, business centres and incubation centres in these areas.

- Help formalise township and village-based enterprises through an active campaign by provincial and local governments that promotes the benefits of formalisation.

- Address illegal trading and selling of adulterated food and the penetration of big retail chain stores as they undermine the township and village economy and displace locally owned retail stores and related services. To this end, we will:

- Expand the campaign to stop illegal trading in townships and villages, much of which is conducted by foreign nationals, with a view to promote and protect local ownership of grocery retail stores and other economic activities.

- Support the formation of a network of community-owned retail and wholesale facilities and effective use of township and rural-based local suppliers, including support of bulk-buying and packaging schemes by township and village retailers.

- Implement the outcomes of the Retail Market Inquiry by the Competition Commission addressing the impact of big retail chain stores on township and village economies.



TRANSFORM AND DIVERSIFY THE FINANCIAL SECTOR

The ANC is committed to a programme to transform and diversify the financial sector, including state, co-operative and mutual banking. We must do more to address the role of the financial sector in national development, including problems of access to funding and capital for small enterprises, housing, township and village enterprises and infrastructure.

It calls for a new social compact in the sector with clear targets.

We will:

- Broaden access to affordable industrial and enterprise finance for SMMEs, black industrialists and co-operatives. The ANC government will work with the financial sector on implementing its R100 billion commitment to support mainly black-owned enterprises over the next five years.
- Amend legislation to allow qualifying state-owned enterprises, such as those involved in the enterprise development, postal services and housing finance sectors to acquire state banking licences.
- Ensure that development finance institutions pay greater attention to employment creation, empowerment, industrial diversification and development, small businesses and co-operatives.
- Investigate the introduction of prescribed assets on financial institutions' funds to mobilise funds within a regulatory framework for socially productive investments (including housing, infrastructure for social and economic development and township and village economy) and job creation while considering the risk profiles of the affected entities.
- Increase public funding and support the growth of the co-operative banking sector as not-for-profit financial institutions that address financial exclusion and broaden ownership and control of banking by workers and communities. To this end, co-operative banking legislation will be strengthened to:
 - recognise registered "co-operative financial institutions" as co-operative banks through a tiered system approach that considers different levels of co-operative banking development,

- ensure adequate protection for deposit-holders in the cooperative banking sector through the proposed Deposit Insurance Scheme,
- allow the sector to access payroll deduction facilities for their members in both the public, private and social sectors,
- speed up access to the national payment system to allow the sector to provide a comprehensive range of banking and related services to their members.

MACRO-ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK TO SUPPORT SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

Our macroeconomic framework, including fiscal and monetary policies, will be aligned to support the commitments made in this Manifesto.

The ANC believes that the South African Reserve Bank must pursue a flexible monetary policy regime, aligned with the objectives of the second phase of transition. Without sacrificing price stability, monetary policy must take into account other objectives such as employment creation and economic growth.



ADVANCE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

ADVANCE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Our Manifesto builds on the achievements made over the last 25 years to advance social transformation.

We will continue to give priority to **Education and Skills Development**, as we work towards universal access in early childhood development facilities, improving the quality of primary education and enhancing the effort to strengthen higher education and vocational training.

We will bring the country closer to **Quality Universal Health Coverage through National Health Insurance** and will improve the quality of the public health sector as the backbone for a future unified national health system.

We will ensure that **Sustainable Human Settlements** help transform the spatial legacy of apartheid and build a more inclusive society.

We will continue to **Maintain and Expand our Social Security System** to protect the vulnerable and reduce poverty.

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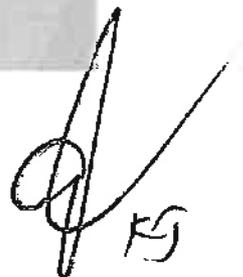


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A SKILLS REVOLUTION

By opening up the doors of learning to all, by focusing on quality and innovation, we will equip young South Africans for the world of tomorrow.

- Prepare to make 2 years of early childhood development compulsory for all children
- Appoint qualified teachers, develop their skills and enforce accountability
- Replace unsafe and inadequate school buildings and sanitation facilities
- Extend free higher education for the poor and 'missing middle'
- Implement a mass apprenticeship programme across the economy

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EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The last 25 years have seen many achievements in education, from the creation of a single non-racial education system to the accomplishment of almost universal enrolment in the early years of school, as well as a substantial expansion of enrolment in higher education to the recent growth of our first childhood development programme. The focus has now shifted towards quality of education while improving access. Quality education must lead to higher learner progression through institutions, and high completion rates in schools, TVET colleges and universities. Unlocking the energy and creativity of South Africa's young and working people, by building their skills and capacities, is critical to the eradication of poverty, unemployment and inequality. We shall ensure that skills development is at the heart of all aspects of our plans in this Manifesto.

On Early Child Development (ECD), we will:

- Extend the core responsibilities of the Department of Basic Education to include the provision and monitoring of ECD.
- Provide a comprehensive package of ECD services (birth registration, social assistance, parenting support and quality learning).
- Standardise guidelines, norms and standards for ECD and set the employment targets in the sector over the next five years.
- Develop a plan to take care of the first 1,000 days of human life, from pregnancy until two years of age, in which the pregnant mother will get good nutrition, be encouraged to stop smoking and drinking alcohol and undertake antenatal care visits from an early stage. The baby will have good nutrition, exclusive breast feeding, immunisation and growth monitoring.
- Work to achieve universal access to two years of ECD, which would two years of compulsory quality pre-school enrolment for 4 and 5 year olds before grade 1.
- Promote innovation on different models for delivering home and community-based ECD.

On Basic Education, we will:

- Prioritise policies and strategies targeting the achievement of quality teaching and learning outcomes by enhancing the skills and competencies of educators, including the school management team comprising the school principal, deputy principal and subject heads.



- Amend relevant legislation and policies to enforce accountability and consequence management.
- Appoint adequately qualified teachers whose subject content knowledge is at required levels.
- Implement the new innovative way of assessing learners through the National Integrated Assessment Framework for Grades 3, 6 and 9 as a replacement for ANA.
- Amend the curriculum and provide the necessary resources to prepare learners for the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- Continue to replace inappropriate school structures and sanitation facilities.

On Post School Education and Training, we will

- Continue to strengthen measures that will improve access to higher education with the goal of achieving free higher education for the poor and 'missing middle'.
- Ensure that the TVET and Community College sector is adequately funded and responds to the country's skills needs and high levels of unemployment. This will include fostering partnerships with universities of technology and various industries for work experience for both lecturers and students.
- Ensure that there are special efforts by the private sector and other partners to work with the training authorities to develop the skills needed in the workplace.
- Target our skills development programmes to the unemployed, youth, low-skilled people and those in precarious forms of employment, including the self-employed.
- Develop a new landscape for Skills and Education Training Authorities (SETAs) and ensure they are aligned with national priorities and our industrial plan. This should include a mass apprenticeship programme that covers all sectors of the economy.

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QUALITY HEALTH FOR ALL

We will take immediate steps to improve the state of hospitals and clinics and work to achieve universal health coverage by 2025.

- Implement a National Health Insurance to provide quality health care free at the point of use
- Fill critical vacant posts in public health facilities
- Significantly expand training of doctors and nurses
- Absorb over 50,000 community health care workers into the public health system and double this number over the next five years
- Screen an additional 2 million people for TB and ensure that at least 90% of HIV positive people are on treatment by 2020



HEALTH

The goal of achieving universal health coverage and overcoming our two-tier health system through the National Health Insurance (NHI) programme remains a central priority. The NHI will be publicly funded and administered to guarantee quality health care to all South Africans and will be free at the point of use.

All South Africans should be covered by NHI by 2025. The tabling of the NHI Bill in parliament will be a crucial milestone for rolling out funding for universal access and implementing key elements of the NHI.

Our Plan builds on the outcomes of the 2018 Presidential Health Summit, which highlighted the state of crisis in our health system. The Summit called for a stronger social compact among key stakeholders and for government to address immediate challenges in the public health sector. The partners will jointly address the challenges of human resources, infrastructure, financial management, community involvement and the health information system.

We will:

- Implement the next phase of the NHI programme over the next five years through legislative measures to realise universal health access and good quality care for all.
- Create a publicly administered NHI Fund.
- Roll-out a quality health improvement plan in public health facilities to ensure that they meet the quality standards required for certification and accreditation for NHI.
- Strengthen the public health system to deliver services covered by NHI and not outsource this responsibility.
- Develop and implement a comprehensive strategy and operational plan to address the human resources requirements, including filling critical vacant posts for full implementation of universal health care.
- Expand the primary health care system by absorbing over 50,000 community health workers into the public health system. Within five years, the number of community health workers will be doubled and deployed in our villages, townships and informal settlements to serve our people.
- Consolidate nursing colleges into one major nursing college with satellites in each province and orientate their curriculum towards more practical work at the patient's bedside.

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- Strengthen and expand the Mandela-Fidel Castro Programme to supplement the production of much-needed medical practitioners and other health professionals. At the same time, local universities must be expanded with new infrastructure, equipment and personnel to increase the intake of medical students for local training.
- Delegate responsibility to district and frontline health service managers in hospitals and clinics to ensure that people do not spend long hours in queues before receiving the treatment they need.
- Ensure effective enforcement of health and safety regulations at the workplace.
- Enhance management and leadership of the entire health sector to ensure improved service delivery.
- Develop a comprehensive policy and legislative framework to mitigate the risks related to medical litigation.
- Develop a streamlined, integrated information system for decision-making in support of implementation that will remove duplication at all levels.
- Drive national health wellness and healthy lifestyle campaigns to reduce the burden of disease and ill health. These will include:
 - testing an additional 2 million people for TB and initiating treatment for those with the disease,
 - ensuring that by 2020, 90% of all people with HIV know their status, 90% of those who know their status and are HIV positive are put on treatment and 90% of those on antiretrovirals are virally suppressed. Through this 90-90-90 strategy, we aim to end the epidemic.

SECURITY AND COMFORT FOR ALL

We will further improve the lives of millions of South Africans by working towards comprehensive social security, building houses close to work opportunities, providing affordable basic services and building reliable public transport.

- Expand access to social security benefits and increase UIF coverage
- Release state land for people to build their own homes
- Develop several major projects that brings together economic nodes, housing, smart technologies and public transportation
- Invest in safe, reliable and integrated public rail transport
- Prioritise the provision of clean water and decent, safe sanitation

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COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL SECURITY

Social security is a necessity for the social well-being of the people. Despite major achievements made to provide adequate social security coverage since 1994, there are those who are not covered by existing programmes, affecting those who work and those unable to work. Over the next five years, the ANC will make comprehensive social security coverage a major priority.

We will:

- Define a basket of social security benefits that all should access, with the delivery of a package of services free from administrative burdens.
- Address social grants exclusion errors by improving targeting (orphans, children, aged on farms, remote rural areas, disabilities).
- Increase UIF coverage as currently only 5% of unemployed people benefit from this Fund.
- Support child headed families through social security.
- Finalise a comprehensive policy on social security that will include low-paid workers and informal traders, as well as pregnancy and maternity benefit schemes.

HOUSING, HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT

While we have improved the lives of millions of South Africans through provision of housing and associated basic services, the spatial patterns of apartheid have not been addressed. Through the National Development Plan we seek to advance a coherent programme to transform human settlements and to ensure that the delivery of housing is used to restructure towns and cities and strengthen the livelihood prospects of households and overcome apartheid spatial patterns.

We will:

- Work closely with the private sector to develop major development projects that brings together economic nodes, human settlements, smart technologies and public transportation that impact on spatial transformation. These include building at least one new South Africa city of the future.
- Transform the property market to promote access to urban opportunity and social integration through access to well-located, affordable housing and decent shelter, thereby reversing urban fragmentation and highly inefficient sprawl.
- Release land at the disposal of the state for site and service to afford households the opportunity to build and own their own homes.

- Transform the composition and functioning of the property industry and accelerate legislative measures to eliminate speculative behaviour, including the establishment of a Property Sector Ombudsman.
- Improve the alignment of housing provision with other public investments and service provision, including schools and health facilities and transport networks, complementing more integrated residential, industrial and commercial development.
- Address the title deeds backlog, along with associated institutional and capacity gaps, to ensure that the transfer of title deeds move with higher speed.
- Develop a more coherent and inclusive approach to land by developing overarching principles for spatial development.
- Revise the regulations and incentives for housing and land use management.

On public transport, we will:

- Invest in rail infrastructure to ensure it is safe, reliable and integrated with other modes of public transport. Rail must be the backbone of our public transport system.
- Work with the taxi industry to transform the industry by supporting initiatives that will ensure it is safe, clean and provides a quality service.
- Support driver training and ensure industry players participate in the broader transportation agenda.
- Modernise the public transport permits to prevent corruption
- Support the roll-out of Bus Rapid Transport systems in other cities.
- Invest in public transport infrastructure.
- Support the integration of various modes of transport through a single ticketing system.
- Ensure that freight is shifted from road to rail.

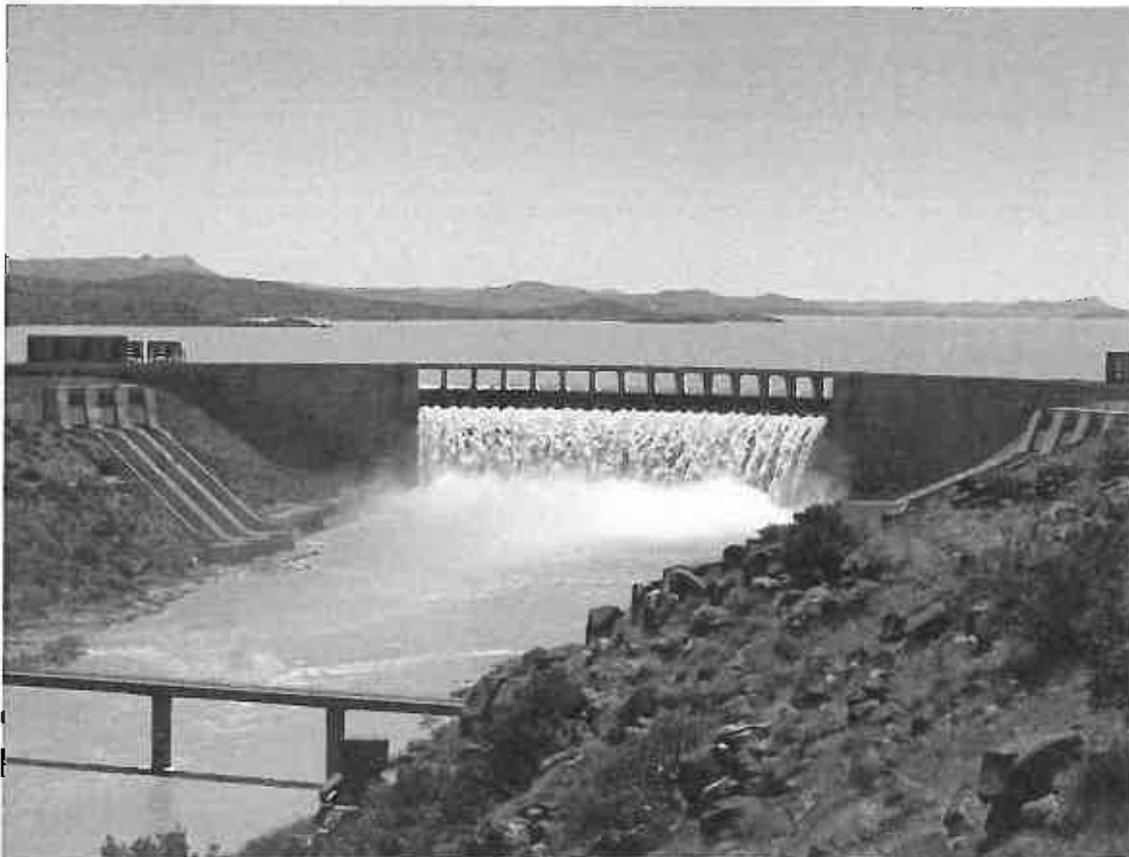
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WATER AND SANITATION

Providing access to clean water for all has been the goal of the ANC since 1994 and we are proud of the progress we have made and we will continue to expand our water infrastructure. Sustainable use of our water resources and making water affordable are central to achieving this goal. While progress has been made in the provision of sanitation services, more must be done to eradicate bucket systems and pit latrines.

We will:

- Continue to prioritise roll-out and provision of water infrastructure to ensure availability of clean water to all South Africans.
- Eradicate bucket systems and pit latrines in various parts of the country.
- Review the policy on minimum free basic water to help further cushion the poor.







SAFE COMMUNITIES, SAFE LIVES

We will strengthen policing to rid our communities of all forms of crime, drugs, gangsterism and violence against women.

- Ensure police are better trained to investigate and conclude cases
- Increase the numbers and visibility of police men and women in communities
- Implement a national plan of action that addresses the causes of gender-based violence
- Equip police and courts to support survivors of gender-based violence
- Target drug syndicates through the new anti-gang units

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BUILD SAFER COMMUNITIES

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Gender-based violence has reached crisis proportions. It affects every community in our country and touches the lives of most families in one way or another. Women are being violated and murdered in the worst manifestation of patriarchal relations. This is not acceptable. The ANC says the fight against gender-based violence must be intensified, and we welcome the growing, diverse number of voices that are joining the fight against gender-based violence.

The ANC believes in a multi-sectoral approach that responds to the need to step up the fight against gender-based violence and strengthen the broader interventions that address the causes and effects of such violence, particularly issues of patriarchy, economic relations and changing the way of thinking about gender relations.

We will:

- Work with all stakeholders to take forward the outcomes of the 2018 Presidential Summit on Gender-Based Violence, though, among others, a national plan of action against gender-based violence.
- Speed up educational programmes aimed at offering psychological and social support to vulnerable learners, and work with young children to change social attitudes.
- Call for stricter bail conditions for and harsher sentences in combating violence against women and children, particularly in cases of domestic violence and sexual offences.
- Capacitate and equip the police and the court system to support survivors of gender-based violence and sexual assault.
- Scale up the network of Thuthuzela Care Centres and other victim empowerment centres for a more effective response to incidents of violent sexual acts against women and children, reduction of victimisation and improved conviction rates and conclusion of cases.



PREVENTING CRIME

High levels of crime pose a serious threat to the freedom and dignity of South Africans, with drugs, violent crime and gangsterism wreaking havoc in our communities. The causes of crime are rooted in unemployment, poverty and inequality and a comprehensive response to crime is required.

The ANC government has given national priority to crime prevention, involving all public institutions of justice and security and promoting community mobilisation and participation.

Undocumented immigration has an adverse impact on national security. We should ensure that those who come to South Africa do so legally and that the country knows what they do while they are in the country.

We will:

- Ensure that law enforcement officers are adequately trained to investigate cases to improve success rates.
- Strengthen resourcing, joint planning and budgeting across the criminal justice system, including strengthening capacity in areas of investigations and prosecutions.
- Increase police visibility in our communities by increasing the number of men and women in uniform.
- Strengthen Community Policing Forums and Community Safety Forums. Members of the communities must know their neighbours and be concerned about their lives.
- Ensure the reduction of crime, especially violence against vulnerable groups.
- Target drug syndicates through the implementation of the National Anti-Gang Strategy and the revised National Drug Master Plan.
- Work with law enforcement agencies and various organisations to fight the abuse by young people of substances like nyaope, tik, wunga, etc.
- Run national campaigns to build respect for the rule of law.
- Enact and enforce legislation to compel municipalities to regulate the location of taverns and liquor retailers away from schools and religious establishments.
- Take tough measures against undocumented immigrants involved in criminal activities in the country or in cross-border crimes, including those involved in illegal trading and selling adulterated food in townships and villages.





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CAPABLE, HONEST GOVERNMENT

We will put an end to state capture, restore the integrity of public institutions and tackle corruption, while ensuring that government has the capacity, resources and people to serve citizens effectively.

- Take decisive action against state capture and corruption in public institutions and state owned enterprises
- Conduct lifestyle audits of public officials and prevent public servants from doing business with the state
- Make tender systems more transparent, efficient and credible
- Continue work to strengthen law enforcement agencies like the Hawks, Special Investigating Unit and National Prosecuting Authority
- Strengthen the oversight role of Parliament and provincial legislatures
- Support local councils to improve financial management, service provision and infrastructure building and maintenance

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FIGHT CORRUPTION AND PROMOTE INTEGRITY

Corruption has negative consequences on our economy and society, impacting on the integrity of our institutions, our leaders and undermining the very moral and ethical basis of our young democracy. Ethical and moral leadership in both the public and private sector will be critical if our collective fight against corruption is to succeed.

We are committed to consolidating our resolve to crack down on corruption and state capture involving the public and private sectors, including collusion, price-fixing, tender fraud, bribery, illicit financial flows, illegal imports and misuse of tax havens. We will comprehensively fight corruption, combining both prevention and punishment.

We will actively promote a culture of integrity throughout the state, society and within our people's organisation - the ANC. We will ensure that leaders and members of the ANC and the broader movement and those entrusted with public responsibilities are uncorrupted, honest and self-disciplined with clear values who can resist moral pressures. We will not tolerate practices that harm the public interest. We will hold people accountable and those who loot public resources must face the might of the law.

The ANC has given priority to maintaining and enhancing the integrity of public institutions and public representatives and tackling corrupt practices in the private sector. We have taken firm action to deal with the problems of corruption, state capture and the types of misconduct that have not only given rise to a public outcry but have also impacted negatively on the economy and society.

These actions include the establishment of the Zondo Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture, cleaning up state security agencies, authorising hundreds of investigations by the Special Investigating Unit, dismissing those who have abused positions of authority and cancelling major state contracts. All these actions represent significant progress in restoring integrity and public trust.

We will:

- Strengthen the criminal justice system to recover stolen public funds, including those in offshore tax havens.
- Step up measures that act against private companies, financial services and agents that facilitate tax avoidance and illicit financial



flows, profit shifting, illegal imports and import fraud, thereby robbing the country of tax revenue.

- Ensure the speedy implementation of lifestyle audits and broaden vetting and financial monitoring to curb corruption.
- Strengthen implementation of legislation preventing public servants from conducting business with the state.
- Develop systems to ensure that we build a more transparent and more open tender system as mitigation against fraud, bribery and corruption.
- Build and strengthen a social compact on anti-corruption that will include initiatives that discourage those that turn blind-eye to corruption.

We are also determined to show no tolerance in the fight against corruption and misconduct within the ANC. We have taken steps to send to parliament and legislatures the best of our public representatives who have made individual and collective pledges to serve our people with respect, integrity and humility.



STRENGTHEN GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

RENEWING A CAPABLE AND DEVELOPMENTAL STATE

We are building a capable developmental state that has improved the lives of millions of our people. Few countries in the world have succeeded in expanding vital services such as water, sanitation, electricity, roads and housing to so many people in such a short time.

This has been achieved by national and provincial government working with local government. However, far too many municipalities and some provinces are distressed or dysfunctional. They lack the financial, technical or administrative capacity to meet the needs of their residents.

Integrated planning and implementation across departments and spheres government must be improved.

The social compact between government, business, labour, civil society and traditional leaders must be strengthened.

The institutions established by the Constitution such as Parliament, the judiciary and institutions supporting democracy are discharging their duties with distinction.

Many political leaders and civil servants are hard working, honest, competent, committed and accountable. Unfortunately, too many have been seduced by greed and succumbed to corruption and the arrogance of power and have become unresponsive and unaccountable. Violent protests have become too frequent.

The National Development Plan sets out clear recommendations to build a capable, accountable developmental state.

On a responsive and accountable government, we will:

- Work to improve the way government interacts with

STRENGTHEN GOVERNANCE
AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS





communities by conducting regular forums or imbizos and make effective use of new communication technologies to address community problems and empower communities to organise themselves.

- Strengthen the oversight role of Parliament and provincial legislatures.
- Continue implementing measures to safeguard the independence of the judiciary.
- Support and resource institutions supporting democracy.
- Step up public service performance inspections and unannounced visits as part of improving the performance of public servants in putting people first.
- Strengthen governance interventions in public entities and security agencies.
- Implement accountability and consequence management.

On local government, we will:

- Ensure that local government builds and strengthens people's power and that residents are actively involved in decisions about their ward, zone, town or city.

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- Support municipalities to make more effective use of information and technology to improve their efficiency, effectiveness and impact
- Continue to improve the skills base of local government by enforcing compliance with appropriate standards for senior officials and building capacity through deployment of district support teams consisting of engineers, planners, financial and governance experts.
- Strengthen the coordination of inter-governmental relations and planning and be more proactive in mediating and resolving problems, including between district and local municipalities.
- Support municipalities to transform the spatial injustices of apartheid which relegated most South Africans to the margins of cities and towns and farming areas, leaving them without rights, without land, without assets and without opportunities.
- Use the Integrated Urban Development Framework to manage rapid urbanisation and steer urban growth towards a sustainable model of compact, connected and coordinated cities and towns and strengthen links between urban and rural areas.
- Build the capacity of municipalities to promote investment and job creation by ensuring that they provide electricity, water and other services reliably and consistently and are efficient in issuing permits and effective in the enforcement of regulations and by-laws.

On institutions of traditional leadership, we will:

- Promote co-operative relations between government in all spheres and traditional authorities and its leadership, including in relation to economic development and land use management.
- Investigate a special cooperative governance dispensation that will effectively manage the relationship of municipalities and traditional authorities.
- Strengthen relations with institutions of traditional leadership, including working closely with Contralesa.

"The achievement of an inclusive society requires institutions that are not only credible and capable, but that are also equipped to enable and facilitate transformation. We seek a state that is both capable and developmental".

President Cyril Ramaphosa



A NATION UNITED IN DIVERSITY

We will work to unite all South Africans to overcome the divisions of the past and build a country in which all belong and in which all feel at home.

- implement indigenous language programmes in schools and elsewhere
- Introduce laws to combat hate crimes against people based on their race, gender, religion, disability, sexual orientation or albinism
- Promote media freedom and diversity
- Include the needs of people with disability in all government programmes
- Celebrate all cultures during national holidays and include all South Africans

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BUILD NATIONAL UNITY AND EMBRACE OUR DIVERSITY

The ANC is a political movement dedicated to building a united and democratic South Africa free from all forms of racism, sexism, xenophobia and hate crime.

The struggle for non-racialism requires overcoming the legacy of inequality left by colonialism and apartheid. It also means promoting the values of non-racialism and tackling incidents of racism.

The ANC has passed a generation of legislation to help achieve racial equality, including creating institutions to fight racism and support democracy. We appreciate that we are stronger in our diversity as one nation. We have a proud history of championing the cause for gender equality, the rights of people with disability and the LGBTQI+ community.

We will:

- Fast-track the promotion and implementation of indigenous language programmes, including finalisation of language legislation in provinces for inclusion in the school curriculum.
- Finalise the proposed legislation before parliament aimed at preventing and combating hate crimes and prosecution of persons who commit those offences. The legislation will deal with hate crimes against persons based on their race, gender, religion, disability, sexual orientation or albinism.
- Promote the values of non-racialism and non-sexism through the promotion of arts, culture, sports and interfaith activities.
- Train teachers and public servants on how to deal with all forms of discrimination.
- Organise programmes that honour and salute men and women who have earned their titles as veterans of wars of liberation.
- Promote study of history in schools.





- Mainstream gender equality and the needs of people with disability into all facets of planning, budgeting, monitoring and accounting, including performance indicators and targets in government programmes.
- Promote programmes that advance media freedom and diversity, with a specific focus on community media and alternative media.
- Ensure national holidays are celebrated on an intercultural basis and are fully inclusive of all South Africans, black and white.



"No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background or religion. People must learn to hate and if they can learn to hate they can be taught to love for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite".

President Nelson Mandela

SOUTH AFRICA, AFRICA AND THE WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA, AFRICA AND THE WORLD

Our view of the world is based on the founding principles outlined in the Freedom Charter, a world in which there is respect for the right to national sovereignty of all nations, the pursuit of world peace and friendship, not wars. We remain committed to a better Africa, free from the shackles of under-development and the legacy of colonialism. We will continue to advance our progressive internationalism and solidarity around the world.

We will:

- Enhance regional integration with increased and balanced trade in the SADC region and on the Continent by supporting the creation of the African Continental Free Trade Area, which will boost intra-Africa trade and build a bigger market of over one billion people with a GDP of \$2,6 trillion that will unlock industrial and infrastructure development in the region.
- Work with African Union sister countries on initiatives to build an Africa we want through Agenda 2063.
- Promote cross-border infrastructure, tourism and manufacturing value chains in the region and increase the levels of South African manufacturing and value-added exports to the rest of the continent.
- Promote greater peace, security and stability in SADC, the DRC, South Sudan and elsewhere on the continent.
- Increase the voice of developing countries in the United Nations and other multilateral institutions.
- Utilise South Africa's tenure in the United National Security Council to promote global peace and security
- Dedicate resources to support our increased continental and global responsibilities.
- Recommit South Africa to take forward its responsibilities in the fight against climate change, as part of the global community and in line with the Paris Agreement.



- Work with other countries to ensure that there are incentives created for immigrants to stay in the borders of their own country.
- Ensure that our policies of regional integration and cooperation includes resolution of immigration matters, especially undocumented immigration.

"We imagine a country that is integrally and enthusiastically part of the great African continent, as comfortable with immigrants from other countries as we are made to feel when we visit their countries to trade, to invest, to learn, to work and to settle."

President Cyril Ramaphosa



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CONCLUSION

Fellow South Africans

We are under no illusions of the difficulties and obstacles we will encounter along the road to a better future for all.

Throughout this Manifesto we have emphasised that ours is a plan about you, South Africans, black and white, young and old, rural and urban.

We firmly believe that the coherent and achievable plan set out in this Manifesto is in accord with the needs and aspirations of the South African people and the goodwill of the progressive people around the world.

You have helped us develop this Manifesto. We must work together to effectively implement it.

Let's Grow South Africa Together.

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THE POWER
IS IN YOUR
HANDS

LET'S
GROW
SOUTH
AFRICA
TOGETHER

VOTE ANC 



A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL



VOTE ANC



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ANC
A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL

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Annexure “CR32”

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

4 AUGUST 2020

ANC STATEMENT ON THE OUTCOMES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION

The National Executive Committee of the ANC met in a regular session on 31 July - 2 August 2020 on a virtual platform. This was the third virtual meeting of the NEC held in the midst of the global coronavirus pandemic.

In paying tribute to Isithwalandwe/Seaparankwe Andrew Mlangeni, the last remaining of the Rivonia Trialists, the NEC reflected on the legacy of a humble giant whose life was characterised by courage, unwavering commitment to the people, ethical leadership and the renewal of the ANC.

In this context the NEC engaged in robust reflection on the shameful revelations of corruption in the procurement of essential materials to combat the Covid-19 pandemic. The NEC took decisions on fighting corruption and renewing the ANC as an instrument in the hands of the people to radically transform our society and to build a better life for all.

The meeting received detailed reports and assessed the progress made by our country, led by government, in containing the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic and dealing with its terrible social and economic consequences.

The NEC focused on critical initiatives aimed at ensuring national recovery and reconstruction, with a specific focus on the national infrastructure recovery plan, preparations for the National Taxi Indaba, as well as examining the feasibility of a Basic Income Grant.

These are important components of our overall response to the dire social and economic impact of the pandemic which are exacerbated by the persistent fault lines of poverty, unemployment and inequality, and their racial, gender and spatial dimensions, that characterise South African society.

The NEC observed a moment of reflection for Comrade Andrew Mlangeni and many others who passed on since its last meeting. The ANC has created a virtual memorial site - ancmemorial.org.za – for paying tribute to our comrades under conditions of the Covid-19 lockdown.

In marking the beginning of Women's Month and the 58th anniversary of the Pan-African Women's Organisation, the NEC recommitted the ANC to the emancipation and empowerment of women and the eradication of gender-based violence and femicide.

CORRUPTION – DRAWING A LINE

The ANC is outraged and deeply embarrassed by recent allegations that some, including its own leaders and members, have sought to benefit unlawfully from the devastating suffering and impoverishment caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

These developments cause us collectively to dip our heads in shame and to humble ourselves before the people. We acknowledge the justifiable public outrage caused by the depravity and heartlessness displayed by some elements in government, our organisation and the private sector.

We unequivocally condemn all forms of corruption, dishonesty and state capture involving the public and private sectors, including collusion, price-fixing, tender fraud, bribery, illicit financial flows, illegal imports and misuse of tax havens. We will comprehensively fight corruption, combining both prevention and punishment. Those who loot public resources must face the might of the law.

PRESIDENT CM Ramaphosa	DEPUTY PRESIDENT DD Mabuza	NATIONAL CHAIRPERSON G Mantashe	SECRETARY GENERAL ES Magashule	DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL JY Duarte	TREASURER GENERAL P Mashatle
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THE YEAR OF UNITY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC RENEWAL AND NATION BUILDING #Khawuleza #BeTheRenewal

Corruption has devastating consequences for our economy and society, impacting on the integrity of our institutions and our leaders and undermining the very moral and ethical basis of our young democracy.

Ethical and moral leadership, in both the public and private sector, will be critical if our collective fight against corruption is to succeed. Leaders and members of the ANC are expected to set an example to society by displaying the highest levels of integrity and revolutionary consciousness.

The moral standing of the ANC has been severely damaged by the conduct of some of its members – who, in fact, do not deserve to be in our ranks. We are committed to draw a clear line between our organisation and those who steal from the people, thereby subverting the very essence and reason for the ANC's existence as a servant of the people.

The meeting recognised that the NEC was clearly mandated at the 54th National Conference to deal decisively with corruption and to restore the integrity and values of the ANC. This is a responsibility it cannot defer, outsource or avoid.

The NEC welcomed the steps taken by ANC structures in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and the Free State, and commended those implicated for having volunteered to step-aside whilst their cases are expeditiously attended to by the relevant structures.

Consequently, the National Executive Committee, reaffirming the 54th National Conference resolutions on ANC Credibility and Integrity In Dealing with Corruption, decided that:

- 1) Pursuant to the resolution that those accused of corruption and other serious crimes against the people, including those charged in courts, may be expected to step aside from their positions or responsibilities, the National Officials be requested immediately to prepare an audited list of cases and submit this list within one month to the NWC and the NEC, with recommendations for action. In executing this task, the National Officials may call upon the assistance of the Integrity Commission or any other members who can be called upon to make a contribution;
- 2) All ANC provincial and regional structures be instructed to report forthwith on steps taken against ANC members and public representatives accused of abusing food parcels and other Covid-19 relief measures. The National Officials were requested to report to the next NWC;
- 3) The role and capacity of the ANC Disciplinary Committee and Integrity Commission, including its capacity to investigate, will be strengthened in line with National Conference resolutions. The National Officials were tasked with engaging with the Integrity Commission and making recommendations to the NEC;
- 4) The codes of ethics that guide public representatives, members of the executive and public servants at all levels be complied with by ANC public representatives, and reviewed to provide clear guidance with regards to family members doing business with government;
- 5) The National Officials are to provide an in-depth analysis of the nature and causes of the current manifestations of corruption, including the intersection between business and politics; and make recommendations regarding the strengthening of ethics and revolutionary values within the ANC.

The NEC declared its full support for the decision, announced by President Ramaphosa, to refer all allegations of corruption in the procurement for Covid-19 goods and services to the Special Investigating Unit (SIU) and for the establishment of a multi-disciplinary law-enforcement team to investigate COVID-19 corruption. It urges this team to move with speed to bring those responsible to book.

The NEC called upon the ANC-led government urgently establish a permanent multi-disciplinary agency to deal with all cases of white-collar crime, organised crime and corruption. Furthermore, the NEC called upon all law enforcement agencies to carry out their duties without fear, favour or prejudice.

The NEC believes that these, and other actions to be led by the National Officials, must show a clear paradigm shift; a sign of determination to rebuild an ethical and people-centred movement, to lead the process of social transformation.



LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The NEC emphasised the importance of implementing the decisions of the Special NEC on Local Government held on 27 – 28 September 2019.

The NEC called upon ANC structures and government at national, provincial and local to address the root causes of problems in local government identified by the Auditor General, namely: disregard for controls, non-compliance with legislation and assurance providers; inadequate monitoring of internal controls; vacancies in critical positions; continued capacity gap in administration; leadership instability at administration and political level; ineffective governance structures; leadership's inaction and/or inconsistent action to address persistent transgression that creates a culture of non-compliance. These administrative and governance lapses make for very weak accountability and the consequent exposure to abuse of the public purse.

Furthermore, the NEC emphasised the importance of respecting the political-administrative interface and allowing senior leaders in the administration the space to play their statutory role without interference, including the filling of critical vacancies.

The NEC agreed that other matters relating to local government, as well as reform of the electoral system, and preparations for the 2021 local government elections will be discussed at a special NEC within the next two weeks.

THE WAR AGAINST COVID 19

The NEC reflected on the briefings on the Covid-19 pandemic from President Ramaphosa, Minister of Health Dr Zweli Mkhize and COGTA Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma.

The NEC once again hailed the bravery, commitment and selfless service by frontline health, emergency services, security and other essential workers

The NEC affirmed the key pillars of our strategy against Covid-19 and commended the good work being done in public health, social relief, economic interventions, support to workers and small businesses, social mobilisation and communications, often in the face of significant challenges.

The NEC welcomed the work by various sectors of society to ensure adherence to the Disaster Management Regulations and reiterated the call: Protect Yourself, Defend Each Other, Let's Do This Together! The NEC calls on everyone in South Africa to wear masks, practice social distancing, and to their wash hands regularly with soap or sanitizer.

The NEC commended the work done by local ANC structures, who over the last few months have been at the forefront of organising and mobilising communities in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. The NEC urged all ANC structures to redouble their efforts to campaign for behavioural change aimed at slowing the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The NEC noted the overwhelming outpouring of grief as we mourned the passing of Isithwalandwe Mlangeni and the dignified manner in which South Africans mourned this freedom fighter and supported the family, especially the community of Dube and Soweto.

The ANC regrets and apologises for the incident on 28 July 2020 when, during the arrival of the cortege at the home, difficulties arose with maintaining social distance and keeping the numbers down. We will cooperate with law enforcement structures who are investigating the matter.

WOMEN'S MONTH AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

The NEC noted the upcoming 64th anniversary of the Women's March to the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956.

The NEC recommitted the ANC to mobilising all South Africans in the struggle to build a non-sexist South Africa, by confronting patriarchy in all its manifestations, including fighting gender-based violence, reducing the gender pay gap and the economic marginalisation of women, reproductive health and other aspects that maintain women's inequality.



4

The NEC noted that we celebrate Women's Month as we confront the scourge of gender-based violence and femicide. It urged the speedy finalisation of the Criminal and Related Matters Amendment Bill, Domestic Violence Amendment Bill, Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Bill to strengthen the response of the criminal justice system to gender-based violence.

The NEC calls upon ANC structures to campaign alongside all sectors of society against gender-based violence, and to involve men and boys in eradicating the culture of violence and toxic masculinity in order to build a truly non-sexist society.

The NEC committed to honouring the remaining leaders, activists and organisers of the Women's March and other heroines of our struggle, including Comrades Sophie de Bruyn and Gertrude Shope. The NEC also supported the programme leading up to the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Charlotte Manye Maxeke.

The NEC paid tribute to Comrade Victoria Mxenge, who was brutally assassinated by the apartheid regime 35 years ago on 1 August 1985.

INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT AS KEY DRIVER FOR COVID-19 ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION

The NEC noted the devastating impact of the pandemic on an already struggling economy, with StatsSA reporting that our economy recorded its third consecutive quarter of decline, and with an expected decline in employment of 5.7% in 2020.

The NEC urged government to finalise the Covid-19 Economic Recovery and Reconstruction Plan, including a massive infrastructure programme, localisation and industrial development in key sectors, including the green economy, and the community works programme.

In this context the NEC received a briefing from the Economic Transformation Sub-Committee on implementation plans and funding mechanisms for the National Infrastructure Recovery Programme as a driver of economic recovery and transformation.

The plan emphasises social and economic infrastructure development, meeting basic needs and maintenance of existing infrastructure. It prioritises network industries (water, energy, transport, and ICT Infrastructure) because of their superior multiplier effects and their ability to create efficiency in the economy, and promote spatial justice. The plan also gives special attention to agriculture, agro-processing, and human settlements.

The plan also seeks to advance the objectives of black economic empowerment, development of small businesses and co-operatives, as well as women and youth owned businesses, localisation and industrialisation, spatial planning, local economic development and job creation.

Recognising the pressure on the fiscus, the plan proposes a number of different funding models, including increasing public-private partnerships, infrastructure bonds and impact investments through private equity and pension funds. The NEC emphasised the role of development and finance institutions such as the IDT, NDA and DBSA.

The plan, which has been agreed to by social partners at NEDLAC, is at an advanced stage. The ANC structures will continue to engage at all levels with advancing a Covid-19 Economic Recovery and Reconstruction Plan, working with Alliance partners, and engaging other sectors of society.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL TAXI INDABA

The NEC received a briefing from Minister of Transport Cde Fikile Mbalula on preparations for the National Taxi Indaba.

The NEC recognised the importance of the taxi industry, both as an important sector in the South African economy as well as a foundation of our public transport system, transporting over 15 million commuters every day. The NEC emphasised the need to build a safe and reliable public transport system, especially for girl learners and women commuters.

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The NEC welcomed the development of a regulatory framework aimed at formalisation of the sector and to ensure the empowerment and participation of local black operators and drivers in the entire value chain of the sector. The department will continue to engage all stakeholders on these issues towards the Indaba.

BASIC INCOME GRANT

The NEC received an update on ongoing work by the NEC Social Transformation Sub-Committee regarding the feasibility of a Basic Income Grant, in the context of deepening poverty, inequality, and food insecurity faced by millions of South Africans.

The NEC welcomed the work done to date, and urged the Social Transformation and Economic Transformation committees to meet urgently to conclude the feasibility study and to report to the NEC. A consultation process will also be continued with social partners including NEDLAC to ensure that the engagements also take place within the ambit of the Comprehensive Social Security discussions that have been taking place at NEDLAC.

CONCLUSION

The NEC discussed other organisational matters which will be reported to ANC structures through its NEC Bulletin.

The NEC emerged united and determined to lead the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic, to carry out the mandate of the 54th National Conference to unite and renew the ANC and to continue its programme of radical socio-economic transformation.

END

ISSUED BY SECRETARY GENERAL ES MAGASHULE, ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Enquiries:

Pule Mabe

National Spokesperson

071 623 4975



Annexure “CR33”



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

23 August 2020

Dear Comrade,

LET THIS BE A TURNING POINT IN OUR FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

I write this letter to you, my fellow ANC member, as our movement and our country face one of the greatest challenges since the advent of democracy.

I am sure that you are aware that across the nation there is a sense of anger and disillusionment at reports of corruption in our response to the coronavirus pandemic. This anger is understandable and justified. In recent weeks, we have heard stories of tenders for personal protective equipment that have been given to individuals associated with ANC leaders and of public servants flouting the law in issuing tenders.

What has caused the greatest outrage is that there are private sector companies and individuals (including civil servants) who have exploited a grave medical, social and economic crisis to wrongfully enrich themselves. This is an unforgivable betrayal for the millions of South Africans who are being negatively affected by the impact of COVID-19, experiencing hunger daily, hopelessness and joblessness.

The mandate of our 54th National Conference on corruption

At the 54th ANC National Conference in December 2017, our organisation's highest decision-making body, in reflecting on corruption, noted that there is an increase in corruption, factionalism, dishonesty and other negative practices that seriously threaten the goals and support of the ANC.

The Conference further said that these practices contradict and damage our mission to serve the people and use the country's resources to achieve development and transformation. Corruption robs our people of billions that could be used for their benefit.

Conference further said that the lack of integrity perceived by the public has seriously damaged the ANC's image, the people's trust in the ANC, our ability to occupy the moral high ground and our position as leader of society.

It was with this in mind that conference accordingly declared: "The ANC commits to the people of South Africa that we shall isolate and root out corrupt tendencies in the public and private sectors."

We have made progress in dealing with corruption in the State

Emboldened by the decisions of our conference, we embarked on a number of measures to tackle corruption in the public sector.

Since the 54th National Conference, we have taken decisive measures in government to disrupt and dismantle the state capture networks and decisively deal with the scourge of corruption.

As mandated by Conference, we have worked to restore the integrity and independence of law enforcement agencies and provide them with the means to effectively fight crime and corruption. As part of this, we have brought in new leadership at the National Prosecuting Authority, South African Revenue Service, Public Investment Corporation, the Hawks and State Security Agency. We have also replaced board and executive leadership at strategic state-owned companies.

We established an investigating directorate in the NPA to investigate and prosecute high-level corruption. We have also set up the SIU Special Tribunal to speed up civil claims against wrongdoers.

Some state-owned companies, like Eskom and Transnet, have successfully recovered stolen funds and continue to pursue others that have allegedly siphoned off money from these companies.

We have used competition policy to tackle excessive pricing and abuse of market dominance in the private sector, particularly during the state of disaster where several firms have been found guilty of illegally inflating prices of things like face masks and sanitisers.

Despite all this work, corruption stands as one of the greatest challenges facing our society. The progress that our nation has made in improving the lives of our people in the last quarter century is being eroded by corruption and patronage.

The ANC is the movement that was so central to mobilising our people for the achievement of our freedom. It has also led the government that has brought peace, development and transformation to our society. It is a matter of great concern to us that corruption has so deeply infected the state, the business community and society to a point of threatening to undo the gains we have made in the last 26 years.

While the current allegations about corruption in the fight against the coronavirus pandemic have brought this issue sharply to the fore, the reality is that corruption in this country has far deeper roots.

Apartheid was both morally and materially corrupt. Even as its laws enabled the theft of resources that rightly belonged to the people of South Africa, there were many in the administration, in state companies, in bantustans and in business who flouted even those corrupt laws to enrich themselves.

As a movement representing the aspirations of the South African people, having fought a just struggle against a brutal regime, it was our intention and our hope that the overthrow of



apartheid would herald a new era of integrity, honesty and ethical conduct by all in positions of responsibility.

We sought not merely to change the political system, but to build a new nation on a fundamentally different moral foundation. It was to be a society based on equal rights for all, on solidarity, integrity and accountability.

We need to take responsibility

As the inheritors of the legacy of Luthuli, Tambo and Mandela, we must be honest with our people and ourselves. We must acknowledge that our movement, the African National Congress, has been and remains deeply implicated in South Africa's corruption problem. We have to be sensitive to the concerns that are being raised by our people about our role as a movement in corrupt activities.

This painful truth was recognised by delegates to the 54th National Conference. In a frank and direct diagnostic report tabled at the Conference, then Secretary General Gwede Mantashe said: "When our people protest against the unethical behaviour of our leadership, they do so not out of hatred but from feeling betrayed as they expect better and higher standards from revolutionaries."

The 54th National Conference was a seminal moment in the history of our movement. In much the same way as it had done at the historic Morogoro Conference nearly 50 years earlier, the leadership and membership of the ANC had to confront its severe weaknesses and embark on a programme of renewal.

When we went to the general election last year, we admitted the mistakes we had made, we acknowledged how corruption and state capture had damaged our country, and we made a solemn pledge to our people to correct our ways. Despite the clear progress we have made since the election, we still have to give full effect to the promise we made.

Today, the ANC and its leaders stand accused of corruption.

The ANC may not stand alone in the dock, but it does stand as Accused No. 1.

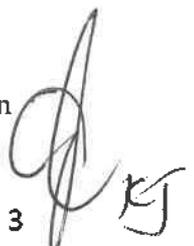
This is the stark reality that we must now confront.

At its last meeting, at the beginning of this month, the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) recognised the justifiable public outrage caused by recent reports of corruption. It said these developments "cause us collectively to dip our heads in shame and to humble ourselves before the people". The NEC recognised that it had a clear mandate from the 54th National Conference to deal decisively with corruption and to restore the integrity and values of the ANC. It said this is a responsibility it cannot defer, outsource or avoid.

Now is the time, the NEC has resolved, to make a break with the past and to act.

How did we get here?

For more than 26 years, the ANC has been in government at a national level and in most provinces and municipalities. This has meant that leadership positions in the ANC have been

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seen by some as the most direct route to, in the first instance, employment and, in the second instance, to influence in the award of tenders and the distribution of other government resources.

The people see how organisational principles and processes are corrupted for personal gain. They see how this deviant behaviour goes unchecked and allows unscrupulous and sometimes criminal elements to flourish. We cannot then blame the people if they stay away from our branches, programmes and initiatives.

Our lack of discipline and failure to deal with the issues in our movement have eroded our organisational ethos and standing.

Over many years, we have seen corruption in the state, in society and in the ANC take several forms.

Perhaps the best-known form of corruption is the award of tenders and other contracts to certain companies based on conflictual relations such as friendships or family connections. For these people, success depends on who you know in the public service. Sometimes those awarding the tenders receive kickbacks from the successful companies.

Then there are 'jobs for pals', where politicians and officials disregard hiring procedures to employ family members, friends or associates. Not only is this grossly unfair to other prospective candidates, but it often means that the people employed are simply not up to the task. Public services are not rendered, public institutions are poorly managed and public funds go to waste.

As we have seen during the COVID response, there are local ANC leaders who have used food parcels meant for the poor to buy political favours from those people in the branch or broader community who they rely on for their positions. These practices quite literally take food out of the mouths of the poor.

On a hugely different scale, but with the same effect, is the capture of state institutions by public interests facilitated by politicians and officials at the highest level. This 'state capture' is being laid bare through evidence being heard by the Zondo Commission of Inquiry. It reveals a disturbing level of grand corruption, where individuals were placed in various institutions to manipulate procurement and other processes to siphon off massive amounts of funds for a network of politicians, public servants and business people.

The effect has been devastating. Billions of rands that should have gone to improved public transport, to better infrastructure for the poor, to reliable and affordable electricity, to emerging black farmers and to the broader development of our country have been stolen to line the pockets of a criminal few.

Not only has money been stolen, but many of these institutions have been left deeply dysfunctional and some virtually destroyed. It has caused huge damage to the economy and to the capacity of the state.

We must have the political courage and the honesty to acknowledge that ANC leaders, public representatives and members have on numerous occasions been implicated in such forms of corruption.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'A. G.' or similar, written in a cursive style.

To be quite clear, I am not suggesting that corruption is only a problem of our movement. Nor am I suggesting that corruption is widespread among our membership or leadership. In fact, I know that the overwhelming majority of ANC members and leaders strongly oppose corruption, patronage and all other forms of criminality.

However, as a movement we have so far been unable to turn our organisational positions into actions that will end corruption once and for all. As a result, we have allowed corruption to continue and, at times, to flourish within our ranks.

Now is the time for action

As the NEC has determined, we now need to draw a line in the sand. We need to act urgently, we need to be decisive and we need to demonstrate a clear political will.

The time has come for the ANC to be unflinching in restoring the values, ethics and standing of our organisation. Our deeds must, always, match our words.

We cannot as the ANC rightfully call ourselves leaders of society if we fail to lead the people in eradicating corruption from our own ranks.

We cannot hope to win back people's trust if we continue to allow cadres who are charged with criminal conduct to occupy positions of responsibility within government and our movement. Those charged are required to insulate the African National Congress from reputational damage arising from their personal challenges by stepping aside while their cases are being heard.

To address corruption in the ANC, we must:

- Implement without delay the resolutions of our 54th National Conference on dealing with corruption, including that:
 - Every cadre accused of, or reported to be involved in, corrupt practices must account to the Integrity Commission immediately or face disciplinary processes.
 - People who fail to give an acceptable explanation or to voluntarily step down while they face disciplinary, investigative or prosecutorial procedures should be summarily suspended.
 - The ANC should publicly disassociate itself from anyone, whether business donor, supporter or member, accused of corruption or reported to be involved in corruption.
- Require ANC leaders to make regular declarations of financial interests.
- Conduct lifestyle audits of all ANC leaders and public representatives.
- Develop a clear policy on ANC leaders and their family members doing business with the state. We must acknowledge that once one accepts a leadership position, a higher standard of behaviour applies.



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- Strengthen the Integrity Commission and provide it with clear administrative and legal support. The ANC must develop uniform terms of reference and guidelines for provincial and regional integrity structures.

To address corruption in the state and society, we must:

- Mobilise for a 'whole of society' response against corruption and ANC members must support progressive organisations in their stand against corruption.
- Ensure transparency and accountability in procurement. We need to build on the 'open tender' processes employed in certain areas and make use of technology and artificial intelligence as a standard practice to tackle corruption across all of government.
- Information about who is tendering for contracts should be made public, as well as the vetting process to verify their credentials. Items being tendered for must be costed per unit, and civil society should be able to access this information so that the public can monitor if prices are being inflated beyond reasonable acceptable profits before a tender is awarded.
- Government should establish in conjunction with civil society an anti-corruption hotline reporting and online service specifically in relation to COVID-19 and beyond. This platform should allow ordinary people to report corruption.
- Strengthen and resource law enforcement and insulate it from political interference. The process of establishing an independent and multi-disciplinary agency to deal with cases of white-collar crime, organised crime and corruption must be fast-tracked.
- Conduct lifestyle audits of senior public servants and leaders of public entities.

We each need to be the solution

In the end, we will not stop corruption within our ranks unless we deepen the ethical consciousness of our members and, particularly, our leaders.

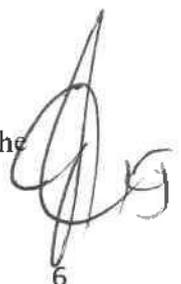
When we joined the ANC, we each made a solemn declaration that we were joining the organisation without motives of material advantage or personal gain. Yet there are some among us who have clearly forgotten their oath or consider it irrelevant.

We cannot and must not have a "we don't care", and "it does not matter what people say about the ANC" attitude. We must be sensitive to what our people think and say about the ANC and our behaviour because we are their servants.

Those who see the ANC as a path to wealth, to power, to influence or status must know that they do not belong in our movement. They must change their ways or they must leave.

If we are to rebuild the ANC as an ethical movement that enjoys the confidence of the people, then we need cadres of integrity, honesty and commitment.

I am raising this matter with you, my beloved ANC member, because it is you who has the power to bring corruption to an end in our movement and in our society.



It is you who chooses the leadership, who sets the policies and who implements the programmes of our organisation. It is you who lives in communities, who interacts daily with the frontline of service delivery and who sees the damage that corruption causes.

As the President of the African National Congress, as part of the national leadership collective, I am fully aware of the decisive mandate we have been given by the 54th National Conference to end all forms of corruption, and to renew and rebuild our movement. This is the mandate I intend to fulfil.

We are acting swiftly to end COVID-related corruption and bring those responsible to book. This includes the establishment of a multi-agency centre that coordinates the work of several investigative and prosecutorial bodies in detecting and acting against any criminal activities. We have also empowered the Special Investigating Unit to probe any alleged corruption or misuse of COVID resources in any department, province, municipality or state institution. To promote transparency, we are publishing the details of all tenders awarded under the national state of disaster.

Our criminal justice agencies must do their work without fear, prejudice or favour. As decided at our conference, "all ANC members and structures should cooperate with the law enforcement agencies to criminally prosecute anyone guilty of corruption".

The ANC and its members must continue to respect the Constitution of the country and the rule of law.

Let us together make this a turning point in the fight in corruption.

Let us together restore the integrity of our movement and earn the trust that the people of South Africa have placed in us.

Comradely,



Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa
PRESIDENT


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A handwritten signature in black ink, located in the bottom right corner of the page. The signature is stylized and appears to consist of several overlapping loops and lines, possibly representing the initials 'AS' or a similar set of initials.

Annexure "CR34"

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY



STATEMENT OF THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

28-30 AUGUST 2020

The ANC National Executive Committee held a virtual special meeting on 28-30 August 2020, to take forward specific matters that included the following issues: the COVID-19 pandemic; the fight against corruption; progress on the economic reconstruction and recovery programme, gender-based violence, local government and the African agenda.

VIGILANCE NEEDED IN THE FIGHT AGAINST COVID-19

The NEC received an update on the state of the coronavirus pandemic in South Africa and the measures that have been taken to reduce its spread and limit its impact on people's health, lives and livelihoods.

The NEC is encouraged by the significant decline in new cases across all provinces, as well as the decline in hospital admissions and deaths. These figures suggest that the country has most likely passed the peak of infections earlier than projected and with fewer infections and fatalities.

This is due, in large part, to the decisive action taken in March to curb transmission of the virus and by the adherence of all South Africans to the measures necessary to prevent infection.

The NEC mourned the lives of those lost to COVID-19 and extends condolences and sympathies to their families and friends.

A handwritten signature in black ink is located in the bottom right corner of the page. The signature is stylized and appears to be the name of a member of the ANC National Executive Committee.

The NEC paid tribute to the doctors, nurses, health and other frontline workers whose tireless and selfless efforts have helped save lives and restore many patients back to health. The nation owes them a debt of gratitude for working under difficult conditions and at risk to their own health to ensure that we overcome this health emergency.

The NEC agreed that the safety and health of all frontline personnel must be a priority, and welcomed the engagements that have taken place between the Department of Health and trade unions to ensure that there is an adequate supply of personal protective equipment for all frontline workers.

The meeting welcomed the decision of government to move the country to alert level 2 from 18 August 2020 and agreed that this was justified both by the decline in infections and by the need to resume most economic activities as speedily and as safely as possible.

However, the NEC agreed that, as is happening in many parts the world, there remains a substantial risk of a 'second wave' of infections as restrictions on movement and economic activity are relaxed. It is therefore vital that all South Africans remain cautious and vigilant, and continue to adhere to the most basic prevention measures – wearing masks, physical distancing as well as regular hand-washing and sanitising.

Through consistent adherence by all South Africans to these and other measures announced by the health authorities, the country will be able to avoid the economic and social disruption of a return to more restrictive regulations.

The ANC will continue to intensify its campaign of awareness and mobilisation among communities to prevent the spread of the coronavirus and ensure adequate care for those who fall ill.

It will also campaign for widespread take-up of the national contact tracing app (COVID Alert SA), which will be soon be launched to inform people – privately



and anonymously – if they have been exposed to a person who has tested positive for coronavirus.

The NEC notes progress on the measures put in place to deal decisively with corruption related to COVID-19, including to recoup illegally-acquired funds. Law enforcement agencies must leave no stone unturned in dealing with this matter. Government must explore all avenues to speed up investigations and prosecutions of these and other corruption-related cases.

The NEC welcomed the decision by government to make public details of COVID-related contracts awarded by all departments and public entities. This is an important step towards greater transparency and accountability in government procurement.

The NEC commends all South Africans for their united action over the last five months to keep themselves and others safe. This spirit and dedication will be required in the many months ahead as South Africa and the world come to terms with this 'new normal'.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND RECOVERY

The NEC welcomed the progress being made among social partners under the auspices of NEDLAC to develop an economic reconstruction and recovery programme. It was encouraged by the extent of agreement among all partners, government, labour and business, on the key interventions required and the need to act with urgency.

The NEC reaffirmed its position that given the depth of the economic damage caused by COVID-19 and the difficulties that our economy was already experiencing before the onset of the pandemic, extraordinary measures are required to protect existing jobs and create new ones in the immediate to medium term.



These include the implementation of a massive infrastructure investment programme, stimulation of local production and manufacturing, a public employment drive and the implementation of key economic reforms.

The ANC has released its economic recovery programme, which combines efforts towards reconstruction with accelerated transformation, economic inclusion, particularly for black people, the youth and women, as well as a faster rate of growth.

The ANC government announced relief measures of an amount of R500 billion to deal with the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. This was to deal with the health effects, measures to prevent a massive humanitarian crisis, and to provide a safety net for households and businesses to cushion the impact of restrictions on economic activity.

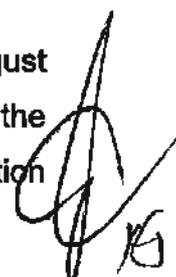
The R500 billion is being financed through a combination of revenue foregone by the government (tax relief), credit guarantees, additional government borrowing, and reprioritisation of existing government budgets.

The ANC recognises that, while these measures have had a positive impact and continue to do so, they are insufficient to deal with the totality of the challenges of unemployment, poverty, inequality and exclusion which our society faces. It is in this context that the work on a reconstruction, growth and transformation plan should be completed as urgently as possible.

The NEC will shortly convene a special lekgotla on the economic reconstruction and recovery programme.

RENEWAL OF THE ANC AND THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

The NEC reaffirmed the position taken at its meeting of 31 July to 2 August 2020 that the ANC needs to draw a clear line in the sand between the organisation and those who steal from the people. It agreed on decisive action to tackle corruption within the ANC and across society.



In this regard, the meeting received a report from the National Working Committee on the work undertaken to collate information on the individuals within the organisation facing charges of corruption or other serious crimes. The NEC welcomed the report and actions being taken at various levels, and resolved that these actions must be completed with urgency. This must be accompanied by public accountability.

The NEC agreed that this will be a turning point in the fight against corruption and accordingly decided on the following:

- The NEC endorsed the contents of President Ramaphosa's letter to ANC members of 23 August 2020 as a clear articulation of the policies and positions of the organisation, and agreed to the implementation of the points of action contained therein.
- The NEC emphasised that what seems to be a choreographed campaign against the President will not distract the movement from undertaking an intensified programme against corruption and state capture, as mandated by the 54th National Conference. In this regard, we will also work with other sectors of society and the broader population to confront this scourge.
- Cadres of the ANC who are formally charged for corruption or other serious crimes must immediately step aside from all leadership positions in the ANC, legislatures or other government structures pending the finalisation of their cases. The Officials, as mandated, will develop guidelines and procedures on implementation, and the next NWC meeting will review progress. In cases where this has not happened, such individuals will be instructed to step aside.
- Cadres of the ANC who are reported to be involved in corrupt and other serious criminal practices must go to the Integrity Commission to explain themselves. Those who do not give an acceptable explanation may be suspended.



- Cadres of the ANC who are convicted of corruption or other serious crimes must resign from leadership positions and face disciplinary action in line with the ANC Constitution.
- The NEC will meet with the Integrity Commission with a view to strengthen its role in restoring the values of the ANC, and ensuring that it has the means and the resources it needs to carry out its mandate.
- Guidelines on the ANC's approach to internal leadership contests in elective meetings and conferences of the organisation will be developed, especially rules for lobbying and campaigning. This will take into account the organisation's experiences over many years and will be guided by the overriding imperative to ensure that internal democratic processes protect the movement's integrity and do indeed produce the best cadres to lead transformation.
- The ANC will put in place a system for leaders to make regular declarations of financial interests to the organisation. Drawing on existing practices in Parliament and government, the system will need to ensure a proper balance between privacy and accountability.
- Guidelines will be developed on ANC leaders and their families doing business with government and public entities. The guidelines will give due regard to the right of every person to engage in legitimate business activity while removing the potential for any ANC leader or member of their family to derive undue benefit from political access.

Proceeding from the understanding that this is a matter affecting all parties and government institutions, the ANC will also table this matter for discussion in the legislatures and encourage forums such as NEDLAC to engage on the issue.



The NEC is determined that these measures should be implemented consistently and without fear or favour, and that they are essential steps towards renewing, rebuilding and uniting the movement.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The NEC received reports on local government, proposals on electoral reform, on the process of selection of ANC local public representatives and on preparations for the 2021 Local Government Elections. The NEC will continue discussions of these matters at a special session later this week.

ORGANISATIONAL CAMPAIGNS AND PROGRAMMES

The NEC took note of the ongoing organisational campaign against racism, vowed to intensify the promotion of the principle of non-racialism, and to continue to fight racism and tribalism in the movement and in society. This is particularly important as we celebrate Heritage Month in September 2020, recognising the centenary anniversaries of Harry Gwala, Rusty Bernstein, Vuyisile Mini, Phyllis Ntantala, Robert Resha and others.

The NEC condemned in the strongest terms the killing of disabled teenager, Nathaniel Julies from Eldorado Park. As a society, we are responsible for the well-being and protection of children and persons living with disabilities.

The NEC also reflected on the ongoing programme against gender-based violence and femicide, and urged Parliament to swiftly consider and finalise the legislative amendments to strengthen measures against GBV. It welcomed the broadening of engagements by men and boys on the role they can play in the fight against gender-based violence and add their voices to the call that women's lives matter.



As we conclude Women's Month, we must ensure that in dealing with GBV and femicide as the worst manifestations of patriarchy, we also tackle other dimensions of patriarchy, including the economic exclusion of women.

THE AFRICAN AGENDA

The NEC notes that South Africa continues to play a critical role in its capacity as African Union Chair, led by President Ramaphosa. It welcomed the reports on work done around a continent-wide programme on COVID-19, working with the AU Commission, Regional Economic Communities and the Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention.

The NEC further acknowledged the impact of COVID-19 on the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area, and appreciated the resumption of work to take the process of an African common market forward. It welcomed the fact that the Africa CFTA office has now been opened, headed by one of our own as Secretary General.

It also notes work being done to continue to silence the guns in Mali and Libya, and to ensure stability in Mozambique, Sudan and Zimbabwe.

The NEC welcomed government efforts to engage the situation in Zimbabwe, in particular the deployment of special envoys. It emphasised the importance of the envoys engaging with all stakeholders in the country to assist in addressing the current situation. ANC and government processes must complement each other.

The NEC supported greater party-to-party interaction between the ANC and Zanu-PF with the intention to develop a fuller understanding of the situation in Zimbabwe and to determine how the ANC and government can assist. It was also agreed that the ANC must speak to all parties and stakeholders as well.



Concern was expressed at the insurgency in Mozambique. Government was urged to effectively address any security threats to this country and to provide support to the government of Mozambique should this be requested.

The NEC agreed that the International Relations committee of the ANC must provide detailed reports on these two matters at its next meeting.

The NEC supports the ongoing Alliance campaign of solidarity with the people of Palestine in these very difficult and trying times that they face.

CONCLUSION

This special meeting of the NEC has made significant progress in addressing critical issues of organisational unity and renewal. It has emerged with a clear direction and unity of purpose. This was one of the better meetings that the NEC has held.

This NEC meeting has laid a firm foundation for the organisation to provide leadership on the urgent reconstruction and transformation of our economy, to sustain our response to the coronavirus pandemic, to fight corruption by drawing a line in the sand, and to end violence against women and children.

END

ISSUED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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National Spokesperson
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Annexure “CR35”

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
18 FEBRUARY 2021

ANC STATEMENT ON THE OUTCOMES OF THE NEC HELD FROM 13 - 14 FEB 2021

The National Executive Committee of the ANC successfully completed its ordinary session, which was held virtually on 13-14 February 2021. The meeting was characterised by robust discussions on critical matters facing the South African people, and the ANC.

The deliberations and decisions of the NEC therefore speaks to the very important four priorities for our people and government this year:

- **Defeating the Covid 19 pandemic;**
- **Accelerating economic reconstruction and recovery;**
- **Improving the capacity of the state**
- **Fighting crime and corruption.**

Since this was an ordinary session of the NEC, the meeting dealt with and decided on a range of organizational issues, including the ANC structures and the impact of Covid 19 and our ability to adapt to the new normal; on the rebuilding of the ANC Youth League; the appointment of the ANC Electoral Committee and on international matters.

The renewal and unity of the ANC remains one of the key mandates of the NEC, and the NEC was once again seized with the issue of the credibility and integrity of the movement, as it considered the report of the Officials on the ANC Step-Aside Procedures and Guidelines.

The decisions of the National Executive Committee reflects a leadership that is keenly aware of its responsibilities towards the nation, as well as towards the ANC members and supporters.

The far-reaching decisions that we present through this statement, reflect the seriousness with which the NEC takes these responsibilities.

NEC OUTCOMES: 13 - 14 FEBRUARY 2021

The National Executive Committee met virtually in an ordinary session from 13-14 February 2021. Political Overview of the President, the NWC Report by the Secretary General and a report on State of Organisation during Covid, formed the basis of discussions.

The NEC welcomed the visionary State of the Nation Address (SONA) delivered by President Cyril Ramaphosa to Parliament on 11 February 2021, the same day when 31 years ago, President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was released after 27 years of incarceration by the apartheid regime.

The NEC observed a minute of silence for all those who passed on since the NEC Lekgotla held 22-24 January 2021. It paid tribute to the contribution and resilience of Mme Rebecca Kotane, who left us on 31 January 2021. She would have celebrated her 109th birthday on 12 February 2021.

The President set out the four priorities of the people's government for 2021/2022: Firstly, to defeat the coronavirus pandemic; secondly, accelerate economic recovery; thirdly, implement economic reforms to create sustainable jobs and drive inclusive growth; and finally, fight corruption and strengthen the state.

This year's SONA was delivered as we reached the midterm mark of the 6th democratic administration, led by the ANC. The SONA gave account of progress and challenges during this term, as we continue to implement the ANC's popular electoral mandate, based on the ANC 2019 Elections Manifesto.

The NEC welcomed the Political Overview, Reports and Briefings, and over two days of robust discussions, resolved as follows:

ON PRIORITIES SET OUT IN SONA

1. The NEC affirmed the President's analysis of the devastating effects and hardships on families, communities, workers, businesses small and large, on the South African people as a whole. This will require that we unite as a nation, to implement the necessary prevention measures, and rally together to ensure the vaccination of 65% of the population to achieve population immunity. It requires a multi-pronged strategy focusing on public health; investments in science and research; social relief, economic recovery interventions; and effective communication and information, to empower citizens, and help build solidarity and resilience.

PRESIDENT CM Ramaphosa	DEPUTY PRESIDENT DD Mabuza	NATIONAL CHAIRPERSON G Mantasha	SECRETARY GENERAL ES Magashule	DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL JY Duarte	TREASURER GENERAL P Mashatile
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DEFEATING THE COVID 19 PANDEMIC

2. The NEC appreciated the briefing from Cde Dr Zweli Mkhize and Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma on the most recent developments with regards to the Covid 19 pandemic.
3. The NEC noted that the second wave is on the decline, with numbers of infections and deaths going down over the last few weeks, given measures introduced and greater compliance to mask wearing, social distance, hand hygiene and other steps to stop the spread of the virus.
4. The NEC welcomed the update on the national mass programme to vaccinate 40 million people, to ensure the speedy achievement of population immunity against Covid-19. The NEC appreciated the approach by government to ensure procurement of vaccines through multilateral initiatives such as COVAX and the AU, as well as through bilateral engagements with vaccine manufacturers from all corners of the world.
5. The NEC noted that, pursuant to the decisions of the NEC Lekgotla, the Alliance is developing a national campaign to promote the mass-vaccination and Covid prevention, the largest public health programme we have seen hitherto.

ACCELERATING ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION AND RECOVERY

6. The NEC noted the following concrete initiatives in progress towards this goal:
 - a) Placing the creation of sustainable jobs at the centre of economic reconstruction and recovery plans, including through labour intensive infrastructure development; public employment programmes, and other efforts by government to advance job creation.
 - b) Progress with the Presidential Employment Stimulus Programme to create jobs in tourism, the creative industries, global business services, early childhood development, environmental management and small-scale and subsistence farming.
 - c) The tabling of the Public Procurement Bill in Parliament this year, to provide a legal framework for set asides for small businesses and cooperatives, as well as women and youth-led businesses, in support of localization and broad-based black economic empowerment and transformation.
 - d) Strengthening localization and implement plans to support local production in sectors such as edible oils, furniture, fruit concentrate, personal protective equipment, and green economy inputs.
 - e) Rejuvenating and growing key industrial sectors, welcoming the social partner master plans already concluded in the poultry, sugar, clothing, textile, footwear and leather, and the auto sector, and urge other sectors to work with haste to conclude and start implementing their sector plans.
 - f) Measures to aid recovery and growth in the tourism and mining sectors. The NEC welcomed the recently launched Tourism Equity Fund and the Tourism Recovery Plan, to re-establish South Africa as a preferred tourist destination and stimulate local tourism through sector transformation and product diversification. In mining, the NEC appreciated the initiative to draft a country exploration strategy and urge that we must be resolute to make use and benefit our nation's natural endowments in the platinum group of metals, especially in the development of renewable and green energy technologies.
 - g) The importance of energy security to our economic recovery and reconstruction, and urged government to proceed with the strengthening of Eskom, and the implementation of the Integrated Resource Plan of the country, including advancing renewable and other sources of energy.
 - h) Investments and support for research, innovation and development across all sectors, with specific emphasis on the development of the domestic pharmaceutical sector including the development of human vaccines, medicines and medical equipment and the creation of the BRICS vaccine institute in South Africa.
 - i) Supports the progress in Parliament towards concluding the process of amending Section 25 of the Constitution, and the measures already in progress under existing legislation to speed up land redistribution, support to emerging farmers and the agricultural sector.
 - j) Affirms that the above takes place in the context of the African Continental Free Trade Area that became operational on 1 January 2021; that the recovery and reconstruction of the South African economy must reinforce the economic integration and development of the continent and create opportunities for businesses and entrepreneurs to cooperate and do business across the continent.

FIGHTING CRIME AND CORRUPTION

7. The NEC affirmed the fight against crime and corruption as the third priority, and reaffirmed its support, as per its Conference and NEC resolutions for the Commission of Enquiry into State capture, chaired by Judge Zondo, again urges all its members and leaders to cooperate with the Commission in the national interest, and to allow the Commission to complete its work fairly and present its findings, without fear or favour.
8. The NEC noted that the President will lead the ANC presentation to the Commission, and urge

Officials and the NWC to prepare for this, so that the firm position of the ANC against corruption and state capture, and its impact on the people and country, is made unequivocal. The NEC supports the engagement by Officials with former President Jacob Zuma.

ON GENDER BASED VIOLENCE (GBV)

9. The NEC supports the measures being undertaken towards building a non-sexist society and the empowerment of women, in particular the creation of the GBV Fund to take forward our fight against this second pandemic, and the concrete plans announced by the President as part of the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery plan, including set-asides for women-owned businesses.
10. All these measures and initiatives, the NEC believes, give a sense of hope and light at the end of the tunnel, amidst the pandemic that has engulfed our country and the world. We must all work together as a nation, in different sectors, in communities in the spirit of ubuntu and solidarity.

On the Opening of Schools

11. The NEC welcomed the briefing by cde Angie Motshekga on the 2020 academic year, the Matric final exams and the start of the 2021 academic year. The NEC noted the impact of the disruptions by the pandemic on learning and teaching, as well as lessons from last year. The NEC welcomes the fact that despite the obstacles and difficulties the Class of 2020 wrote their matric examinations, and are awaiting with bated breath their results on 22-23 February 2021.
12. The NEC appreciated the update on preparations throughout the country for the reopening of schools, and the efforts by the departments of education to sanitise schools, provide the necessary protective equipment and protocols to ensure that our schools can open in the safest possible way. It recognized the difficulties faced by parents with schools fees, and call on schools not to penalized parents who struggle.
13. The NEC further noted the work by ANC structures last year, at local levels to assist with cleaning schools, working with School Governing Bodies and parents, to get them ready for opening under Covid 19. As we prepare for schools to open on 15 February 2021, the NEC urges its structures and all community formations to again assist schools to ensure effective learning, and work with communities to protect our schools against vandalism.

ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL, UNITY AND PROGRAMMES OF THE ANC

The National Executive Committee noted that in addition to the above priorities, its 2021 January 9 Statement also set an additional priority, that of internal renewal and unity of the ANC, a strategic task from 54th National Conference, entrusted to this NEC.

The NEC recommitted itself to this priority and strategic task, acknowledging that a weak and divided ANC will not be able to execute the above critical tasks in the service of the people and the nation.

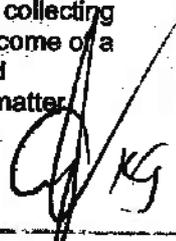
The NEC therefore had robust and frank discussions on the organizational matters raised in the NWC report, the report by Officials on the draft Step Aside Guidelines, the report of the Integrity Commission and the State of Organisation under Covid 19 report and recommendations.

On the Electoral Committee

14. The NEC welcomed the recommendation by the NWC on the composition of the ANC Electoral Committee that, according to Conference resolution, must run and oversee internal leadership elections, as well as selection of public representatives.
15. The NEC adopted and approve the names proposed and urged Officials to ensure that the principle of gender equity and youth representation be adhered to. The Elections Committee will be chaired by cde Kgalema Motlanthe, and deputized by cde Nkele Ntingane.

On Credibility and Integrity of the ANC, and Step-Aside Guidelines and Procedures

16. The NEC reaffirmed the Resolutions of the 54th National Conference on ANC Credibility and Integrity: Dealing with Corruption and Fighting Crime and Corruption as well as decisions of NEC meetings on 28 – 30 August and 6 – 9 December 2020 on the implementation of these resolutions. The NEC welcomed the Guidelines and Procedures proposed by the National Officials. The NEC commended the work done by Treasurer General and a task team on behalf of the National Officials.
17. The NEC further noted the report by the task team led by the Treasurer General which identified further work that the organization needs to do in separate but related areas, including ensuring the alignment of the ANC Constitution with the Constitution of the Republic.
18. The NEC also noted with concern the omission of Rule 25.5(u) dealing with "the giving, collecting or raising of funds for campaigning activities within the ANC aimed at influencing the outcome of a conference or meeting" from the ANC Constitution after the 53rd National Conference and requested the NEC Sub-committee on Constitutional and Legal Affairs to investigate the matter and report to the Officials.



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19. Accordingly, the NEC adopted the Guidelines and Procedures and, furthermore, decided:
- a) The National Officials must ensure that the necessary technical refinements to the Guidelines and Procedures are effected as a matter of urgency. In doing so inputs from ANC provinces should be considered. The refined Guidelines and Procedures should be presented to the NWC.
 - b) To brief and engage with ANC structures at all levels on the Guidelines and Procedures, to foster understanding and unity on the approach to their implementation;
 - c) A report on these processes, including on an implementation plan, should be presented to the next NEC;
 - d) Call on all affected members, in engaging with the Guidelines and Procedures, and on the Credibility, Integrity and Ethical foundations of the movement, to put the ANC and the people first, and voluntarily act in accordance with their Oath of Membership.

On the Report of the Integrity Commission

20. The NEC noted with appreciation the Annual Report of the Integrity Commission for January – December 2020, including its reflections on the state of integrity in the ANC, the difficult conditions under which the Commission conducted its work, and the draft ANC Ethical Framework prepared by the Commission.
21. The NEC further noted that the Integrity Commission had dealt with, and submitted reports, on a number of matters concerning members and leaders of the organisation. NEC noted, with concern, that not all reports of the Commission have been processed and tabled in the NEC. Consequently, the findings and recommendations of the Commission in these matters have not yet been processed and decided upon by the NEC.
22. The NEC appreciated the ongoing engagements between the National Officials and the Integrity Commission. The NEC resolved that the reports of the Integrity Commission must be processed in a principled and consistent manner. The NEC tasked the National Officials and NWC to process all outstanding reports, and for these to be presented to the NEC for decision, preferably in a joint session with the Integrity Commission.

On the State of Organisation

23. The NEC noted the report on the State of Organisation under Covid 19. It welcomed progress being made with implementing Conference resolution on a modernized ANC Online Membership system, and work done to encourage members to register and to renew their membership. It also welcomed the over 50 000 new members who have joined the ANC, even under the difficult conditions of Covid 19.
24. The NEC further appreciated mass work done by ANC branches, regions and provinces, in raising awareness, educating and mobilizing communities in the fight against Covid 19 and in monitoring the opening of schools, compliance with Covid regulations, the presence of security forces, access to health care and social relief, in 2020. The NEC called on ANC branches to continue to report on this work on the ANC Cloud, as they have done during this period.
25. The NEC further accepted with concern the warning that, given the Covid pandemic and other external factors, within the next few months over 90% of BECs and RECs, and some provinces, will have their terms of offices as set out by the ANC Constitution expired. The NEC adopted the recommendations by the Organising Committee, that:
 - a) We assist branches to hold their BBGMs, in line with the Guidelines adopted by the NEC, including through physical or hybrid forms, given the continued circumstances of the pandemic regulations.
 - b) Adopts the revised cut-off date for BBGMs as 5 March 2021, to allow members to renew up to this point, so as to participate as ANC members in good standing.
 - c) Ongoing work with the Leagues to strengthen and incorporate their Membership systems, as autonomous part of the overall Online ANC Membership system.
 - d) Reaffirm Conference decision that the new system must prevent member-buying and gatekeeping, and prevent bulk membership buying.

On the North West province

26. The NEC remains concerned about the deteriorating organizational and governance situation in the North West province, as raised by the IPC and NEC Deployees to the province. Therefore decided:
 - a) That Officials as a matter of urgency meet with the North West IPC and NEC Deployees by the end of February 2021, to process their reports, and ensure that the necessary and speedy actions are taken to normalize the situations in local municipalities and in the provincial government.
 - b) Takes note of resolutions by the NEC Sub-committee on Legislature and Governance and the recommendations of the Inter-Ministerial Task Team on the Section 100 intervention in the North West.



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- c) The NWC submit a detailed report to the next NEC on actions taken to support the work of the IPC, and to address the organizational and political challenges facing the province.
- d) The Officials will, when conditions allow, visit the North West to engage with structures.

On preparations towards the ANC Youth League Congress

- 27. The NEC noted the work in progress towards the rebuilding of the ANC Youth League, and adopts the recommendation from the NWC that a National Congress Preparatory Committee be established, consisting of members who are not older than 35 years, to ensure that the YL National Congress is convened, building on the roadmap prepared by the NYTT.
- 28. The NEC reiterated its commitment to ensure the building of a radical and militant ANCYL, led by young people, able to advance the twin tasks of the League which is (1) to unite and lead young people in confronting and dealing with problems facing the youth; and (2) to ensure that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and the life of the nation.
- 29. Mandated the Officials to expeditiously finalise the names, in consultation with provinces.

Outstanding TRC matters

- 30. Urge the NWC to remain seized with this matter, including reports of support given to notorious apartheid era perpetrators, and to report to the NEC.

On Local Government Elections

- 31. The NEC notes the announcement by the President in SONA that local government elections this year must proceed as planned, as we battle the conditions imposed by the pandemic.
- 32. The NEC notes that the Elections strategy workshop will be held this month, requests the Officials and NWC to be seized with the matter, and to report to the next NEC on the IEC and organizational preparedness for the local government elections later this year.

On the Political Party Funding Act

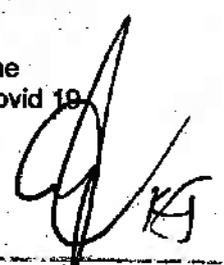
- 33. The NEC welcomes the announcement that the Political Party Funding Act will be operationalized with effect from 1 April 2021, as an important step towards strengthening transparency, curbing undue influence and capture in our party systems and increasing funding for the democratic processes, including funding of political parties.
- 34. The NEC appreciates measures already taken by the Treasurer General and Finance department to set up systems to ensure ANC compliance with the PPFA, and urge the TG to workshop provinces and regions to ensure that we have common and compliant reporting systems, as a unitary organisation.
- 35. The NEC tasks the Officials and NWC to remain seized with the impact of the PPFA on the ANC, including receiving reports on the ANC organizational organogram and design, to ensure that it is appropriate and affordable.

On the National General Council

- 36. The NEC noted that Rule 10.6 of the ANC Constitution provides that: "A National General Council may be convened by the NEC from time to time, provided that the NEC shall convene a National General Council not later than 30 (thirty) months after the National Conference."
- 37. That the 54th National Conference of the ANC was held on 16 – 20 December 2017, that a National General Council should have been convened not later than 20 June 2020 and that at its meeting on 30 September 2019 the NEC, after consultation with provinces, determined the composition of the NGC in terms of Rule 10.7 of the ANC Constitution.
- 38. The NEC resolved to request the NWC to consider the feasibility of holding the NGC on a hybrid basis in May 2021.
- 39. The NEC took note of work in progress to ensure that all ANC structures discuss the NGC documents, including workshops with branches and regions, as well as Umrahulo sessions to engage the public on the discussion papers.

On the African Agenda and a Better World

- 40. The NEC noted that President Ramaphosa on behalf of South Africa successfully completed the Chairship of the African Union at the Summit of Heads of State and Government early February 2021.
- 41. Congratulated President Cyril Ramaphosa as Chair for effectively steering our continental Union during a difficult period of the Covid 19 pandemic, the achievement of the operationalization of the African Continental Free Trade Area, placing women's empowerment high on the agenda of the continent, and contributing towards silencing the guns on the continent.
- 42. The NEC acknowledged the work by the AU Chair to ensure a united response of the African continent to the fight against Covid 19, and as the Chairship came to an end, the appointment of President Ramaphosa as the AU Champion on the Fight against the Covid 19 Pandemic.
- 43. The NEC furthermore:



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- a) Resolved that South Africa must continue to support the DRC Chairship of the AU, as we take forward priorities started during our term, of the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area, women's empowerment and the fight against GBV, the silencing of the guns and the broader African agenda as set out in the AU Agenda 2063.
- b) Confirms our resolve to continue to advocate and fight for the right of self-determination and independence of the people of Western Sahara.
- c) Welcomes the decision and nomination of the Cuban Health Brigade for the Nobel Peace Prize by Cabinet, arising from our Lekgotla, continue to pledge solidarity as we reiterate our call for the lifting of the blockade of Cuba; and give more concrete support and strengthen bonds with the Cuban people.
- d) Appreciates the African Union's confirmation of its support for the Palestinian struggle, supports the AU efforts towards the establishment of a viable Palestinian state along the 1967 borders and will continue activism in the Alliance in solidarity with the Palestinian people.
- e) Decided that we need to pay more attention the struggle of the peoples of Venezuela in the lights of the humanitarian crisis caused by attacks and unilateral imposition of sanctions against this country.
- f) Engagement with BRICS and other progressive forces, as well as other multi-lateral institutions in the fight against the Covid 19 pandemic and for equitable and affordable access to Covid 19 vaccines.
- g) Pursue and advance multilateral cooperation, and cooperation with progressive countries and movements, towards building a strong front for the advancement of developing nations and progressive objectives; and build ANC and government capacity to drive the African agenda, progressive internationalism and building of a better world.
- h) Congratulates the Chinese people and government on the celebrations of the New Year, and the centenary celebrations of the Chinese Communist Party.

On Leaks from the NEC

44. The NEC noted with extreme concerns the extreme ill-discipline by some members, leaking information to some in the media. The Officials were tasked to deal with this matter of moles in the NEC, so that we preserve the integrity of the organisation.

END

**Issued by the Secretary General of the African National Congress
Comrade, ES Magashule on behalf of the NEC**

Enquiries:**Pule Mabe****National Spokesperson****071 623 4975**


Annexure "CR36"

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
29 MARCH 2021

STATEMENT OF THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The ANC National Executive Committee held a regular meeting on a virtual platform on 26-29 March 2021.

The meeting discussed the foremost priorities for 2021, in particular the response to the COVID-19 pandemic and economic reconstruction. The meeting reviewed the ANC's Programme of Action for 2021 and held a session with the Integrity Commission to receive and discuss its reports and recommendations on both generic issues impacting on its work and specific cases it has processed.

RESPONSE TO COVID-19

The NEC meeting took place on the first anniversary of the implementation of a nation-wide lockdown to contain the spread of the coronavirus. The decisive measures taken in the early days of the outbreak of COVID-19 in South Africa helped to delay the spread of the virus and enabled the preparation of our health facilities for the expected rise in infections.

The NEC commends the people of South Africa for the unity, solidarity and discipline they have displayed over the last year. Despite great hardship and difficulty, most South Africans have diligently adhered to the necessary restrictions and observed health protocols. We do acknowledge that in managing this unprecedented situation, mistakes may have been made; and the responsibility of the government and the rest of society is to rectify such weaknesses as and when they arise.

We salute the health workers who, often at great risk to themselves, have cared for the sick and have saved many lives. We salute other frontline workers who have ensured the uninterrupted provision of essential services throughout the pandemic. We pay tribute to those on the frontline who have lost their lives to COVID-19 and extend our sympathies to their families, colleagues and friends.

Our foremost priority at this time is to intensify all efforts to unite all South Africans to overcome the pandemic. In this phase, this requires a society-wide effort to ensure the success of the vaccination campaign. The NEC welcomed the progress made in the vaccination of health workers, especially in light of the challenges presented by the emergence of a new variant.

The meeting agreed, however, that the vaccination programme needs to be significantly accelerated and scaled up. The NEC called on all relevant government entities to work with social partners and other stakeholders to urgently procure, distribute and administer sufficient vaccine doses to meet the country's needs. Working with other countries on our continent and in the developing world, South Africa should intensify its campaign against 'vaccine nationalism'.

The NEC emphasised that the vaccination programme does not subtract from the need to maintain the basic health protocols that are critical for our collective safety. This includes the maintenance of reasonable restrictions on the size of gatherings, the mandatory wearing of masks in public spaces, physical distancing and other measures required to contain transmission.

The NEC further supported the stance by the South African Government, the African Union and other nations to call for the WTO to waive the intellectual property and other provisions of TRIPS, to allow expanded manufacturing of Covid 19 vaccines as a global public good.

The NEC welcomed the sections in the 2021 ANC Annual Programme of Action which dealt with the campaign against Covid 19 as one of the priorities for 2021. Through this campaign, we will continue to educate our communities, and the different sectors identified in the various vaccination phases.

The meeting expressed concern at the possibility of increased transmission of the coronavirus during the Easter and other holidays in the coming period. The ANC wishes strongly to reiterate the advice that has been given by our scientists and health authorities for all South Africans to exercise maximum care, and to act responsibly so together we can avoid a potentially devastating third wave of infections.

PRESIDENT CM Ramaphosa	DEPUTY PRESIDENT DD Mabuza	NATIONAL CHAIRPERSON G Mantsha	SECRETARY GENERAL ES Magashule	DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL JY Duarte	TREASURER GENERAL P Mashatile
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THE YEAR OF UNITY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC RENEWAL AND NATION BUILDING

#Khwuleza

#BeTheRenewal

ECONOMIC RECOVERY

The NEC reaffirmed that alongside the defeat of COVID, economic recovery is our foremost priority this year. The NEC welcomed the progress that has been made in the implementation of the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan, particularly with respect to areas like employment stimulus, economic reform, infrastructure.

The NEC expressed concern around the ongoing electricity generation challenges in the country and therefore welcomed the recent decision on the emergency procurement of electricity. The NEC expressed hope that the matter pertaining to broadband spectrum allocation will be resolved without delay.

The meeting agreed that while there is a pick-up in implementation of infrastructure projects, the pace needs to be accelerated. The NEC further urged the business community to support the recovery process by accelerating productive investments in the economy.

The NEC decided that it will convene a special session to evaluate the implementation of the Economic Recovery Plan and the programme of economic transformation.

FUNDING OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The NEC received a report on the funding of higher education. The NEC noted the important progress that has been made over the last decade towards our commitment to provide free higher education to poor and working-class students.

The NEC welcomed the work in progress to look at solutions to address the student debt as well as the critical issue of funding of higher education for the missing middle.

The NEC agreed with the caution that we must ensure that we do not underfund the critical TVET, Community Education and Training and Skills sectors. These components are critical to empowering millions of young people, as well as ensuring lifelong learning and adult education and literacy.

LAND REDISTRIBUTION AND REFORM

The NEC received a report on work progress in Parliament on the Expropriation Bill and the amendments to Section 25 of the Constitution. It confirms the approach by Parliament that if we only rely on restitution, it will take decades to resolve the historical injustice, and hence the need to focus on land reform, redistribution and expropriation.

The NEC further recalls its comprehensive decisions on this matter taken at its meeting in May 2019, following the Land reform summit in March of that year, and urge all our structures and members to support the process in Parliament, and to make submissions guided by ANC positions in these public participation processes.

STRENGTHENING CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

The NEC discussed the need to support and strengthen all institutions that contribute to the advancement of our constitutional democracy. While no arm of the state is above criticism, the ANC distances itself from attacks on the judiciary that seek to undermine its legitimacy and impugn its decisions. Our Constitution provides sufficient safeguards against the abuse of power by any arm of the state, and any person who has evidence of any misdemeanour or abuse should make use of the available remedies.

The NEC reaffirmed the decision of its 54th National Conference to support the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry into allegations of state capture. It therefore reiterated its support for the work of the Zondo Commission and called on all ANC members and supporters – and indeed all members of society – to assist the commission in its work.

Several ANC leaders have made or are scheduled to make submissions to the Commission. President Cyril Ramaphosa will be appearing before the Commission on 22-23 April in his capacity as the current ANC President and former ANC Deputy President.

The NEC views its submission as necessary to the work of the Commission and important for the broader effort to confront state capture and ensure that such activities are never allowed to happen again. The NEC noted that the Presiding officers of Parliament, who are ANC deployees, are also due to appear before the Commission.

Issue of the Public Protector

The NEC reflected on the ANC's approach to the issue of the Public Protector currently in Parliament. The NEC noted that the matter was dealt with in terms of the rules adopted by the National Assembly for the removal of a Head of a chapter 9 Institution. Following the findings of the independent experts that the Public Protector had a *prima facie* case to answer, the ANC Caucus agreed to support a motion in the National Assembly to move to the

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next stage of the process in terms of its rules.

The NEC confirmed the responsibility of the ANC Political Committee in Parliament to oversee matters before Caucus and to consult with, and be guided by Officials and Headquarters as and when required.

ANC PROGRAMME OF ACTION 2021

The NEC received a report on the campaigns undertaken by the organisation since the last NEC and the update on the plans for the coming three months.

The NEC reaffirmed its commitment to activities under the banner of the Unity, Renewal and Reconstruction in the Year of Charlotte Maxeke.

The NEC urged all its structures to mobilise and organised around the following activities that planned in the coming three months:

- Easter Covid 19 public health and education campaign
- Commemoration of the passing of cde Winnie Madikizela Mandela on 2 April
- Charlotte Maxeke week from 1-10 April, with the ANC Women's League
- Anniversary of Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu Day on 6 April
- Commemoration of cde Chris Hani on 10 April
- The Covid-19 campaign to be devolved at district level
- Preparations for and holding of BBGMs
- Preparations for May Day and Africa month, as well as Youth Month and Freedom Charter Day in June.

The NEC noted the report on preparations for local government elections, and appreciates the work already done, being carried out and planned, under the guidance of the National Elections Team and urge all structures to focus on this critical elections work, fixing local government and reconnecting with the people, towards an overwhelming victory.

The NEC further agreed that the Ethiopia-Tigray conflict and its resolution should be taken forward under our programme on Advancing the African Agenda.

ORGANISATIONAL MATTERS

Preparations for BBGMs, Regional and Provincial Conference

The NEC received a report of the Organising Committee. Among others, the meeting

- endorsed the amendments to the Guidelines for BBGMs, Regional and Provincial Conferences as presented,
- endorsed the new cut-off date for membership for these conferences as 5 March 2021,
- noted the update on the ANC membership and the ongoing development of the online membership system,
- requested headquarters to do the verification based on the Guidelines of those branches that have already go to BBGM and provide feedback to the provinces and affected branches on the status of their BECs.

North West provincial matters

The NEC noted the concern raised by the North West Interim Provincial Committee (IPC) regarding their ability to carry out their mandate in the province. The meeting instructed the Officials to urgently meet with the IPC and NEC North West deployees to finalise the matters raised by the IPC before the end of April 2021. The IPC is further urged to establish its Provincial Integrity Commission as a matter of urgency.

Appointment of the ANC Youth League National Congress Preparatory Committee

The NEC noted the report of work done by Officials as mandated by the last NEC, to finalise, after consultations with provinces, a National Congress Preparatory Committee of the ANC Youth League, with the proviso that it is constituted by ANCYL members who are below 35, gender balanced and from all provinces.

Establishment of the Electoral Committee

The NEC welcomed that the ANC Electoral Committee has been convened and briefed by the SGO on its terms of reference. The Electoral Committee consists of comrades K Motlanthe (Chairperson), N Ntingane (Deputy Chairperson), A Masondo, L Hani, B Tshwete, Nora Fakude, Theo Steele (COSATU) and Loretta Jacobus (SACP).

TACKLING PATRIARCHY IN THE ANC AND SOCIETY

The NEC expressed its deep concern about statements that reflect patriarchal attitudes and denigrate women. These include statements on social media and elsewhere by leaders of the ANC. Such statements are unacceptable and have no place in the ANC or in society.

The meeting reaffirmed the ANC's unwavering commitment to gender equality. This necessarily involves measures to ensure the equal representation and participation of women in all leadership structure of the ANC, government and other parts of society.

It also requires constant reminders and political education of all members and leaders. In this regard, the meeting agreed to undertake a programme of gender sensitivity training throughout the ANC, starting with the NEC.

UNITY AND COHESION OF THE ANC

The meeting discussed the task of forging unity and cohesion within the movement. This is essential to the ANC's ability to undertake its historic mission to unite the South African people in building a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society.

The NEC reaffirmed its commitment to principled unity based on the mission and values of the ANC.

The NEC therefore condemned the establishment of groups operating as an organised faction within the ANC to undermine the ideological and organisational integrity of the ANC. The NEC warned those who wish to subvert the ANC by seeking to create diversions that we will not tolerate meddling in the internal affairs of the ANC or the use of ANC resources to undertake counter-revolutionary activities from within its structures and facilities.

The meeting agreed that no ANC member should associate themselves with or be involved in the so-called 'RET Forces'. Furthermore, the NEC will not allow any member of the ANC staff to use the resources and premises of the ANC to hold meetings of the RET or any other faction. In terms of Rule 25.9 of the ANC Constitution on 'Institution of disciplinary proceedings', the NEC directs the Presenter of the ANC to investigate these matters and, if deemed necessary, immediately formulate charges for the attention of the National Disciplinary Committee.

The NEC also noted the re-emergence of an orchestrated campaign of 'fake news' directed against President Cyril Ramaphosa and other leaders of the ANC – akin to the disinformation crusade South Africa experienced during the height of state capture. As before, these machinations, which are aimed at undermining organisational and societal renewal, and at subverting the process of social transformation, will fail. It is the responsibility of all ANC members and indeed all freedom-loving South Africans to protect and advance the gains of our democracy.

The NEC noted the emergence of social movements, which include prominent ANC stalwarts, with the express desire to defend our constitutional democracy. The NEC called on all ANC members to also ensure that they actively participate in the structures and processes of the movement to advance their views.

The NEC reaffirmed the requirement in the Constitution that all leaders abide by decisions of the collective and desist from making statements that contradict agreed positions of the movement. Public statements by any senior leader of the ANC that misrepresent policy positions of the movement and decisions of its structures are therefore condemned without reservation.

Related to these developments is the narrative gaining currency on various public platforms that the challenges the ANC faces with regard to unity and cohesion are a reflection of a multiplicity of factions pursuing their selfish interests. We wish to state very clearly that there is one ANC with constitutional and other structures responsible for taking decisions on a variety of issues. Articulation and enforcement of decisions of the ANC, legitimately arrived at, is therefore not an act of factionalism.

UNITY OF FORMER MK COMBATANTS

The NEC expressed concern at the use of the name of Umkhonto we Sizwe to promote factionalism in the ANC and engage in acts of social instability. The meeting warned against utterances or actions that bring the proud history and noble legacy of Umkhonto we Sizwe into disrepute.

The meeting urged the implementation of conference resolution to urgently convene a Conference to form a united structure of all MK military veterans. In this regard, processes should be initiated to bring the MK Military Veterans' Association (MKMVA) and the MK National Council together towards the convening of the united conference. Members of these structures are urged to desist forthwith from any activities that contribute to social disorder in society, or cause disunity or factionalism in the ANC.



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INTEGRITY COMMISSION AND RELATED MATTERS

The NEC met with members of the ANC Integrity Commission. Both the NEC and Integrity Commission appreciated the opportunity to engage in an open and frank discussion aimed at combating corruption and other forms of unethical behaviour that threaten to undermine the country and the organisation.

The NEC expressed full and unconditional appreciation and support for the Integrity Commission in the execution of its mandate to provide leadership in the combating of unethical conduct, in promoting integrity, honesty and increasing compliance with the Constitution, Rules and Code of Conduct by members of the ANC as well as to protect the ANC from being brought into disrepute.

The NEC agreed that the Commission's mandate is primarily focussed on dealing with ethical matters and defending the reputation and integrity of the ANC, not determining the guilt or innocence of individuals.

The NEC also commended the Commission on the progress with the development of an ANC Ethical Framework, which will be discussed by ANC structures leading up to the National General Council.

The NEC agreed that the work of the Integrity Commission must be supported through appropriate capacitation, regular engagements and expeditious processing of its reports.

The NEC resolved the individual reports of the Integrity Commission dealing with Individual Members should be processed by the officials and the NWC and be dealt with at a Special NEC meeting.

IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS AND GUIDELINES ON STEPPING ASIDE

The NEC reaffirmed the Resolutions of the 54th National Conference on ANC Credibility and Integrity, as well as decisions of NEC meetings on 28-30 August and 6-9 December 2020 on the implementation of these resolutions.

The NEC resolved that these resolutions must be implemented in line with the Guidelines and Procedures adopted by the NEC at its meeting on 13-14 February 2021.

All members who have been charged with corruption or other serious crimes must step aside within 30 days, failing which they should be suspended in terms of Rule 25.70 of the ANC Constitution.

The meeting emphasised that the 30 day period will be to enable the implementation of the decision in line with the guidelines, not to review the decision.

The NEC also agreed that the Provincial Chairpersons and Secretaries would meet with the National Officials during that time to further refine the guidelines to ensure the resolution can be effectively and practically implemented.

The Secretary General's Office will work with the provinces to identify all people affected and inform them of the decision.

The NEC welcomed the decision by the ANC Secretary General Cde Ace Magashule to use this time to seek the counsel of past leaders of the movement.

The NEC called on all ANC members to rally around this decision and not to engage in any acts of indiscipline, including through mobilisation or public statements that undermine implementation of the Conference resolution.

ELECTION OF NWC MEMBER

The NEC elected cde Dr Gwen Ramokgopa to fill the vacancy on the National Working Committee left by cde Nomaindia Mfeketo, following her appointment as an Ambassador.

END

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