



**REPORT OF THE
5TH NATIONAL POLICY
CONFERENCE**

30TH JUNE – 5TH JULY 2017
NASREC EXPO CENTRE, JOHANNESBURG



CONTENT

	Page
1. Foreword by the Secretary General	2
2. Opening Address by the President	3
3. Strategy and Tactics	12
4. Organisational Renewal	16
5. Communications and the Battle of Ideas	26
6. Economic Transformation	33
7. Education, Health, Science and Technology	40
8. Legislature and Governance	44
9. Social Transformation	50
10. Peace and Stability	56
11. International Relations	63
12. Closing Address by the President	69

Foreword

by ANC Secretary General Gwede Mantashe

This National Policy Conference was held six months before the end of the term of the National Executive Committee elected by the 53rd National conference. The intensity of debates reflected the transitional nature of the gathering, with delegates preparing policies for the next collective leadership, but faltered into shaping them in the image of the current one.

The policy debate on economic matters made many to forget that we all have the responsibility to work for unity. We all engaged in shoot outs locked in our positions, not ready to persuade and be persuaded. Is it ideological or positional to fight over the definition of the enemy of the revolution, whether it is monopoly capital or white monopoly capital? We even ignored that monopoly capital include the white ownership within the monopoly capital.

When the Strategy and Tactics was presented a serious attempt was made to make comrades understand that the enemy is monopoly capital, which is the form. The domination by the white section of the population, in terms of ownership and control, as a consequence of apartheid/colonialism, make white monopoly capital to be the content. As a consequence of the agitation to choose between the two concepts, and one having to win the debate, delegates shut their ears. We are hoping that the branches will be engaged openly and candidly and be part of finding solutions. We must all sober up; it is not a beauty contest.

Even when we agreed that land redistribution should accelerate, we engaged in a polemical debate about “expropriation” without compensation. This is correct if qualified as the president did in the closing remarks, and not a blanket position. When we debate the importance of land as a tool for production that can contribute to reduction and ultimately eradicate poverty, we deflect by debating what land can be used for. Debates on land use are important, but as a net food exporter one of our responsibilities is to maintain our ability to produce sufficient food for the nation and continue to export the surplus. This does limit land use to food production but emphasizes it for our purpose. These are but some of the hot debates in the policy conference. We all agreed that whatever we do; a strong organization has no substitute. It is the only vehicle for execution. Our discussions must be anchored in building a strong united organization. The conference nudges us to contribute in weakening and ultimately destroy factions and put our skills and loyalty to the ANC.

We are urging branches in general and individual members in particular to engage with the outcomes of the National Policy Conference. Discuss the documents and ensure that the contributions of the delegates will be of higher standard in December.

Good Luck.

Opening Address

by ANC President Jacob G. Zuma

Comrade Chairperson, Cde Baleka Mbete
Deputy President, Cde Cyril Ramaphosa,
National Officials of the ANC,
Members of the National Executive Committee,
Leadership of the Leagues of the ANC,
Leadership of the SACP, COSATU and SANCO,
Leadership of MKMVA
Stalwarts and Veterans of our Movement,
Leadership of all structures of the Mass Democratic
Movement, Traditional, Religious and Business leaders,
Esteemed delegates from all ANC Structures, especially
the branches
International guests,
Comrades and friends,
Fellow South Africans,

We convey warm greetings to all of you at 5th National
Policy Conference of the African National congress.

Over the next few days we shall scrutinise the health of
the organisation in pursuit of organisational renewal,
and also discuss our policy proposals for the country
ahead of the national conference in December.

Our discussions must be informed by unity, which is
the rock upon which the ANC was founded. We were
taught this by the founding leaders of the movement.

In 1911 when he announced the founding conference
of the ANC, Pixley ka Isaka Seme made an appeal for
unity, stating that the:

*“The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo
feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the
Tongaas, between the Basutos and every other Native must be
buried and forgotten; it has shed among us sufficient blood! We
are one people.*

*“These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes
and of all our backwardness and ignorance to-day”.*

Unity must be the thread that keeps this movement and
our country together.

Comrades and compatriots,
The policy conference takes place during a difficult
period economically in our country. The economy has
entered into a technical recession. At the time of the
Budget in February, the economy was expected to grow
at a low 1.3 per cent in 2017.

Given the current difficulties, even this low grow rate
may now not be achieved.

Our deliberations in this conference on the economy
will need to look at what needs to be done to reignite
growth over the next five years.

This conference also takes place against the background
of good progress that has been made in the country in
the past 23 years in consolidating democracy and also in
expanding access to a better life.

We have over the past two decades developed a
functional democratic State, with an executive,
parliament and judiciary that continue to execute their
tasks, informed by the Constitution, serving the people
of our country.

The ANC affirms the independence of the judiciary
and the rule of law and we promote respect for our
courts as final arbiters in disputes in society.

Our constitutional democracy is also characterised
by freedom of the media which is enshrined in the
Constitution. The ANC promotes the rights of
journalists to work freely, safely and without hindrance
in our country. We also promote media independence
from various interests, professionalism as well as
balanced and accurate reporting at all times.

The ANC government has worked consistently to expand basic services that improve the quality of life to the poor and the working class. These include improved education and health care, housing for the poor, electricity, water and infrastructure in areas that were neglected by the previous apartheid regimes.

Social security has been expanded to reach 18 million people made up of vulnerable children including orphans under the age of eighteen, senior citizens, persons living with disability and military veterans.

This has contributed immensely to the alleviation of extreme poverty.

This is in addition to other social security covers like unemployment insurance, compensation for injury or duty and road accident cover. These have also been made accessible to all our people.

The ANC has increased access to economic opportunities for black people who were excluded before through various economic programmes.

The ANC prides itself on the growth of the black middle class through its policies and programmes, including affirmative action and broad based black economic empowerment. These need to be broadened to reach even more people in the next five years.

The huge expansion of basic services has been achieved in spite of an economy that had been gutted by the Apartheid system.

Much more still needs to be done to reach more communities who are still waiting for services across the country.

Conference will thus need to reflect on the pace and quality of the implementation of ANC programmes and how this can be improved further to improve the lives of more people in our country, as we reverse the legacy of apartheid colonialism.

Comrades and compatriots,
The ANC is a national liberation movement which is now in government.

The movement has also faced several challenges over the past few years in the changing terrain of struggle, which have impacted on the character of the organisation.

There has been a development of some very negative tendencies which have caused frustration and disillusionment amongst the membership and

population at large.

This policy conference is called upon to seriously look into these developments and emerge with recommendations that will help redirect the movement to its core business and its core mission and character.

In doing so we must draw on lessons from the past 100 years, with regards to how the ANC has survived to become the oldest liberation movement in the continent.

The ANC survived for a century because of amongst others the following traits:

- Its deep roots and connection with the people;
- Its vibrant internal democracy and collective leadership;
- Its readiness and willingness of its members to make sacrifices in pursuit of the cause of the people as a whole;
- Its readiness to acknowledge its weaknesses and decisively address them in order to escalate and accelerate the people's struggle;
- Its ability to adapt to changing conditions and rise to the occasion at critical moments; and
- Its 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.

Importantly, the ANC has succeeded over the past decades due to its capacity to mobilise other sectors such as business, the faith-based community, non-governmental organisations, community organisations, the sports fraternity, students, traditional leaders, the international community and the intelligentsia amongst others behind the programme of transformation.

We need to restore these traits as they have made the ANC a parliament of the people.

It is not the first time that we discuss organisational renewal. We do it ahead of every national conference of our movement. However, at this conference, we must be solutions-based.

We will discuss the health of the organisation not just for the sake of it, but because our country needs a united, strong, focused and cohesive ANC. The ANC belongs to the people of South Africa, and we must fix it so that it can continue improving the lives of our people.

Ahead of the discussions, we need to remind ourselves of the objectives and mission of the movement.

The ANC is guided by the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.

As outlined in our Strategy and Tactics document, the main content of the NDR *“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”*.

The NDR seeks to resolve the main and interrelated contradictions of national oppression based on race, class especially the exploitation of black workers, and the triple oppression of women.

The ANC also remains committed to the objective of the NDR of uniting South Africans in building a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

The non-racial character of the movement has indeed always been one of the defining features of the ANC.

The ANC also remains a multi-class organisation, with abias towards the working class and the poor.

The ANC also seeks to retain and strengthen its position as the strategic centre of power, the leader of the Alliance, a disciplined force of the left, a mass movement and an internationalist movement with an anti-imperialist outlook.

Importantly, our discussions should be geared towards restoring the core values and principles of our movement.

These are unity, selflessness, sacrifice, collective leadership, humility, honesty, discipline, hard work, internal debates, constructive criticism and self-criticism and mutual respect.

This is the ANC that our people know and love.

We know too, that despite the challenges it faces currently, the ANC still represents the hopes, dreams and aspirations of millions of our people. Our people want the ANC to resolve its difficulties and continue with its mission of transforming South Africa and building a better life for all.

To restore and maintain its character the ANC needs

to cleanse itself of the negative tendencies which have crept in over the years.

These tendencies, which have been outlined before, include patronage, corruption, social distance, factionalism, abuse of power and membership system anomalies such as the reported manipulation of the membership data, gate keeping and bulk buying of membership.

Factionalism is a cancer that must be rooted out of the ANC.

It has caused splits from the ANC which has negatively affected us both quantitatively and qualitatively. Slate politics, another manifestation of factionalism, has cost us many good and capable comrades in whom our movement has invested significantly.

We also need to look at the issue of ill-discipline in various forms, including public utterances attacking the movement by ANC leaders and members instead of handling matters within the organization and finding constructive solutions.

Some members and leaders of the ANC have become primary conveyors of negative information about their own movement.

The challenge for the country is that this irresponsible perpetual negative messaging by our own people has a negative impact on the economy. We need to discuss how we can balance our valued trait of self-criticism with the need to protect the ANC and provide it with the space to resolve problems in a more organized manner.

We also need to be able to differentiate between self-criticism and the furtherance of certain interests and agendas.

Comrades,

Our movement suffered a serious setback in the August 3, 2016 local government elections and experienced a decline of about eight percent of the national vote.

Our discussions here will reflect on these elections for lessons to be drawn and solutions to be found.

We lost control of some key metropolitan municipalities including Johannesburg, Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay.

In Ekurhuleni we managed to form a coalition to retain control of the Council.

Opposition parties formed coalitions to wrest control from our party. Part of the focus on renewal is aimed at enabling the ANC to regain that lost ground.

The good news is that this week we managed to win Mogale City back as the ANC.

Since the announcement of the election results, members and supporters of the ANC have, out of pain and genuine concern, been engaged in varying degrees in robust discussions about what has gone wrong with their beloved movement, and how we lost the metros.

The National Executive Committee meeting in the immediate aftermath of the announcement of the results attributed our loss of support to perceptions in society that we are soft on corruption, we are self-serving and that the ANC is arrogant. These are based on research findings we had undertaken before the elections, which proved to be correct.

We also visit many parts of the country and people tell us what the problems are. They do complain about ANC leaders and deployees who fail to make time to talk to them and listen to their problems.

This does not apply to all deployees or government officials but one dismissive and arrogant ANC leader or official implementing ANC policies is one too many. The NEC has also referred to social restlessness, which manifests itself through the increasing number of community protest actions and what appears to be a growing tendency for these to turn violent.

However we do not condone violent protests as people can make their voices heard in a peaceful manner, protected by the Constitution.

In fact, the view of the ANC is that damage to state property in particular, must be categorised as a serious offence punishable by a long-term sentence. However, we should take these protests seriously as part of the diagnosis of what has gone wrong. Why do people now communicate with us through protests?

This conference must diagnose the real problems that led to the decline in electoral support, and propose effective remedial action.

We must not be emotional in our discussions about what caused our electoral loss. We must be open minded and use the facts before us combined with our revolutionary theory as the framework for analysis and interpretation.

Importantly, we must also be prepared to discuss the South African political economy as the overall context under which our electoral support has declined.

In addition to the weak capacity of the state and internal organisational problems, the unfavourable global economic environment has put a strain on our own economic development and potential for job creation which causes frustration.

As stated by Amilcar Cabral once, people want a better life. He said; *“Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone’s head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward and to guarantee the future of their children.”*

Comrades

We must unite around promoting integrity and curbing possible abuse of power and corruption among ANC members.

In this regard, it is critical for us to discuss the impact on the organization, of the ANC being in government and our cadres having access to state power and resources.

The access to state power and resources has led to perceptions and allegations that the ANC is a corrupt organization, given allegations of wrongdoing in certain cases with regards to state tenders.

The failure to respond adequately and timeously to allegations and the length of time that it takes for investigations to be concluded, cause immense damage to the image of government and the ANC.

There is also talk in the country currently about the capture of the state or government in the main, by business interests.

We support the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry to look into the matter.

At a political level, this debate requires a thoroughgoing analysis of the South African political economy so that we can understand what is meant by the State Capture. We need to know which business interests have sought to influence the ANC and its government over the years, with what impact, and what must be done to end the said capture.

Such discussion is important because the ANC as the leader of society must be at the forefront of fighting corruption both in the public and private sector.

We have introduced important pieces of legislation and have created very powerful institutions specifically to deal with corruption.

At the last Conference in Mangaung in 2012 we established the Integrity Committee as an internal mechanism. This Policy Conference will have occasion to review the efficacy of this measure based on the experience of the past five years or so.

Comrades,
We also need to assess if our problems lie with the manner in which ANC leadership is selected.

The most significant contribution that the ANC has given to our country over many years is tried and tested leaders who inspire confidence and trust among the masses of our people.

The ANC produced Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Helen Joseph, Yusuf Dadoo, Lillian Ngoyi and many others.

The leadership election processes must be democratic and free from manipulation and external influences. In this way we can protect the movement from abuse. We must therefore ensure that leaders are selected in line with the requirements outlined in our blueprint, *Through the Eye of the Needle*.

Political education also remains paramount for both new and existing members.

Without schooling members in the traditions of the ANC, we cannot criticize them when they make mistakes.

This is all important as we head towards our elective conference in December.

Comrades,
The renewal of the organization also relates to the functioning of our Leagues and other structures, and also strengthening the Tripartite Alliance.

The Alliance was formed out of struggle and out of a shared vision as articulated in the Freedom Charter. It is based on the understanding that each Alliance component enjoys political independence from the others.

Our discussions about the renewal of the ANC must reflect on the relationship with the Alliance partners and how this can be strengthened so that it continues its role of advancing the goals of the NDR.

The unity of the Alliance is sacrosanct and must be protected at all times. It must not be undermined by sectarian agendas and personal hatred.

Comrades and compatriots,
Organizational renewal discussions must also include the role of women in the ANC and society, and what else the ANC must do to advance the vision of a non-sexist society and gender equality. A lot of progress has already been made in advancing the status of women, and the ANC Women's League has played a key role in this regard. We need to reflect on what else needs to be done to promote gender equality.

Comrades,
There is clearly a need for a strong Veterans League and uMkhonto Wesizwe Military Veterans Association, in order to provide a platform for more veterans and stalwarts to participate in the work and life of the organisation.

Comrades
The South African population is becoming increasingly youthful.

These young people have very little to no real experience of the brutality of apartheid. The ANC needs to adapt and become responsive to the needs of our youth today. It must talk to their interests, from access to education, jobs, the need to reduce data costs, entrepreneurship to general social issues of concern to them.

One of the key issues affecting our youth is funding for higher education and jobs.

The Freedom Charter emphasises that: *“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.”*

The Constitution takes forward this promise, declaring that: *“Everyone has the right (a) to a basic education, including adult basic education; and (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.”*

In 2007, the ANC Policy conference resolved that *“free higher education for the poor up to undergraduate level”* must be progressively implemented and this was reiterated at the Mangaung policy conference.

The funds allocated to the National Students Financial Aid Scheme for loans and bursaries to students at public

universities and Technical and Vocational Education and Training colleges have increased substantially from more than two billion rand in 2009 to more than twelve billion rand in 2017.

This policy conference will provide for robust discussion of the possibilities for providing quality affordable higher education to as many South Africans as possible and free education for the poor.

This policy conference comes at an opportune time as we eagerly await the report of the Presidential Commission into the feasibility of fee-free higher education and training.

The deadline for the Commission to complete its work is today, 30 June 2017 and we await the report.

Comrades and friends

I would now like to reflect briefly on some of the policy imperatives before conference this week.

We recall the instructive words of our President OR Tambo whose centenary we will be celebrating in October this year. He said:

“Comrades, you might think it is very difficult to wage a liberation struggle. Wait until you are in power. I might be dead by then.

At that stage you will realize that it is actually more difficult to keep the power than to wage a liberation war.

People will be expecting a lot of services from you. You will have to satisfy the various demands of the masses of our people”.

Indeed OR was so right! We have a duty to sharpen our policies and ensure their effective implementation in order to meet the needs of our people and push back poverty, inequality and unemployment.

While all our programmes are important, the economy remains our apex priority.

Over the last seven years the ANC placed the creation of decent jobs through inclusive growth as a key strategic outcome. We adopted the National Development Plan as a broad framework to achieve this and other strategic outcomes.

The National Development Plan (NDP) and the Nine Point Plan to reignite growth remain relevant towards achieving radical economic transformation.

However, some extra-ordinary measures are necessary to move the NDP forward faster.

At the last national conference in Mangaung, we resolved to embark on the Second More Radical Phase of Transition to a National Democratic Society.

We said that this phase would be characterised by more radical policies and decisive action in order to achieve socio-economic and continued democratic transformation.

Radical socio-economic transformation, as defined by the ANC NEC in January this year, refers to a fundamental change in the structure, systems, institutions and patterns of ownership and control of the economy in favour of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female. Its components include the creation of jobs, accelerating shared and inclusive growth, transforming the structure of production and ownership of the means of production and enabling the talents and productive potential of our people to flourish.

The instruments that government must use to advance radical socio-economic transformation have also been identified.

These are the Constitution, legislation and regulations, licensing, Broad based black economic empowerment and transformation charters, the national budget and procurement, State Owned Companies and Development Finance Institutions, as well as government programmes.

Conference will discuss a number of interventions needed to advance radical socio-economic transformation.

Some of the measures must include accelerated land redistribution, land reform and huge support for agriculture and agro-processing on a large scale. Landin particular remains one of the most contentious and emotive issues in our society.

The pace of land restoration and redistribution remains a sore point for millions of our people who were shunted to a small portion often of the lowest quality of land and even denied the right to purchase land in areas that were reserved for a minority of citizens.

We believe it is possible to find radical solutions to land hunger, working within the ambit of the law and the Constitution.

We also need to discuss ways of sustaining commercial agriculture and to increase agricultural contribution to the Gross Domestic Product.

We need to pursue industrialization strategies, instead of depending on export of natural resources or raw materials, with declining commodity prices.

We must increase investment into infrastructure projects, prioritise townships and rural areas and provide generous subsidies to black industrialists and entrepreneurs to build new factories and businesses.

We also need to consider the transformation and de-racialisation of the highly concentrated financial sector in the interest of vast majority of the country.

The licensing of Post Bank is also important, and to give it capacity so that it can distribute social grants.

Government must drive local procurement and supplier development and ensure that black owned companies benefit from government procurement.

The mining licence regime and charter must be utilised to facilitate BBEEE, local procurement, the development of black industrialists and SMMEs.

These are all programmes that we must use to drive economic transformation.

The State-Owned Enterprises are a strategic instrument for the developmental state.

But as experience indicates we have to get them to the right level of performance and governance for them to achieve their mission.

The improvement of governance at these SOEs is of utmost importance. Challenges in SOEs such as the SABC, SAA and Eskom have been a subject of public debates and finding solutions is critical for the ANC.

Building partnerships with business is also important for the country to achieve much needed growth. Government will need to proactively engage all sectors of business to encourage their participation in industrial expansion, economic growth and job creation.

Other key programmes forming part of the radical socio-economic transformation programme include National Health Insurance and the Comprehensive Social Security.

The transformation programme also talks to the eradication of social ills including violence against women and children.

The ANC government has made the killings of women a priority crime and the police have been directed to treat such cases with seriousness and urgency.

Also key is the need to eradicate the abuse of drugs and substance abuse which are tearing communities apart, from the Cape Flats to Umlazi, Soshanguve or Eldorado Park.

We reiterate the call for the ANC branches to establish street committees to support the police in dealing with this problem.

The ANC government has also begun to take a visible and aggressive stance against crime generally in our communities and to ensure that criminal gangs are put behind bars where they belong. Our communities should not be made to co-exist with criminals.

All these programmes and others require the existence of a capable state. The public service must be professionalised and Government will need to teach public servants the philosophy and ethics of the developmental state and also of caring for citizens and being responsive to their needs.

Government must also develop capacity to communicate better with citizens.

The capacity to monitor and evaluate government programmes and planning ahead is also critical.

Comrades,
The delegates here come from the branches of the ANC. You know best the conditions in which the people live. You know better than anyone else if the most pressing need is for a clinic or a school.

That is why branches determine the policy of the ANC.
Amandla asemasebeni.

What we are here for is ultimately to find a common understanding on how best to address those needs in the shortest and most satisfactory manner.

Comrades and friends,
Conference will also need to look at the balance of forces and the resistance to socio-economic transformation that will continue to hinder the implementation of our policies and programmes.

Such resistance comes in different forms. The ANC will continue to experience resistance to its progressive policies relating to employment equity, broad-based black economic empowerment, labour market regulation and land reform.

The use of the courts to oppose our policies and programmes will also continue and is something we need to reflect on at this conference. At the same time, it should concern us that the ANC-led Government should have to be directed by the court to implement its own policies better.

We should improve our capacity to implement our programmes without the courts having to direct us to do so.

In parliament we have politics of spectacle and grandstanding, drama and manipulation.

We have to ask ourselves whether we have honed the skills to manage this and the growing attempts to draw a wedge between the executive and the parliamentary caucus of the governing party.

Another form of resistance takes the form of traditional lobbying where vested economic interests seek to derail transformational policies through different forms of persuasion.

We should also be alive to the dynamics globally and the changing balance of forces.

All our positions in the global village must first and foremost serve the national interest.

By definition the national democratic revolution is an internationalist project.

Our revolution is an integral part of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement for a new world order.

Africa is part of us as we are part of Africa first and foremost. Our struggle is inextricably linked with the struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism on our continent.

Our pan-African and internationalist position informs our support for the struggles of the people of Western Sahara and Palestine for self-determination.

It informs our solidarity with the people of Cuba and against the economic embargo on this revolutionary nation by the US, and our demands for institutional reform of the United Nations.

We remain steadfast in our demand for the representation of Africa among the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Comrades will recall the ANC decision for the country to withdraw from the International Criminal Court and subsequent government action to effect this decision.

The government has begun to rectify the procedural challenges that have arisen.

We have also taken note of the latest reluctance of other member states to withdraw en bloc.

The current Government position is that the decision to withdraw was a principle matter and the principle still stands.

As already indicated the ANC is part of the global anti-imperialist movement.

We are historically connected with the countries of the South and therefore South-South cooperation such as BRICS is primary for our movement.

At the same time we are historically connected with the countries of the north with whom we have strong economic ties.

Comrades we also need to reflect on other developments in the global environment such as the resurgence of neo-conservatism.

This manifests itself in the victory of centre-right parties in elections in some of the advanced societies. Other manifestations include the unilateralism on trade and diplomatic issues, and a retreat to protectionist trade policies.

We must reflect on all these positions in the next few days as we discuss our international relations policy.

Comrades,
As we begin this very important dialogue on organizational renewal, let us be reminded of the words of Isithwalandwe Walter Sisulu who said:

“It is a law of life that problems arise when conditions are there for their solution.”

The ANC is one hundred and five years old because it has always been able to rise to the occasion to deal decisively with problems that threatened its very existence.

When we say the ANC can self-correct we mean that when the challenges are daunting, its cadres are able to go back to what brought them together in the first place.

Let us find what brought us together, and find solutions to the challenges facing the movement and our country.

Let us not be defeatist in our discussions. Solutions can be found, and must be found to the challenges facing our movement.

The ANC must and will emerge from this policy conference stronger.

Concluding his political report to the 1991 National Conference, President Oliver Tambo made the following remarks:

“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.

“Even in bleak moments, we were never in doubt regarding the winning of freedom. We have never been in doubt that the people’s cause shall triumph.”

We honour our forebears and our martyrs today and in their memory, let us make this 5th National Policy Conference a success.

I thank you.

Amandla!

Matla!

All Power!

Strategy and Tactics

Integrated report of Commissions on Strategy and Tactics

INTRODUCTION

1. This is an integrated report of the discussions on the Strategy and Tactics document in the 11 Commissions of the 5th National Policy Conference. It should be noted that before the Conference, the documents were discussed in branches, regions and provinces, in the Leagues and the Alliance and written comments on the draft were submitted. While many of these were articulated in the Commissions, the NEC Political Education Subcommittee will process all the submissions, along with comments from other interactions.
2. Amendments arising from these discussions will be forwarded to the branches for further processing and final consideration at the 54th National Conference in December 2017.
3. It is the view of the Commissions that the discussions were both thorough-going and incisive, again confirming both the interest and capacity of cadres of the ANC and the broad liberation movement to engage fundamental issues facing the country and the forces of fundamental change.
4. This report reflects the major issues canvassed in the various Commissions; and the detailed Commission Reports will be processed along with all other relevant documentation.

MAJOR CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

5. **Characterisation of the major tasks and title of the document:** It is agreed that the fundamental task of the current moment is to enhance the ANC's integrity for it to lead society in intensified action towards a national democratic society. There was some debate as to whether such responsibility should be characterised as

“enhancing” or “restoring” organisational integrity. Arising from reflections across the Commissions, there is sufficient consensus that our challenge is not to restore a situation that prevailed during some previous glorious era; but to address these organisational challenges in a changed and changing environment. In this context, the title of the document is broadly accepted as appropriate.

6. With regard to the **strategic goals of the ANC and the National Democratic Society** we seek to build, the draft document correctly characterises such a society, informed primarily by the conceptualisation agreed to at the 52nd National Conference in 2007. For purposes of illustration, this is summarised as a combination of the best attributes of a developmental state and social democracy – reflecting both a desire to embark on a much higher trajectory of economic growth and to ensure redistribution of wealth in favour of the working people, including women.
7. It was felt, though, that while the concept of social democracy implies a democratic system of government, it is necessary for emphasis to underline that the state we seek to create is a **capable, democratic developmental state**, with attributes as described in the draft, including strategic orientation, popular legitimacy, as well as organisational and technical capacity. At the same time, some of the best attributes of social democracy include: a system that places the needs of the poor and a social safety net at the top of the agenda; and intense role of the state in economic life.
8. There was much debate on the concept of **monopoly capital and its manifestation in the South Africa setting**. Along with monopoly

capitalism and monopolies, ‘monopoly capital’ is a concept of general and political economics to describe manifestations of capitalism at a certain stage of development, as well as the levels of centralisation and concentration of capital, and the conduct of dominant entities in a variety of national and global settings. Commissions agreed that the approach of the ANC towards monopoly capital in particular and capital in general is accurately captured in the 2007 Strategy and Tactics document, as one of ‘unity and struggle, co-operation and contestation.’ It was felt, however, that these formulations need to be further tightened taking into account the following observations:

- 8.1. In the current phase of globalisation, we need to recognise the growth and dominance of multi-national corporations that are monopolistic, often with control and ownership over the entire value chain in their sector.
- 8.2. There are many sectors of the South African economy that are dominated by monopolies, both local and foreign, the appalling conduct and deleterious effects of which have, among others, been exposed through investigations of the Competition Commission.
- 8.3. We should avoid conflating the concept of monopoly capital with the inescapable reality of white dominance in the economy in terms of assets, income, management and the professions.
- 8.4. Monopoly capital in South Africa historically and even today is overwhelmingly white and male, as part of deliberate policies of colonialism, apartheid and patriarchy, and their legacies. White monopoly capital has close links (with regard both to ownership and control) to global multi-national corporations, and post-1994, some of the monopoly companies have been allowed to have primary listings in the UK and US.
- 8.5. Our attitude to monopoly capital applies across the board, irrespective of the colour of the owners of such capital, including institutional and other entities.
- 8.6. We should more clearly elaborate on the interventions required to build an economy with high levels of competition, and to discipline monopolies, including the strengthening of competition authorities and enhanced activism on their part; regulation;

deliberate and effective industrial policy that facilitates and promotes new entrants and medium, small and micro-enterprises; greater competition in all sectors through licensing, incentives and other means; interventions in value chains; state procurement and so on. These policies and programmes must also help stem illicit financial flows.

While these broad sentiments will guide drafting processes going forward, it is recommended that the ETC be tasked, leading to the national conference, to prepare a report on the control and ownership and impact of monopolies sector by sector across the South African Economy.

BALANCE OF FORCES

9. All the Commissions were in agreement that the **balance of forces** has reflected ebbs and flows since the attainment of democracy. Today, because of a variety of objective conditions and subjective factors, the balance of forces is not much in the liberation movement’s favour. The thrust of the Strategy and Tactics document and recommendations from the Policy Conference as such are meant to identify the actions required to tilt this balance in favour of faster social transformation. It is necessary, the delegates further concluded, that we should continually sharpen our reading of the balance of forces, the better to take advantage of positive circumstances and to prevent or minimise the impact of unfavourable ones.
10. There was much debate in many of the Commissions on the **characterisation of South African society as it exists today**. The draft Strategy and Tactics document, having assessed the South African political economy, posits – for purposes of debate – the notions of ‘neo-colonialism of a special type’ and ‘racial capitalism’. Most of the Commissions felt that, while there may be an element of truth in these characterisations, they do not accurately capture the entirety of the current conjuncture.
11. Firstly, the notion of ‘racial capitalism’ has historical connotations and some international usages that may muddy the conceptual waters. Secondly, while particularly the socio-economic legacy of apartheid colonialism largely persists, the efforts by the democratic government to change this reality and the aspirations it pursues, defy a description of a congealed ‘neo-colonial’ state of affairs. It is proposed that the notion of ‘neo-colonialism of a special type’ should be applied as

a warning of where our society may end up if the programmes of social change are not pursued with efficiency and speed.

12. The section dealing with the global balance of forces needs to be improved taking into account the following:
 - 12.1. A more detailed assessment of dynamics on the African continent
 - 12.2. Strengthening of the global analysis on geopolitics, economic and trade dynamics, multilateralism and so on.

MOTIVE FORCES AND CHARACTER OF THE ANC

Motive forces

13. The characterisation of the motive forces was accepted by all the Commissions, including the fact that, in identifying these, it is correct to refer to the fact that they stand to benefit from the cause of social transformation. However, it was agreed that the issue of their tasks, mobilisation and active participation in the programme of change deserves greater emphasis.
14. The phenomenon of stubbornly high rates of unemployment, especially among the youth, has spawned a growing section of society that is susceptible to both extreme right- and left-wing populist mobilisation.
15. It was felt that the formulations on youth as part of the motive forces needs to be strengthened and there should be clarity that reference to their role as a lightning rod relates to their capacity to initiate positive disruptive change.
16. In dealing with the rural poor, the Strategy and Tactics document needs to highlight the special position occupied by rural women, who in large measure are the pillars of these communities, and who suffer extreme privations due, among others, to the migrant labour system and patriarchal practices.
17. There was a debate in one of the Commissions on whether traditional leaders should be identified as a specific motive force of the National Democratic Revolution. This, however, was seen as inappropriate due to the fact that they constitute a category of leaders, who cannot as such be characterised as a social stratum.

Enhancing the character, integrity and role of the ANC

18. The characterisation of the ANC and the challenges it currently faces were confirmed by all the Commissions. Two issues were identified for consideration:
 - 18.1. There should be brief reference to the attitude and approach that the ANC should adopt towards the emergent left and civil society formations in South Africa.
 - 18.2. Reference to the difficulties experienced by COSATU should include the roles played by both the SACP and the ANC in this regard.
 - 18.3. The ANC must strengthen the campaign by COSATU and others for one industry, one union and one country, one federation.
19. We must include in the section dealing with the Character of the ANC, the fact that it 'also contests elections and draws its electoral support from all sections of South African society.' In a system of multi-party democracy, the ANC must therefore not only build capacity for governance (policies, cadreship, etc), but also develop strategies for coalition politics and being an opposition.

PILLARS OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The state

20. Besides the observations on the concept of a developmental state, the characterisation in the draft was embraced by all the Commissions. It was also underlined that the state is a contested terrain, with all classes and strata seeking to influence its decisions and actions.
21. There was emphasis on the fact that, all the efforts we seek to undertake to change South African society, require an effective state, both technically and in terms of its orientation. In other words, continuing transformation and strengthening of the state machinery, including State-owned Enterprises, is fundamental to speeding up the implementation of programmes of social change in the context of the second phase of radical socio-economic transformation.
22. All Commissions concurred that strengthening the ethical fibre of the state is critical not only to ensure its effectiveness; but also, to enhance its legitimacy in the eyes of society. This requires us to continually build and institutionalise the integrity, transparency, accountability and responsiveness of

the state machinery. In this regard, while the state should be embedded among all sectors of society, it should act autonomously in taking decisions and implementing them. Any form of state capture, by any segment of society, should therefore be condemned and combated.

The economy

23. The Commissions emphasised that radical social and economic transformation entails social and economic change that straddles all elements of economic activity, and consistently improves the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor. In this regard, radical economic transformation is more than just the various elements of broad-based black economic empowerment; and should address such issues as changing the structure of the economy, dealing with spatial disadvantages suffered by the poor, worker share-ownership, patriarchal relations and so on. Such transformation is therefore not aimed at benefiting a small elite.
24. This requires a strong and effective state that gives leadership to economic development, and one that is able to build partnerships and forge a social compact among all the major players in the economy and society.

Ideological struggle and battle of ideas

25. 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. 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.
26. The Commissions concurred with the document on promoting social cohesion and a new value system.
27. In the context of this discussion, it was felt that, in addition to pursuing a non-racial society, attention should also be drawn to the need to strengthen the unity of Black people in general and Africans in particular. This is a critical foundation to unity of the South African people as a whole. As such, reference should be made to the need to fight any manifestations of ethnic chauvinism and divisions.
28. There was also a debate in one of the Commissions on whether the ANC does have an ideology, in as

much as we do refer to 'ideological struggle' as one of the pillars of social transformation. It was agreed that, defined broadly as a system of ideas, ideals and values which also inform economic and political theory and policy the ANC does indeed have 'an ideology' based on the aspiration to create a democratic, just and equitable society.

SUNDRY ISSUES

29. Appreciation was expressed of the attempt in the draft to use language that would be understood by broader society, rather than just members of the ANC and its allies. This should be coupled with some vigilance so we do not create ambiguities in the articulation of our positions.
30. It was also emphasised that ANC members should take part in public discourse informed by these strategic and tactical perspectives.

CONCLUSION

In the words of the draft Strategy and Tactics document:

"The ANC commits to renew itself and contribute even more decisively to [unlock movement to higher forms of human civilisation]. Its confidence in this regard derives from the appreciation that most South Africans aspire to a humane society; and are prepared to act in its realisation.

The journey may be long; and the effort required much greater. But the struggle continues, and victory is certain!"

Organisational Renewal

INTRODUCTION

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 challenges, 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:
 - (a) To represent, organise and mobilise communities and the motive forces and win their support and elections.
 - (b) To win and use state power to achieve our goals and better the lives of the people.
 - (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 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 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.
15. Resolutions from the 53rd Conference and the 4th NGC are therefore still relevant and need to be implemented with urgency.

5th NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS

The 5th National Policy Conference made additional proposals that need to be debated and then turned into recommendations for the 54th ANC Conference. We adopt this approach to avoid reinventing the wheel and contradicting earlier decisions that have not been rejected or amended.

PART A: Strengthen Organisational capacity and structures

16. THE WORK OF THE 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.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The external role of branches working in the community must be reinforced and supported, through the following:

1. All branches should have sub-committees that focus on sectors, community issues and campaigns.
2. The ANC should 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 (*see constitutional proposals*).
4. Sub-regions/zones should 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.

17. ON SUB-BRANCHES OR UNITS

NPC Recommends:

1. Implement sub-branches and units 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 reps 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

18. 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.

RECOMMENDING

1. An electronic automated membership system that can be joined through sms and internet and renewed in the same way. The membership list should be on the cloud and available to any executive member.
2. Any Audit that needs to be done must be done in the presence of branch executive representatives.
3. Members should have a 3 months probation period and membership should be for two years.
4. Membership and supporters should be accommodated in different categories:

OPTION 1

- Supporters who are not members but get supporters card
- Active members who have full rights and are developed as Cadres

OPTION 2

Two categories of membership:

- Support Member who is member but not needed for quorum and has no vote at policy or leadership selection, cannot be delegate, but kept informed and invited to all branch events.
- Active Member must attend meetings, counted for quorum.

5. Every branch should have a recruitment strategy to target all sectors of society and different motive forces.

19. 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 ANCs cadre development programme.
- The need to effectively engage in the battle of ideas.

RECOMMENDING

1. That NEC, PEC, REC all need to develop an annual strategic plan with a funded budget to effect 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.

20. 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.

RECOMMENDING:

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.
2. All BECs must be inducted with the BEC induction programme.
3. Both these Induction courses should also be available online.
4. All REC, PEC and NEC members must attend an induction course as soon as they assume office.
5. All councilors must be inducted for at least three days in the ANC approach to local government as well as the work we expect from councillors.

6. 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.
7. All leaders and candidates for deployment to government must ensure that they build their skills and qualifications to enhance their capacity
8. The ANC should develop a real and virtual discussion forum on topical issues to help inform our structures of positions on current debates
9. Our communication to branches should be improved and include more topical political and news analysis
10. 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.

21. 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.

RECOMMENDING

1. Building a professional and permanent election capacity at national and provincial level.
2. Building on the ANC national cloud data base and supporting this work from regional and sub-regional level. Use the cloud to also track campaign

- work and municipal service delivery programme 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.

22. 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.

NPC RECOMMENDS

1. The leadership must engage in a humble and listening way with our allies and find constructive ways of resolving current differences.
2. Base our Alliance on a clear and simple minimum platform with a programme of action that is implemented and monitored.
3. Avoid conflict and public spats through ongoing communication and cooperation and unity in action.
4. 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.

23. ON SECTORAL WORK

- a) 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.
- b) 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.

- c) The Youth League and SASCO must work together on campuses, and especially when contesting elections. The view was expressed that when SASCO fields candidates for elections, the YL should not, so that we don't split the progressive votes and thus lose SRC elections on key campuses.
- d) 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.

24. 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.

RECOMMENDING

1. That the Policy Institute be set up as a matter of urgency as in previous conference resolutions.
2. That the PI is given the capacity and the resources needed to drive research, policy development, coordination of NEC Policy sub-committees, and monitoring and evaluation (with the SGO).
3. That the PI works closely with political education to school our employees 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.

25. 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 councilors.
- 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.

RECOMMENDING

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 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.

26. 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.

RECOMMENDING

1. In metros the REC governance committee directs and coordinates work in government and organisation in the metro area
2. Outside metros, sub-regions coordinate work in municipal area
3. Sub-regions and municipalities:
 - OPTION 1:**
 - Status quo with Regional governance committee and secretary playing stronger role

in monitoring and directing ANC in local government

OPTION 2:

- Same powers as before, but 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.
2. Election and campaign coordinator in every province.

27. PROCESS FOR ELECTIONS OF ANC LEADERS

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.

RECOMMENDING

1. That we set up an Electoral commission, to set the rules and procedures for elections, deal with disputes, screen candidates, order lifestyle audits

if needed, and oversee the management of the nomination and election process.

2. This EC should be elected by the NEC and report to the NEC, and should be made up of comrades with no direct interest or conflict of interest in leadership positions.
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. Commissions proposed the reform of our system of elections:

OPTION 1:

- Stay with the current system, which is an electoral college where branch delegates vote on behalf of members at Conferences

OPTION 2:

- Consider a direct membership vote in NEC, PEC, REC and BEC elections, giving every ANC member in good standing a vote in an open election before conference or at a BAGM. Conference will then focus only on policies and programmes and holding leadership accountable.

OPTION 3:

- Use branch nominations as the basis for drawing up a list of officials and NEC members with the most support and allow conference to only change a limited percentage of the nominees that receive most branch support.
6. We should strive to remove leaders from the election administration process.
 7. Nominations and elections should result in better representation for the motive forces and we should consider ways of achieving this.
 8. A restriction should be placed on the percentage of leaders who can be in government as well as in ANC leadership.
 9. Youth League proposes a 40% quota in all leadership positions to be reserved for youth (supported by some and opposed by others).
 10. That the process towards the elections at the 54th National conference is run with a more democratic

and transparent system for nomination and election, that introduces the proposed practices and that is developed by the appointed ANC Electoral Commission for the 2017 Conference.

28. RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE NEC

Number of NEC Members and fulltime NEC members

1. Lower the number of NEC members to 40, 50 or 60, 80.
2. Only 65% in government, taking into account available resources.
3. Expand the officials (to become a secretariat) with five full time additional members from chairs of sub coms (political education, communications, organizing, elections, policy) should be directly elected:

On Officials

OPTION 1:

- 3 Deputy Secretaries General (campaigns, membership, cadre development and discipline inspection, battle ideas).
- 2 Deputy Presidents (one for national planning monitoring and evaluation, and in ANC and International in ANC OR one for organizational and one for governance) One of the two DPs should be full time at HQ.

OPTION 2:

- 2 DSGs (one for governance and one for organization)

On the NWC

- 50% not on cabinet
- Org and mobilization, elections, political education, communications and policy as full time positions, sit on NWC, or are directly elected to NWC on basis of portfolios and committees.
- ALTERNATIVE OPTION: Do away with NWC and make the officials + 5 full time directly elected NEC members the Working Committee or Secretariat

29. ON VETERANS

Recommending

- OPTION 1: Status quo
- OPTION 2: Veterans positioned as Council of Elders, advise the ANC. No interest in position, monitor Integrity Commission.
- OPTION 3: Council of elders but cannot rob over 60's of right to stand for leadership.

The NPC recommendeds that the NEC engage with the Veterans League on these recommendations and options.

Part B: Strengthening the Integrity of the ANC and its role in Society

30. 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, discipline, 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.

31. 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.

RECOMMEND

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 deployees 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.

32. INTEGRITY COMMITTEE

Strengthen authority, integrity and standing and enhance the capacity of national and provincial IC and add their selection, powers and authority into the constitution.

OPTION 1:

- Remains independent, calls anyone it wishes to account, and informs leadership of decisions, with powers and authority strengthened and entrenched in the Constitution (preferred option from commissions).

OPTION 2:

- Some expressed preference that it should be accountable to and get its mandate from the relevant executive, and make recommendations to it (favoured by one province).

PART C: ON THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

1. As proposed in the Strategy and Tactics report, 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 Democrati 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.

Therefore Recommends:

34. SOCIAL MEDIA POLICY, ICT AND COMMUNICATIONS

- a) The ANC should develop a clear policy of what is acceptable in our use of social media for its leaders and public reps as well as for members.
- b) ANC must more effectively use technology, especially in our membership system,

communications and the Political school.

- c) Dealt with in Communications policy commission.

These are recommendations, which will require further discussions in branches, the Leagues, Alliance, for finalization and adoption at National Conference in December 2017.

Communications and the Battle of Ideas

1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 The document on Communications and Battle of Ideas dealt with the following areas
 - (a) Battle of ideas,
 - (b) ICT, Postal Services and Postbank,
 - (c) Broadcasting,
 - (d) Print media transformation and diversity.
- 1.2 The ANC's 54th National Conference takes place in a contested communications environment characterised by, among other things:
- 1.3 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.
- 1.4 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.
- 1.5 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.
- 1.6 ANC infighting, disunity and use of media to engage in battles of ANC is undermining trust, 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. By exaggeration, selective interpretation and elevating relatively minor issues into national crises, opponents of the ANC aim to gain currency for their narrative of an organisation in terminal decline, and of a country on the brink of failed statehood. This has naturally placed the ANC and government on the defensive

2. ON THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

- 2.1 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.
- 2.2 The Commission noted 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 There is an urgent 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 The ANC must occupy the space, in order to be in hegemony, with ideological 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.
- 2.6 The ANC as a revolutionary movement cannot neglect the importance of mobilising 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. This is the Battle of Ideas.
- 2.7 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 national democratic revolution.
- 2.8 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.
- 2.9 Our interventions must be founded on the core informed by the strategy and tactics and organisational renewal. The commission noted the need to have a common understanding of the battle of ideas, as 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.

Therefore it is recommended that:

- 2.10 There should be intensified training on political communication as part of the 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.
- 2.11 The document failed to recognize the role, challenges and achievements of the DIP over the years. This should be included as we proceed towards the National Conference.
- 2.12 The role of the DIP is to coordinate and facilitate the engagement particularly with the media, i.e. all forms of media platforms.
- 2.13 All ANC sub-committees and its leagues must engage at all levels in a programme that is crafted to interact and engage with all society formations, such as churches, labour, civil society, academics, youth formations, women formations, and other influential organs in order to communicate its policies, principles and values. This will create the nucleus of the message to be communicated.
- 2.14 Given that being a leader (either deployed or elected) does not automatically mean you are capacitated to communicate a message of the ANC. All political communicators, including ANC communicators including top ANC officials, NEC members, Members of Parliament, Ministers, and Provincial Councils members, must undergo political training on political communication of the ANC. Political school must be institutionalized in order for the ANC to be hegemonic in the society.
- 2.15 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.
- 2.16 The ANC must earn respect in society, not talk left and move right.
- 2.17 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.
- 2.18 The ANC must communicate ANC decisions directly with its membership after meetings of

its structures. The machinery must complement its 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.

- 2.19 The ANC must reintroduce an unmediated ANC Publication including online and printed publications such Umrabulo, and an ANC NEC Bulletin which will be a publication for communicating ANC decisions.
- 2.20 The ANC NEC members through the ANC NEC subcommittees must also play an active role in communicating ANC decisions by participating in organized activities of the ANC with the Academia, civil society and labour formations throughout the country including interaction with the media.
- 2.21 The ANC needs to finalise its 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. Utmost discipline with the policy should be ensured.
- 2.22 The ANC must develop strategies and creative ideas on communication platforms on how to ideologically empower the young cadres.
- 2.23 In the political education, there must be a module on communication, focusing on ANC political communication.
- 2.24 ANC leaders and members must be consistent, even in determining what is public information and what is not. ANC leaders have been undermining ANC and have not been disciplined but there tends to be an appetite to discipline some and not others.
- 2.25 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.
- 2.26 The ANC must speak a language that embodies and unite all South Africans, as the leader of society.

- 2.27 PCO offices must be standardized, equipped and utilised maximally. Provincial ANC Offices must be fully functional, and must have a well resourced communications department.
- 2.28 The ANC Women's Leagues, ANC Youth League and the ANC Veterans Leagues must also be establish communications capacity to increase participation of the general membership in the organization.
- 2.29 There is a need to empower Ward Committees and CDWs with communication skills, information and integrate their activities.
- 2.30 Government communications must be improved, coherent and centralized through GCIS. Government communicators, including spokespersons must be disciplined and operate within the centralized Government Communication framework. GCIS should be located in the Presidency and in the highest political offices. Synergy and alignment is needed between the ANC and Government.
- 2.31 Izimbizo concept needs to be reviewed, as it has a tendency to preach to the converted.
- 2.32 The commission reaffirmed that the ANC is the strategic centre of power and our deployed cadres must understand this.
- 2.33 Door to door remains an effective important political interaction between ANC and society, and therefore must be continued with. There is therefore a need to train volunteers in political communication to enable them to respond to ANC members and potential ANC voters.
- 2.34 The general basic schools education curriculum should include the political history of the South Africa including the liberation struggle's vision for a non-racial, non-sexist, united democratic South Africa.

3. ON ICT

- 3.1 It is noted 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 is disruptive, kills other industries, lead to people losing jobs, etc and as such there is a need to counter, explore the 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 impact on GDP and is part of the macro economic considerations as it provides opportunities for SA to get out of the current economic challenges (including budget deficit, etc). 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 to communicate needs to be addressed. In addition there is a need to increase the rollout of broadband infrastructure 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.

The Discussion Documents that were presented were generally accepted, furthermore it is recommended that:

- 3.5 ANC must ensure the implementation of the resolutions to support the Post Office, including that Government business must be availed to Post Office through intergovernmental framework and not supply chain management processes.
- 3.6 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.
- 3.7 The need to optimize the ICT opportunities through the use of SMMEs in ICT to drive the economy. Opportunities must be encouraged in

the whole ICT value chain to encourage black industrialists in the country. There must be a deliberate legislative intervention to promote local content, production, hardware, etc. There is a need for an enabling environment for innovation such as software, applications through the entrance of black industrialists and SMMEs.

- 3.8 Government should consider reviewing the mandate of entities like SITA to not only be procurer but assist in production of local capacity of software products, unbundle the value chain, etc. SITA should be transformed and repurposed to provide high quality services.
- 3.9 All children of SA must get equal opportunities in terms of the infrastructure in all schools, if we are serious about the 4th Industrial Revolution. Government should invest nationally in a paperless system based on digitized and automation of systems.
- 3.10 As part of rationalization of SOCs, consideration must be made to implement the decision to merge BBI and Sentech.
- 3.11 Ensure requisite skills (including policy making) in the SOCs, the respective Departments charged to lead this sector.
- 3.12 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, etc.
- 3.13 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.
- 3.14 Government should use ICT to address inability to communicate for people's with disabilities, use of Apps to address government needs and services, etc.
- 3.15 Government and companies must reorganize their organograms to include as part of skills set, digital skills and positions thereof. Massification of skills should be at the centre of the drive towards the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- 3.16 There is a need to strengthen our organs of state including ICASA, reconfigure our Government

and integrate the Ministries of Communications and Telecommunications and Postal Services into one ICT Ministry. There is a need to have provincial champions at provincial and district government level to drive this agenda.

- 3.17 Targets for youth, women and blacks in the equity of service providers in the ICT industry must be established as part of the radical economic transformation.
- 3.18 There is a need to strengthen security around the cyberspace, including protecting society against fake news, cyber crime, cyber attacks, artificial intelligence, hacking, etc.
- 3.19 Interventions must include strategies to ensure that SA content and websites become favorites countrywide.
- 3.20 Emphasis was also made on ensuring that the Media & ICT Seta in capacitating SMMEs and the youth with digital skills in preparation for the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- 3.21 Education department must change curriculum to prepare for the 4th Industrial Revolution. Development of digital skills, reskilling, target of new entrants in the labour market should deliberately target rural areas and provinces in preparation for the digital economy.
- 3.22 There must be a priority and speed in the implementation of the ICT White Paper to encourage transformation, open the market and accelerate rapid deployment of electronic communications infrastructure and services.
- 3.23 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 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.
- 3.24 The Postbank should be licensed, capacitated to play its role as soon as possible. This like other decisions have been pending for a long time. (Before the end of term of office of the current Government)

- 3.25 Delegates appreciated the effort of Government in rolling out broadband and free Wifi. Free Wifi must be provided in rural areas as well as metros and in all public schools, clinics, libraries, etc. Accessible and affordable Wifi must be regarded as a key development of economic inclusion.
- 3.26 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.

4. ON BROADCASTING

The Discussion Document was accepted and is was further recommended that:

- 4.1 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.
- 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 the society.
- 4.3 Government must be structured in preparation for the 4th Industrial Revolution, in a manner that will optimise efforts to grab the opportunities 4th Industrial Revolution must be regarded as an economic catalyst.
- 4.4 Deployment must be informed by a need to resolve the implementation challenge that was identified. ANC must decisively deploy capable, skilled and professional cadres. Implementation remains a big challenge in this area but the document does not indicate what were the specific problems with implementation which empowers the commission and conference from assisting on the way forward.
- 4.5 The local content industry development strategy should be introduced without delay alongside the review of the broadcasting policy review and in line with the digital broadcasting plan.
- 4.6 SABC archives must be protected and not be sold to commercial platforms. The archives of the SABC belong to the people of South Africa and should not be sold or surrendered to the commercial media.

- 4.7 The SABC needs rebranding 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 repository of our heritage and identity.
- 4.8 The question of language was emphasized as important in enhancing and ensuring effective communication, with emphasis on supporting indigenous languages. Language used in the ANC documents and the public media should be accessible.
- 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 multi-channel to ensure its viability as a broadcaster of choice and this could ensure that Parliamentary channel, community TV could be on their platform. SABC must be positioned as a content provider of choice, protect and be repository of our cultural identity, etc.
- 4.11 The Parliamentary channel should be broadcasted on Free to Air broadcasting platforms.
- 4.12 There needs to be stability in order for the ANC to take a long term view on the transformation of the SABC – this includes addressing various challenges such as changes in ministers and contestations within and outside the ANC.
- 4.13 Broadcasting policy review should apply to the entire broadcasting landscape and not just the SABC and 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 National Conference.
- 4.14 DTT should also include human resources development throughout the value chain. There is a need for consistency on policy and other aspects of DTT and the broader broadcasting value chain.
- 4.15 Digital disruptions affect the media industry throughout the value chain hence the need for a holistic view on the impact of 04th Industrial Revolution.
- 4.16 ANC must fight against the monopoly in subscription television. Regulatory interventions must be reviewed to ensure that this monopoly is unbundled and fair competition is achieved.
- 4.17 Support for community broadcasting must be strengthened. Sentech tariffs should enable small community and commercial initiatives. Expansion of community television in provinces outside the metropolises. Government should review the number of community radio stations in municipalities and districts in light of the current sustainability challenges.
- 4.18 There must be more efforts on investing in research and development.
- 4.19 As part of the efforts to increase the uptake and usage of ICT and digital broadcasting there is a need to encourage universities to specialize on skills in digital technologies.
- 4.20 The commission noted the need to clarify the governance of SABC as it relates to the Broadcasting Act and the Companies Act.
- 4.21 Redefine and clarify the role of the different SOCs in the context of the digital age, NEMISA, USAASA, MDDA, etc.
- 4.22 Readiness for digital radio must be understood in the context of the need to support the rollout of affordable receivers.
- 4.23 SEZs should be used as manufacturing centers for ICT and broadcasting devices, gadgets such as Integrated Digital Television (IDTV).
- 4.24 Internet radio and Internet TV should also receive attention as part of the framework to regulate OTTs (Over-The-Top).
- 4.25 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.
- 4.26 There is an urgent need to diversify the Afrikaans media which is owned and controlled by one company.
- 4.27 Cyber Security policy should also protect broadcasting services.
- 4.28 Government should develop its own capacity to manage media buying which has been outsourced to white companies.
- 4.29 International content should focus/prioritise content from the African content.
- 4.30 Television signal should be improved especially along the borders and DTT can enable this.

5. ON MEDIA TRANSFORMATION, MEDIA DIVERSITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY MECHANISMS

- 5.1 ANC policy promotes media diversity, transformation of the media and is against dominant media players who consolidate monopolies.
- 5.2 The Commission noted that there has been positive progress and improvements on transformation agenda in the sector post the 53rd 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.
- 5.3 There has also been 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.
- 5.4 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.
- 5.5 The Commission noted that in 2016, Government (under DoC) held the Media Transformation Summit and has a draft Discussion Document ready for approval and public inquiry in Parliament.

The commission noted and reaffirmed resolutions of the 52nd and 53rd National Conference to:

- 5.6 Review the ANC Media Charter and conduct a Parliamentary inquiry on the desirability and feasibility of a media appeals tribunal.
- 5.7 Include the Press Freedom Commission (PFC) recommendations in the Parliamentary processes.
- 5.8 Introduce an empowerment charter to 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.

- 5.9 Task the Competition Commission to investigate possible anti-competitive practices.
- 5.10 Prioritise transformation of the advertising industry.
- 5.11 The commission emphasised that media transformation must include ownership and control, racism in the media, progressive ideas, etc
- 5.12 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.
- 5.13 The ANC must support community and small commercial media including efforts to prevent the takeover of community newspapers by the big companies, thereby media diversity.
- 5.14 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 from the 30% set aside. The 30% of media buying from community media needs to be implemented without delay.
- 5.15 Print media empowerment charter must be developed to drive media development, transformation and diversity, informed by the radical 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.
- 5.16 An enabling environment must be created for SMME to encourage innovation and creativity in order to position our country for the Fourth Industrial Revolution and to create necessary and relevant job.
- 5.17 The ANC calls on the municipalities to make use of the community media platforms including print and radio as the basic means of interacting with the citizens.

Economic transformation

Two Commissions on Economic Transformation met during the National Policy Conference.

This is a combined report from the two commissions for plenary. This combined report seeks to present the key policy matters that were discussed in the commissions.

OVERALL APPROACH ON ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

Conference reaffirms the 15 Pillars adopted at the National Conference in Polokwane that is:

1. Creating **decent work** is the primary focus of economic policy.
2. Accelerating **economic growth** by overcoming obstacles to growth and intervening to promote equity.
3. **Transforming the structures of production and ownership.**
4. A comprehensive and clear **rural development strategy.**
5. Reversing **apartheid settlement patterns** in both urban and rural areas.
6. Expanding the opportunities for sustainable livelihoods, through **support for cooperatives and micro-enterprises.**
7. Programmes that directly absorb the unemployed, including **public works programmes.**
8. Expanding the **social wage** with universal and subsidised access to basic social services.
9. Investing in priority **skills and education**, and improving the performance of South African learners in maths and science.
10. Using **South Africa's natural resources** in a manner that benefits the nation as a whole.
11. Ensuring **energy security** and promoting clean and renewable sources of energy supply.
12. **Integration of the economies of Southern Africa** and building stronger economic linkages across the continent as a whole.
13. Participating in **world trade, strategic partnerships with countries of the south** and agitating for a fairer world trade.
14. **Macroeconomic policies** that support growth, job creation and poverty eradication on a sustainable basis.
15. Building the **capacity of the democratic developmental state and implement programme of economic transformation.**

Conference further reaffirms the 6 elements adopted at the National Conference in Mangaung, namely:

1. Adoption of the **National Development Plan** and affirming the jobs drivers of the New Growth Path and IPAP, the infrastructure development plan and localisation.
2. **Minerals:** beneficiation, equitable state-share of mineral wealth, mine safety/social plan and skills/R&D investment.
3. **Youth, small business and cooperatives**, including a state bank and support for worker rights.
4. **Rural development and land reform:** addressing the need to conduct a land audit, addressing a willing-buyer-willing-seller, land tenure system, food security, rural development and reopening restitution of land.
5. **Building a capable developmental state.**
6. **Sustainable and transformative macro-economic policy** biased towards job creation and the extension of services to increase equality and economic inclusion.

Conference endorses the need for radical socio-economic transformation, which entails fundamental change in the structure, systems, institutions, and patterns of ownership, management and control of the economy, in favour of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female.

Radical socio-economic transformation requires fundamentally changing the structure of South Africa's economy from an exporter of raw materials, to one which is based on beneficiation of raw materials (minerals and agriculture) and enhanced manufacturing, in which our people's full potential can be realized.

In addition to ensuring increased economic participation by black people in the commanding heights of the economy, radical economic transformation must have a mass character.

Immediate tasks of the movement in the economy

1. **Growth:** to reignite economic growth particularly as South Africa has entered a recession and recognizing economic growth is a necessary condition for the successful implementation of radical socio-economic transformation.
2. **Employment:** Since the dawning of democracy South Africa has created millions of new employment opportunities, yet unemployment has continued to rise because of the significant numbers of our people who, previously excluded, are now entering the labour market. It is critically important that new decent employment opportunities are created particularly for the youth.
3. **Broad-based and wide-ranging black economic empowerment** is fundamental to change the racialised structure of the South African economy.
4. **Building an effective and corruption free developmental state** is imperative if we are to build a more equal and prosperous society.

REIGNITING GROWTH

1. South Africa must act urgently to reignite economic growth. This requires government to act to inspire popular confidence and requires the private sector to recommit to investment for growth. To achieve this the ANC must engage in an active stance of cooperation and contestation with private capital to reshape and rebuild the South African economy.
2. Active steps to achieve this goal include:
 - a. Articulating a radical programme to unlock new opportunities for our people to participate

in investment, growth and employment creation.

- b. Isolating and rooting out corrupt elements that are eroding government's credibility.
 - c. Stabilise the governance and finances of state owned companies.
 - d. Ensuring a measured and balanced path of macroeconomic management.
 - e. Working to avoid further downgrades to South Africa's credit rating and regain an investment grade.
 - f. Acting to root out uncompetitive structures and conduct.
3. It is recommended that the NDP should be reviewed and that every five years it should be recalibrated in order to ensure that its implementation is improved. The NDP should be reviewed to resonate with the objectives of radical economic transformation and incorporation of the key drivers. Key focus areas for such a review are Chapter 3 on the economy and employment, Chapter 5 on the transition to a low carbon economy and Chapter 6 on inclusive rural economy.

LAND REDISTRIBUTION

1. A radical land redistribution process is needed to correct South Africa's unjust and racially-skewed ownership patterns, which are based on a long history of colonial dispossession and white domination that is yet to be reversed. This programme must be directly linked to the radical social and economic transformation objectives of increased employment creation, and reduced poverty and inequality particularly in rural areas.
2. Government's approach to land reform is based on three pillars: tenure for farmworkers, restitution, and redistribution. The programme of land redistribution has been inadequate. Not enough productive land has been transferred into the hands of black farmers and producers. Support programmes for new farmers have also been ineffective.
3. The Expropriation Bill that it is before Parliament should be finalized during the course of this year in order to provide impetus to the land reform process.
4. The Commission looked at the best means to achieve a more radical programme of accelerated land reform. Two approaches were identified:
 - a. Option 1: The one view in both commissions was that the Constitution should be amended to allow the state to expropriate land without compensation.

- b. Option 2: Others were of the view that the s25 of the Constitution did not present a significant obstacle to radical land reform, and that the state should act more aggressively to expropriate land in line with the Mangaung resolution, based on the Constitution's requirement of just and equitable compensation.
5. The ANC must develop a set of proposals that radicalize the redistribution programme to restore land to the people without placing an undue financial burden on the state. In pursuit of these objectives all options should be on table including legislative, constitutional and tax reforms and a set of concrete proposals should be presented to the 54th National Conference of the ANC.
 6. In addition it was agreed 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. This must include access to water rights and access to inputs like fertilisers, veterinary services, farming equipment and broadband as well as more certainty with regard to access to markets.
 - 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 the 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.
 - g) An audit of unoccupied and unutilized land owned by absentee landlords should be undertaken with a view to immediate expropriation of the land to turn it into productive use. A progress report should be tabled in the National Conference in December 2017.

waste resources or be havens of corruption. The governance and financing challenges of SOC's have to be addressed.

2. As an immediate measure to boost confidence and to show our serious intent to address matters of state-capture and corruption including collusion, the state should immediately desist from contractual and commercial commitments with companies and families involved in such activities.
3. Firm action is required to improve the performance of SOC's 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.

LABOUR MARKET AND EXECUTIVE PAY

1. A job is the most powerful weapon to decisively tackle poverty and income inequality. In this context, conference supports the creation of decent work that delivers fair incomes; provide security in the workplace and social protection for workers and their families.
2. 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.
3. Significant progress with regard to the establishment of a national minimum wage, in line with a key goal of the Freedom Charter. This instrument will go a long way in addressing the extremely skewed income inequalities, since it targets the least paid workers and is aimed at easing the burden of the working poor. The minimum wage will assist in broadening and deepening domestic goods and services markets, and therefore contribute towards cushioning our economy against downturns in export demand. The minimum wage will also contribute towards reducing workplace conflict and promote stability in industrial relations. The national minimum wage, which will impact positively on millions lives, should viewed starting point upon which can improve.

SOUTH AFRICAN RESERVE BANK

1. 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

STATE OWNED COMPANIES

1. The main purpose of SOC's is to operationalize the broad socio-economic development plans of government. This means SOC's cannot afford to

of transition. Without sacrificing price stability, monetary policy should also take account of other objectives such as employment creation and economic growth.”

2. The South African Reserve Bank is the central bank of the Republic. It performs its functions independently, but in accordance with the Constitution, there must be regular consultation between it and the Minister of Finance.
3. It is, however, an historical anomaly that there are private shareholders of the Reserve Bank. Conference recommends that the Reserve Bank should be 100% owned by the state. Government must develop a proposal to ensure full public ownership in a manner that does not benefit private shareholder speculators.

FINANCIAL SECTOR, STATE BANK AND DFIs

1. The state must develop a more effective programme to ensure that 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.
2. 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 and the NEC must receive reports at each sitting on progress. This should be completed by December 2017.
3. 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. In this regard, the operational structure of DFI's and mergers of DFI's should be reviewed to ensure that empowerment is not undermined.
4. The PIC mandate should include the development of black-owned companies in the financial sector, including asset management.

ECONOMIC CONCENTRATION

1. 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.

2. 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 the levels of ownership, in order to open the market to new, black-owned companies.
3. The penalties for uncompetitive behavior must be increased.
4. The competition commission needs to be strengthened with additional resources to build on its current capabilities.

INVESTMENT AND ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

1. Government should introduce measures to ensure adequate financial resources are directed to developmental purposes. Business, labour and government in the Growth and Development Summit agreed to commit a percentage of investible funds for developmental purposes. To give effect to this, 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.
2. 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, to ensure that the Freedom Charter's provision is given effect to.

STRENGTHENING BROAD-BASED BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

1. The broad-based BEE programme should be reviewed with a view to implementation of radical socio-economic transformation.
2. State procurement should be enhanced as an empowerment lever as it represents a significant market for businesses, large and small, and should be viewed as a key instrument for empowering emerging black businesses.
3. 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, including small and medium enterprises and the domestic manufacturing sector. This will ensure that we preserve existing industrial capacity and jobs.

4. 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.
5. There should be increased levels of black ownership and control across all economic sectors and legislation, charters and codes should not extend the definition of black beneficiaries to persons naturalized after 1994.
6. 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.

MANUFACTURING

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.

In addition:

1. A renewed emphasis must be placed on localisation, particularly linked to procurement by government and state-owned companies.
2. There should be clear consequences for non-compliance by public entities of our policies on localisation.
3. There should be increased designation of products that are locally produced.
4. Improved efficiencies in South Africa's transport and logistics networks are required.
5. The black industrialist programme should be strengthened and support programmes should be developed for other sectors.

SKILLS REVOLUTION

1. The challenges of new technology and the 4th industrial revolution require a revolutionary approach to training and skills development.
2. Initiatives that accelerate the placement of youth – on a massive scale – in employment that generates skills and experience should be intensified.

IMPROVING THE INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

1. Infrastructure spending remains a lever through which industrial development and economic growth can be sustained. The state should ensure that it progressively increases infrastructure spending to 10% of the Gross Domestic Product, which entails increasing investment from roughly R300 billion to R450 billion per annum over the next decade.
2. The infrastructure programme should actively support youth employment, localization, black industrialists and other developmental goals. The state should develop a programme to progressively increase procurement from black industrialists to 65% of all domestically sourced inputs.
3. The procurement institutions must be strengthened to ensure a close monitoring of adherence to our revised preferential procurement regulations. We will continue with efforts to combat import fronting and to ensure that procurement spending directly benefits industrialists, and is not wasted by rent-seeking “middlemen”.
4. 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 in ensuring that fiscal policy has an increased multiplier impact on economic growth, employment and long term development.

BENEFICIATION AND BUILDING HIGH VALUE-ADDED VALUE-CHAINS

1. 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.
2. To ensure that beneficiation is effectively introduced, a concessional pricing regime should be introduced where mining companies are required to make a portion of mineral output available at pricing below the market price to domestic manufacturers in order to promote local production.
3. The state should apply export taxes to strategic minerals where required to ensure local beneficiation.

SMALL BUSINESSES AND CO-OPERATIVES

1. Government measures to support small business and cooperatives need to be scaled up to ensure their impact is felt across the economy.
2. The stimulation and protection of township-based economic activities is also key in this regard. Access, affordability and stability of credit extension for these firms is important for them to acquire inputs, upgrade their capital base and for them to extend trade credit to their customers.
3. 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.
4. 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 will be incorporated as one of the areas in the scorecards for firms from which government procures goods and services.

MINING AND THE MINING

1. In line with the Resolutions of the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung, the State Owned mining company must be strengthened, so that it can play a significant role in the mining sector.
2. The State Mining Company must be up-scaled and aligned with existing industrial policy initiatives, so that it becomes a powerful instrument for us to control the capabilities and resources that are already embedded in the minerals sectors for national development.
3. There was support in the commissions for the overall objectives of the newly promulgated Mining Charter, but the view was expressed that further discussion is required with mining industry in order to ensure investment and employment levels are not negatively affected.
4. Beyond a narrow focus on individuals, increased ownership targets in the mining sector should primarily benefit state, community and employee ownership. In particular, the free-carry shares should be held in trust by the state rather than to be allocated to a few individuals.
5. The well-being of near mine communities and mine safety and rehabilitation are also all priority factors.

TAXATION

1. The state must develop a proposal for an appropriately structured wealth tax to raise revenues for investment in skills, infrastructure and the economic development priorities identified.
2. In the current economic climate, the proposed sugary beverages tax should be reviewed, including by Nedlac parties, taking into account the proposed tax's potential impact on employment relative to its potential health benefits. Throughout this process, the ANC must continue to assert the strong linkage that exists between improved health outcomes and economic growth, more particularly focusing on how improved health outcomes will impact positively on processes of economic growth and development.
3. The proposed carbon tax should be reviewed and its intention and implications should be considered before it is implemented.
4. Government must urgently crack down on tax avoidance and illicit capital outflows.

IMPROVED IMPLEMENTATION, MONITORING, ACCOUNTABILITY AND EVALUATION

1. ANC deployees should ensure that decisions of National Conferences are fully implemented.
2. To ensure that this takes place, the ANC must build an improved and effective capability at all levels to monitor implementation, hold deployees to account and evaluate the impact of government actions.
3. A special capacity should be put in place within nine months at Headquarters that includes dedicated personnel, resources and political oversight.
4. Deployees should account regularly to structures of the organization on their performance.

OPERATIONAL ISSUES

A number of operational and sector issues were identified in the Commissions. Some of these need to be finalized and implemented prior to the December 2017 National Conference. Others contain levels of detail that would not be appropriate in a broad policy framework or are purely operational and transactional.

It is proposed that these be referred to the NEC to finalise and operationalise prior to December 2017.

These include the following:

1. Proposals to strengthen the tourism sector.
2. Proposals to strengthen South Africa's ocean economy, such as, investigating a policy that a minimum of 51% of goods that are exported should be exported in South African manufactured ships.
3. Finalising the fishing quotas, with particular emphasis on black ownership as well as ownership by cooperatives.
4. Ensuring the National Empowerment Fund is effectively capitalized and able to operate within a developmental mandate.
5. An audit should be undertaken of the implementation of economic policy resolutions since 2007.

Education, Health, Science and Technology

INTRODUCTION

This is a consolidated report of Commissions 5 and 6 which were on Education, Health; and Science, Technology and Innovation.

Both commissions received two presentations, namely a summary of the policy discussion document and a presentation on the National Health Insurance; and both commissions comprehensively discussed all sectors of the subcommittee. The commission received updates on the Gauteng Department of Education ICT Rollout Programme and the Life Esidimeni matter.

The Commissions focused on:

- An assessment of policies and the work of various sectors of the Subcommittee on Education, Health, Science and Technology in the ANC and in government, including priorities;
- Identifying policy gaps that impede delivery; and
- Draft policy proposals and recommendations or draft resolutions presented to the 5th ANC National Policy Conference, including reports and policy proposals from all provinces.

Delegates endorsed most of the proposals and recommendations that were tabled to the National Policy Conference in the official discussion document. Specific amendments that were proposed as recommendations were noted and effected as indicated below. A proposal was tabled that the Subcommittee should in the future table a detailed progress report on the implementation of all past resolutions.

ANC SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, HEALTH, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- The Commission endorses the recommendation that the policy cycle be at least ten (10) years instead of five (5) years; but that there must be

regular reviews of policy implementation, in other words there must be evaluation of progress every five (5) years and review of policy only after ten (10) years.

- Members of the commission recommend that the ANC increase its policy, monitoring and evaluation capacities.
- The ANC must ensure that there are subcommittees on education and science and technology and health at branch level. The ANC NEC should create a separate health subcommittee.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Noting:

- That the NDP 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 STI policy expressed in resolutions adopted at different conferences.
- That there is a need to expose children and communities to science.
- The DST is developing a White Paper on Science, Technology and Innovation.

Recommend:

- The ANC must ensure coordination between departments and harmonization of policies and incentives to encourage and support innovation and ensure the take up of locally produced goods and technologies.
- Improve the use of STI within and across the public sector as an enabler of service delivery.
- The public engagement on and promotion of science, technology and innovation must be intensified.

- Grassroots and social innovation must be encouraged in order to develop innovative products, services and technologies.
- The ANC must ensure that professions in science and technology are careers of choice and that public educational institutions are resourced to advance this ideal.
- The ANC must lead society to think more positively about ourselves and our innovation capabilities; and publicise advances that have been made by South African scientists and innovators.
- Create Wi-Fi spots in rural areas.
- Science literacy programmes should include a focus on village and township communities.
- All sectors must account on progress being made in using science, technology and innovation; working with institutions such as the CSIR.
- Invest in digital economy as it has the potential to create new jobs in the context of the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- Accelerate beneficiation of minerals.
- Prioritise learners with disability for science and technology training.
- STI must be used to accelerate service delivery and to improve systems at local and provincial government levels.
- Some schools in rural areas still face the challenge of lack of basic services.
- The need to digitalise learning and teaching support material.
- 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 undermine the capacity of schools to offer science and technology.

Therefore recommend:

- That the Basic Education sector working with Higher Education & Training and 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 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.
- That, 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 provision of quality of teaching and learning outcomes, enhancing the skills and competencies of educators, especially 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.
- All relevant departments must work together on ICT to ensure the implementation of the Education Phakisa decisions.
- The ANC takes full responsibility of leading society in protecting public facilities such as schools, libraries, colleges, universities, hospitals and clinics.
- That the ANC must direct government and its relevant clusters to work together in developing strategic programmes and skills and education interventions specifically geared towards the young people who are not in employment, nor in education and training (NEETs) to be active participants and beneficiaries of the radical socio-economic transformation in general, a changing world and the 4th Industrial Revolution in particular.

EDUCATION

Noting:

- We reaffirm that education remains an apex priority for the African National Congress and the ANC-led government.
- 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 as well as Higher Education and Training, which are all 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

Noting

- Progress that we have made in providing scholar transport and the ongoing need for such services.
- Existing challenges of inequity between rural and urban schools;

- That the ANC must ensure that there is systematic relocation of Early Childhood Development (ECD) and pre-school programmes from the Department of Social Development to the Department of Basic Education with a view of achieving the goals of universal quality access to ECD as envisioned in the NDP.
- 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.
- That the ANC and its alliance partners maintain and sustain labour relations within the basic education sector in order to minimise conflicts which may lead to labour unrest, loss of teaching and learning time, and potential damage to property and educational resources.
- That the ANC must promulgate 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.
- That 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.
- 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 subsidised higher education for the working class and middle strata;
- There is a need to strengthen collaboration between basic education and higher education and training;
- There are uncapped rental rates and severe shortage of student residences for poor and working class students, particularly those in historically disadvantaged institutions;
- Since 1994, evident from the transforming demographic profile of students, the ANC government has made significant strides in widening participation in higher education for youth hailing from African households and communities;
- The need to conclude a model for providing fee-free higher education for the poor.

Therefore recommend:

HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

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 52nd and 53rd conferences of the African National Congress;
- There must be progressive introduction of free education for the poor and subsidised education for the working class and middle strata.
- 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 country is awaiting the release of the report of the Presidential Commission into the Feasibility of Fee-Free Higher Education and Training in South Africa.
- 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 achievability 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 play but should also include the role of private sector in this regard.
- In line with the resolutions of the 52nd and 53rd Conferences of the ANC, 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.

- 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.
- 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 various industries for work experience for both lecturers and students.
- The provision of digital programmes must be expanded.
- The Human Settlement budget must include support for increased student accommodation.
- The legislation on institutional autonomy for universities must be enforced.
- 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.
- 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 needs - that is the full cost of study fees. No poor or working class student should be partially funded, depending on the availability of resource;
- 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;
- The ANC and government pledge to fund commitments that are stated in the NDP 2030.

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.
- It is important that the ANC should intensify its programmes to ensure ongoing improvement of the quality of health care.

Therefore recommend:

- The ANC should ensure that the implementation of the NHI remain a priority of government.
- 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 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.
- The post-apartheid medical school in Limpopo should be supported both in terms of financial and human resources.
- 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.
- 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 our people.
- 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.
- School health services must be strengthened and nurses should be deployed to schools to implement health plans.
- Litigation and medico-legal hazards must be decreased through improving clinical care, introducing mediation and the use of legal tools.
- 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.

Legislature and Governance

OVERALL FRAMEWORK

The overall resolution on supporting the development of an Accountability Framework, with effective monitoring and consequence management was supported. Through this we must reaffirm and where needed restore our values.

1. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Categorization of Municipalities

- On expanding Category A municipalities: There is still support for two-tier, but recognition that must increase Category A municipalities through a considered, researched process
- Single tier system – we need to take into account the implementation of that on communities, placing an emphasis on outcomes and being done in a phased way.

IGR

- There is no compliance with the IGR Act and in such cases there must be consequence management
- Look at where best to locate B2B: (to be moved to DPME and Premiers)
- Consider negative impact of different financial years of provinces and municipalities

Councillor seat selection

- The Commission noted the differing views regarding the implications of the current formula for seat calculation and impact of the PR Vote and some suggestions for review.
- The Commission further noted that, the ANC supported the current formula because it wanted to ensure accommodation of the plurality of the views in society.

- The Commission resolved that, the NEC initiates a process of investigating the implementation and operation of the formula and the experiences related to these processes with a view to checking whether or not we need to change the formula.

Councillor numbers and quality:

- Must improve system of selecting councilor candidates, given the challenges. Develop a systematic approach to deployment to local government to ensure that through the eye of the needle is adhered to, Electoral College should empower the comrades to become more advanced for deployment.
- There was a need to review the idea of retention after proper research (60% retention at national and provincial to 30% (ANCYL)). Research should be done on the impact retention has had as it could have a great impact on the skills and experience. The focus should be on ability (through the eye of the needle; retention must be informed by assessment). Agreed that there must be a review proposal but it must be preceded by proper scientific assessment.
- All councilors should at least have matric/grade 12 so that they can serve communities better. ANC should look at training of councilors at the political school and continue assisting councilors in rural municipalities.
- Ward committees must be capacitated on the issues with a view to preparing them to be councilors to participate in complex debates.

Council operations

- In terms of separation of powers, It should be limited to the metros and bigger municipalities as introducing this to all municipalities may lead to conflict and challenges.

- At the same time, must take into account what the constitution says. Given that it was piloted in some municipalities we must recommend that the ANC gets a report on the piloted municipalities. Clarify the role of executive mayor and legislative role of councils

Financial and resourcing issues

- Review powers and financing for local government:
 - Need to align powers (ESKOM, Recreation, Human Settlements, Water, etc.) Given that migration issue affects allocation of resources, it should be taken into account in funding of municipalities. This includes looking at ESKOM, where one needs to separate bulk supplying of electricity from distribution to the consumers Eskom and allow municipalities to distribute instead of having Eskom being a bulk supplier and distributor to consumers. Municipalities should be able to decide on ESKOM tariffs so that they generate some revenue for municipalities.
 - Review of funding model for municipalities is required.
 - Develop a policy to extend revenue base in rural areas and strengthen revenue collection in these areas.
 - Review of equitable share has happened before, with participation of National Treasury and other role players, but the formula needs to consider the geographical context of municipalities.
 - Municipalities must raise their revenues, but reality is that many in rural areas cannot raise the revenue because of capacity challenge. Possibly a centralized revenue collection mechanism could be developed to assist poor municipalities to collect revenue.
 - A policy should be developed on departmental debt owed to municipalities.
- Municipal debt must be paid to protect revenues of municipalities (revert to the Masakhane Campaign to ensure that people pay for services rendered by municipalities) Councilors should be paid from national fiscus, like other public representatives. Need to look at pension funds. Ward/MPAC councilors to be made fulltime. Professionalize the work of the councilors, as some do not have offices from which to operate with municipalities being deployed to assist in these offices.
- Councilors must be fulltime even in terms of remuneration not only in terms of working, although some argued that making councilors fulltime must be done on a gradual basis.

- Legislative review:
 - MFMA should be reviewed to ensure facilitation of delivering services to communities. Find ways to address set asides such as 40% for youth, 7-20 for disabled etc.
 - Amend municipality Property Rates act .
- Political party funding should be attended to at all levels of the government.

Council structures and roles and responsibilities:

- Need to strengthen ANC caucuses, with clear roles and mandates and ensuring that all employees participate on caucuses. Caucuses should be resourced with research to guide their work.
- Examine the call for institutionalization of chief whip due to tensions could create problems, as accounting to the ANC as centre of power may be compromised.
- Open tender process to the public.
- MPAC to be more capacitated to ensure that it has teeth to take forward agenda of the ANC.

Councillor conditions

- Need to clarify the role of PR Councilors to avoid clashes with Ward Councilors
- Municipality grading must be reexamined in terms of benefits;
- Security of the councilors (risk assessments should be done when councilors first get into office);
- Unfunded mandates that particularly ward councilors have to absorb.

Community engagements:

- There should be a clear approach on how to respond to the community protests, especially land invasion protests.
- Find ways to improve and harmonize the relationship between the municipalities and traditional leaders.
- Public participation – after completion of the IDP, there should be report back to the communities to manage the expectation of the communities.
- Councilors must go to the communities, so that people know them.
- Encourage the youth to follow careers in local government finance and engineering.

Bylaws

- Review the municipal by-laws that prohibit cultural practices and activities.

Service delivery issues:

- Operation Sukuma Sakhe and similar programmes must be implemented and aligned in all spheres of the government
- Human settlements function should be moved to local government
- Given that CWP is in a mess, possibly need to look at an NGO to run the programme
- ANC to find ways of delivering services directly to the people, where the ANC is not in power

Municipal administrative staff and institutional structure:

- There was a strong feeling that Section 57 senior managers should remain on five year contracts.
- Scrapping of experience requirement at entry level in government, but we must look at the ways of blending the experience with education of the people.
- Must increase SCM capacity in municipalities, as corruption relates to SCM
- Need for funded Youth directorates and should be created at all levels of the government and funds should be ring-fenced.
- There was a need to remove experience requirement at entry level in government, as majority of graduates cannot get jobs in government because of experience requirement.

2. LEGISLATURE

NCOP representation

- Concern with representation of traditional leadership is that it can be rough in these institutions and we relate in a particular way with these leaders (Contralesa says they need to have status of sitting to participate and influence, not necessarily rights, this will require amendment of the rules to provide for this).
- There is a need for a Parliamentary Speaker who will not sit in any of the houses, but will deal with and manage those transversal legislative issues.
- Coalitions – ANC should develop strategic framework to guide the organization
- Party political funding – the principles and legislation coming out of the adhoc committee in parliament must cover all spheres of government.

- Legislative sector bill to be finalized.
- SALGA submits that it should have voting rights in the parliamentary houses and committees at national and provincial legislatures, but complication relates to the voting at NCOP where voting is by provinces, which means that SALGA will be a 10th province. Therefore, whilst we agree with this in principle, there should be further research on implications. Since much of the legislation impacting on local government legislation is section 75, SALGA may have to sit at the NA as well, hence support further research.
- Chief Whip as an institutional whip will have a dual reporting role to report to the ANC and to parliament. The issue here is the accessing of the funds from parliament so that it can beef up its capacity, to ensure that Chief Whip should be recognized as the Leader of Opposition. Agreed that we look at the implications for institutionalizing Office of the Chief Whip.
- Role, powers and funding of party caucuses – standardize assessment of the performance but must still remain a special branch of the ANC with no executive powers.
- NCOP will have to be empowered to play a catalytic role.

3. TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

Issues raised by Contralesa with ANC Task Team

- Constitutional matter – amendment of the constitution to give specific powers to traditional leaders given by the Interim Constitution, its being discussed for finality
- Legislative matters – Property Rates Act cannot be implemented in traditional areas, but only in urban nodes areas (exemption)
- SPLUMA – traditional leaders reject the SPLUMA as it relates to traditional communal lands (which they feel should be exempted) or amend Spluma as a compromise and government has started the process of amending the Act, one of the concerns relates to giving their powers to MM – whilst the task of amending the Act is being accepted, the model of Spluma is noted and should be adopted as a national legislation. they say in the process of amending Spluma, do not implement Spluma in traditional land, otherwise
- Traditional Courts Bill – they have a problem with opting out clause.

- Participation in municipalities – they feel that their role is minimal as they are not even engaged on the issues, hence they need a better model to ensure effective participation. Participation in NCOP also arose.
- Referral of Bills to the House of Traditional Leadership, they have a problem with them being given only 30 days for consultation.
- Proportional representation – they argue for increasing the size of the House taking into account the population of the province.
- Nhlapho Commission – department should check the resolution and implement the outstanding.
- Policy matters: 13% of the land is managed by them, they asking for this 13% of the land should be transferred from the state to the collective ownership of the people between 6 month to 2 years to allow of the necessary legislative amendment to scrap the permit to occupy as was the case. Security of Tenure must be protected guaranteed, but the model will have to be discussed with the traditional leaders as they do not want the idea of title deed as people will use property as security and will lose property when they default. Why other land was transferred to Ingonyama Trust, that does not apply to all. As we are one South Africa. Debtors will be engaged. Policy on remuneration of retired members of the Houses
- Point of procedure: Given that the issues have not been processed by the structures of the ANC as they are not part of the Discussion Document, it was felt that these matters be referred to a “consultative” conference as recommended in the document, which must deal with issues that arose before and after policy conference.
- Resolution should be that the issues are noted and referred to the consultative conference before national conference and allow discussion issues reflected in the discussion document.

Other Issues Raised around Traditional Leaders

- Whilst ANC should engage with the TL on implementation of Spluma, the TL should not stop development in their areas.
- Parliament expedites finalization of Khoi San Bill as it hampers a lot.
- Provide funding to enable TL to play developmental role.
- ANC to strengthen the way we engage with TL.

- Support review of by-laws that inhibit cultural practices everywhere.
- We must find formulation which prevents abuse of the system. For example, the KZN ANC has been moving for the repeal of Ingonyama Trust given its challenges.
- Protecting rights of vulnerable is important, and we protect them hence we must ensure that no TL remove them from the land in an abusive way, such as the eviction by the Royal Family of vulnerable workers in winter conditions in NW.
- As we deal with exempting traditional areas from Property Rates Act, we must not undermine the power of the municipalities to collect revenue that will assist them in delivering services to the communities.
- ANC must ensure harmonization of remuneration of traditional leaders.
- The consultative conference must include all the progressive formations.
- Concerns were expressed about the call for non application of Property Rates.
- On land, there should be proper land audit in the country, instead of confining ourselves on the land in former bantustans. We have to engage on to whom does land belong as it belongs to the people
- Traditional land should be transferred to a community trust, not traditional councils.
- **Resolution:** Noting that the traditional leaders have had a historic role in south African society, and in the formation of the ANC, many of the issues raised at the commission were not processed through ANC structures, that this involves very complex issues that relate to calls for non application of the existing laws to particular sections of society, amendment of the constitution and legislation and therefore recommend that these issues are taken to a summit to be convened by the NEC before the end of September where all these issues will be dealt with extensively and to be attended by the traditional leaders and progressive formations
- **Resolution:** Understanding that the municipalities may come up with different kinds by-laws, Cogta should develop uniform municipal by – laws to ensure that all people are able to practice their cultural activities in all municipalities.

4. DEMARCATION ISSUES

- On Demarcation of Boundaries: Consensus on review of municipal demarcation every 10 years.

- On Ward Delimitation – this is controversial issue, but we must remember that there is a lot of movement of people to ANC’s traditional strongholds who may be denied a chance to vote, so suggestion is that we leave the status quo of 5 year review, but that we research this and engage with branches in this process.
- Concern over the criteria for ward delimitation, which only focuses on numbers.
- MDB to embark on cleanup process on the outstanding demarcation issues.
- On not dividing traditional areas, it is difficult to effect that as some are huge
- Must improve the role of councils and public participation in demarcation processes.
- Role of demarcation process – there should be establishment of the MDB at provincial level.
- Ways should be found to curb the powers of the MDB, noting also its independence.
- ANC must establish a technical team to deal with the complex demarcation process to workshop all those will participate in the process.

Resolutions:

- Revisit the previous resolutions on demarcation and delimitation.
- 10 year review for municipal boundaries.
- 5 years for delimitation of wards after serious consultation with communities and structures of the ANC, reason being that our strongholds will be affected and many wards will be delimited after 10 years.
- ANC technical team to help the organization on demarcation and delimitation processes.
- Role of municipal councils in the demarcation processes should be clearly defined.

5. CORRUPTION:

- The Commission reaffirms existing resolutions of the ANC on corruption, the ANC’s position against corruption and its manifestations society and reiterated that the fight against corruption as one of the ANC priorities. It then resolved that:
 - ❑ The ANC must pronounce itself clearly and consistently against corruption.
 - ❑ The ANC should strengthen all state institutions that deal with corruption.

- ❑ Ensure that the ANC public representatives undergo lifestyle audits and probity checks.
- ❑ The ANC must discipline all ANC members and leaders involved in corruption.
- ❑ Business links must be reduced and should be a criminal offence, including that the ANC should partner with private sector for multi sectoral approach.
- ❑ The ANC must ensure that members and leaders found guilty of corruption are not re-deployed in other areas of public deployment and ANC structures.
- ❑ Members and leaders of the ANC implicated on corruption should clear their names.
- ❑ Look at ways in which not only are tender processes open, but that observers from MPAC could even act as observers.
- ❑ Disciplinary and such actions must be taken timeously.
- ❑ Leadership must set ethical culture inside and outside our ranks.

6. MACRO URBAN SPACE

- The draft resolution was agreed to, with further comments such as:
 - ❑ Need to internalize statistics of over 7-8 million more living in cities and towns. Need to grasp what this migration means.
 - ❑ Need to address informal settlements and planning issues around them needs to be addressed.
 - ❑ New legislation also needed.

7. JOB CREATION

- The Commission noted the call to make participants in public employment programmes, (EPWP and CWP) permanent and treating them in terms of the Labour Relations Act. However, the Commission understood that these programmes provide work opportunities that are not jobs in terms of labour laws.
- Therefore, the Commission solved that remuneration of the participants in public employment opportunity programmes is standardized and that the participants are skilled to ensure that they are able to get employment once they exit the programmes.
- Further comments noted were:
 - ❑ The review of funding of EPWP projects.
 - ❑ Need coordination – geographically, standardized, etc EPWP was a way to reach to those not reached.

- ❑ Reaffirm ANCYL scrapping experience at entry level plus in-house training.
- ❑ Prioritise youth and women as small enterprise.

8. CONSOLIDATE POLITICAL POWER

- The Commission noted that the ANC finds itself in coalition and opposition benches in some municipalities and that the ANC does not have overarching policy to guide its participation in coalitions and engagement in opposition politics. In light of this reality, the Commission, therefore, resolved that the ANC should develop overarching political strategies, which will clearly explain how the ANC would participate in the coalitions and engage in opposition politics, including how to deal with opposition parties when the ANC is in power.
- Additional issues:
 - ❑ Develop strategy as ANC given that opposition in different places differs. Allow for assessment situation to situation.
 - ❑ WC to provide paper on opposition.
 - ❑ ANC not visible and so must have programmes to go back to houses of people.
 - ❑ We start with campaigning too late.

9. PLANNING

- Strengthen Inter Governmental Relations.
- Capacitate communities.
- Must be economic planning in municipalities linked to NDP, such as using old infrastructure like Babelegi.
- Need discussion on monitoring misalignment at ANC level on a full-time basis (such as ACSA wanting to expand runway in CPT on land for human settlements).

10. OUTSTANDING RESOLUTIONS

- The Commission noted the previous resolutions on the area of governance and legislature. It further noted that some of the resolutions have been implemented fully and partially. With regard to those not implemented, the Commission resolved that the ANC must initiate a process to identify the impending factors and determination of how the organization will ensure implementation.
- On rationalisation of provinces, no explanation given why not appointed. In terms of time frames,

Commission must be appointed. Need also to include addressing powers to Local Government and metros. Must start that work immediately.

- Need to implement resolutions and where further engagement is needed that should be done.

11. CAPACITY AT LUTHULI HOUSE

- The Commission noted that the National Office has not been effective in terms of monitoring and ensuring implementation of the conference resolutions and challenges that impeded implementation of certain resolution of the ANC.
- Therefore, the Commission resolves that the monitoring and evaluation mechanism should be strengthened with a view to ensuring that conference resolutions are implemented and the impending factors are identified and addressed.

Social transformation

- a. We would like to thank all the Delegates for the valuable inputs and lively discussions that we had yesterday on this important matter of Social Transformation. There is no doubt that we have enriched our Policy Proposals and through them we will accelerate the desired process of change in our country;
- b. This 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;
- c. Accordingly, the Policy Proposals that we are presenting here, 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;
- d. This we do within the context of the Resolutions of the 53rd National Conference of the ANC 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.
- e. 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 Rights in The Constitution, and the foundation of the Freedom Charter.
- f. 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; fight very hard for the protection of women and children against violence and general abuse.
- g. We do this as we create a common identity free of crime and violence against the vulnerable and increase our struggle for a better society precisely because the social fabric is increasingly strained.
- h. Our struggle against the Breakdown of the Social Fabric also includes the need not only to adopt correct Policies, but to ensure that we take practical and meaningful steps to defeat such societal perils as the Drug and Alcohol abuse and their consequent negative impact, especially on our youth, but also on our communities in general;
- i. We also have a historical responsibility to stop sexual exploitation of the Girl-Child, protect these vulnerable members of our society so that they, themselves, are allowed to grow properly and have the opportunity to play their important roles in society;
- 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. We have to find better ways to help our communities 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;
- 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 our 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;
 - q. Again, as part of this important work of helping our people to escape the degrading conditions of poverty we must also improve our implementation of integrated human settlements; improve our fight to eliminate the squalor of informal settlements; and help give dignity to our people by eliminating the Title-Deeds backlog;
 - 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 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. We have no doubt that all these Policy Proposals and the Discussions that would follow as well as the Resolutions that should emanate from this Conference, would help us move forward towards the attainment of our historical mission of Socio-Economic Transformation to which, we, as ANC members, have committed ourselves.
 - w. We are therefore privileged to present to this plenary the recommendations from the two Commissions.
 - x. The Commissions have compiled a detailed report of all of the proposals that have been made in both Commissions One and Two. What is presented here is a summary of the very rich deliberations of the two Commissions.
1. **In relation to Social Cohesion, Nation Building and the Development of Society, the Commission recommends that:**
 - 1.1. ANC branches must be effective agents of change as leaders in our 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 in our televisions and broadcast in national and community radios to reflect our values.
 - 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.
 - 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 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.

- 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 combated 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.
- 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 Commission recommends 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 (CCIFSA) 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 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 violence against women and children. In August 2017 ANC branches should all hold men's marches against violence against women and children under the banner of *Not in My Name - Count Me In*.
 - 2.8. Overall, ANC policy is in place, and the key task as ensuring the implementation of this 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, 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 to sport and recreation facilities must be properly resourced. The Department of Women needs to be fully capacitated to discharge its mandate effectively.
- 2.12. Izindaba on the progress on the empowerment of women per sector needs to be held on a regular basis.
- 2.13. There is a need to have compulsory provision of sanitary towels to girls and women by the state, starting with the indigent girl learners and young women and those in the care of state institutions. There should be consideration of zero rating for sanitary products.
- 2.14. The comprehensive strategy for and the coordination 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 analyse and review the Kader Asmal Report on the Chapter 9 Institutions and consider if the recommendations are still relevant.
- 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 the 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 to prevent children being left in the care of strangers, must be undertaken by ANC branches.
- 2.19. Abuse of religion for sexual predation by some priests 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 convert to a money bill 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 Minister of Basic Education 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 law 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. There was a call to decriminalise Sex work. However we recommend that, The STC should be mandated by the 54th National Conference to have a high level discussion and engagement with relevant stakeholders, and to continue to engage society on this. 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. Decision 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, including 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. Reconsideration of the qualifications required for ECD practitioners must take place, and consideration should be made for those who work with children up to the age of 4 to be remunerated by the state 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. How organisations and employers access information in the sex offender register to protect children should be explored.
 - 2.40. Child headed households 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 provided that the beneficiaries are still studying
 - 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 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 seamlessness 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 internship programme is offering work exposure for a period of 12 months and yet entry requirements of government require 3 year's work experience. These must be aligned. The age cap on internships must be removed. 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.
 - 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 Commission Recommends that:**
 - 3.1. A framework must be developed to support black owned companies in the housing sector, with spe-

cial attention to those owned by women, youth, military veterans, and people with disability. 30% set aside should benefit these designated groups.

- 3.2. Transformatory urban planning that changes apartheid spatial residential patterns must be focused on, with a move away from high density residential areas to those with appropriate recreational and sports facilities, and the necessary public transport systems.
- 3.3. In the creation of new cities and towns, planning should promote de-racialisation of society
- 3.4. This must include accelerated development of human settlement legislation to utilise suitably positioned land for houses, and the enforcement of existing law and by-laws.
- 3.5. Land invasions must be curbed through appropriate bylaws. Fast track the amendment of the Prevention of Illegal Eviction Act 1998 (PIE) to deal with land for housing development.
- 3.6. Land redistribution can be achieved through constitutional means. Mining and other private sector land owners should be encouraged to sell their land to municipalities for human settlement purposes.
- 3.7. The sale of RDP houses by beneficiaries should be prevented until the tenth year anniversary of issue of the title deeds. The rental of RDP houses should also be regulated. Acceleration of the issuing of title deeds must be effected.
- 3.8. Uniformity in the standard of housing provision across all provinces must be addressed and rectification of housed must be completed.
- 3.9. Provision of housing for military veterans, with appropriate consultation, must be in line with applicable legislation.
- 3.10. Conduct an audit of all unfinished housing programmes.
- 3.11. The human settlement options must include site and service schemes, options for people to build their own houses, high rise accommodation, rental stock for those who are temporary residents in urban areas for work purposes, the transformation of hostels into family units, and the provision of student accommodation.
- 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 mandate of the allocation of houses must

not be shared with Traditional leaders

- 3.14. Water 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 infrastructure is not yet providing services to the community.
- 3.16. Municipalities must commission viability studies for building of small dams to ensure water security
- 3.17. Sanitation must be improved and the bucket system eradication must be intensified.
- 3.18. Community libraries and parks should reflect on the planning of new communities from the initial planning stages.
- 3.19. Programmes aimed at youth development such as a Housing Youth Brigade as part of the national youth service programme needs to be institutionalised.
- 3.20. The ANC should make proper service delivery especially in areas named after our leaders.

In conclusion, it is recommended that following the 54th Conference, each ANC PEC develops a Social Transformation Action Plan for implementing ANC policy and resolutions which will take into account the specific challenges and opportunities in each community/province. The role of the ANC to lead the community must be strongly emphasized in these Action Plans. The monitoring of these Action Plans must be conducted by the ANC STC provincially and nationally.

Peace and Stability

1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1. The Commission affirmed previous resolutions on peace and stability taken at the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung. The Commission acknowledged the progress done on the implementation of the resolutions. However, it was noted that there are some of the resolution which has not been fully implemented. Further, the Commission accepted the description that the state of peace and stability since the advent of the democratic dispensation in 1994 is **relatively stable** compared to many countries of the African continent in particular and the world in general.
- 1.2. The Commission further re-affirmed the thrust of its 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. The Commission accepted 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. The Commission acknowledged its fundamental mandate in supporting economic growth towards the realization of radical socio-economic transformation in the current local and global economic climate. The Commission 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 Africa are and feel safe.

- 1.4. Pursuant to the foregoing, the Commission identified the following key focus areas as critical for the Peace and Stability Sub-Committee for the consideration of Conference, namely: state of peace and stability since 1994, policy issues related to 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 SINCE 1994

- 2.1. Despite South Africa’s relative stability, the commission 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 starts to threaten the authority of the state,
 - c) The porousness of our border environment which starts to threaten our territorial integrity.
 - d) Acts of crime and criminality which starts to threaten the well-being and safety of our people.
 - e) Slow economic transformation which starts to threaten our country’s economic development.
 - f) Problem of Terrorism.
 - g) Information and cyber.

2.2. Therefore, based on the foregoing challenges, the Commission recommend the following:

- 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 deterrent.
- a. 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 migration and border management.
- d) Conclude treaty agreements with the country of origin of the incarcerated foreign nationals in order to allow for the exchange and repatriation of inmates servicing minor sentences.
- e) Finalize the Immigration and Refugee Acts 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 Schedule 6 crime.
- i) The 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) The ANC Branches should work with the Law Enforcement Agencies and the local government to deter human trafficking, illegal migration and champion the fight against the manufacturing, distribution, smuggling and the use of narcotics.
- k) The ANC Branches should lead the process of reviving the 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 the life style audit, 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) The ANC should lead the process of concientising communities through the branches in the dangers of radicalization of community members by terror groups through internet and social media platforms.

3. CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

3.1. The Commission noted that South Africa does not have an interstate exchange programme with other countries. This is reflected by the following:

- a) South Africa holds about 6440 sentenced foreign nationals serving an average of 10.6 years for various crimes. This puts a heavy burden on the already strained fiscus. Four-in-ten of the 6440 foreign nationals has committed aggressive crimes such as murder.
- b) Further, the Commission 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 111/1998 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 custody reserved for crimes regarded as very serious against the society.

3.2. Based on the above, the Commission recommend the following:

- a) There should be serious consideration and approval of a new policy to enable Prisoner Transfer Agreements at bilateral and multilateral platforms.
- b) Government must develop mechanism to allow the offenders who committed petty crimes to be tried by community court and repatriate foreign nationals convicted of petty crimes and introduce measures to prevent such 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 consult with the victims to solicit their views before releasing the offenders on parole, including in cases of foreign national before their repatriation.
- e) Review the legislation setting life sentences at 25 years into a longer term of custodial sentence without a possibility of parole.
- f) The ANC Branches should undertake educational campaigns to facilitate the reintegration of offenders to communities.
- g) South African Police Service and the Department of Correctional Services should regularly meet and develop mechanisms to address the question of overcrowding in Correctional Facilities.
- h) The Department of Correctional Services should educate the released offenders on their options of expungement or presidential pardon where appropriate in order to facilitate their reintegrate to the society and their participation in the economy.

4. DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

- 4.1. The Commission noted that 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 Commission 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 development goals.
 - b) The DHA does not have advanced technology, professionals or legislation required to modernize and maintain its systems and processes for the safe keeping and maintenance of record.
 - c) South Africa is facing 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.

4.2. Based on these challenges, the Commission recommend that:

- a) The 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 through the legislation.
- b) Put in place policies and legislation that provides for its full mandate to manage identity and international migration to achieve national service delivery, economic development and security goals.
- c) Implement operational and organizational models appropriate for managing 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.
- e) The ANC Branches together with the Councilors should develop and maintain the 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 in order to monitor the movement and activities of both Citizens and foreign national in South Africa
- g) Review the security clearance status to all DHA staff and repeat it 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 the refugee processing centres next to the port of entry to accommodate asylum seeker while considering their applications.

5. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE

- 5.1. The Commission noted that the Department of Defence remains a key strategic player in the maintenance of the South African territorial integrity. They have the full legislative mandate to ensure the protection of our borders, including maritime and airspace. The SANDF has undergone significant professionalization and contribute in the maintenance of peace and stability in the African

continent at large and protection of our nation in particular.

In addition, the Department of Defence plays a major role in support of disaster management. Further, the Commission 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 inability of the department 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 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 into the Department of Public Enterprises denies the Department of Defence the 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 technologies.

5.2. Based on these challenges, the Commission recommends that:

- 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 in favour of SANDF Works Formation.
- b) Government should ensure that the budget allocation to the Department of Defence is adequate 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, skills development.
- d) DENEL should be urgently migrated from the Department of Public Enterprises to the Department of Defence to ensure control of strategic and sovereign defence capability.

6. MILITARY VETERANS

6.1. On issues of Military Veterans the Commission recommend the following:

- a) Re-affirm the Polokwane resolution that the Government should establish a standalone 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 point.
- c) The 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 provide for the mobile clinics in remote areas where there are no military hospitals to cater for the veterans.
- f) The Department should fastrack the review and amendment of the Military Veterans Act of 2011.
- g) The Department of Military Veterans should be the sole provider of housing for the military veterans.

7. PRIVATE SECURITY

7.1. The Commission noted that the industry has grown and contributes to job creation. However, of serious concern is the massive employment of foreign nationals and the exploitation of our nationals by the companies. Further, the Commission noted the resistance by the sector towards transformation which is characterized by their undue pressure to the assentation of the Act by the President into law.

7.2. Further, the Commission noted that the Private Security Companies acquires weapons of high caliber while having poorly trained personnel.

7.3. Further, the Commission noted that the industry coordinate and send South African to provide security services in conflict zones outside the country.

The Commission therefore recommends the following:

- a) Accenting 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 owned by the State.
- d) Department of Labour to must strengthen its capacity to monitor the exploitation and abuse of employees, employed by the private security firms.
- e) The state to further consider the utilization of Military Veterans in the provision of security services for government buildings and institutions.
- f) The Government to stop outsourcing of foreign owned private security to National Key Point and other strategic installations
- g) Enforcement of the Foreign Military Assistance Act.
- h) Possible partnership with sector to enhance its transformation.
- i) Regulation of employment practices.
- c) The Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1997 and the Law of Evidence and the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act 103 of 1987 should be reviewed to deal with the low of rate successful prosecution.
- d) Department of Justice should bring the free legal Aid services closer to the communities.
- e) The Courts working hours should be extended including the possibility of using weekends in order to address the high case backlogs.
- f) The ANC Branches and relevant institutions should conduct awareness campaigns on Human Rights matters.
- g) Expedite the passing of the Traditional Courts Bill.
- h) Introduce harsher sentences for defaulters of maintenance orders.
- i) Government must introduce harsher punishment for offenders who have committed murder especially against woman and children.
- j) Reaffirm the 53rd Conference resolution that “Government should strengthen briefing black lawyers so as to equip them with defending the state and not individuals, thus creating a pool for potential judges”.

8. JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- 8.1. The Commission 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 separation of powers and independence doctrine of each arm of the state has caused strain in the recent period.
- 8.2. The Commission recommended that:
- a) The separation doctrine of the three arms should be clearly regulated- rules of engagement without undermining each other.
 - b) Integrating the CJS and modernizing using technology.
 - 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. Strengthening 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.

9. FIGHTING CRIME AND CORRUPTION

9.1 The commission noted

- 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 court ready dockets and compromised evidence coming into force of the legislation has not had a significant impact in deterring public servants from doing business with the State.
- c) The focus on anti-corruption activities should extend to issues like land, buildings, licenses and permits, and provision of government services.
- d) Further note that the current number of police officers on the ground is insufficient to the population of the country. The current ratio is the number of police officers to the population is 1:350 (conservative). The Commission 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 Crime in all its manifestations. The scourge of crime affect the entire nation regardless of class, race and geographic footprint.
- e) Further, the Commission noted that there 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.
- f) The Commission noted that there is no national norms and standards for policing in South Africa.
- g) Further noting that the current lack of norms hampers on planning, budgeting and deployment of resources to service our communities. The police population ratio as its stand is inadequate and not aligned to a growing population in South Africa. Policing need and priorities are not aligned to new spatial development including the current community and industry expansions.
- h) The Commission noted that there is lack of progress in the implementation of the Judge Farlam Commission recommendation with

regard to the professionalization and the demilitarization of SAPS. Further noting the appointment of the SAPS Transformation Task Team on the 15 August 2015 to champion the transformation for the police service in line with the provision of the NDP. Further noting the reluctance and resistance from the side of police management to support and capacitate the work of the Task Team as expected by Cabinet is course for great concern.

- i) The Commission noted that the FICA review has been finalized and enacted by the President.

9.2 The Commission recommends that:

- a) There should be enhance cooperation of the anti-corruption agencies.
- b) Investigations should be intelligence driven and prosecution led to ensure a high conviction rate.
- c) Civil servants including those in the security cluster should be periodically rotated from one employment side 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.
- d) The government should conduct a life style audit for all employees of the State across all levels and its related entities.
- e) The vetting process should be expedited for government employees and all related entities.
- f) There should be single vetting agency for the State to strategically place civil 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) The 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 private sector to subject itself to instrument of financial interest disclose, vetting and lifestyle audit.
- j) Increase the capacity of the police officers in line with the reality on the ground (1:150 over a period of five years) including increasing the number vehicles and the police stations.

- k) Community Police Forums (CPFs) must be strengthened and adequately resourced.
- l) The Ministry of Police should develop norms and standards for policing.
- m) SAPS in partnership Statistics South Africa should investigate an acceptable police population ratio for the country.
- n) All new community infrastructure developments should integrate policing and safety plans.
- o) ANC branches must ensure that they actively participate in the Community Police Forums.
- p) Reaffirm the 52nd POLOKWANE Conference Resolution that, The ANC branches to establish Street Committees and ensure that the matter is a standing item in all BEC meetings.
- q) All ANC Branch Executive Committees must establish a portfolio of a Safety officer.
- r) ANC should strengthen consequence management system against cadres who participate or found guilty of corruption.
- s) Reaffirm the 2015 NGC resolution that, ANC leaders and members who are alleged to be involved in corrupt activities, should step aside until their names are cleared.
- t) The ranks of senior police officials must be reviewed, in order to adequately align functions and responsibilities.
- u) Reaffirm the ANC policy decision for the establishment a Single Police Service.
- v) There must be a closer working relationship between police and social workers, especially for aftercare programmes for woman and children who have been abuse.
- w) There must be more visibility Police in our tourist routes and sites.
- x) Perpetrators of crime against woman and children must be subjected harsher sentences.
- y) ANC Volunteers must be encouraged to participate as police reservist and be paid a stipend.
- z) ANC branches in partnership with faith based and other Community Based Organizations (CBOs) must champion Moral Regeneration campaigns in various communities.
- aa) ANC Braches and Local Municipalities to intensify campaigns on fight against drug and alcohol abuse.
- bb) The Liquor Boards must review trading hours of liquor trading outlets in the townships and villages
- cc) The Ministry to provide the necessary support and resources of the Task Team
- dd) The Ministry to provide ongoing oversight through monitoring and evaluating the work of the Task Team.
- ee) The Ministry to remain fully accountable as the custodian of the transformation of the South African Police Service.
- ff) The FICA regulations should be urgently developed and implemented.

International Relations

“The ANC is in an unpredictable and uncertain world that is characterized by increased insecurity and the rise of populism.”

Introduction

The report reflects the discussions held in the International Relations (IR) Commission; inputs received from the nine Provinces as well as from sectoral engagements. Sectoral contributions and inputs received prior to the National Policy Conference are not yet covered in this report. Those will be further processed after NPC plenary engagements, for a final report to be presented at the ANC’s National Conference in December 2017.

The Commission’s deliberations took place against the backdrop of the resolutions taken at the ANC’s 53rd National Conference in Mangaung in 2012, the National General Council and previous makgotla as well as policy positions taken in the International Relations arena.

Historical Mandate of the ANC: a progressive internationalism

The Commission reaffirmed the historic mandate of the ANC as outlined in the discussion document, namely **Progressive Internationalism**. It also emphasized the ANC’s anti-imperialist posture.

Africa remains central within our overall foreign policy discourse; and with this, our commitment to the African agenda and the realization of a peaceful and prosperous continent - as envisaged by Agenda 2063 of the African Union.

The Commission further noted that in keeping with the perspective of Progressive Internationalism. The ANC’s six International Relations pillars that must shape South Africa’s engagements in the international arena are as follows:

1) Building a better Africa and a Better World,

- 2) Continental and International Solidarity,
- 3) Party-to-party relations and multi-party relations,
- 4) Transformation of Global Governance,
- 5) Policy development,
- 6) Campaigns.

In addition to the already defined pillars, the Commission endorses that “*Organizational Integration of International work*” be considered as a seventh pillar.

Balance of Forces

The general assessment on Balance of Forces as contained in the discussion document was reaffirmed. The Commission also noted the major geopolitical developments and their direct effect on Africa and its stability; considering the unpredictable and uncertain world characterized by the increased insecurity and the rise in populism. This is the cornerstone of our policy discussion document.

The Commission reflected on the overall Balance of Forces and its impact on the SADC region, continent, globally as well as domestically, in order to make a deeper analysis and therefore develop capacity to respond to the effects of such changes constantly occurring.

The Commission noted that a preoccupation with domestic issues such as political and organizational conflicts could impact negatively on our influence in the region, on the continent, and in the world.

It was further noted that South Africa’s strength is born from struggle. A reflection on the legacy of Comrade OR Tambo is therefore instructive in that he was able to engage both the East and West during the Cold War. Our engagement in the continent and the world must seek to emulate this example.

The Commission, being aware that government is still processing the White Paper on Foreign Policy, reflected on how best to influence government’s conceptualization of “National Interest.” It further noted the significance of the National Interest on how South Africa re-

lates to and engages with countries and parties around the world.

In terms of the White Paper on Foreign Policy, the National Interest should not be narrow and inward looking, but should consider a host of developments for the greater good of South Africa, Africa and the world.

The **Commission recommends** that our National Interest should be viewed broadly and include the development and upliftment of our people; stability of the country and the constitutional order; growth and development of the South African economy; the growth and development of Southern Africa; a stable and prosperous African continent; and a just and equitable world order.

As our country further engages with its region, continent and the international community, it should seek to build an environment in which we can realise the national socio-economic agenda as well as our political and security interests.

The Commission further reflected on the competing forces on the continent such as Israel and Morocco as well as the increased influence of some former colonial powers – and how this continues to carry potential to diminish the already fragile leadership role played the ANC and South Africa in influencing the world.

In remedying this, the Commission recommends that we reformulate our Africa Engagement Strategy to take into account these latest developments, including other developments globally.

ANC's Role in Building a Better Africa

The Commission reaffirmed the ANC policy position that is also largely covered in the discussion document, on the centrality of Africa and its commitment to the realization of Agenda 2063 of the African Union (AU) with the focus on:

- Revitalization of Africa and its robust engagement;
- Strengthening of Africa's institutions and leadership;
- Consolidation of Africa's governance structures;
- Strengthening Africa's Unity;
- Silencing the guns by 2020; and
- Strengthening SADC integration.

The **Commission recommends** that;

- The government must increase its efforts to popularize work done by bodies such as the African Union and its institutions, especially those that are not visible like the African Peer Review Mechanism, the New Partnership for Africa's Develop-

ment (NEPAD), the Pan-African Youth Union (PYU) and the Pan-African Parliament.

- That the ANC reiterates that government must implement a resolution taken in 52nd National Conference in Polokwane to transform the SADC Parliamentary Forum into a full legislative body.
- That the ANC government must operationalize the resolution adopted in 52nd National Conference in Polokwane, following the opportunity given to South Africa to host the Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO). The ANC government must fulfill this role that has long outstanding since 2008, and provide all the necessary resources required to enable the organization to deliver on its mandate.
- In January 2017, the AU granted PAWO the status of a Specialized Agency alongside the African Capacity Building Foundation. This resolution means that PAWO has to be transformed from an organization of former liberation movements of the continent to an Agency of the AU, placed at the helm of sustainable development. Given the latter mentioned, the **Commission recommends** that:
 - The South African government recognizes PAWO as part of the governance structures of the African Union that must be fully supported and allocated the necessary sufficient resources.
 - A Special Envoy is appointed at the AU level, to enable PAWO to implement its mandate of ensuring Gender Equality and Women Empowerment in Africa.

ANC's Strategic Role Towards a Better World

The Commission agreed with the central thrusts of the policy discussion document and agreed that the ANC formulate a strategy in our engagement with countries of the North and the South. This must be done with the objective of ensuring that Partnerships and Cooperation are continuously established, reviewed and or sustained within the context of our National Interest. The experience and lessons drawn from our membership of BRICS must enable us to seek additional cooperating partners.

In this regard, the **Commission recommends** that the ANC and its government continue to strengthen South-South cooperation and work towards a formal affiliation to other emerging forums or cooperating partners such as the (CIVETS) Colombia, Indonesia, Vietman, Egypt, Turkey, and South Africa. This is an emerging forum consisting of countries with economies ranging between half a billion and \$1trillion.

BRICS

The Commission reaffirmed the thrust of the analysis as contained in the Discussion Document.

It further noted that the historical connection of South Africa with countries of the South continues to be of high importance. Therefore, South-South cooperation through forums such as BRICS is of primary importance to our movement.

We further noted the strategic importance of our BRICS membership as part of our overall international relations strategy. It was however noted that our membership within BRICS must be fully utilized to leverage and expand our sphere of influence but also derive adequate necessary benefits that will help us address the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and underdevelopment.

The Commission noted that as much as our trade has increased with some of our BRICS partners, the balance of trade is still not in our favor. We must also ensure that our domestic industrialization program improves dramatically if we are to benefit from favorable trading relations with BRICS partners, particularly China.

The **Commission recommends** that:

- We continuously review and analyze the position of individual BRICS members and the role they play in advancing the world we aspire towards.
- We leverage our chairing of BRICS in 2018 to be more beneficial to South Africa and the continent.
- The launch of the African Regional Center of the New Development Bank (“BRICS Bank”) in Johannesburg is expedited.
- The government of South Africa is mandated to step up its involvement in ensuring that the mooted BRICS Ratings agency is actualized.
- We align our bilateral programs with China at the recent FOCAC meeting held in South Africa in 2015. This will ensure that we align project implementation within Africa, particularly those that cut across countries. This approach will also come handy in support of our President who has been tasked to lead infrastructure development on the continent.
- While we at times exchange Professionals and ordinary labour force, labour laws differ between all member countries within BRICS. Therefore, the Commission **further recommends** that we sensitize our BRICS partners on what would be fair labour practice, whilst maintaining the respect for different labour laws across BRICS countries.

International Criminal Court (ICC)

The Commission agreed with the thrust of the Discussion Document and reaffirmed the 2015 National General Council (NGC), regarding the imperative for South Africa to withdraw from the International Criminal Court.. Furthermore, South Africa must ratify the Malabo Protocol on Amendments to the Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights and also encourage other AU members States to ensure a speedy operationalization of the African Court of Human and People’s Rights.

Developments in the North

The Commission reaffirmed the Discussion Document and observations were made related to some of the latest developments in the North, after the Discussion Document was drafted. These latest developments are likely to bring about some changes in our relationships and therefore require that as the ANC, we constantly pay attention to such developments in order to find strategies to navigate through these changes while ensuring our National Interest.

The **Commission further recommends** that:

- The Discussion Document should be updated to include developments in the global environment such as the resurgence of neo-conservatism. This manifests itself in the victory of centrist parties in some of the advanced societies. On the other hand, we have witnessed the resurgence of the British Labour Party. Beyond that though, is the phenomena of the overall demise of established political parties and the rise of pragmatic, non-ideological parties, who are not a part of the establishment.
- The ANC must voice its strong disapproval of the decision of the United States to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on Combating Climate Change.
- The ANC recognizes the gains made by the previous US Administration towards normalizing the US relations with Cuba, working towards lifting the blockade, all of which have now been reversed by the new administration. It is within this context that the Commission further recommends that the ANC expresses its disappointment with the latest measures by the USA directed against the Republic of Cuba.
- An analysis should be made on the impacts of the new US administration on South Africa, as well as the pending withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, also known as Brexit.
- An observation was made that there is an emerging concept that begins to define the role of Cities as highly central to developments at countries’ level.

The South African government must most certainly be part of these developments. However, much as the roles of Cities in the development of nations and the international development is important, the ANC should guard against a possibility of focusing attention and resource mainly to Cities. Left unchecked, this approach will certainly perpetuate underdevelopments in smaller towns. The Commission further recommends that Party representation at an international level should be coordinated at a country level and not through imposition of structures by the international community, given that the phenomenon of rapid urbanization is not the sole preserve of Cities.

- It is recommended that South Africa must thoroughly examines a call made, to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and ensure that we fully understand how membership of this group functions as well as how it will serve our National Interest or potentially have a negative impact.
- **Further recommended** that government should outline the coordination between the Departments of Trade and Industry (DTI) and International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) on the implementation of Economic Diplomacy.
- The 53rd National Conference resolution on the Reform of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is being reaffirmed.
- In line with our previous resolution at the 53rd National Conference, there is an urgent need to transform Institutions of Global Governance from a power-based to a rule-based system that is fair, unbiased and benefits all nations of the world. Such a global system must encourage resolution of issues through interaction as opposed to individual country interventions.

Party-to-Party and Multi-party relations

The Commission reaffirmed the importance of our relations with the Former Liberation Movements, regardless of whether they are in power or not. The **Commission recommends** that the ANC continue to assess its Party-to-Party relations with its traditional friends but also nurture and establish some form of political relations with other Parties who share the values of the ANC.

Socialist International (SI)

A number of European Social Democratic Parties have terminated their Socialist International membership to establish an alternative organization. This has also led

to the withdrawal of their resources from the Socialist International, which has negatively impacted on the organization's ability to operate.

The **Commission recommends** that:

- The ANC contributes to the strengthening of Socialist International by preparing a second tier leadership that will be able to deal with current and future challenges facing the progressive left, across the world.
- The ANC works with other Socialist International members to ensure that the SI is more visible in its campaigns and organizational aspects like policy research, international solidarity and all its other obligations.
- We utilize the African Chapter of SI to place the African Agenda on the SI programme and make it more relevant to the progressive forces of the world.

Continental and International Solidarity

Swaziland:

The Commission reflected on the nature of the Swazi Monarchy where the King wields executive, judicial and legislative power.

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.

Accordingly, the **Commission recommends** that:

- The 53rd Resolution of the Mangaung Conference of the ANC on Swaziland be implemented, and further recommended the following for consideration by the National Conference in December:
 - The Swaziland political situation should be placed before SADC for intervention.
 - The South African government should upscale its strategic influence of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), to ensure that the Swaziland Monarchy recognizes its citizen's rights.
 - The ANC reminds the progressive Swazi political and civil organizations of the need for them to lead their Swazi struggle.
 - That the ANC explore mechanisms of strengthening its solidarity campaigns on Swaziland.
- The ANC expresses its support for the release of ALL political prisoners, including South Africans who are incarcerated in Swaziland.

- The ANC supports the call by the people of Swaziland for the unbanning of political parties.
- The ANC work towards formalizing its party-to-party relations with PUDEMO.

Western Sahara:

In its reflections, the Commission made observations that after forty (40) years of the struggle for Liberation by the People of Western Sahara, their country's occupation by Morocco still continues. Western Sahara remains the last country on the Continent that is still to be liberated.

We reaffirmed the Resolution of the 2015 National General Council (NGC) on Western Sahara.

The **Commission further recommends** that;

- The engagement with Morocco on Western Sahara must be speeded up by the AU and UN; more importantly, a much-awaited Referendum on self-determination for the Saharawi people.
- The ANC calls for the intensification of the solidarity campaign in support of the People of Western Sahara.
- That the ANC organizes study tours to the Western Sahara to educate ANC cadres and the broader society about the plight of the people of Western Sahara.
- Furthermore, the **Commission recommends** that the ANC should call for the government to appoint a Special Envoy to Western Sahara so as to ensure a continued special focus and facilitate the necessary timely interventions.

Cuba:

The Commission reaffirmed the 53rd National conference resolutions and reiterated our commitment to continue to support the Cuban people. We also register our disappointment with the reversal of gains in US/Cuba relations under the previous US Administration.

The **Commission** therefore **recommends** that the ANC;

- Should strengthen its solidarity campaign with the Cuban people for the lifting of the blockade against the Republic of Cuba.
- Should denounce the current US Administration for halting progress in bilateral relations made between the US and Cuba under the previous Administration.
- Should call for greater investment and trade by South African companies with Cuba.

The Struggle of the Kurdish People:

The **Commission recommends** that ANC supports the Kurdish people struggle for political rights, peace and justice in the Middle East and urges all role players to engage for the attainment of a political solution in the conflict. The ANC further calls for the release of Kurdish people's leader, Abdullah Ocalan, and all political prisoners.

Palestine

The Commission reaffirmed the ANC's unwavering steadfast commitment for the struggle of Palestinian people. It expressed its disappointment at the State of Israel's lack of commitment towards peace.

The Commission deliberated on 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.

The Commission debated the need for a call to downgrading of the SA Embassy in Israel, to send a strong message about Israel's continued illegal occupation of Palestine and East Jerusalem, as well as the continued human rights abuses against the People of Palestine.

The Commission recommends the following proposals;

OPTION 1.

1. **A call for the downgrade of South Africa's Embassy to send a strong message to the State of Israel:**
 - This is necessitated by the fact that several resolutions have been taken in the past, which have not been successfully implemented.
 - Israel continues to arrogantly expand settlements in the Occupied West Bank in defiance of UN resolutions and international law.

OPTION 2

2. **A call for a total shutdown of the Embassy:**
 - This is necessitated by the fact that several Resolutions have been taken in the past, which have not been successfully implemented.
 - Several Resolutions were taken in the past that have not been implemented
 - Israel continues to arrogantly expand settlements in the West Bank in defiance of UN Resolutions and International Law.
3. **There was also a view that a risk analysis be conducted before the downgrade or a total shutdown.**
4. **There was however another view that the risk analysis is not necessary.**

These remain proposals for discussion in branches in preparation for resolutions in the 54th National Conference in December of this year.

We also noted work done by the ANC in uniting the People of Palestine, which is a prerequisite for real negotiations with Israel.

The **Commission recommends** that the ANC must continue to focus more attention on uniting the Palestinian Parties; and

Further recommends that the ANC host a Global Solidarity Conference on Palestine, consisting of the Liberation Movements of Palestine and all other International Progressive Organizations who support the liberation of the Palestinian people.

The **Commission recommends** a call for an intensification of the solidarity campaign with the people of Palestine.

The ANC and the alliance should mount a more visible campaign and give Israel an ultimatum to move out of the Occupied Territories.

Organizational integration of International work

The Commission recommends 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.
- The ANC consider international relations as a module to be integrated into the political education of the ANC (online).
- The 53rd Conference Resolution on establishing a liaison office in Tshwane is implemented.
- In line with the 53rd Conference Resolution on the Tshwane liaison office, we should resolve in Dec 2017 to establish such offices in all nine provinces.
- A full-time Head of International Relations (IR) should be appointed, as per the 53rd Conference Resolution.
- Branches should include on their standard Branch General Meeting agenda, a discussion on International Relations.
- An “easy to read” booklet of the NDP and AU Agenda 2063 be prepared for distribution amongst ordinary South Africans.
- Gender mainstreaming be applied on International Relations policy.

- As alluded to in the Discussion Document under Para-Diplomacy, the ANC government must ensure that International Relations work performed by municipalities and provinces is strategically integrated and coordinated by DIRCO, since SA is a unitary state.

- The **Commission recommends** that the ANC should establish ANC forums outside the country, where the South African Diaspora is located.

Conclusion

We present this summary of our discussions since the Policy development started late in 2016. Our branches and stakeholder are requested to read this report that was processed through the NPC Plenary meeting, together with the Discussion Document. We look forward to fruitful discussions that will further enrich our Policy formulation, culminating into final policy adoption in December 2017.

Closing Address

by ANC President Jacob G. Zuma

National Chairperson, Comrade Baleka Mbete;

Deputy President, Comrade Cyril Ramaphosa;

National Officials;

NEC members;

Leadership of the ANC Women's League, the ANC Youth League, the ANC Veterans League;

Leadership of MKMVA;

Leadership of the Tripartite Alliance, COSATU, SACP and SANCO;

ANC Provincial and Regional leaderships here present;

Representatives of civil society and members of the Mass Democratic Movement and Fraternal Organizations;

Comrades delegates, members of the Basic Units of the African National Congress;

Good afternoon to you all!

Before I make my closing remarks I would like to request all of us to rise and observe a moment of silence in honour of the eighteen people who died in a bus crash in Mpumalanga and the eight who died in yet another road crash outside Mangaung.

Our thoughts, hearts and prayers are with their families and relatives at this difficult moment.

We also wish to convey our deep condolences to the families of the legendary jazz musician and teacher Mr Johnny Mekoas as well as that of Michael BizzahDlamini, a football legend who both recently passed away.

We also wish to send our deepest condolences to all families of the victims of the fire that broke out in Central Johannesburg this morning claiming the lives of seven people.

Thank you... You may be seated.

Our hearts also go out to the hundreds of people of iMizamo Yethu community in Hout Bay in the Western Cape who were displaced by fires.

We have accordingly instructed relevant national government ministries to work together with the City of Cape Town in dealing with the disaster and taking care of our people in distress.

Comrades; Let me take this opportunity first and foremost to thank all delegates who came from the length and breadth of our country to attend this historic Fifth ANC National Policy Conference.

Your presence here has ensured that we together were part of shaping, sharpening and deepening the policies of the ANC.

We also thank all Alliance partners and the Leagues of the ANC as well as all progressive democratic formations who graced this conference with their presence.

We express our sincere gratitude also to the stalwarts and veterans of our movement who attended this policy conference and participated in discussions from day one despite the demands associated with their advanced ages.

Your presence reaffirms the fact that the ANC is still a people's movement, a broad church and a true parliament of the people!

Compatriots;

I am proud to report that this conference discussed all important issues facing the ANC and the country in a disciplined manner befitting the stature of our movement as the leader of society.

Everyone agrees that this Policy Conference has been a watershed in the arena of the festival of ideas. Different ideas were articulated and debated.

Various formulations were presented and tested so that

the movement can come out of this Conference with a common perspective on all issues that were being deliberated upon.

All delegates and participants here demonstrated deep understanding that the ANC plays a central role in the betterment of the lives of our people, and that the ANC still remains the strategic centre of power.

Comrades;

We have come to the end of our Fifth ANC National Policy Conference, which was both vibrant and robust in its deliberations. We can confidently declare that this was a very fruitful and successful Policy Conference.

Comrades;

It is not the intention of this address to go into a detailed account of outcomes of commissions.

A full conference report will be sent to structures and also publicized.

We say it was successful because the main objectives of the Policy Conference were achieved.

We came here first and foremost to review the policies of the ANC and to assess whether we are still on course with the execution of the goals of the National Democratic Revolution.

We came here to assess the work done since the last Conference and also to make policy proposals where necessary to the upcoming 54th National Conference.

All these tasks were done remarkably well!

We emerge out of this Policy Conference much wiser and better in our understanding of both our strengths and weaknesses.

We have a keen understanding of our challenges and how to overcome them.

But most importantly we also emerge out of this conference more united in purpose than when we came here.

We are much clearer and remain committed to the fact that what unites us is more important than what divides us.

There are no losers and winners among the delegates to this Conference, the only winner is the ANC.

We as a movement have shown a keen and a deep appreciation of the teachings of our forebears who taught us that: **“Unity is the rock upon which our movement was founded.”**

What the Conference has also confirmed is that the unity of the ANC is sacrosanct, so whatever we do we

must ensure that we leave the ANC as united as we inherited it.

This conference strengthened the culture of robust internal debate in the ANC, anchored on the principle that we can disagree without being disagreeable. After all we are not enemies, we are comrades.

Our discussions on Strategy and Tactics and Organizational Renewal have once more reaffirmed our position as a liberation movement for the emancipation of Black people in general and Africans in particular with a strong non-racial character.

The ANC still lives up to the vision that our founding fathers like Pixley ka Isaka Seme articulated when he said:

“We are one people!” as well as the vision articulated in the Freedom Charter 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”.

Our discussions and recommendations have also reaffirmed that the ANC is a broad church, a multi-class movement with a strong bias to the working class and the poor.

The ANC is still a disciplined force of the left. These are core tenets and principles to which the ANC subscribes.

Our Conference has re-affirmed the Strategy and Tactics as adopted at the 53rd National Conference.

This speaks to the continuity and consistency of our policies. The Organizational Renewal discussion, in which all delegates participated, looked at our challenges and weaknesses and came with many proposals to address them.

Most importantly, we have clear proposals for improving our connection with our people on the ground, and for accelerating the delivery of services to our people.

All our members, leaders and public representatives will focus on re-establishing the trust and confidence the people have always had in the ANC to be their servant and to deliver a better life for all.

We have many strong recommendations for cleaning up and decisively dealing with corruption in government and within our movement.

We agree that we will strengthen cadre development as well as the selection criteria and election processes to ensure that we produce the best possible leaders among us to take the National Democratic Revolution forward.

We will strengthen our discipline, our integrity commission and our ability to monitor delivery of our promises to the people, and effective implementation of our policies. There was general agreement in commissions on the need to elect leaders according to the principles of integrity, discipline, honesty, trust-worthiness, service to the people, track record, capacity and hard work.

In the spirit of combating slate politics and factionalism, a significant number of comrades have proposed that we find a mature and sound way of politically managing possible contestation of leadership positions especially in the run up to the 54th National Conference.

The experiences of the last two National Conferences have taught us that the factionally driven ‘winner takes all’ attitude is not in the best interest of the ANC.

It is worth repeating what I said during the opening remarks to this conference that our movement has lost many talented and capable comrades in whom it invested significantly due to slate politics, a terrible manifestation of perennial factionalism.

In this regard, a proposal has been made that we should all encourage lobbying practices that will allow a unifying electoral outcome.

One of these is to build consensus in the structures of the ANC that candidates contesting for official positions should feature in the leadership collective even if they lose.

As a practical measure to put an end to the entrenched practice of slate politics and factionalism, branches should consider a proposal to have a second Deputy President so as to include the candidate who obtained the second highest votes in the contest for the position of President.

There is consensus that our movement can no longer afford to totally reject leaders who were preferred by a significant number of members to lead.

Comrades;

Important proposals have emerged for strengthening the National Executive Committee by making it smaller while at the same time strengthening the full time capacity at the Head Office.

There are options to be considered by the National Conference for more Deputy Secretaries General, an additional Deputy President and more directly elected full time NEC members to manage the day to day work of the organization in policy, political education, elections, organizing and communications.

A strong recommendation came out of this Conference on the need to have monitoring and evaluation capacity located either within the Office of the Deputy

President or Deputy Secretary General.

This proposal is informed by the challenge of implementation that we have observed over the years.

Comrades;

Our branches must go back and discuss the type of structure and define its powers, functions and composition. This Unit must liaise with the Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Department in government. This Unit must be fully capacitated and must report at every NEC meeting, about its monitoring and evaluation work.

We have taken many resolutions on many key and critical issues but because we have weak capacity to monitor and evaluate their implementation, we have been found wanting.

An effective Monitoring and Evaluation Unit located at the Head Office is central to the ANC’s position as the strategic centre of power.

We still do not have such a unit capacitated at a desired level and this has resulted in the inability of the ANC to ensure the full implementation of its programme of action.

In other words, this reality means that the capacity of our movement to enforce discipline on and ensure accountability from its deployed cadres is severely limited.

Many commissions have decried the failure to implement some of our resolutions, and have attributed this failure to the lack of monitoring and evaluation capacity which has undermined the mandates received at various conferences.

Comrades;

The discussions in the Strategy and Tactics and Organizational Renewal, and the Economic Transformation Commissions and at plenary were robust on the issue of the characterization of monopoly capital. This is as it should be.

The correct characterisation of phenomena is important. In this regard it is technically correct in the context of the South African political economy to talk of white monopoly capital. With this understanding in mind, it is also important to lay the emphasis on the fact that it is monopoly capital as such that is the primary adversary of the collective interests of our people, regardless of its colour.

The most critical thing Comrades is that we share a common view about what measures we need to take to realize our ultimate objectives. We must not allow ourselves to be divided simply on the basis of conceptualization and grand theory.

I want to reiterate that our definition of radical socio-economic transformation captures the essence of what we aim to achieve in terms of fundamentally changing the structure, systems, institutions, and patterns of ownership and control of the economy of the country and making it inclusive of the poor and working class, most of whom are African and female.

In fact we agree that many of the measures we are already taking through the NDP, including re-industrialization and regional integration are critical in this regard.

What is at issue is accelerating and deepening these interventions. We are agreed that these measures include legislation and regulations, licensing conditions, public procurement, financial and other support, and the re-orientation of the mandates of development finance institutions.

We agree on the imperative to accelerate land redistribution and land reform.

Again we had robust discussions on the modalities to achieve this. We agree that using the fiscus for land redistribution must be accompanied by other measures if we are to achieve the goal at the required pace.

Where it is necessary and unavoidable this may include expropriation without compensation. The Constitution provides for legislative changes to be effected in the democratic process.

Comrades;

Before we conclude, we wish to re-iterate the policy of the ANC in regard to free education for the poor.

As I indicated in the opening address, we await the report of the Heher Commission on modalities for the implementation of free higher education.

As the ANC, we are resolute that no child from working class and poor backgrounds will be denied access to education in general and higher education in particular.

In conclusion, delegates to this conference expressed serious concern about the state of our alliance. They emphasized the importance of the alliance and agreed that we must do everything in our power to jealously guard the unity of the alliance.

As we leave this conference, all of us must double our efforts to strengthen relations with our allies from the ground up. We also call on our alliance partners to engage us constructively at correct platforms.

We wish all delegates a safe journey as they go back to their different destinations.

I thank you.

Amandla!



Issued by the African National Congress | 54 Pixley ka Isaka Seme (formerly Sauer) Street, Johannesburg, 2001 | Tel: 0113761000

CONNECT WITH US



www.anc.org.za



ANCToday.org.za



facebook MyANC



@MyANC



Instagram MyANC_



YouTube MyANC