



6th National Policy Conference **REPORT**



28-31 July 2022
NASREC, Gauteng

CONTENTS

1. Foreword	1
2. Opening Address by President Cyril Ramaphosa	3
3. Credentials Report	17
4. Consolidated Report to Plenary on the Strategy and Tactics & Balance of Forces, Organisational Renewal, Gender Equality & Emancipation of Women and Combating Corruption & State Capture	19
5. Report and Draft Resolutions on Organisational Renewal	21
6. Report and Draft Resolutions on Gender Equality and Womens’s Emancipation	30
7. Report and Draft Resolutions on Combating Corruption and State Capture	34
8. Peace and Stability Commission Report	37
9. Social Transformation Commission Report	49
10. Basic Education, Higher Education and Training, Health and Science & Technology	56
11. Arts, Culture and Heritage	63
12. International Relations Commission Report and Recommendations	69
13. Legislature and Governance Commission Report	79
14. Digital Communication and the Battle of ideas	90
15. Report from Economic Transformation Commission	95
16. Closing Address by President Cyril Ramaphosa	105
Memo from the Treasurer General	110
17. Proposed Draft Constitutional Amendments	111

6th National Policy Conference Report

FOREWORD

The ANC held its 6th National Policy Conference (NPC) at the Johannesburg Exhibition Centre (NASREC) from 29th to 31st July 2022. The Policy Conference provides an important bridge in respect of preparations towards the 55th National Conference, scheduled from 16th to 20th December 2022.

The Constitution makes provision for an National General Council (NGC) to be held not later than thirty months after the National Conference. Restrictions associated with the Covid 19 Pandemic made a meeting of this scope impossible.

The NPC took place against one of the most challenging periods in the history of our country and the globe. Prices of commodities and goods breached equilibrium points in 2021 due mainly to supply-chain issues. This was exacerbated by the Russia-Ukraine conflict that catapulted food and energy prices into unbearable levels, last experienced, decades ago. These events have intensified poverty and food insecurity and have seen many communities engaged in protest action.

The ANC is facing its own challenging environment as it grapples with its twin mandates from National Conference of renewing and uniting the organisation.

Despite these trials and less than perfect circumstances, the National Policy Conference provided a platform as the largest national political school comprising organisational structures, MDM, NGOs, CBOs, deployed cadres and the alliance to discuss the above and make proposals on how to take the National Democratic Revolution forward, post the 54th Conference.

Organisational renewal and “unity in action” as central tenets to turn our fortunes around at party and society level, remains firmly on the agenda. What remains is to strengthen concrete measures, inclusive of responses to the State Capture report, corruption, economic policy measures, social cohesion, et cetera.

Between now and the December conference, these policy measures must be refined, concretised and finessed in the ranks of the Movement, Alliance and other fraternal structures, for discussion at the December conference.

Our conference at the end of the year must emerge with a clear programme to deepen the transformation agenda of our country, and deal decisively with the enduring problems of poverty, inequality, unemployment and economic exclusion. We must ensure we have sustainable solutions to the complex challenges

of local government, to ensuring the safety of our people and above all to protecting women and children from the scourge of gender-based violence and femicide.

It is only armed with this credible programme and through the election of a leadership that embodies the traditional ANC values of honesty, integrity, public service and discipline that we will be able to win the trust of our people in 2024. This must be our historic mission as we march forward to the 55th National Conference. The future of the national democratic revolution depends upon us.



OPENING ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA TO THE 6th ANC POLICY CONFERENCE

NASREC, JOHANNESBURG
29 JULY 2022

National Chairperson Cde Gwede Mantashe,
Deputy President Cde David Mabuza,
Treasurer General Cde Paul Mashatile,
Former President Cde Thabo Mbeki,
Former Deputy President Cde Kgalema
Motlanthe,
Members of the National Executive Committee,
Leadership of the ANC Women's League,
Veterans League and Youth League,
Leadership of the Alliance and broader
democratic movement,
Stalwarts and Veterans,
Distinguished Guests,
Delegates,
Comrades,

Less than two weeks have passed since we laid to eternal rest the Deputy Secretary General of our movement, Comrade Yasmin 'Jessie' Duarte.

We once again bow our heads in sorrow and respect at the passing of such a great leader of our movement and our people.

As we undertake the important work of this Conference, let us apply ourselves with the humility, the dignity and the determination of our beloved DSG.

Let us honour her life and her contribution through our commitment to achieve the free, united and equal South Africa to which she dedicated her life.

This 6th National Policy Conference takes place in the year that we have declared '*The Year of Unity and Renewal to Defend and Advance South Africa's Democratic Gains*'.

This Conference is held in compliance with the ANC Constitution, which says that "*the NEC may convene a Policy Conference, as a recommendation-making body on any matter of policy, whenever it deems it necessary, but the NEC shall convene a National Policy Conference at least six months before the National Conference to review policies of the ANC and to recommend any new or to amend any present policy for consideration by the National Conference*".

This Policy Conference was supposed to be preceded by the National General Council, for which our Constitution provides.

The COVID-19 pandemic made it impossible for us not only to hold the NGC, but for the ANC to function as it should, which negatively affected the strength of our various structures.

Notwithstanding a number of challenges, including the lack of sufficient resources to hold a Policy Conference of the size to which we are accustomed, we are nonetheless gathered here to discuss critical issues that concern the execution of the National Democratic Revolution.

This in many ways is a defining moment for the African National Congress and for our country.

Our deliberations over the next few days, the resolutions we will adopt at our 55th National Conference, and the actions that we then take, will determine the fate of our movement and indeed the direction of our country.

The delegates to this Policy Conference carry with them the views of ANC branches and other structures on the most critical issues facing our country today.

They carry the responsibility to shape policy proposals that will deepen the renewal of our movement and hasten the transformation of our society.

As delegates to this Conference you bring here the outcomes of the more than 3,200 branch meetings you held in preparation for this Conference.

The proposals we will deal with here at this conference were discussed at some 40 regional conferences, 6 provincial conferences, and Provincial General Councils that were called to discuss the proposed policies that will be recommended to our 55th National Conference in December.

These processes show the depth and the robustness of our organisation's democratic culture.

This Policy Conference should be seen as a festival of ideas, where the ANC lives up to its role as the leader of society by developing policies that relate to the lived experience of our people where they live to shape the trajectory of our country.

We have exhibited revolutionary discipline in our discussions and our exchanges at branch, regional and provincial level in preparation for this conference.

This should underpin our approach to discussions and exchanges at this conference.

Many in the media expect this to be a conference where we will fight amongst ourselves and differ widely on a variety of matters of politics and ideology.

We will demonstrate, in accordance with ANC tradition, that where we might have different views and approaches on various matters, we are always able to build consensus and emerge with coherent policy positions.

This conference needs to send a clear and positive message about our determination to address the challenges that face our people and country.

The National Democratic Revolution currently faces a number of challenges and perils.

Our movement, the ANC, has been weakened on a number of fronts.

The weakened state of our branches has increased the distance between the ANC and our people.

The COVID-19 pandemic has caused untold damage to our economy and society, affecting every part of the world and the way we all live.

The pandemic – together with state capture, service delivery failures and energy insecurity – have contributed to the deepening of poverty, unemployment and inequality in our country.

And now, our people are faced with immediate challenges such as a huge increase in the cost of living brought about by international events that are beyond our control.

We have seen a rise in violent crime, including the recent spate of shootings in public spaces, and criminal syndicates targeting our economic infrastructure and business operations.

Our struggle to overcome the devastating economic and social legacy of apartheid and colonialism – a struggle in which much progress has been made – has been set back many years by these events.

Despite the severe challenges we now confront, we have the ability, as the African National Congress, to turn things around.

We should recall what President Oliver Reginald Tambo said, reflecting on the adversity that our movement has faced. He said:

“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.”

The future of the National Democratic Revolution will depend on the decisions and actions we take in this Conference year.

The future of the NDR will also depend on whether we are able to accept our mistakes and correct them.

Above all, it will depend on the unity of the African National Congress.

We are therefore called upon to complete the fundamental renewal and rebuilding of the ANC.

We are also called upon to end corruption, strengthen the state at all levels, grow the economy and create jobs.

The central, defining task of this 6th National Policy Conference is to lay the basis for the restoration of the ANC and the National Democratic Revolution.

To fulfil these tasks, we need to understand the moment we are in.

It is nearly 30 years since we achieved the democratic breakthrough of 1994.

Since then, as a country, we have made important progress in giving effect to the vision of our guiding lodestar document, the Freedom Charter.

While this Conference must recognise and detail the progress we have made, its central purpose is to determine how we can do better and what we must do differently.

It must outline those measures we must undertake to make a dramatic and lasting change in the lives of our people.

Through our Constitution, we have affirmed the fundamental principle that South Africa belongs to all who live in it and that the authority of government must be based on the will of the people.

We have removed many discriminatory and exploitative practices of the past, enacted many of the rights demanded in the Freedom Charter and put in place policies and programmes to meet the basic needs of all South Africans.

But while South Africans have equal rights, we need to deepen, extend and broaden these rights and improve the access of our people to courts, the institutions of state, schools, hospitals and other public facilities.

Since the advent of democracy, government has transferred over 4 million hectares of land through restitution and over 5 million hectares through redistribution, accounting for nearly 11% of commercial farm land.

Laws have been put in place to provide security of tenure for labour tenants and to prevent arbitrary removals, and government has several support programmes in place for emerging farmers.

Yet, we are still far from where we need to be.

We need to accelerate the distribution of land to all those who work it and all those who need it, and we need to accompany the provision of land with sustainable and effective forms of support.

Despite the setback to our efforts to amend Section 25 of the Constitution, we will continue to pursue all available options, including through legislation like the Expropriation Bill, to implement the resolution of our 54th National Conference on land redistribution without compensation.

We see this as just one of the instruments we have to drive meaningful land reform, not only to correct a historical injustice. It behoves on us to use our land more effectively for growth and transformation.

We remain steadfast in protecting the separation of powers between the executive, legislature and the judiciary.

A key cornerstone of any democracy is an effective, independent, impartial and accessible justice system.

We have enshrined in the Constitution the right of workers to form and belong to trade unions.

The ANC has put in place a range of policy interventions, which have been turned into laws such as the Labour Relations Act, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, the Employment Equity Act and other mechanisms to protect workers' rights and to bring about equality in the workplace.

A national minimum wage has been introduced, in furtherance of the demand in the Freedom Charter, to address the huge wage gap in our economy.

We have put in place a comprehensive and integrated education system.

Access to primary education is universal for every single young person.

Through NSFAS, government provides financial support to students from poor and working class backgrounds for tertiary study.

In the past 28 years we have made unprecedented progress in delivering water, electricity, sanitation and refuse removal to millions who were denied these services.

Children under the age of six, pregnant women and the indigent are entitled to free medical care at public health facilities. The ANC government also provides nutrition at public schools.

The National Health Insurance is being introduced to ensure that everyone has access to quality health care regardless of their ability to pay.

Despite opposition from a number of quarters there is now broad acceptance for the implementation of the NHI.

Almost 46% of South Africans, including the elderly, children and persons with disabilities, receive social grants.

South Africa is an active member of the Southern African Development Community, African

Union, United Nations, BRICS, G20 and many other international organisations.

South Africa has been involved in peace initiatives and peace-keeping missions across the African continent.

We continue to campaign for reform of the UN, WTO and other multilateral bodies to ensure that they are more inclusive and responsive to the needs of developing economies.

We continue to mobilise for the right to self-determination for the people of Palestine and Western Sahara.

Despite progress in these and a number of other areas our greatest challenge over the years of our democracy has been to give effect to the demand of the Freedom Charter that ***'The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth'***.

It is undeniably true that, when compared to the apartheid years, the overwhelming majority of our people live today in conditions that are mostly improved.

More people have access to housing and basic services, more households have been electrified, there have been enormous advances in health care and education and economic opportunities have been opened to millions of black and women South Africans.

We have competition policies and other measures in place to tackle the concentration of ownership and market dominance, and we have a range of measures to support emerging industrialists and other businesses.

We cannot accept that the ownership and control of the economy remains in the hands of the few. Not only is this situation fundamentally unjust, but it stifles the growth and development of our economy.

Our policies on broad-based black economic empowerment, preferential procurement and employment equity have done much to begin to change the racial and gender composition of our economy.

However, as with land reform, we are still very far from where we need to be.



We still have much work to do to overcome the challenge of unemployment, poverty and inequality.

The glaring reality is that there are nearly 12 million South Africans of working age who are unemployed, including discouraged work-seekers.

Unemployment not only deepens poverty and inequality, but it also contributes to several other social ills, such as crime, substance abuse and other destructive behaviour.

Youth unemployment is our greatest concern.

Two-thirds of the more than one million young people who enter the labour market each year are not being absorbed in any form of employment, education or training.

The number of work-seekers is growing significantly faster than the number of jobs.

With millions of people excluded from the productive economy, and despite significant progress in expanding the social safety net and increasing the reach of basic services, poverty has increased.

Almost one-in-five households reported going hungry on a regular basis during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Since we last met, at the 54th National Conference, our country and the world has endured the most devastating health crisis in more than a century.

This severely damaged our economy and led to the loss of some 2 million jobs within a short space of time as businesses buckled under the devastating impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The cost in human lives has been staggering.

Over 100,000 South Africans are reported to have died from COVID-19, with many other COVID deaths not reported.

Over the last 18 months, we have focused on accelerating our vaccine rollout.

So far, we have administered 37 million doses of COVID-19 vaccines.

More than half of all adults in South Africa have been vaccinated and 65 per cent of everyone

over 50 is fully vaccinated.

While the economic and social cost of this pandemic has exceeded any natural disaster we have experienced before, South Africans responded to this crisis with determination, resilience, compassion and solidarity.

As a nation, we owe so much to the health care workers and other frontline staff that provided medical care, essential services and security throughout this difficult time.

As an organisation, we must commend our members, who went out into communities to create awareness about the disease and to encourage vaccination.

As we worked to contain the spread of the virus, we also had to take extraordinary measures to support ordinary South Africans, assist businesses in distress and protect people's livelihoods.

As the ANC government, we put in place a massive social and economic relief package to provide cash directly to the poorest households, to provide wage support to workers and to provide various forms of relief to struggling businesses.

A total of 18 million people, or close to one-third of the population, received additional grant payments through these relief measures.

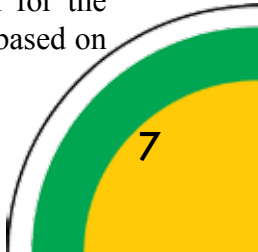
More than 5.7 million workers received wage support through the special UIF scheme.

Over R70 billion in tax relief was extended to businesses in distress, around 13,000 businesses were helped through the loan guarantee scheme, and various forms of support and relief were provided to thousands of small- and medium-sized businesses.

Had it not been for these interventions, the impact of the pandemic on businesses, workers and families would have been even worse.

In October 2020, we introduced the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan to restore the economy in the wake of the pandemic.

The ANC and its Alliance partners played a key role in developing the framework for the recovery, which was developed further based on



contributions from social partners in NEDLAC.

As we continue to implement the plan, we have seen signs of recovery in the economy.

The growth experienced in recent quarters has brought the economy to pre-pandemic levels much sooner than analysts expected.

The most recent figures show that the number of unemployed people in the country dropped in the first three months of 2022.

This translates to 370,000 jobs created between the last quarter of 2021 and the first quarter of this year.

As we meet here, we need to recognise that our recovery remains fragile, and we should expect that growth and employment will be affected by global instability, rising fuel and food costs, and the recent load shedding.

Despite the pandemic, we have been able to mobilise significant investment commitments in pursuit of the target we set in 2018 to raise R1.2 trillion over five years.

The 4th South Africa Investment Conference, which was held in March, raised investment pledges to the value of R332 billion.

This brings the total value of investment commitments to over R1.1 trillion.

Of the committed investments, around R330 billion has already flowed into the economy.

This investment drive is supported by efforts to improve the overall business operating environment and to improve our country's competitiveness as an investment destination.

Earlier this, for example, government introduced the bounce-back loan scheme, which gives additional funding to businesses.

In March, the employee tax incentive was expanded to make it easier for employers to hire more young people.

As part of our drive to create a new generation of black industrialists, last year government approved further funding in new support to about 180 black industrialists in the form of loans and grants.

The Infrastructure Office in the Presidency continues with its work of oversight and coordination over a number of catalytic infrastructure projects.

These include the Welisizwe Rural Bridges Programme, the rural roads programme, social infrastructure, bulk water and others.

To address onerous bureaucracy that impedes business growth, a red tape reduction team is working across government to identify priority interventions and remove obstacles to growth.

An important part of our growth strategy are bold and far-reaching economic reforms.

These reforms aim to achieve an affordable and reliable supply of electricity and ensure efficient freight transport.

They aim to achieve long-term water security, cheaper mobile data for all South Africans and a visa regime that facilitates tourism and investment.

Progress is being made in all these areas.

For example, in March this year, the long-awaited spectrum auction was completed to expand access to the internet and reduce the cost of data.

The revival of the renewable energy programme and the increase in the licensing threshold for embedded generation have opened the door to significant investment in new generation capacity.

Transnet is taking measures to enable private rail operators access to some of the country's freight lines and to mobilise investment in our ports. This initiative is aimed at addressing Transnet's investment challenges.

This will also enable greater efficiency and support our export industries.

In another example of progress, the backlog of water use license applications has been cleared, and the turnaround time has been significantly reduced.

Earlier this week, government announced additional measures to tackle the electricity crisis and end load shedding for good.

These measures will help to fix Eskom and improve the availability of existing supply, accelerate investment by Eskom and private operators in generation capacity, accelerate procurement of new capacity from renewables, gas and battery storage, and enable businesses and households to invest in rooftop solar.

Together, these reforms will expand the capacity of our economic infrastructure, reduce the cost of doing business and make our economy more competitive.

As these reforms are implemented, as new opportunities arise, we call on the private sector to undertake its own investment drive – to match the commitment of government with a similar commitment to develop the productive capacity of our economy.

During the past two years, we have overseen an expansion of public employment that is unprecedented in speed, scale and innovation.

This has been achieved through the Presidential Employment Stimulus, which has created 879,000 opportunities.

Of the participants in the programme, 84 per cent are youth and 62 per cent are women.

There is no greater crisis facing our country, our continent and the world than climate change.

The world needs to significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions if we are to prevent catastrophic destruction and widespread suffering.

The devastating floods in parts of KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and North West earlier this year have shown how urgent this action is.

As a country, we have started to define a pathway towards a low emissions economy in a way that enables us to industrialise and create jobs.

We need to reduce emissions not only for the sake of the health, well-being and security of our people, but to ensure that our products and services remain competitive in a changing global economy.

A major development in this area is the finalisation of the Just Transition Framework,

which will guide our transition to a low-carbon, climate resilient and inclusive society.

We are working with international partners to mobilise climate finance to enable our transition while supporting affected workers and communities.

If we are to turn the climate crisis into an opportunity, we need to construct a new industrial landscape based on environmentally sustainable technology, processes and energy sources.

And we need to ensure that this sustainable economy empowers black South Africans, women and young people.

A significant challenge facing our country today is crime and violence.

Communities across the country live in fear, worried about gangsterism, armed robberies, rape and murder.

Women and children are particularly vulnerable to the violence perpetrated against them by men.

The economy is being held back by damage to infrastructure, extortion at construction sites, corruption and the high cost of securing businesses and insuring assets.

These problems have been made worse by deepening poverty and inequality and by the impact of state capture on law enforcement agencies and security services.

Since the 54th National Conference, we have prioritised building capacity within our law enforcement system.

We have done much to restore the capabilities and credibility of the National Prosecuting Authority, the South African Police Service, the Hawks and the State Security Agency.

We are recruiting significant numbers of new police personnel, strengthening the Public Order Policing Unit and working to re-establish community policing forums.

The SAPS has established multi-disciplinary units to address crimes of economic sabotage and extortion at construction sites by so-called business forums.

A stronger, better capacitated South African Police Service is key to combating crimes of violence against women and children.

As the ANC government, we have passed three new Acts to strengthen the fight against GBV and afford greater protection for survivors.

Yet, if we are to end this scourge, we need a society-wide effort that fights violence on several fronts.

The development of the National Strategic Plan on Violence and Femicide was therefore a milestone, bringing together all sections of society to undertake this task.

We must commend, in particular, the ANC Women's League for mobilising communities and being an integral part of the fight against gender-based violence.

Community based organisations have an important role to play, including in the development and implementation of programmes around GBV, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, mental health, LGBTIQI+ advocacy and other issues.

One of the clearest instructions from the 54th National Conference was to end state capture and tackle corruption within our ranks, within government and across society.

Since then, we have taken decisive measures to end state capture, restore state-owned enterprises, rebuild public institutions and enable the criminal justice system to pursue the perpetrators of corruption.

Since then, we have seen important progress by the Hawks, NPA, Special Investigating Unit, Financial Intelligence Centre, SA Revenue Service and others in tackling corruption.

The most significant development in the fight against corruption was the establishment of the Commission of Inquiry on State Capture.

The Commission finalised its work last month and government has embarked on a process to consider all the Commission's findings and recommendations.

As the ANC, we have consistently maintained that the Commission is a necessary part of the

broader social effort to end all forms of state capture and corruption.

We are therefore engaging with the findings and recommendations of the Commission to determine how these can help to enhance the process of fundamental renewal and rebuilding within our movement.

We must ensure that we use the work of the State Capture Commission to make a decisive break with the era of state capture, and that we adopt a comprehensive set of actions to prevent corruption and end state capture.

A necessary condition for the advancement of the National Democratic Revolution is the establishment of a democratic, capable developmental state to drive growth and transformation.

That is why the 54th National Congress directed us to rebuild the public service and the culture of Batho Pele.

This is happening across government departments, in municipalities, state-owned enterprises and other organs of our state.

Public servants are being trained on a range of subjects, including ethical conduct, economic governance and planning.

Government will soon finalise a national framework on the professionalisation of the public sector.

This framework proposes a stronger emphasis on merit-based recruitment and appointments, integrity testing for all recruits to the public service, and curriculum development for ongoing learning of public servants.

Another part of our drive to build a capable developmental state is the District Development Model.

The District Development Model represents a whole of government approach to planning, budgeting and implementation.

It aims to eliminate wastage and duplication of resources and requires leaders and public servants at all levels to work as a single unit within specific districts.

Local government is the sphere of government where the State is at its weakest

Five years ago, in June 2017, eight municipalities were under the administration of national or provincial government.

By June 2021, 23 municipalities were under administration, and by February 2022, this number had further increased to 33 municipalities.

As we have recognised before, many of these challenges arise from poor management of the political-administrative interface.

There is weak oversight, poor accountability and inadequate consequence management systems.

There is a shortage of skilled leadership and management, and widespread fraud and corruption.

This situation has contributed to declining levels of voter participation in elections and diminishing support for the ANC.

This resulted in the loss of several key municipalities in last year's local elections and the emergence of coalition governments in several places.

Our experience since then has demonstrated that coalition governments are ill-suited to effectively drive development, provide quality services or ensure proper accountability.

As the ANC, we have taken several steps to address these problems.

In preparations for the local government elections, for example, we involved community members in the candidate selection process, so that ANC candidates had the support and confidence of the communities they are expected to serve.

All mayors in ANC-led municipalities underwent a thorough vetting and interview process.

We launched the ANC Local Government Barometer to track whether we are keeping to the commitments that we made in our manifesto and to monitor the effectiveness of councillors.

We amended the Local Government Municipal Structures Act to promote ethical conduct by councillors and impose harsher consequences for wrongdoing.

One of the most significant developments on the African continent since the formation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 was the coming into effect of the Africa Continental Free Trade Area in January last year.

This will create a market of 1.2 billion people, which is expected to grow to 2.5 billion by 2050.

By increasing trade among African countries, the AfCFTA will drive production in areas like manufacturing, agro-processing and other activities across the continent.

It will contribute to the growth of the industrial capacity and infrastructure of African countries that are now able to reach a far larger market.

If Africa is to realise the full potential of this development, we will need to bring peace and stability to all parts of the continent. We will need to promote democracy, good governance and the rule of law.

As the ANC, we have continued to engage with fraternal parties on a common approach to peace and development on the continent.

The opportunity presented by the AfCFTA means that we need to intensify our efforts, particularly in the area of economic cooperation.

While South Africa was integrally involved in the operationalisation of the AfCFTA during our term as African Union Chair in 2020, we were also occupied with the coordination of Africa's response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The continent's swift and decisive response demonstrated what is possible when African countries work together, under the auspices of the African Union, to confront a common crisis.

Africa was able to mobilise vital medical supplies, vaccines and funding on a continental scale to ensure that no country was left behind.

African countries have worked together with international partners, especially the WHO, to build the continent's vaccine manufacturing capacity and enhance its health security.

Our task now is to apply these approaches to the other common challenges the continent faces, such as climate change, armed conflict, food insecurity, among others.

While we can point to significant progress on the continent, the broader international environment has deteriorated over the last few years.

As the COVID pandemic took its toll on the global economy, geo-political tensions between the major powers have worsened, threatening the principles of multilateralism and a rules-based world order.

The conflict in Ukraine has deepened the crisis, contributing to rising fuel prices and fears of global food shortages.

These events have demonstrated the weaknesses of international institutions like the United Nations, and have made the case for their reform even stronger.

In the face of these challenges, we need to be more assertive in advocating a global political and economic architecture that is democratic, fair and inclusive, and which prioritises the needs and the interests of the poor.

Comrades,

The fulfilment of the task of fundamental transformation depends on the unity, cohesion and strength of our movement.

The ANC is today at its weakest and its most vulnerable since the advent of democracy.

Our weaknesses are evident in the distrust, disillusionment and frustration that is expressed by many people towards our movement and our government.

They are reflected in our support in the local government elections in November last year, where for the first time, we fell below 50 per cent of the national vote.

Our weaknesses are reflected in many of our branches, which are not involved in the lives of their communities, but are activated only for the purpose of electing delegates for conferences or nominating candidates for public office.

Our weaknesses are evident in the distance between our public representatives and the people they are meant to serve.

Perhaps most strikingly, our weaknesses are

evident in the divisions within our ranks.

These are not divisions about policies or ideology, but are driven by the competition for positions, the contestation of structures and the pursuit of access to public resources.

These divisions manifest themselves in patronage, gatekeeping, vote buying and manipulation of organisational processes.

These divisions are driven by corruption and the need by those responsible for corruption to avoid detection and accountability.

The weaknesses in our organisation are felt beyond our structures.

We can see the impact of our divisions and faults in our Alliance partners and formations of the broader democratic movement.

We can see how our divisions have weakened governance in many areas, undermined public institutions and hampered the maintenance of infrastructure and the provision of services.

These were among the challenges identified at the 54th National Congress, and which informed the firm decision of that Conference to embark on a programme of fundamental renewal and rebuilding.

Despite trying circumstances, the ANC is showing signs of renewal and we are continuing to forge unity around several issues.

We have been able to make progress around the process of organisational rebuilding, where our branches were able to hold BGMs in the midst of the pandemic and undertake campaigns in communities.

It is significant that, as we prepared for this Policy Conference, around 4,000 branches held BBGMs and many regions and provinces have held successful conferences.

The Letsema Campaign has seen our members move out of meetings and into the communities.

Letsema is about grounding our movement among the people, ensuring the people can once again trust us to be a champion of the poor and vulnerable, who work with them to improve their lives.

We have also seen progress in rooting out corruption and ill-discipline within our ranks, and beginning the process, difficult as it is, in tackling factionalism.

We have implemented several of the Conference resolutions on corruption and wrongdoing within the ANC.

As we have done this, we have witnessed concerted attempts to sow division and destabilise our organisation by forces intent on pursuing narrow interests.

This has taken many forms, including the distortion of organisational processes, serious acts of social instability and criminality and sustained propaganda campaigns.

This is the work of forces, both within our ranks and outside our movement, that are threatened by the process of renewal and rebuilding.

Comrades,

We have said that the delegates to this Policy Conference carry the weight of history.

That is because from this Conference must emerge policy proposals to put the National Democratic Revolution back on track.

From this Conference must emerge policy proposals that will drive forward the radical economic and social transformation that is required to achieve a better life for all.

Our first task must be to complete the fundamental renewal of the ANC and to reposition it as a united, principled, disciplined popular and effective agent of change.

The renewal of the ANC requires that we build ANC branches as agents of change.

The renewal of our movement must be centred around our branches, our members and the communities that our branches serve.

That is where change will be most visible and meaningful.

Structures must be rooted in their communities and their activities and campaigns must respond to the concerns of the area.

We are already seeing the return of these practices through the Letsema Campaign, which has been taken up by many branches across the country.

The ANC must earn the position of leader of society through its actions.

If the leadership of the ANC is not respected, we cannot say we lead society.

Leadership is earned by showing the people that we respect them, respect the laws of the country and conduct ourselves with humility and integrity.

To renew the ANC, we must end corruption and patronage.

This requires, among other things, that we fully implement the resolutions of our 54th National Conference on dealing with corruption.

On this, there can be no going back. There can be no compromise.

We cannot abandon our principled positions on corruption in pursuit of a false unity.

Our movement must be united around our values and our mission.

It must be united against corruption, against patronage and against factionalism.

The people of South Africa will not forgive us if we abandon the correct positions that we have taken on confronting wrongdoing within our ranks.

History will not forgive us.

As we chart the way forward, we must clarify our positions on the declaration of financial interests by ANC leaders, the conduct of lifestyle audits and our policy on ANC leaders and their family members doing business with the state.

To renew our organisation, we must develop capable and committed cadres.

Recruitment of members must be accompanied by effective induction, political education and the involvement of new members in local programmes that advance the interests of our people.

We must build a more youthful organisation.

The ANC needs to replenish itself, drawing more young people into its ranks and into its leadership structures.

The revival of the ANC Youth League is critical for our movement. We must have a cohort of young people to take over leadership of the movement and country.

At the same time, we must strive for and achieve gender equality.

The ANC needs to address patriarchal attitudes and practices within its structures, and needs to identify and address other social and economic factors that limit women's participation.

As we look at rebuilding our movement, we must conclude our discussions on the reconfiguration of the Alliance.

This cannot be an abstract discussion, but must be informed by our common responsibility to address the many complex challenges that confront the South African people and the peoples of our continent and the world.

We need to defend and deepen our commitment to non-racialism.

Non-racialism is a fundamental principle of the ANC that lies at the heart of our objective to build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty.

We must build non-racialism with our movement if we are to build in society.

Our second task in advancing the National Democratic Revolution is to accelerate far-reaching economic reforms to stimulate growth and job creation.

Our focus must be on reducing unemployment, which is a necessary condition for economic growth and prosperity

Each person who is unemployed could be contributing productively to the economy, earning an income and consuming goods.

Addressing unemployment and poverty will improve social and political stability, allow individuals to achieve their potential and enable

economic growth.

We need to appreciate the extent of the economic crisis that confronts us, and develop policies and programmes that are appropriate to the extraordinary challenges that we face.

Our third task is to build and implement a durable social compact for growth and transformation.

This was a clear directive from the 54th National Conference and was identified in our January 8th Statement as one of the foremost tasks of this year.

We are continuing, despite delays, to make every effort to build a broad social consensus on specific actions to grow the economy and create jobs.

We will not be able to emerge from this crisis unless all parts of society are involved in developing and implementing these actions.

We have several examples in the recent past where we have agreed on common programmes to address common challenges.

These include our response to COVID-19, addressing the crisis at Eskom, tackling gender-based violence, and developing the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan.

Our history tells us that we can come together to solve our problems, that we can achieve consensus, and that we can make a difference.

The third task we have is to break the cycle of poverty.

Our immediate task is to relieve the hunger and hardship that many people are faced with because of the COVID pandemic and the rising cost of living.

The extension of the R350 Social Relief of Distress grant beyond the State of Disaster has provide much-needed support at a difficult time.

Other measures, such as the temporary reduction in the fuel levy has limited the impact of rising global fuel prices on consumers and businesses.

Discussions on further measures to contain the

effects of rising food and fuel costs are currently underway in Nedlac.

This Policy Conference needs to look beyond these short term measures towards forms of social protection that reach the most vulnerable in society, that are affordable and that are sustainable.

The Conference needs to focus on the work we are doing to develop the skills and capabilities of our people.

It is through a quality education, with appropriate skills and suitable experience, that young people can defy the circumstances of their birth and rise out of the poverty that has been passed down from generation to generation.

It needs to review our progress towards the achievement of universal health coverage, paying particular attention to the implementation of the National Health Insurance and the state of our public health facilities.

We need to focus on land reform as an instrument to create jobs and provide livelihoods, to increase the contribute agriculture to the economy, and to provide people with productive assets that they can use to build a better future.

Our fourth task is to deepen our efforts to empower the women of South Africa and to achieve gender equality in every part of our national life.

A critical part of this work is to advance women's economic and financial inclusion.

This should be pursued through preferential procurement in both government and the private sector, targeted financial and technical support to women-owned businesses, and rigorous implementation of employment equity plans.

We must remove all the impediments to the development of the girl child, including social attitudes towards domestic responsibilities and access to education and health care.

Our fifth task is to build a capable, ethical, developmental state.

We are painfully aware of the risks inherent in having a state machinery that does not respond effectively to the needs of the citizenry.

It is incontrovertible that this government has begun to make improvements to several state institutions, such as SARS, the NPA and other critical services such as the health and education sectors. We intend to continue these rebuilding efforts.

Committed, diligent, capable and ethical public servants are at the heart of any developmental state. We need to continue with efforts to professionalise the public service to serve citizens with distinction.

Our sixth task is to contribute to peace, stability and development on the African continent.

We must seize the opportunity presented by the Africa Continental Free Trade Area to pursue greater integration at a political, economic and social level between African countries.

We should draw on our country's experience as Chair of the African Union, particularly in coordinating the response to COVID-19 and in establishing the basis for a new health order in Africa.

We need to strengthen ties with our fellow liberation movements and other parties and formations on the continent, so that we can develop a common approach to the many challenges that confront our people.

We need to intensify our international work more broadly, so that we can play a more meaningful role in seeking the resolution of conflict and in advancing the struggles of oppressed people across the world.

We cannot rest while a part of the African continent – Western Sahara – remains under colonial occupation.

Nor can we accept that occupation and oppression is to be the fate of the Palestinian people into perpetuity.

These are among the struggles that we need to take up with greater vigour if we are to contribute to the building of a better world.

Another task we have is to protect our country and people from COVID-19.

While we have adjusted to a new way of living with the disease, the COVID-19 pandemic is not over.

We are faced with the ever-present threat of the emergence of new variants that are transmitted more easily and cause more severe illness.

If we are to protect our country from a possible resurgence of the virus and the illness and deaths that it could cause – not to mention the economic damage – then we need to ensure that as many South Africans as possible are vaccinated against COVID.

After 18 months of vaccines, we can now clearly see that vaccines are safe, effective and protect people against severe illness and death.

This may not seem a priority now that infections are so low, but mass vaccination is still our most effective defence against the pandemic in the months and years to come.

Comrades,

This 6th Policy Conference has a clear responsibility – to debate and develop policy proposals that can be considered and adopted by our 55th National Conference in December.

But that is not all that we should expect from this Policy Conference.

From this gathering, we need to send out a clear message of intent from our movement.

A clear message that we are committed to the renewal and revitalisation of the African National Congress.

That we will allow nothing and no-one to stand in the way of the restoration of our values and principles and the pursuit of our mission.

A clear message that our foremost priority now is to create jobs for our people, to grow our economy and to tackle poverty and hunger.

From this gathering, we must make a call on all ANC members and leaders to take personal responsibility for rebuilding the ANC and restoring its values.

We must call on all ANC branches, structures, public representatives and deployees to dedicate themselves to the fundamental task of economic and social transformation.

And we must call on broader society to work with the ANC and its Alliance partners to deepen transformation and build a united nation.

Let this 6th Policy Conference provide the direction that our country needs and let it instill the confidence and the hope that our people seek.

I thank you.

Credentials Report

OF THE 6th ANC NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE

Status	Category				
			INVITED	REGISTERED	
ANC DELEGATES	Provincial delegates	943	943	901	
	- <i>Eastern Cape</i>	154	154	138	
	- <i>Free State</i>	65	65	64	
	- <i>Gauteng</i>	117	117	102	
	- <i>KwaZulu Natal</i>	182	182	179	
	- <i>Limpopo</i>	155	155	149	
	- <i>Mpumalanga</i>	83	83	82	
	- <i>North West</i>	78	78	78	
	- <i>Northern Cape</i>	50	50	50	
	- <i>Western Cape</i>	59	59	59	
	NEC	112	112	100	
	ANC Veterans League	10	10	5	
	ANC Women's League	20	20	20	
	ANC NYTT	20	20	20	
	Isithwalandwe	2	2	0	
	Renewal Committee	4	4	3	
	Electoral Committee	4	4	4	
	Integrity Committee	4	4	2	
	NDC	4	4	2	
NDCA	1	1	1		
		1 124	1 124	1 058	

Alliance and MDM	COSATU	10	16	16
	SACP	10	16	16
	SANCO	10	0	0
	SASCO	5	5	5
	COSAS	5	5	5
	YCL	2	2	2
	Young Women's Desk (YWD)	2	2	2
	Sectoral organisations	20	50	17
	MKLWV	5	5	5
	CONTRALESA	3	3	3
	Religious Communities	10	10	8
	SALGA	3	3	5
		85	117	84
Deployed Cadres	Director-Generals	68	52	27
	Ministers & Deputies	19	22	22
	Parliament	30	30	30
	Parastatals	20	16	3
	Premiers	4	5	5
	SA Ambassadors Abroad	15	15	5
	Strategic Towns/Municipalities	25	23	21
	Metro Municipality	8	8	5
		189	171	118
Guests	Guest of the Officials	25	0	11
	Guest (PBF)	30	20	16
	Former NEC Members	20	20	5
	Local Guests	30	0	24
		105	40	56
Participating		1 503	1 452	1 316
STAFF	National Task Teams	150	142	169
	Provincial Staff	45	45	48
		195	187	217
Additional	Service providers			
	Security	170	170	170
	Media	200	200	200
		370	370	370
Non-Participating		565	557	587
	Total:	2 068	2 009	1 903

Consolidated Report to Plenary on the **Strategy and Tactics & Balance of Forces, Organisational Renewal, Gender Equality & Emancipation of Women and Combating Corruption & State Capture**

Preamble: *Strategy and Tactics and the Balance of Forces*

The Commissions noted and welcomed the President's Address and the four presentations on the Balance of Forces, Organisational Renewal, Gender Equity & Emancipation of Women, and Combating Corruption & State Capture.

All the Commissions agree that, since the 54th National Conference, there have been significant shifts and major developments in the global and domestic balance of forces.

At a global level, some of the developments that have far-reaching consequences and warrant the immediate attention of the ANC and the global progressive movement are as follows: the rise and crisis of neo-liberalism; the gathering pace of the fourth industrial revolution and its socio-economic impact; the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and its devastating impact on humanity, the global economy and geopolitics; escalating intensity of the climate crisis; unprecedented levels of global inequalities; young people's

growing concerns around humanities' existential issues and anti-establishment activism; the rise of populism, authoritarianism and right-wing extremism and weakening of multilateralism; China's growing influence as a global economic player and the intensification of US-China trade war and attempts to bloc China's economic footprints in the Global North; the geopolitical implications of the Russia-Ukraine war and spiralling impact on global food-fuel-energy security; key developments in continent include the AU's adoption of the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCTFA), a better continental response to the COVID-19 pandemic and a disturbing resurgence of conflicts and coups in Africa.

With regard to the changing domestic political situation, the following significant national developments warrant the attention of the ANC, the Alliance and the broad progressive forces: outcomes and implications of the 2021 local government elections; ongoing chronic poor economic performance and the resultant high rate of unemployment, poverty; increasing

lawlessness and violent crimes, including the high rate of gender-based violence and femicide; the immigration crisis; erosion of social cohesion and the national question; the impact of the energy crisis on people's well-being and economic recovery efforts as well as the rising cost of living, especially the price of food, fuel and transport.

The poor economic performance and weakness of the state on service delivery, infrastructure maintenance, deterioration of basic safety and security as well as rising cost of living create perfect conditions for growing lumpen criminality, organised crime and opportunistic political forces to challenge the authority of the democratic state and the legitimacy of the ANC-led project of fundamental social and economic transformation.

Across the Commissions, there was a deeply shared consensus that both the movement and the democratic state should respond adequately, urgently and assertively to the domestic socioeconomic challenges and multiple crises such as high rate of unemployment, poverty, crime, gender-based violence and femicide, corruption, the immigration crisis and border security, social cohesion, the national question, the energy crisis and rising cost of living, especially food and fuel prices.

More and more young South Africans find themselves in the contradictory situation, where on the one hand they potentially have access to more opportunities than previous generations, including better education. At the same time, they bear the brunt of the unprecedented unemployment crisis, young women are brutalised by gender-based violence, substance abuse and mental health issues are becoming endemic. Everywhere they confront institutional ageism which benefits older generations.

In characteristic youthful manner, they are responding to these challenges by challenging,

questioning or rejecting the status quo. This is what makes the youth potentially revolutionary. A revolutionary movement such as the ANC must firstly understand the conditions and aspirations of this generation of youth in order to harness their energies and agency towards a purposeful agenda for fundamental social and economic transformation. Secondly, it must ensure that this forms part of the inter-generational discourse in the movement and in society, so that their youthful energy, innovation, intellect and impatience, help us to accelerate Africa's renewal and transformation.

All these multiple crises can only be resolved through an intensification of genuine and thorough-going renewal of the ANC and the building of a capable, ethical and developmental state which acts decisively to address the country's political and socio-economic challenges.

Commissions agree that further work still needs to be done to unpack the implications for the progressive forces and the programmatic tasks arising from these developments for the National Democratic Revolution in our country and our continent.

The National Policy Conference directs the NEC to comprehensively review the current Strategy and Tactics document in preparation for the 55th National Conference.

The discussion on the reconfiguration of the Alliance raised in the Policy Conference will form part of the review of the Strategy and Tactics – it is a strategic question that is long-outstanding and warrant full consideration.

During the first set of Commissions, there were also detailed discussions on key tasks in the five pillars of social transformation: the state, the economy, battle of ideas, the ANC and international relations. The detailed proposals will be covered by the reports from Sectoral Commissions.

REPORT AND DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

BACKGROUND

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 in pursuit of a National Democratic Society. The ANC is also a registered political party that contests elections, governs and, in some sub-national spheres, participates as opposition.

Character of the ANC

The character of the ANC as a movement has always been based on:

- Being rooted among the people, representing their interests, concerns and aspirations, transforming society and developing every community;
- Maintaining vibrant internal democracy 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 their impact on the people and
- Upholding and building unity across all sections of South Africans and progressive forces in the world in pursuit of social justice across the globe.

Tasks of the ANC

The 53rd Conference affirmed the tasks of the ANC to be:

- (a) To represent, engage with, organise and mobilise communities and the motive forces, earn their support and win 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 on transformation.
- (d) To transform society and build social cohesion 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, and the correct orientation and expertise to drive and implement our programmes.
- (f) To develop cadres, schooled in our values and policies, with the capacity to be agents of change wherever they are deployed.

Progress since 53rd and 54th Conferences

The 53rd and 54th Conferences affirmed the 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.

We must acknowledge that going towards our 55th Conference the ANC is experiencing a crisis that threatens its very existence. The National Policy Conference conducted a very frank diagnostic of our weaknesses already in 2017 and agreed on a progressive and radical organisational renewal programme in our resolutions.

Since then, we implemented many of the key resolutions:

- We improved and automated the membership system, and empowered members to renew their membership electronically
- Around 3 200 ANC branches are now in good standing and the majority of regional and provincial conferences have been completed
- The NEC changed rules to democratize candidate selection, counter manipulation and improve the integrity and capacity of those selected to represent or lead the ANC.
- The NEC appointed an Electoral Committee to run candidate and leadership nominations and elections
- The organisation has done significant political education and induction for newly elected leaders, and the Oliver Tambo School of Leadership has been set up.
- The dispute resolution committee has been set up to deal with conflict in the organisation
- Guidelines were developed by the NEC, based on the resolutions of the 54th Conference, for “stepping aside” when charged with crimes
- The Youth and Women’s Leagues are being rebuilt and should soon go to conference.
- Relations with Alliance partners have improved and there were strong joint programmes on issues like Covid, social grants and economic restructuring and recovery.

We also did not fully implement a number of our resolutions that aimed to strengthen the organisation:

- Funds to run the operations and programmes of the ANC remain a major issue while the use of money for internal competition remains relatively rife.
- We have worked hard to implement

resolutions on improving our ethics and integrity, but resistance remains strong and some negative practices persist

- We have tried to improve coordination in government and monitoring and evaluation but much work still needs to be done. The ANC Policy Institute is not yet fully established.
- Our attempts to fast-track and to improve service delivery and local government have not yet borne the desired results
- The building of outward looking branches with clear community-based programmes remains uneven
- Redesigning and strengthening the organisational capacity to direct, monitor and oversee the work of the ANC is still work in progress, hampered by the lack of funds
- We have not succeeded in building credibility and support across sectors of society, except around Covid 19 in government, where strong sectoral work helped limit the impact of the pandemic.

Regardless of our efforts to strengthen, renew and unite the ANC, the downward spiral in electoral support continued in the 2021 municipal elections and ANC support is below 50% in three provinces and below 55% in three more. Almost half of the people who voted for us in 2019 stayed at home in 2021. If this trend is not reversed, the ANC stands the danger of being voted out of government in 2024 in Gauteng, KZN, Northern Cape and Free State provinces, and in national government. In addition to five Metros won by the opposition in 2021, the ANC risks losing two more in 2026.

Current challenges in government and the organisation

As government, since 2019, we faced the quadruple disasters of Covid, a global economic collapse, mass looting in a week of chaos in two provinces, and disastrous droughts and floods. As we appear to be emerging from the pandemic and the economic meltdown, there is no decrease in challenges facing the global community, our

nation and therefore government. The war in Ukraine is now adding to the very negative global climate with threatening food security, swiftly rising food and energy prices and inflation. Our fiscus is challenged and for the first time since 1994 we had to approach the IMF. Debt servicing costs are increasing dramatically and will soon be the second biggest spending item in our budget. Budget spending is badly affected by the decline in taxes and economic activities. Services and infrastructure are in a poor state and we cannot consistently deliver electricity and water to all who need it.

In the 2021 local elections our voters told us a very clear story:

- They have lost patience with our promises to improve services and clean up corruption, or to create jobs.
- Their lives are getting more difficult and they expect government to protect them and care for them.
- They harbour serious doubts about the ANC of today as the trusted representative fighting for their aspirations.
- They are losing faith in ANC politicians and government
- Many are willing to consider voting for other political parties – even if untested
- They are disillusioned with our ethics and the perception is taking root, of many ANC leaders as self-serving looters and parasites that live off the state and care little for the hardship they experience.

It is time for the ANC squarely to face the external and internal problems that got us to this low point and to intensify the implementation of commitments from our 2017 National Conference in order to deal decisively with our weaknesses, for the primary purpose of building a better life for all:

- We cannot continue to govern as if it is our right. We have to deliver the services people need and there must be consequences for non-delivery.
- We have to focus on the needs of the people and cleanse ourselves of any manifestations of corruption, nepotism, wasted expenditure,

deployment of incompetent public servants and tolerance of non-delivery.

- We have to have members, structures, leaders, public representatives and members of the government executive, with the capacity and integrity to deliver and earn the public's confidence.
- Our machinery in the ANC must be able to respond to community challenges and engage with the people and deliver good government. We need to develop members and leaders with skills and governance capacity. We must sharpen our policies and political thinking, and build values, organizational culture and ethics among all members and leaders.
- In government, we must be able to oversee delivery of what is most important to the people. We need to strengthen anti-corruption measures and build accountability and transparency. We must coordinate the work of government at all levels and ensure that SOEs fulfill their mandates and deliver the services our country depends on.

We cannot expect to achieve any of our goals or regain the trust of the people if we fail to do this. We need, through concrete action, to prove that we deserve the people's confidence. We need to be singularly focused on meeting people's aspirations, building on the progress that has been made since the attainment of democracy in 1994.

While we spend time arguing about the South African vs the ANC Constitution and at what point a leader accused of committing a crime should step aside, the people are giving their resounding opinion that they will not continue to trust us, or vote for us, if we do not provide them with credible leaders with the capacity, integrity consistent ethical conduct to run government.

We have been obsessed with our own struggles for power and have turned our branches and our democratic processes into battlegrounds for interest groups and factional conduct. Powerful individuals and interest groups manipulate and try to capture our grassroots structures, our

regional and provincial conferences and our public representatives.

In 2017 we diagnosed and made resolutions to deal with many of these weaknesses. Because of divisions and factional conduct our efforts at renewal and unity are seen as half-hearted and our voters are not persuaded that our efforts are sincere.

The future and the success of the ANC depends on the capacity and integrity of our leadership and cadres – both in government and in the organization.

The ANC has had a stark decline in finances as a result of both our dwindling support and the Political Party Funding Act that sets low

thresholds for donations. We have been deeply embarrassed by our inability to pay staff and to fund important organizational programmes.

We are facing a strategic moment in our history, as an organization. Unless we rebuild our capacity and integrity we cannot hope to remain the people's choice. This places the whole cause of social transformation and the sacrifices of liberation heroes who came before us, in serious peril.

Our national conference at the end of this year has to deal with all of these weaknesses and identify further practical actions to renew the movement and intensify the programme of social transformation, so as to eliminate centuries of colonial domination.

PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM POLICY CONFERENCE

Our framework for renewal

The over-arching framework for renewal of our movement needs to encompass the following elements

- Renewal of values and organisational culture and ethics
- Dealing decisively with corruption and unacceptable conduct
- Engaging with, and pursuing the aspirations of the people
- Taking responsibility to use the resources of the state for the people's benefit as required by the Constitution – economically, efficiently and equitably.

This task belongs to every part of the ANC. All elements need to be integrated in every aspect of our work in the ANC, society and in government. The Renewal Commission has the task of developing a longer-term vision and programme for renewal of the ANC that must be achieved by 2032.

The urgent and immediate tasks of renewal should be led from the highest level in the ANC, with the President as volunteer-in-chief, assisted by former presidents. The SGO needs to ensure that a programme of action in this regard is developed for every department, unit, province, region and branch as well as every ANC caucus. Consideration should be given to setting up appropriate structures to monitor implementation of this programme, with a central role for the Veterans League.

Building and outward-looking ANC with a clear programme that serves the people

All ANC structures have to change their focus towards the people we serve and the problems and challenges they face in their daily lives.

We have to build the capacity at grassroots level and in government to engage with the people, to develop evidence-based policies, programmes

and projects and to deliver these effectively.

Our PEC, REC and BEC should have active sub-committees that deal with areas of concern such as education, health, safety, economic opportunities and other issues.

Every structure, every leader, every public representative, every member of cabinet, or MAYCO, will be assessed against the targets set for their engagement with the people and issues affecting them.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS:

1. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ROLE AND KEY TASKS OF THE BRANCH

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. They are the first point of contact between the ANC, the motive forces and the people as a whole.
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 must 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.
6. To strengthen, support and reinforce the work of branches in the community through the following:
 - a. All branches should have sub-committees that focus on sectors, community issues and campaigns.
 - b. The ANC must be involved in every issue that concerns people and should drive campaigns without gate-keeping and trying to control the people.
 - c. Units or sub-branches can be set up to strengthen our ability to reach people directly, as reflected in the ANC Constitution.
 - d. Sub-regions/zones must bring branches together to plan municipal programmes, elections and hold ANC in local government to account.
 - e. All branch members must be inducted within 3 months and integrated into a sub-committee to work in the community
 - f. Every BEC must draw up an annual plan against which branch performance audits will be done, to achieve the following:
 - g. Review community profile and identify sectors and their issues
 - h. Respond to community issues and make concrete plans on what to do as ANC, community and local government
 - i. Identify 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.
 - j. Develop a sectoral outreach plan and attend meetings of other organisations
 - k. Analyse delivery issues and municipal plans, give ANC input and report to community, with councillors and MP/L
 - l. Communicate and meet with community at least three times per year and support councillor report-backs and all public participation processes
 - m. Develop any key local issue campaigns and roll them out.
 - n. Advise and support anyone or any group experiencing a problem, disaster or conflict

7. Encourage voters, especially youth, to register and assist them to do so on-line or at municipal electoral office.
 8. Ensure compulsory BEC induction, new members induction in first six months based on the ANC Branch Manual adopted by the NEC.
 9. Review ward-based branches in rural areas, given the challenges of distance and other factors. Where possible set up VD-based coordinating structures.
 10. Set up sectoral branches, after developing clear criteria for establishment, role and powers of such branches.
 11. Branch members need to provide a police clearance certificate when renewing membership.
 12. Branches may be deemed not in good standing if they cannot report on any community programme or activity.
4. The application of the rule must be impartial, fair and consistent.
 5. It is vital the corruption cases and misconduct disciplinary hearings are speeded up as much as possible. The IC and the DC in the ANC have to be held to deadlines that do not unduly prejudice affected comrades.
 6. In government we should work towards the setting up of a specialised corruption court with highly skilled prosecutors, and also ensure that the SAPS capacity to investigate speedily is strengthened so as to secure quicker convictions or clear people's names. Where an accused person delays legal processes through different motions or appeals, they should take responsibility for the delays caused by their actions.
 7. The step-aside rule must be applied consistently not just in the executive but for all levels and all manner of serious crimes, including corruption.

2. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON DEALING WITH MISCONDUCT, CRIME, CORRUPTION AND ILL-DISCIPLINE

1. The Policy Conference overwhelmingly reaffirmed the step-aside resolution of the 54th Conference. The future of the ANC and the trust of our people depend on its speedy and uniform implementation. We cannot as the governing party ask for the trust of the people, while deploying people charged with serious crimes.
2. Serious concerns were raised by some provinces that step-aside should be implemented uniformly, impartially, consistently and fairly and may not used to fight factional battles.
3. This requirement must be made a clear constitutional provision and must be implemented by all structures, at all levels.
8. We must also publicly dissociate from those that are corrupt, commit serious crimes, abuse women and children, and are involved in sexual harassment.
9. Cadres who are charged should not wait for the ANC to tell them to step aside, but must do so before being asked. Their preparedness to protect the image of the ANC is also a measure of their level of political maturity and whether, in the first place, they deserved senior positions in the movement.
10. If at all any instances of abuse of the step-aside rule – such as false accusations and malicious prosecution – is identified and proven, this should be sanctioned to the maximum extent of the law and the ANC Code of Conduct .

3. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON LEADERSHIP REQUIREMENTS AND TRAINING

1. The ANC requires cadres able to lead the organization and government. They need the capacity and skill to govern, to be rooted among the people, and to possess the values and ethics to intensify the process of social transformation.
2. The ANC must strive to achieve the 50/50 gender balance at all levels of leadership and representation and Conference should consider whether to extend it to officials in each executive.
3. The national question needs serious attention so that our leadership reflects the people of SA and represents our commitment to non-racialism.
4. We should constantly improve our leadership election system and the Electoral Committee and the Renewal Commission should examine future options including whether members should vote directly in leadership contests (*Policy Conference was divided on this issue*).
5. Financial disclosures should be required from all leaders who stand for election or wish to be elected as public representatives. Lifestyle audits may also be done where needed.
6. All members of the ANC must be vetted, particularly in relation to criminal records.
7. We should consider how to achieve a better generational mix and whether to make a constitutional rule for a quota for the representation of youth. (At the moment it is difficult to achieve 25% for the NEC when the Constitution also requires 10 years of ANC membership. Policy Conference was divided on the issue with youth arguing for up to 40%, and others arguing the NEC needs to have experienced and tried and tested leaders)

8. All leaders and public representatives should be inducted within three months of election and commit to ongoing development, and political education.
9. All members must be inducted within the probation period.
10. All who seek leadership or political development must take responsibility to participate in political schools, online political modules, seminars, mass training and webinars and other forms of education and training.
11. Passing the four Prerequisite Online Modules offered by the OR Tambo School of Leadership must be a requirement for being elected as a leader above branch level and for standing as a public representative.

4. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON ACCOUNTABILITY AND CONSEQUENCE MANAGEMENT

1. The ANC needs to strengthen accountability for work done in government.
2. The SGO must set up and manage accountability for, and monitoring of implementation of policies, progress, and action taken on problems revealed in government.
3. At national level the MPs and Caucus report to the NEC and are held accountable by the chief whip and the SGO. The president and cabinet also report to the NEC.
4. At provincial level the PEC and PS hold MPLs to account together with the chief whip and the caucus. The premier and executive committee or cabinet also report to the PEC.
5. At district level the councillors and mayors and chief whips report to the PEC and ANC caucus

6. At local municipal level there is not adequate reporting mechanism and it is proposed that the sub-region and the leadership of the ANC in the council meet regularly to discuss ward issues, problems and municipal programmes.
7. At a ward level the ward councillor sits ex officio in the BEC and reports every three months to the members in branch meetings and to the voters in public meetings.
8. To provide proper political management of polices and local government the National Local Government Forum must be revived with all MECs, relevant ministers, Treasury, COGTA, SGO, Provincial Secretaries, Political Education, Policy, Monitoring and Evaluation and Elections. The structure must be replicated at provincial level to ensure accountability and speedy and coherent intervention where needed.
9. All public representatives and members of the executive will have to report every three months against key performance areas.
10. NEC members should not be responsible for sub-committees in their area of deployment in government.
11. The NEC must regularly review functionality and performance of sub-committees, the use of technical experts and the progress made on implementing resolutions and achieving key policy goals.
12. Anyone who fails to deliver or understand the ANC positions and priorities must be replaced if found wanting.
13. The ANC must adopt an organisational programme of action each year and an election campaign plan for eachelections. Secretaries at all levels must monitor and report implementation and challenges and are responsible for intervention where there is a lack of implementation.

5. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SUSTAINABILITY OF THE ANC

1. Policy Conference noted the financial and operational challenges faced by the ANC, including the negative impact of the Political Party Funding Act on our donations.
2. A periodic review should be conducted to assess whether the Political Party Funding Act is succeeding in stopping the capture and corruption of political parties. The ANC approaches this issue from the point of view that the aim of this law is to ensure transparency and prevent corporate and individual capture of political parties, not to bankrupt parties and render them inoperative.
3. Evidence from many democracies show that the most effective way to curtail corruption and capture of political parties is to increase government funding and restrict private donations to individuals and parties. This matter should be pursued in consultation with other political parties, Parliament, the IEC and relevant state institutions.
4. The ANC must urgently complete its organizational restructuring and ensure that it can afford to pay staff that are employed.

6. DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

1. The Policy conference supported the approach that Constitutional amendments must advance the renewal programme, and reflect the required interventions needed. This includes the organisational redesign of the ANC.
2. Policy conference notes the presentation to Plenary on Organisational renewal, which highlighted the following proposed areas for constitutional amendments related to the renewal agenda:
 - Allow for a renewal and vetting for all existing members, and stricter criteria

- for ANC membership
- Further measures to enhance the integrity of the organization.
 - Strengthen the internal dispute resolution mechanism
 - Fix structural inconsistencies in the constitution.
 - Enhance the functionality and modernisation of the organization; and
 - Strengthen through the Eye of the Needle, by empowering the Electoral Commission to promote and drive implementation of guidelines for the eligibility of members to stand as candidates for leadership and public representatives.



REPORT AND DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

Preamble

- 1) The ANC Strategies and Tactics recognizes women as a motive force necessary for advancement of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The 4th National Policy Conference engaged with the Organizational Renewal document focusing on building the ANC as a movement for transformation and a strategic centre of power; building the ANC's resilience, and enhancing its ability to adapt to changing situations.
- 2) Welcomed the Framework document and presentation on "Women Empowerment & Gender Equality", and deliberated on the issues, including the history of women in struggle and in the ANC. It noted that gender inequalities emerged, deepened and changes along with the evolution of society, including the acquisition of property; the industrial revolution, and the development of colonialism and capitalism.
- 3) Noted that South Africa's gender equality agenda can be traced from internal women's struggles against land dispossession, against pass laws and social, economic and political injustices of apartheid colonialism, and as an integral part of the continental and global women's movement.
- 4) Noted that the history of women within the ANC is such that for decades they championed the course of women from all walks of life including demanding membership of the ANC, eventually won in 1943; mobilizing and uniting women from trade unions, faith-based organisations, rural women, domestic and farms workers, as well women from all national groups.
- 5) Further noted that as South Africa entered negotiations for a new dispensation, women mobilized to have a seat at the negotiations tables and utilized the Women's Charter for Effective Equality to mirror their vision of a non-sexist South Africa. This vision informed non-sexism, gender parity and empowerment of women in the Constitution and Bill of Rights of South Africa.
- 6) And believing that the 1954 Women's Charter, the Women's Charter for Effective Equality (1991) and the National Gender Policy Framework therefore remain pivotal to gender transformation and a non-sexist South Africa.

National Policy Conference therefore:

- 7) Welcomes the adopted Gender Responsive Budget and urged its Planning, Budgeting, Monitoring, Evaluation and Auditing which should be implemented and monitored

across government.

- 8) Calls for review of all public service regulations and policies, to create an enabling environment for implementation and advancement of our vision of a non-sexist society.
- 9) Urges Gender Focal Points across government to consistently engage and be part of the gender machinery in government, to ensure that effective implementation and monitoring of gender takes place.
- 10) Need to mainstream gender and women empowerment in the work of all ANC sub-committees and structures.
- 11) Ensure the re-introduction of the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill in Parliament.
- 12) Continue to support the Sanitary Dignity Implementation Framework aimed at providing norms and standards with respect to the provision of sanitary dignity products and services to indigent women and girls.

On Strategy and Gender Mainstreaming

- 13) National Policy Conference confirms that Gender mainstreaming refers to the process of assessing the implications of any planned action for women and men separately, including legislation, policies or programmes in all areas and at all levels. This includes the allocation of resources and budgets in a manner that promotes gender equality.
- 14) Policy Conference therefore acknowledged and recommended that:
 - a) This competency currently lies with the Ministry for Women in government with the Department of Public Service and Administration being responsible for policy development.
 - b) Mainstreaming has huge implications in terms of location and level of gender

focal points (In Offices of the Premier and as Departmental Appointees at Level 13).

- c) The budget for the Ministry that is inclusive of that of the Commission for Gender Equality must be reviewed to effectively respond to both mandates

On Women's Economic Empowerment

- 15) National Policy Conference notes the persistence of patriarchy as embedded in economic exclusion of women, despite progressive policies. This extends to women's lack of access to assets, to opportunities, skills and equitable procurement policies.
- 16) National Policy Conference therefore recommends policy improvement towards:
 - a) Establishment of women empowerment and gender equality project management units in all economic line ministries, such as mining, energy, agriculture, trade and industry, ICT, and so forth, in order to facilitate entrance to businesses by women.
 - b) Ensuring equal pay for work of the equal value, so as to close the gender pay gap in the shortest possible time.
 - c) Improvement of affordability and availability of child-care options for women in both the formal and informal sector, to address the social norms that drive participation of women in the labour market.
 - d) Promote Science Technology Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) in schools and institutions of higher learning, with special focus on girls and young women.
 - e) Improve Financial Inclusion and Entrepreneurship of Women by introducing preferential procurement targets, strengthening women-focused Business Development Services, strengthening women's financial literacy and access to credit.

The Gender Machinery

- 17) National Policy Conference notes South Africa's national gender machinery laid the institutional and policy foundations for the implementation of women empowerment and gender equality. Conceptualization of the gender machinery is embedded in the institutional mechanisms for advancement of the status of women that includes the Ministry for Women, Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Women and Women's Caucus in Parliament, the Commission for Gender Equality and the broad women's movement that advances the desired social compact necessary to promote the hegemony of the ANC in the struggles of women.
- 18) National Policy Conference therefore, recommends that:
- a) The National Gender Machinery be resuscitated, to create a well-coordinated platform for advancement of the status of women.

On Gender Representation and Building a Non-sexist Organisation

- 19) National Policy Conference notes that:
- a) The 50-50% principle for gender equality policy of the ANC is in line with the democratic principles of our non-discriminatory, non-sexist, non-racial, democratic Constitution of the country and must be observed at all times towards advancement of the status of women.
 - b) Although these principles have been advanced in all sectors of society, we have not yet reached gender equality in key centres of power in society, including the state, economy, civil society organs, and a range of other institutions including structures of the ANC.
 - c) Policy Conference laments the persistent glass ceiling when it comes to positions of office bearers at all levels of the organisation.

- 20) The National Policy Conference therefore recommends that:
- a) Gender parity principles be applied and monitored at all levels of the organization and government
 - b) The Commission for Gender Equality be strengthened to effectively play its role of monitoring gender transformation in South Africa.
 - c) Key ANC political staff positions such as organizers, political educators, communicators and policy co-ordinators must be equally inclusive of women to prepare them to occupy these positions, in line with employment equity principles.
 - d) The ANC must explore modalities such as the ones used by SWAPO and AU Commission to advance policy imperatives for inclusion of women.
 - e) Deliberate interventions such as advanced political training to prepare women to occupy positions.
 - f) Develop a Sexual Harassment Policy for the organisation, that ensures that the organisation is a safe space for women, especially young women.
 - g) Implement deliberate programmes to capacitate young women and LGBTQI activist.

On GBV and Femicide

- 21) National Policy conference noted that Gender-based Violence and Femicide is a pandemic that marginalizes women, and was appalled when yet another horrific incident of gender-based violence took place in Krugersdorp, which sadly points to the ongoing brutalization of women and children.
- 22) National Policy Conference therefore recommends:
- a) Fast-tracking and resourcing of the implementation of the adopted National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide.

- b) Fast-tracking Finalization of the three GBV bills in Parliament to beef the justice system's response to GBV,
- c) More effort to be put in the work with men and boys to understand the dangers that toxic masculinity poses to the security and dignity of women, children and LGBTQI.
- d) Constitutional amendment to ensure that persons found guilty of GBV, Femicide and Rape, as well as child abuse should not be allowed to become ANC members or have their membership terminated.



REPORT AND DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON COMBATING CORRUPTION AND STATE CAPTURE

Draft Resolution on Report of the Commission of Inquiry into State Capture

The National Policy Conference:

- 1) Supports the framework and approach to processing the recommendations contained in the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into State Capture as adopted by the NEC.
- 2) Agreed that, whilst there may not be consensus on all the Commission's recommendations, they lay the basis for a comprehensive set of actions to prevent corruption and end state capture.
- 3) Reaffirmed our determination to seize this opportunity for renewal, for the sake of our organisation and the sake of our country.
- 4) Welcomed the Discussion Document on Fighting Corruption and State Capture developed by the NEC as a guide for discussion in ANC structures and society, including defining what is meant by state capture, international comparisons and manifestations, so as to make a decisive break with the era of state capture. It must enable us to discuss state capture, its implications and how it might affect the strength of the ANC as well as consequences of a captured state. The ANC is opposed to state capture. It must determine its own organisational policies, based on its mission and values.
- 5) Noted the work of the judiciary and prosecutorial processes and other governmental processes on the Report of the Commission, which must continue.

On Changing the culture of corruption, greed and self-enrichment pervasive across society

National Policy Conference noted the need to

- 6) Focus of our membership to move away from financial reward.
- 7) Invest in our comrades, ensure deployees understand ANC policy and the basis of the ANC's manifesto, as this will make it easier to ensure that, after we win elections, ANC

policies are implemented, and will help insulate against corruption.

- 8) Ensure implementation of Rule 25 of our Constitution within shorter timeframes, even if this requires constitutional amendments.

On Safeguards against capture of political leaders, sections of the movement, government and SOE's, and strengthen oversight, accountability, monitoring, and transparency

National Policy Conference further believes that:

- 9) We need to implement existing rules when dealing with wrongdoers, be fair and consistent. In determining how best we fight corruption, there is value in learning from other countries.

- 10) Structures aimed at oversight, accountability, monitoring and transparency must be institutionalised in the ANC. Monitoring and evaluation is fundamental to picking up on issues early and serving our people. We need to strengthen this function in our organisation.

- 11) Deployees in government and the legislature need to have their performance assessed on a regular basis. Mayors in particular must report on a quarterly basis and there must be monitoring and evaluation of their work. We need a dashboard for service delivery. We could pilot a new form of reporting and utilize it for elections work, service delivery work and linking the two together.

- 12) We must report on our work to the people and link door to door work with such report backs. There's a disconnect between our work and the issues of biggest concern on our people; the biggest issues for most are jobs and human settlement.

- 13) Consider whether the Integrity Commission needs to be capacitated with investigative powers.

- 14) We need to break the link between being elected to positions of leadership within the ANC and deployment to government positions – the one ought to automatically lead to the other.

- 15) SARS needs to be empowered to conduct lifestyle audits. These audits must take place especially for those involved in supply chain management and procurement processes, and not just politicians. In at least 2 commissions it was proposed that these audits should also be conducted for comrades that in ANC leadership positions and not just those in government or legislatures.

On Winning back confidence and trust of the people in an ANC standing strong and united against corruption

Believing that:

- 16) Once we deal decisively with acts of corruption, we will win back the people's confidence. People caught on the wrong side of the law must not be elected to positions.

- 17) There is a need to strengthen the guidelines on how people are selected to be public representatives. They must have a proven track record of working with the community. Local government representatives need to have a minimum set of qualifications, with at least matric, and their qualifications must be vetted so they are deployed to the best positions suited to their skills, so that they are not tempted to act in a corrupt manner.

- 18) The organisation needs to take responsibility for ensuring community work is done by its public representatives. National and Provincial public representatives must be visible at local level.

- 19) People need to be traced and prosecuted even after they have left the employ of the state.

20) Delivery of commitments made in our electoral manifesto needs to be assured.

21) The Auditor General needs to take over auditing state owned enterprises. This is a proposal that supports the State Capture Commission's recommendations on this issue.

On an independent anti-corruption coordinating structure in government

22) We need to empower and intensify the work of the SIU.

23) All of these institutions needs to be strengthened, including by ensuring

recruitment of a new cohort of public servants.

On Strengthen procurement processes, standards, capacities and consequence management

24) Consider a comprehensive review of the tender system, including public adjudication of procurement decisions.

On Corruption in the private sector

25) Where needed, legislation must be amended or enacted to ensure corruption within the private sector is dealt with.



PEACE AND STABILITY COMMISSION REPORT

1. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

- 1.1 The beginning of 2022 saw the continuation of Covid-19 and its economic and societal consequences and thereby posing a critical threat to global peace and stability in South Africa, Africa and the globe. Vaccine inequity coupled with uneven economic recovery present yet another challenge to the world order and the geopolitical outlook. The implications of Covid-19 Pandemic will be felt beyond 2022 characterised by economic decline in most developing countries.
- 1.2 This development was worsened by Russia – Ukraine conflict and the US led response typified by harsh sanctions against Russia. For it is through a deeper understanding of the global power configuration that the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) could be pursued in a more pragmatic manner. The reality is that the African National Congress (ANC) remains the only viable vehicle with which meaningful economic transformation and development of the South African state can be driven.
- 1.3 The ANC-led government should enhance their communication on their successes during the implementation of their respective programmes in order to counter misinformation and negative narrative.

2. PROGRESS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

- 2.1 The Commission affirms the 54th National Conference Resolutions that despite relative stability, the Conference noted a plethora of challenges facing the country which require urgent attention of the ANC-led government. Those challenges include, but are not limited to the following:
 - Activities of Foreign forces seeking to undermine our revolutionary advances mainly perpetrated by Foreign Intelligence Services (FIS);
 - Continuing lawlessness and impunity which threaten the authority of the state;
 - The porousness of our border environment which threatens our territorial integrity;
 - Acts of criminality which threaten the well-being and safety of our people;
 - The need for the realisation of an integrated justice management system.
 - Need for the capacitation of the departments in the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster;
 - Problem of Terrorism;
 - Information and cyber security.
- 2.2 Key achievements since the last policy conference in June/July 2017.
 - 2.2.1 **On Criminal justice system:**
The Department of Justice and

Constitutional Development (DOJCD) had to deal with issues of Integrated Justice Management systems, the governance committee has been appointed and the process of integration is underway whereby the Justice, Home Affairs, Police and National Prosecution Authority (NPA) would work in tandem with each other. Work has been finalised to strengthen legislation to give capacity to the law enforcement agencies to be able to do their work efficiently. The NPA has been given more resources to be able to deal with issues of speedy prosecution. Work is underway to address and effectively implement the provision of the UN Convention against corruption. In dealing with the restoration of ethics in the ANC, the issue of step aside is meant to protect the integrity of the organisation. The NEC finalised the guidelines for the consistent implementation of the step aside resolution. In the work of the NPA, no one is allowed to interfere with the work of prosecution, any suspicion of inference should be reported to the SAPS as that is a criminal offence.

2.2.2 On migration issues: Home Affairs had to address the issues of illegal migration and porous borders. To this end, the Department of Home Affairs has been reclassified as a security department and it is part of the JCPS Cluster. Home Affairs has put together a migration policy to address the issues of migration. The issue of the ANC branches having to determine the legality of foreign nationals where they live. This matter has not been structurally addressed; it has been done in isolated areas. The issue of the establishment of the Refugee Reception Centre nearest to the ports of entry has not happened as it requires more financial

resources. Currently, there are five Refugee Reception Centres around the country in Musina, Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban and Qheberha. The Border Management Authority Act has been passed and the first 200 cohorts of the Border Guards have been deployed in the six vulnerable segments across the country.

2.2.3 South African Police Service: The decision to integrate the metro police into SAPS has not been implemented as there is resistance from the metro leadership across the country. This resistance is happening in both the ANC-led municipalities and those other metros led by other political parties. On the issue of the security cluster being well financed, there has been regression on this matter given the budget cuts experienced by the cluster departments. Currently, we have regressed in ensuring the wellbeing and safety of South Africans as people are being killed and raped in their own houses on a daily basis. There is an over-regulation of policing in South Africa whether by the Independent Police Investigating Directorate (IPID), the Police Secretariat or other human rights organisations. Therefore, there is a need to re-train Police Officers to understand that they are doing their police work in the human rights environment. It is critical to understand the difference between hard policing and soft policing and this makes the work of police officers difficult. So, the ANC should decide which route to take, as the police officers face criminals wielding AK47s and they then need to reflect on the issue of human rights as they do their work.

2.2.4 On intelligence services: After the finalization and publication

of the High-Level Review Panel on Intelligence, the report on July 2021 unrest, the Commission on Allegations of State Capture report and the SIU investigating reports, there has been a number of recommendations which need to be addressed on issues of corruption, re-organization of the intelligence services in order to repurpose the organization. Work is underway to demystify the work of the intelligence services in order to address paranoia in the intelligence services. The High-Level Panel Review proposed the development of a mechanism to address the operational coordination of the intelligence services. The leadership of SSA is busy with the implementation of the High-Level Panel Review recommendations. Amongst others, the General Intelligence Laws Amendment Bill is underway to re-split the SSA into the Domestic and Foreign Intelligence components. The new Director General has been appointed to implement the turnaround of the SSA. Regulations are already completed to ensure collaboration and coordination of the relationship amongst the various intelligence service structures. Work is underway to update the National Security Strategy which will be done through an open process which includes the community and parliament. Further, work is underway to develop a mechanism to ensure the effective protection of the country's national sovereignty, including its territorial integrity.

2.2.5 Defence matters: The inability of the government to provide sufficient resources to the South African National Defence Force made it difficult for the department to implement its Defence Review

of 2015. Over time the defence budget has decreased and now the department has a deficit to be able to achieve its strategic objective. The ANC took a decision at the dawn of democracy to cap the budget of Defence below 2% of the GDP towards investment in the defence capability. Currently, the defence budget has decreased to 0.7% of the GDP. Unfortunately, there has not been many breakthroughs except that the matters will be tabled before the National Security Council (NSC) for the decision. Further, the department is busy engaging with manufacturers directly in order to simplify the procurement. The issue of shifting DENEL from Public Enterprises back to the Department of Defence, is underway. As for the re-establishment of the Defence Industry, work is underway on the young black innovators programme. On the issues of border security, the SANDF is working with the BMA and there is a need for more investment in technology to address the issue. The SANDF is busy engaging with DPWI and considerations are underway whereby the SANDF will start doing its own maintenance in-house. In terms of the Department of Military Veterans, there is still no decision on deploying the veterans to the national key points. In terms of housing, work is underway with the local government to ensure that the military veterans are given houses accordingly. The issue of medical coverage for military veterans is underway. However, those who can still get to the military hospitals should do so. The issue of getting coupons for the transportation of military veterans is underway. In terms of SANVA, there will be a conference very soon to address the

matters. The issue of the budget cuts from the SANDF continues to be a major threat to the sustenance of the military in the country.

- 2.2.6 **On the issue of Unifying the Military Veterans:** The Peace and Stability Committee has successfully managed to unite the military veterans by successfully convening a unity conference and achieved the establishment of a united Umkhonto we Sizwe Liberation War Veterans.

POLICY MATTERS

3. MIGRATION ISSUES

3.1 Noting that:

3.1.1 Since 1994, the ANC branches have not had a focused opportunity to reflect on and discuss the migration policy framework to meet modern societal challenges. The ANC need to seriously debate the policy framework on migration. This policy discussion paper is an attempt to give ANC branches an opportunity to discuss issues relating to migration at the policy conference.

3.1.2 There are three (3) Acts that deal with migration namely: the Citizenship Act of 1995, the Refugee Act of 1998 and the Immigration Act of 2002, which were all developed without the advantage of a guiding policy framework.

3.1.3 Similarly, the Border Management Authority Act (an important piece of legislation from a migration point of view passed recently), was enacted in a similar fashion. With all the contemporary challenges brought by

migration both globally and locally, the time has arrived for the ANC to develop a clear guiding policy on migration.

3.1.4 In 1996 the ANC-led government acceded to the 1951 United Nations (UN) Convention, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention on the status of refugees, without a guiding policy. Most countries on the African continent and globally acceded to these International Conventions with reservations and exceptions and they based their decision on the country's capacity and capability to absorb refugees. Other countries considered the safety and security of their citizens. And South Africa did not make this consideration.

3.1.5 The sad state of affairs has resulted in the management of migration in South Africa becoming unworkable and unfavourable, and court judgement on immigration matters against the state is the order of the day. In the midst of all this, certain groupings, taking advantage of the policy gaps and misinterpreting the spirit of the Constitution are fuelling strife and adding more confusion for their nefarious gains. As a result, we have witnessed violent clashes between citizen groups and foreign national groups.

3.1.6 The policy gaps are also prevalent in the labour market where some unscrupulous employers are practising modern-day slavery by promoting tensions between Unionised South African workers and foreign nationals.

3.1.7 This unacceptable state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue unabated and the ANC has to do something about it. This is where

the issue of a complete overhauling of the whole migration system in the country arises.

3.1.8 During the war in Mozambique, there had been people who were put in refugee camps and after 1994 those camps were turned into the residential status and those people and their children have not been documented to this date.

3.2 Recommends that:

3.2.1 The ANC led-government must consider the review of its accession to the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol without reservation. The procedure involves depositing the reservations with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

3.2.2 The ANC-led government must consider overhauling the Citizenship Act, Refugees Act and Immigration Act to meet the new challenges facing South Africa.

3.2.3 The ANC-led government must consider introducing a single legislation to deal with citizenship, immigration and refugee protection as it is now an international trend.

3.2.4 Owing to a well-documented practice of marriages of convenience and the abuse of women, the acquisition of citizenship through marriage should be done away with in the new policy framework. If a South African citizen marries a foreign national, their rights and consequences thereof should be governed by other laws such as the Marriages Act and the Children Act. The issue of marriage should not be linked to immigration law.

3.2.5 The decision-making process in respect of refugees and immigration

should be reviewed, including, bodies and officials clothed with the powers to take decisions in respect of refugee protection and immigration.

3.2.6 As part of the considerations to overhaul the system, the policy framework of the ANC-led government must provide for the establishment of the Immigration Board which comprises of the representatives of the Departments of Home Affairs, Trade, Industry and Competition, Labour and Employment, Health, Small Business, Tourism, Police, South African Revenue Service, Basic Education and Higher Education, International Relations and Cooperation and Defence and Military Veterans.

3.2.7 Government should consider the effective implementation of the National Labour Migration Policy which introduced quotas on the employment of foreign nationals and this should go a long way in defusing the violence between South African citizens and foreign nationals over employment.

3.2.8 The ANC should consider the establishment of the Immigration Courts or a special mechanism to ensure a speedy decision-making process. The current legislative arrangement is untenable and leads to long delays in finalising immigration matters, including deportations.

3.2.9 Migrate the Refugees Reception Centres from inside the country to the border areas in order to avoid people having to present themselves whilst already inside the country.

3.2.10 Government should undertake an

investigation on the proliferation and community around borders, especially those that have been existing over a period of time, particularly for those stateless people who are born from undocumented parents in the areas of Limpopo, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and the North-West.

3.2.11 All Home Affairs offices across the country should have members of the Immigration Inspectorate in order to address issues of illegal migration across various parts of the country.

3.2.12 The Border Guards of the Border Management Authority, together with members of the SANDF should be capacitated with technology in order to effectively address the issue of illegal migration, and illicit trafficking of goods in the vulnerable segments of the border law enforcement area.

4. CRIME AND VIOLENCE

4.1 Noting that:

4.1.1 Domestic crime and transnational crime are on an increase. Local and international criminals have exploited the concomitant removal of social controls and the increase in cross-border movements. Our uncontrolled migration and social change have also contributed to the proliferation of international criminal syndicates. Crime is now perceived as an immediate and pervasive security threat throughout the region, and manifests itself in a wide range of activities including smuggling; car hijacking and theft; armed robbery; narcotics counterfeiting; and human trafficking, amongst others.

4.1.2 Much of this is carried out by criminal syndicates that operate across borders and in many cases with international links. The raping of the 8 young women in Krugersdorp by the suspected foreign nationals who are allegedly involved in the illicit mining activities is the case in point. Further, developments in Mozambique's Cabo Delgado province of insurgents linked to some terror organisations have suddenly increased the risk profile of the region.

4.1.3 The US response to the war on terror has created different challenges that have placed southern African states under enormous pressure leading to the diversion of scarce resources into this campaign. The SADC region continues to experience isolated armed conflicts despite its gradual establishment of peace and security infrastructure in line with the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

4.1.4 There are increasing calls for the devolution of the police functions into the provinces and the discussion is being championed by the opposition-led government. The Commission reaffirms the provision of section 199 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 which provides for the existence of single police service.

4.1.5 The Commission noted the increase and the proliferation of the private security companies in South Africa which are manned by foreign nationals, the proliferation of high calibre assault automatic rifles and the use of the similar uniform and insignia to that of the law enforcement agency.

4.1.6 There is an increase of gangs who drive around the country terrorising community members.

4.2 Recommends:

4.2.1 On the urgent need to address the socio-economic issues which are embedded in the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality by creating jobs and increasing service delivery to the people. All these would ensure that people are and feel safe.

4.2.2 Strengthen the work of the crime intelligence within the SAPS and re-affirm its centrality towards addressing issues of crime prevention and detection.

4.2.3 Reposition the ANC branches to drive the strengthening of the Community Policing Forum (CPFs) and its coordination with the local SAPS and Metro Police across the country.

4.2.4 The CPFs should be revived and resourced to be able to work with the SAPS.

4.2.5 The SAPS units must improve their relations with the communities in which they operate. In order to facilitate this, the SAPS must be reoriented to understand that its task is helping to ensure the safety and security of the people and not merely maintenance of law and order.

4.2.6 The ANC reaffirms its original position of the police service instead of a police force. Therefore, the government should conduct an assessment of the progress of the transformation of SAPS from an apartheid force into a police force.

4.2.7 There is a need to capacitate the South African Police Services and increase the number of police in line with the increasing population numbers in the country as the country is under siege.

4.2.8 There is a need to regulate the operations of the neighbourhood watches as some political parties are using these structures to advance their own political ends.

4.2.9 The Commission calls for No further reduction of the budgets of the departments in the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster.

4.2.10 The SAPS should re-ignite the discussion on the realisation of single police service.

4.2.11 The Commission request the ANC to consider immediate ban on the use of any uniform by any security company which bears resemblance to that of the country's law enforcement agencies.

4.2.12 The Commission also request the ANC to consider banning of the use of military uniforms by military veterans.

4.2.13 Consider the scraping of the scrap-yard industry as that continues to perpetuate the stealing of the country's critical infrastructure for recycling purposes.

4.2.14 The government should engage the film industry and address the portrayal of the police as the weakest link in most of their film as that continues to influence the community psyche on the strength of the police officers.

4.2.15 The SAPS should ensure that Satellite Police Stations operate

24 hours in order to ensure that community members feel safe and that they do not take the law into their own hands when apprehending criminals, particularly in rural areas.

4.2.16 The SAPS should expedite its efforts in addressing the issue of gangsterism and drug lords as the scourge continues to expand to the various parts of the country.

4.2.17 Government should urgently consider conducting an assessment on the legislative impediments to the police's ability to effectively respond to violent crime, gangsterism, and attacks on critical infrastructure, amongst others.

5. FIGHTING CORRUPTION

5.1 Noting that:

5.1.1 Corruption remains a worldwide phenomenon and there are many lessons to be learned on the successes and failures in tackling corruption. A critical element is the strengthening of the institutions in the criminal justice system.

5.1.2 The call to take action against corruption has seen many positive developments in the form of the Commission on the Investigations of Allegations of State Capture, investigations by the Hawks and the SIU and prosecutions.

5.1.3 In 2020, the Corruption Perception Index by Transparency International ranked our country at 69 out of 180 countries, with a slight improvement from 2019.

5.2 Therefore Recommends that:

5.2.1 The ANC-led government should consider the establishment of a vibrant and independent Anti-Corruption Agency as a multidisciplinary structure to address issues of corruption across the country.

5.2.2 The ANC must consider establishing an anti-corruption committee to address issues of corruption within its ranks in order to enhance the integrity of the organisation.

5.2.3 The ANC cadres should sustain their tough stance in fighting corruption as resolved by a number of conferences, as such no exception is made for any organisation or individual.

5.3.4 The ANC should consider undertaking an in-depth analysis of typical cases in violation of organisational and party discipline and the law. We need to create a deterrence on corruption and political education should include educating our members on anti-corruption.

5.3.5 Consider undertaking greater efforts to hunt down corrupt individuals even those who have fled and recover the money stolen including illicit financial flows.

5.3.6 Consider the promotion of international cooperation under multilateral frameworks and the UN convention against corruption.

5.3.7 Consider enforcing organisational discipline across all levels of the organisation. Many ANC members conduct themselves within its code of conduct, but there is evidence of deviation by some members.

5.3.8 The ANC should consider correcting and punishing corruption

and abuse of justice within our structures, safeguard the National Democratic Revolution, the people's expectations and interests and deliver concrete results in our efforts against corruption.

- 5.3.9 The Commission notes the Final State Capture Report recommendations pertaining to peace and security policy issues and further noted that all subcommittees of the ANC NEC are processing the matters as directed.

6. CYBERSECURITY AND ATTACK ON CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

6.1 Noting that:

- 6.1.1 The ongoing rapid digitalisation and the introduction of remote working are accompanied by unprecedented risks. Such risks are cybersecurity threats. The threats of disinformation as well as fraud present societal vulnerabilities and diminish trust levels.
- 6.1.2 Cyber threats are already contributing to poor cooperation and mutual trust among states. South Africa is no stranger to cyberattacks, as some state entities have suffered cyber attacks.
- 6.1.4 Attacks on critical infrastructure, including maritime ports, are likely to increase in severity and quantity. The economic toll for African states will inevitably be high, which means that measures to boost cyber security and protect infrastructure are vital. The implementation also requires the enhanced coordination and seamless approach by government, SOCs, private stakeholders and

cyber experts to work together. South Africa's future National Maritime Security Strategy also needs to cover cyber security.

- 6.1.6 The cumulative impact of the attack will surely cause long-lasting damage to the economy, and further undermines South Africa's economic recovery.
- 6.1.7 The vandalism and theft in critical infrastructure areas of water, rail and electricity is on an increase causing a lot of disruptions in many communities and the economy.
- 6.1.8 These attacks have huge financial implications for both government, business and individuals. Costs are also incurred for private security and insurance in order to protect assets and employees. We also remain vulnerable to sophisticated security risks stemming from financial crime, cybercrime and organised criminal activities.
- 6.1.9 There is a lot of content consumed by South Africans in the social media which continues to influence the thinking and behaviour of the youth. The implementation of the Cyber Crimes Act 2021 (Act 19 of 2021) remains a crucial avenue to respond to the ongoing threat
- 6.2 Therefore Recommends that:
- 6.2.1 The ANC-led government should consider expediting the implementation of the Cyber Crimes Act through the finalization of the relevant regulations.
- 6.2.3 Strengthen. the country's cyber security response through the allocation of dedicated investment

in cyber security resources and infrastructure.

7. INTELLIGENCE

7.1 Noting that:

7.1.1 There are observed weaknesses in the capacity of the intelligence services in the country.

7.1.2 There is lack of coordination of operational intelligence services through the various intelligence structures such as State Security, Crime Intelligence and Defence Intelligence.

7.1.3 There is perpetual instability within the national intelligence structures from all three levels.

7.2 Therefore, Recommends that.

7.2.1 There is a need to reconstruct the Intelligence Services and every effort must be made to ensure that they focus on the task of combating and defeating counter-revolution.

7.2.2 There should be a consideration of expediting the implementation of recommendations of both the High-Level Review Panel report on the State Security Agency (SSA) and the Expert Panel Report on the July 2021 unrest.

7.2.3 There is a need to address the resource constraints faced by the national intelligence structures of the country.

7.2.4 The detective services and crime intelligence should be prioritised to enable early warning, detection and prosecution of complex crimes such as those committed by the

planners of the recent insurgency and burgeoning organised crime.

7.2.5 The ANC-led government should ensure the realisation of a better security coordination mechanisms are needed at provincial and metropolitan levels, including with the military, private security and intelligence agencies.

7.2.6 The government must expedite the review of the National Security Strategy.

8. GOVERNANCE AND STATE CAPACITY.

8.1 Noting that:

8.1.1 The ANC acknowledges its failure to transform and build resilient security services for the task of mitigating national security and national interest imperatives. The situation has been worsened by internal political strife that has contaminated and politicised the security services.

8.1.2 The efforts made by the President and government of urgent interventions over the last three years to repurpose a failing security system is a step in the right direction, that enjoys the support of the majority of the citizens. We have acknowledged that a capable, functioning and effective security services is the bedrock of any constitutional democracy. The trust deficit between government and citizens is steaming from our failures in this area of work.

8.1.3 The Peace and Stability subcommittee commend the steps taken by government to strengthen the capacity of the state by introducing the following measures:

- Regular meetings of the National Security Council;
- Integrating State Security department into the Presidency;
- Smooth transition in the appointment of a new director general for State Security, Commissioner of Police and Directorate of Investigations.

8.1.4 Commission notes the dissipation capacity of the State-Owned Enterprises particularly ARMSCOR and DENEL.

8.1.5 The commission acknowledges the important role that can be played by the military veterans in bolstering the security apparatus of the States.

8.1.6 The development of a policy on prisoner/offender transfer agreements is impacted upon by immigration legislation. Also, the impact of the increasing state of overcrowding in correctional facilities due to high levels of crime and increasing arrests, prosecution and sentencing of criminals. That the change in the profile of offenders due to long and life sentences imposed by the justice system.

8.1.7 The need to resource the department of Defence to instil values of patriotism, discipline and morality in contribution to the national youth service programme.

8.2 Recommends that:

8.2.1 The national department of Defence should be repurposed for peace support operations in Africa, border protection and support to the police with a modest additional budgetary allocation. Soldiers should be trained and prepared for these functions. Functioning provincial commands

should be re-established.

8.2.2 There is a need to remove political interference in senior appointments.

8.2.3 Strengthening the prosecuting authority and focusing on competence rather than factional loyalty.

8.2.4 The professionalisation of the security services and leaving them to run the specialist agencies to professional intelligence services.

8.2.5 The need to ensure the development of an effective and efficient mechanism for the utilization of the military veterans skills in the security services through the Department of Military Veterans.

8.2.6 The Cabinet should consider expediting the process of the migration of DENEL from the Department of Public Enterprises back to the Department of Defence.

8.2.7 The need for the capacitation of ARMSCOR and the re-establishing of DENEL to be able to develop appropriate systems for peacekeeping and counter-terrorism and border control to be able to address the contemporary non-conventional threats facing the country.

8.2.8 The South African defence industry should improve its Research and Development Programmes (R&D) in order to be the supplier of choice of arms and ammunition to the South African law enforcement agencies at all times.

8.2.9 The ANC-led government should consider ensuring that the budget of the South African National Defence Force is not less than per centnt

of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

- 8.2.10 Ensure the capacitation of the state security structures to ensure the speedy prosecution of the GBV+F cases.
- 8.2.11 Government should consider the development of alternative sentencing of petty crimes by the justice system.
- 8.2.12 The department of Correctional Services should be capacitated to rehabilitate and correct offenders, monitor parolees and curb recidivism/reoffending. The branches of the ANC should actively participate in parole boards and also take up campaigns to educate community members about the reintegration of offenders into communities.

9. AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND COMMUNITY MOBILISATION

- 9.1 Noting that:
 - 9.1.1 The ANC strategy of community mobilisation is premised on the Freedom Charter principle that The People Shall Govern and the affirmation of the centrality of the community in dealing with challenges of security. The ANC-led government experiences a

trust deficit from members of the community.

- 9.2 Recommends that:
 - 9.2.1 The ANC branches should reclaim the space and play an active role in addressing community concerns in compliance with the principles of an active citizenry and the Freedom Charter principle that the People Shall Govern.
 - 9.2.2 The ANC branches should consider offering of self-defence training to women and other vulnerable groups in order to deal with issues of being attacked.

Finally, the Commission recommends that the plenary notes that all other recommendations in the policy documents have been reaffirmed for consideration by the 55th National Conference.

There should be a workshop convened by the Peace and Stability Committee to engage with the structures of the ANC to address the issues of peace and stability in totality. That would include the Integrated National Crime Strategy and the issue of the Community Policing Forum. The ANC-led government should consider the revival of the notion of civilian oversight of the work of the Justice System. The establishment of the Municipal Police was the creation of the ANC and therefore the issue

There was a need for the establishment of the municipal courts to be considered in order to deal with the issues of cable theft.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION COMMISSION REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 It is important to begin by re-emphasising the strategic objective of Social Transformation, which is to transform and build a new society that is peaceful, equal and just as envisioned in the National Development Plan, the UN Agenda 2030 and African Union's Agenda 2063. Our primary focus is on prioritising the rights of women, youth, children, people with disabilities, marginalised groups as well as the previously disadvantaged people. Our aim is to work tirelessly in reducing discrimination and violence against women and children, foster gender equality in every level of society, and ensure equal access to quality basic services such as water, sanitation and human settlements and facilitating social protection to vulnerable social groups in our society. The ANC has an on-going duty to achieve social cohesion and accelerate the project of nation building. This will help create a just and inclusive society that draws on South Africa's rich heritage.
- 1.2 The Social Transformation Commission and the Policy Conference, after having taken stock of the progress that has been made in implementing the Resolutions adopted at the 54th National Conference, re-affirmed the correctness and relevance of these policies and resolved in strengthening resolutions focusing on gender-based violence, women, youth, people with disabilities, the LGBTQIA+ communities, social development, human settlements, water and sanitation, basic income grant,

sports, arts and culture.

- 1.3 In order to deal with the multiplicity of social ills that are arresting our communities pre-emptively and effectively, every state department in all three spheres of government should have qualified social workers in its employment.
- 1.4 Below are the proposed Resolutions. The majority of the resolutions focus on Gender-based Violence and Femicide.

2. PROPOSED SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION RESOLUTIONS

Topic Proposed Resolution

Gender-based Violence and Femicide

1. The Justice system must protect victims of GBVF by not giving bail to first time offenders.
2. Consider medical treatment of testosterone (Chemical Castration) in male perpetrators of GBVF to ensure that they never again commit these heinous crimes.
3. Establish DNA labs in every province to reduce the time taken in releasing these DNA tests.
4. There should be no bail and parole for perpetrators of GBVF.

5. Consider providing housing to victims of GBVF rather than keeping them in places of safety for six months only to release them back to perpetrators.
6. Combat the use of religion by sexual perpetrators in pursuit of their crimes.
7. ANC leaders must be vocal and lead campaigns on GBVF such as “Not in My Name”.
8. Continue to support GBVF victims, particularly in cases where they are violated by our own members.
9. Work with civil society organisations and churches in propagating against GBVF.
10. Increase the capacity of the state in dealing with GBVF cases. Appoint specialist investigators to deal with these cases.
11. Explore the use of the District Development Model in fighting GBVF.
12. Establish special courts for GBVF.
13. Establish sexual crimes unit within SAPS to deal with the scourge of GBVF. Police need to undergo sensitivity training to be able to manage GBV cases. Rape kits must be available in police stations.
14. Every ANC branch must have a GBVF sub-committee.
15. Undertake a study to determine the link between substance abuse and the increase in GBVF.
16. Provide more resources to Thuthukela centres
17. Rape must be legislated as a capital crime to remove the discretion that judges have in dealing with cases of rape.
18. Provide training on gender sensitivity and educate male children on Ubuntu and the negative aspect of patriarchy.
19. Explore the development of IT applications and systems to assist victims to call for help.
20. Consider social behavioural change programmes in dealing with GBVF.
21. Consider the use of initiation schools as a platform to educate boys about GBVF.
22. Introduce family programmes on GBVF and involve communities in dialogues. Introduce programmes on positive masculinity.
23. Address lack of productive activity as this often leads men to alcohol and drug abuse including aggression against women.
24. Mental health in situations of broken families also contributes to GBVF. Consider amongst other antidotes, the use of community-based mental health treatment capabilities.
25. The Department of Home Affairs and SAPS must collaborate in addressing the issue of high number of illegal migrants to combat their involvement in crime, especially crimes against women and children.
26. The Social Transformation and Peace and Stability clusters of government should collaborate in dealing with the challenge of illegal migration. Make or strengthen agreements with the affected neighbouring states to ensure that these countries take responsibility for their nationals.

Other Issues Affecting Women

1. The principle of 50/50 must apply across all the structures of the ANC from top to bottom including the top six.

2. The ANC Government needs to domesticate the SADC protocol that it signed in 1997 to ensure that the issue of 50/50 principle becomes law.
3. The ANC Government should consider legislating for the gender pay gap so that there is parity across society. The private sector should play its part in this regard.
4. Government should engage the private sector to ensure that it also implements gender programmes.
5. Beyond quantitative targets, the quality of women's experiences in leadership position must continuously be measured and improved.
6. Decriminalise sex work and enable access to justice by sex workers.
7. Provide free sanitary towels to girls and make this available in all accessible public spaces including schools and clinics.
8. Government should introduce gender-responsive budgeting to ensure effective implementation of gender-based programmes.
9. The Department of Employment and Labour should consider penalising departments that fail to meet employment equity targets for women.
10. The ANC, Government and structures such as traditional authorities, should ensure that their performance reports also reflect performance on meeting gender targets. Portfolio committees in legislatures should also ensure reporting on gender targets.
11. There is need to move from advocacy to action and begin developing programmes that advances women's issues.
12. Women in leadership need to empower other women.
13. ANC caucuses need to deal with women issues.
14. The ANC, Government and the broader society should develop programmes to eliminate patriarchy.
15. The OR Tambo Political Education School should introduce modules that focuses on gender transformation.
16. Implement women sport policy to, amongst other things, ensure that women are funded to participate across all the sporting codes, especially those from disadvantaged communities.
17. Consider introducing sports ticketing levy to fund sports development.

Youth

1. Government should consider establishing a youth ministry separate from the Department of Women, Youth and People with Disabilities to deal specifically with youth issues.
2. Government need to develop and implement tangible programmes that deal with youth issues such as education, challenges of unemployment, alcohol and drug abuse as well as the availability of sports and recreational facilities.
3. Sufficient funding should be made available to fund issues of concern to the youth.
4. Stringent measures should be taken against training coaches who abuse the youth in training facilities.
5. Review policy and legislation to limit access to alcohol by the youth.
6. Review school curriculum to cover issues of moral decay, socialisation, skills development, discipline and patriotism.

7. Bring back to school (from primary upwards) handwork, needlework, gardening, physical exercise and music.
8. Government should ensure that youth enjoy access to free higher and tertiary education. Government should avail more TVET and technical high schools.

Children

1. Government needs to relax the requirement for parents in cases involving orphans so that they are not disadvantaged to access services and opportunities.
2. Some children are raped at homes by biological relatives. These children are not able to report these infringements. There is need to consider having social workers at schools because these would detect abuse of children at an early stage.
3. Address gangsterism and bullying in schools to protect vulnerable children.
4. Liquor boards should have people who patrol liquor outlets to ensure that they do not sell liquor to children. Those who do should be punished harshly.
5. Eliminate substance abuse in schools.
6. The law must also punish parents who collude in rape cases against their children.
7. Parents should take responsibility in looking after their children to prevent their exposure to alcohol, drugs, crimes, abuses and all manner of social ills.
8. Fathers, especially those who are members and leaders of the ANC, must take the responsibility to maintain their children and those who fail should be penalised.
9. Government should resuscitate early childhood development centres bearing in mind the challenges of households that do not have income. The first two to three years

of child's development are most important for development. Government must step in earlier than grade R to provide support to children. From two years children should be able to attend registered crèches and on to nursery school.

People with Disabilities

The ANC and Government should take measures to ensure that their buildings and publicity material are accessible to people with disabilities.

1. Matters Affecting the LGBTQIA+ and Other Marginalised Groups and issues affecting the LGBTQIA+ community should be addressed within the ANC structures and not subsumed under the Women's League.
2. Include issues affecting the LGBTQIA+ community in the curriculum of the OR Tambo Political Education School.
3. Measures should be explored to protect the elderly people in the homes and communities against abuses and rape.

Human Settlements

1. Support refinement of human settlements policies that strengthens Government's provision of housing to the people.
2. Government should take firm measures to remove illegal occupants of Government funded housing, in particular by illegal foreign nationals.
3. Government must provide land for human settlements in appropriate locations, which will help transform apartheid spatial planning. There is need to consider using the District Development Model to address the issue of availability of land for human settlements. Municipalities should undertake land audits to determine land for human settlements.

4. Provide houses together with appropriate infrastructure services.
5. Government should ensure that housing developers implement human settlements programmes where houses are provided in an integrated manner together with other social services.
6. Government should address the alleged take-over of towns by foreign migrants including the hijacking of buildings by foreigners.
7. National Government and provinces should assist municipalities to provide water and sanitation services to our communities, as most municipalities do not have sufficient budgets to do so.
8. Need to implement spatial planning for human settlements to transform our towns and cities.
9. Government should have an exit strategy for people who are appointed in EPWP programmes.
10. Government should explore reliable and cheap electricity to address the challenge of electricity blackouts and rising energy prices. The prospects within the BRICS partnership towards strengthening South Africa's nuclear-based electricity should be explored.
11. Increase provision of housing for public servants (SAPS, nurses, teachers, etc.)
12. Government need to complete blocked and unfinished housing projects.
13. Government should provide serviced stands for people who want to build for themselves.
14. Create a fund for victims of disasters to cater amongst others for their housing needs.

Water and Sanitation

1. Government should consider modernising spring water especially in rural areas where there are challenges of water provision.
2. Investigation should be made to determine the possibility of establishing water boards in each province.
3. Government should embark on the process of reviewing water rights to the benefit of all communities.
4. Government should protect the integrity and public enjoyment of water sources such as rivers against pollution, abuses, etc. by municipalities, the private sector and illegal uses.
5. Strengthen the technical capacity of municipalities by ensuring good working relationship between local government and technical colleges to produce artisans. Institutions of Higher Education should be linked with water authorities with the most severe weaknesses to ensure that outcomes of projects are attained.
6. Government should undertake campaign on the importance of paying for services such as water and its efficient use.

Basic Income Grant

1. The ANC supports the introduction of the universal Basic Income Grant to meet basic needs and reduce unsustainable wealth and income inequality.
2. Universalism is a vital principle that supports the dignity of all. Grants can be clawed from the wealthier by using the tax system.
3. Since there are social grants for children and people with disabilities, the focus should shift to add the 18-59 age group of the population.

4. The data of the social relief of distress intervention should be used to establish baseline data of how the Basic Income Grant can be used to catalyse inclusive social and economic change.
5. The social grant expenditure value chain should be used to drive transformation in local economies. Social grant income can have a multiplier of 1,5 which could be maximised through localised support for economic activities.
6. Government should develop a strategy to link working age unemployed grant recipients to economic activity: this could include recognition for existing care work undertaken by grant recipients, recognition of and support for informal livelihoods already undertaken. A jobseeker's programme should be improved that links registration of unemployed adults with public works programmes or available private sector work.
7. All available public employment schemes should be centrally-accessible to maximise access for the unemployed and linked to available skills training.
8. All people should receive an unconditional universal basic income to meet their basic needs indexed to the Food Poverty Line, which will be clawed back from the better off through the tax system, and people may apply for the second type of income support to recognise their social investment as care workers, to support their working capital as micro entrepreneurs, or to support their activities as active job seekers. An additional support for those who apply as support for additional economic activity/ community work undertaken as part of social investment. To be effective this economic empowerment grant should be indexed to the Lower Bound Poverty Line on introduction and increase, with the BIG, as a percentage of the National Minimum Wage subject to GDP growth.
9. Public works jobs must be decent work.
10. Government should prioritise child-headed household in the provision of additional social relief measures.
11. Government should continue to pay the Social Relief of Distress Grant of R350 until the introduction of the Basic Income Grant, and should be linked to the food poverty line.
12. Government should come up with a financing strategy within 12 months that identifies new sources of financing which could include a wealth tax, closing tax loopholes and base profit shifting by corporates, a transactions tax and other means to prevent money being taken away from other state programmes.

Sport, Arts and Culture

1. Establish social cohesion advocate structures across the provinces.
2. Include arts and culture in school curriculum for the comprehensive development of children.
3. Commend the Department for funding community Arts Centres and urge more support to those who are not getting financial assistance.
4. Resuscitation of ANC Branch Sub-Committees to guide interventions of state as it relates to sport, arts and culture.
5. Calling for the strengthening of school sport program, especially in the townships and rural schools. To this extent we support the mechanism of complementing school sport system through the recently launched Sport Ambassadors program. All these efforts will assist in cultivating healthy lifestyles and social cohesion.
6. The 2023 Netball World Cup (NWC) will

be hosted for the first time on the African content. We note that the Local Organising Committee (LOC) chaired by Ms Patience Shikwambana, assisted by Ms. Cecilia Molokwane, the President of Netball South Africa, is fully supported by all three spheres of Government, the Cape Metro which is the host city, the Western Cape Province and led by the Inter-Ministerial Committee convened by the Ministry of Sport, Arts and Culture at national level. We call on all South Africans to support the LOC Netball Fridays campaign by, amongst others, wearing netball t-shirts. The World Cup starts on the 28th of July to the 6th of August 2023.

General Resolutions

1. Vetting of leadership should take place within 6 months of their election to establish the moral uprightness and integrity of leaders elected into the ranks of the ANC.
2. Government should consider using alternative materials to copper to address the theft of copper cables, which leads to electricity breakdown and blackouts. The destruction and theft of and trade in public infrastructure should be treated as treason.



COMMISSION REPORT

Basic Education, Higher Education and Training, Health and Science and Technology

1. Opening remarks and welcome:

- 1.1 Cde Chairperson opened the meeting and welcomed all participants. He explained the mandate of the Commission.
- 1.2 He indicated that he is chairing the commission by the authority of the African National Congress (ANC) National Executive Committee (NEC) and participates in the business of the Commission as a member of the ANC and a member of the ANC NEC; and not as a cabinet minister representing government.
- 1.3 He also indicated that Cde Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma will address the commission to set the tone, in her capacity as the Chairperson of the ANC NEC Subcommittee on Education, Health, Science and Technology.
- 1.4 After the presentation by Cde Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, the Commission was divided into four sub-commissions. This gave the delegates enough time to discuss in-depth issues that pertain to specific sectors, namely education, health, science and technology.

2. Presentation by Cde Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma:

- 2.1 The Chairperson of the ANC NEC Subcommittee on Education, Health, Science and Technology, took the Commission through a summary of the 2022 ANC policy discussion paper on the sectors of the subcommittee. She focused on preparations towards the 2022 National Policy Conference, challenges of service delivery, contributions of the ANC NEC and PEC Subcommittees on Education, Health, Science and Technology to the leadership of the sectors in the ANC and in government, the evaluation of performance of the four sectors against targets set by past conferences, the address by the President of the ANC to conference, a call to constructive contributions to discussions in the policy conference, a request for delegates to avoid repeating existing ANC resolutions; and recommendation to conference.
- 2.2 She also highlighted important points from the presentations made in the plenary on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, the Balance of Forces, Organisational Renewal and Organisational Design, Constitutional Implications, Gender Equity and Emancipation of Women, Combating

State Capture and Corruption. She directed the Commission to ensure that important messages and recommendations from these inputs find expression in its discussions and proposed recommendations to conference.

- 2.3 She highlighted the concerns by various stakeholders and industries about the lack of specific skills in South Africa, and the urgent need for a comprehensive National Skills Plan (NSP). Many companies are very keen to work with government on programmes related to this matter. She indicated that this makes it imperative that South Africa embark on the skills revolution to remedy this challenge, especially the production of relevant technicians, artisans and tradesmen or tradeswomen.
- 2.4 The Chairperson highlighted the need for the education sector to intensify its efforts to provide learners in schools with various skills. That could be done through technical schools or mainstream schools which could, over and above offering the conventional academic training, also offer technical training through secretarial and artisanal streams. Other fields of training such as Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and maritime or the ocean economy must be focused on more. South Africa must avoid a situation where it will rely on imported skilled personnel.
- 2.5 The sub-commissions were directed to use the resource documents and questions contained therein, and reports from branches and provincial forums to enrich discussions. They were requested to focus mainly on three questions to evaluate progress made in the implementation of resolutions of the 54th ANC National Conference and to craft recommendations, in line with the mandate of the Policy Conference. Those questions were:
- 2.5.1 What progress has been made in the education, health, science, technology and innovation sectors in your community and province since

the 2017 NASREC, Johannesburg 54th ANC National Conference?

- 2.5.2 What impediments or problems did members and leaders of the ANC experience in branches, wards and communities and the ANC-led government identify that prevented implementation of policies, plans and programmes as directed by conference and articulated in various elections manifestos of the ANC?
- 2.5.3 What must the ANC, communities, civil society, the government and business do to improve and strengthen all our sectors to implement policies and programmes effectively, serve communities better and deliver better on its mandate?
- 2.6 The Commission separated into four sub-commissions, each with a chairperson, a rapporteur and a scribe.

3. Report of the Commission:

3.1 Cross-cutting issues:

- 3.1.1 The delegates noted and endorsed the 2022 ANC National Policy discussion document on Education, Health, Science and Technology published in the 2022 Special Edition of Umrabulo on the Policy Conference. They also noted with appreciation the address by President Cyril Ramaphosa and other important inputs made in the plenary as reflected above.
- 3.1.2 The commission noted the recommendations made in the paper on Women's Emancipation. They called for the adoption of sector-specific programmes that flow from these recommendations for implementation and continuous monitoring and evaluation.

3.1.3 The commission submitted very elaborate reports of their discussions and recommendations. The recommendations included suggestions that pertain to military veterans.

3.1.4 Detailed sub-commission reports are attached to this report of the Commission, and a summary of important additions extracted from the said reports are reflected below in sections 3.2 to 3.7.

3.2 Science and Technology:

3.2.1 In its preamble, the Commission referred to the need for integrated technology planning to support national economic development. It referred to technology as a strategic national capability and asset that can define the progress or regression of a nation, and not just a mere enabler.

3.2.2 The Commission called for a deliberate plan for a technology-led industrial and socio-economic development.

3.2.3 Science, technology and innovation were described as a political matter that remains central to the advancement of our National Democratic Revolution (NDR), an important factor to promote and achieve employment, take South Africans out of poverty and reduce inequality.

3.2.4 The Commission recommended that conference agree on the establishment and funding of an inclusive national system of innovation, which will contribute to transformation and inclusive development.

3.2.5 South Africa must decide on and establish its competitive strategy

that has science, technology and innovation as critical components.

3.2.6 The Commission recommended that conference agree on the following as what must be achieved through science, technology and innovation: the eradication of unemployment and inequality; economic development, sustainable growth, poverty eradication, unlock and propel beneficiation of strategic minerals and other raw commodities, e.g., beneficiate agricultural produce through agro-processing; and get South Africa and the African continent taking a lead in matters of the environment such as preservation and protection of fauna and flora, climate change, science, technology and innovation; and the development of appropriate technology for the safe use of coal, one of the three forms of fossil fuels, for energy generation.

3.2.7 The Commission recommended that conference notes that these can be achieved through Technology Foresight or Long-Term Sustainable Planning on Science, Technology and Innovation (STI).

3.2.8 The finalisation of the STI Decadal Plan, increased and sustainable funding informed and supporting long-term plans for science, technology and innovation, skills development and training, spectrum regulation and management, ensuring that STI are integrated in to government planning, for example through the District Development Model and Economic Reconstruction and Recovery plan; commercialization of Innovation; ensuring that STI are responsive to daily lived realities; promoting an inclusive science and innovation.

- 3.2.9 The promoting the acquisition of STI skills and conducting business through structured and systematic international cooperation; making e-government an imperative and ensuring that the country's military and the military industry contribute to the country's technological advancement through research, technology and innovation.
- 3.2.10 The structure of ownership of State-Owned Entities (SOEs), that mirrors the Chinese way, must be used by South Africa to generate and harvest Intellectual Property (IP) in all industries such as the automotive, pharmaceutical, space technology.
- 3.3.6 Support the implementation of Mother Tongue Bilingual Education up to Grade 12; prioritisation of the rollout by government of Broad Band ICT to all areas and provision of connectivity in all schools for the purpose of teaching and learning; provision of additional and continuous support for children with special needs.
- 3.3.7 The Commission recommended that conference seriously consider the possibility of declaring all public education institutions including schools and Early Childhood Development (ECD) centres as national key-points for security purposes.

3.3 Basic Education:

- 3.3.1 The Commission deliberated on and endorsed the section in the policy document on basic education.
- 3.3.2 Address overcrowding in schools as a matter of urgency.
- 3.3.3 Effective oversight of schools must be performed by ANC structures working with School Governing Bodies (SGBs) and the adoption of schools by ANC structures and leaders to ensure regular monitoring and support.
- 3.3.4 The Commission recommended support and acceleration of the implementation the Three-Stream Curriculum Model of Basic Education.
- 3.3.5 The effective and efficient use of infrastructure budgets and other resources with special focus on eradicating infrastructure backlogs. Government to ensure repair of rural roads and bridges that provides access to schools.
- 3.3.8 The Commission further recommended the following:
- 3.3.8.1 Where possible, promote preferential allocation of infrastructure maintenance contracts to local contractors and Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs).
- 3.3.8.2 Conduct a review of home schooling.
- 3.3.8.3 Constantly address the issue of bullying in schools.
- 3.3.8.4 Proposal for the provision of boarding facilities and proper transport for learners with special educational needs.
- 3.3.8.5 Ensure that learners in boarding schools receive psycho-social support, where necessary.
- 3.3.8.6 Compulsory drivers training for all students by the time they complete their National Senior Certificate (NSC).
- 3.3.8.7 Provide support for teachers and learners in rural

- communities especially those using Multi Grade Teaching.
- 3.3.8.8 Provision of Learning Resources from ECD level.
- 3.3.8.9 Career Guidance should also be linked with the matching of skills and interests from foundation levels.
- 3.3.8.10 School Sport should be enhanced through identification of talents and channelling through relevant Sporting codes.
- 3.3.8.11 Learner Teacher Support Material (LTSM) provision should cover all learning areas without creating platforms for budget cuts.
- 3.3.8.12 Monitor the migration patterns to ensure that the provision of infrastructure does not result in leaving newly built schools as white elephants.
- 3.3.8.13 Prioritise the provision of funding for infrastructure for the promotion of School Sports.
- 3.3.8.14 Support for the Basic Education Laws Amendment (BELA) Bill and ensure ongoing mobilisation of communities.

3.4 Higher Education and training:

- 3.4.1 The sector emphasised the need for it to be considered as and to be referred as the PSET sector, which includes higher education and training, vocational education, community education and various skills initiatives.
- 3.4.2 The Commission noted the vision of the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), which is of a South Africa in which we have a

differentiated and fully inclusive post-school system that allows South Africans to access relevant PSET, to fulfil the economic and social goals of participation in an inclusive economy and society.

- 3.4.3 The Commission called for the strengthening of a better coordinated and seamless PSET System well-articulated to Basic Education and focussed to deal with the scourge of unemployment at 34.5% with 4million young people (15-24yrs) not in employment or any education and training opportunities.
- 3.4.4 The Commission recommended that conference note that, whereas a lot of progress has been achieved in the Higher Education and Innovation system, more intensive work is required in the following key areas: strengthening the Higher Education, training and Innovation system; expanded access to PSET opportunities; highly articulated System with a focus on massive expansion of the college system; improved efficiency and success of the of the PSET System; improved quality of programmes, teaching and research; improved business processes at all institutions including public entities; curriculum transformation and programme revision to ensure alignment the Three Stream Curriculum Model in Basic Education with relevance to the workplace and to ensure portability of acquired qualifications; alignment of the skills development system to improve employment of graduates; strengthening partnerships and forging meaningful collaboration between the Higher Education, Science and Innovation (HESI) system and organised employers, labour and business; immediate

attention to shortages in engineering skills and middle level skills and the establishment of a new Veterinary School, Policing and Science and Innovation Universities.

- 3.4.5 The blue economy and related sectors must be used to develop skills especially in the African communities to deal with unemployment.
- 3.4.6 The student funding model was recognised as a burning platform. In this regard a proposal for a comprehensive student funding model was made.
- 3.4.7 The Commission recommended that note be taken of a better synergy between Higher Education and Training and the DSI upscaling successful innovations in the Higher Education, Training, Science and Innovation System for higher socioeconomic impact, the development of the Hydrogen Society Roadmap, and the vaccine manufacturing strategy.

3.5 Health:

- 3.5.1 The Commission deliberated on and endorsed the section in the policy document on Health.
- 3.5.2 The Commission reaffirms the 54th ANC National Conference Resolutions on National Health Insurance (NHI) but calls for expedition of the NHI Bill be passed in parliament.
- 3.5.3 The commission recommended that the Ketlapela, the project on the state pharmaceutical company, be accelerated. The local production of pharmaceuticals, vaccines and medical devices should be prioritized.
- 3.5.4 The Commission recommended that the department of health and HET must work together to expand health faculties in universities and nursing colleges as a strategy to increase the number of health human resources to reduce the skills shortage gap in the country's health system.
- 3.5.5 It is recommended that nursing colleges be migrated/integrated into department of Higher education.
- 3.5.6 Selection into the nursing program must focus on recruiting candidate student from poor, needy and child-headed households to address poverty and unemployment.
- 3.5.7 The Occupation Specific Dispensation (OSD) for Public Healthcare workers should be reviewed.
- 3.5.8 Health policy must include integration of Community Health Workers.
- 3.5.9 To develop plans to mitigate population movement, the department must first study the impact of migration and population movement in the country on health facilities in different locations to provide healthcare services that meet the demand of the area.
- 3.5.10 The commission reaffirmed the Nelson Mandela-Fidel Castro Health Collaboration (NMFCH).
- 3.5.11 The commission recommended that the social determinants of health be addressed in line with the District Development Model.
- 3.5.12 The commission recommended the Decentralization of Management

delegations and budgets to Hospital level.

- 3.5.13 The health infrastructure Budgets be moved from Department of Public Works and Infrastructure to the Department of Health and its facilities.
- 3.5.14 The Commission recommended that Reproductive Health Services, including Choice of Termination of Pregnancy be prioritized at Public Health facilities.
- 3.5.15 The commission recommended the re-establishment of Thuthuzela Centres in every district. And specific office must deal with cases of gender-based violence.
- 3.5.16 The commission recommended that, because of escalating Medico- legal claims against the state, parliament must expedite the passage of State Liability amendment bill.
- 3.5.17 The Commission endorsed the resolution on support of the building of the Limpopo academic hospital

and called for more support of the Medical School and the Health Science Faculty at the Walter Sisulu University.

3.6 Military veterans:

- 3.6.1 The Commission recommended that government provide finance and other resources such as pathology services to enable families of military veterans to repatriate all remains of those who fell in battle.

4. Urgent recommendations from the Commission:

- 4.1 The ANC NEC Subcommittee on Education, Health, Science and Technology must meet urgently to deal with overcrowding in schools. The aim must be to deliver on this item within the coming 18 months.
- 4.2 The ANC NEC Subcommittee on Education, Health, Science and Technology will ensure that the report goes back to branches for feedback.

ARTS, CULTURE & HERITAGE: Building A Prosperous Nation, United in its Diversity Anchored in Our Ubuntu/Botho

1. Preface

For the first time since the 1980s, the policy conference of the ANC held on 29, 30 and 31 July 2022, had a standing commission to consider discussions and submissions from provinces and branches on Arts, Culture & Heritage matters. This was in line on how the ANC persuasion of the revolutionary struggle having used Arts & Culture as a tool for mobilization to end an oppressive and exploitative system of colonial apartheid towards a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic and prosperous society as defined in the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

The ANC's vision for the South African arts and culture is guided by the Freedom Charter that the "Doors of Learning and Culture Shall Be Opened where the government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life". Within the broader liberation movement context, the ANC viewed arts and culture as a tool for the mobilization of society. President Oliver Reginald Tambo succinctly stated this understanding when he proclaimed that *"let the arts be one of the many means by which ...we inspire the millions of our people to fight for the South Africa we envisage"*.

In the Ready to Govern on the Arts and Culture, the ANC envisioned *"a flourishing cultural life that is vital to the well-being of South Africa. On the eve of the democratic breakthrough the*

ANC envisioned a government that will strive to facilitate and celebrate cultural production that captures the diversity, complexity and vibrancy of all South Africans in which the ANC recognizes that through arts and culture a sense of national identity and pride can be cultivated."

2. Mandate

The Policy Conference discussed at length and agreed on the following as its primary mandate:

- To strengthen ANC position on arts, culture and heritage.
- To reclaim the space of arts and culture that the ANC left to be driven by the government with little input from the party.
- To define the role of arts, culture and heritage in the transformation of society.
- To create a coordination structure that will promote a common understanding, position and direction on how the ANC needs to approach matters of arts, culture and heritage between the three spheres of government: local, provincial and national government.

3. Discussion Points

The Conference appreciated the establishment of the Conference Commission that is focused on arts, culture and heritage and recommend that each conference must have a dedicated commission on arts, culture and heritage.

The Conference noted the following:

- That the ANC did not have a dedicated structure that focuses on the arts, culture and heritage and therefore recommends that the incoming NEC to consider establishing a dedicated sub-committee on arts, culture and heritage;
- That the government Department of Sport Arts and Culture is split into two as was originally established. Therefore, recommends that the department be split into two departments, one focusing on Sport, and the other solely focusing on arts, culture and heritage;
- The importance of the reestablishment of cultural diplomacy missions using the new models of cultural attaches. Countries use culture and heritage to promote their values and people to people relations. In the building of a new society, the revival of cultural attaches must be established in critical embassies across the world.

The Conference discussed hosting a colloquium which will attract people in the arts, culture and heritage to assess where the ANC was since its last conference on arts and culture in the 1980s with the view to also look at the proposed paper on its ready to govern policy paper of 1994 in the establishment of the new department and the advancement of the objectives of arts, culture and heritage. The Conference recommended that the ANC must hold these colloquiums as needed.

The Conference discussed the current policy regimes on the arts, culture and heritage and felt that the ANC needs to play a central role in the review and development of these policies so that they can have a clear ANC perspective. We also discussed the impact of the Copyright and the Performers Protection Bills and felt that the two Bills should urgently be passed by parliament which will assist in the protection of the rights of creatives and in advancing the economic interests of the creative industry. The conference noted that consultation was required to address issues raised by the industry and that the department must give space for these concerns in the two Bills.

The Conference discussed the funding of arts, culture and heritage as not adequate for the various artistic forms and genres. We also noted that each time there are fiscal challenges; budget cuts affect the arts, culture, and heritage mostly whereas it is one area that should be positioned as a centre of social transformation and regarded as national priority.

Therefore recommended that the ANC should promote intergovernmental cooperation of departments that have a bearing on arts, culture, and heritage. These include but not limited to Sport, Arts & Culture, Department of Higher Education Science and Innovation, Environmental Affairs, Basic Education, Department of Defence and Military Veterans, Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, Department of Social Development, Department of Tourism, Department of Trade, Industry and Competition.

The Conference considered a number of Policy Imperatives and programmes that can be developed in support of the ANC policy perspectives to advance the arts, culture, and heritage as a tool for mobilization to build a non-racial, non-sexist, united, and democratic and prosperous society.

4. Noting Progress on some achievements by government

The Conference noted the work done and progress by government on the following:

- Some work being done in the decolonization of the heritage spaces, however a perspective and policy on decolonization and decoloniality; adopting an interdisciplinary approach must be developed.
- As part of decolonization project, the government initiated the Resistance & Liberation Heritage Route (South African Chapter as the first phase and will be followed by the Southern African chapter as the next phase).
- To bring consciousness on the young people in general about the decolonization project, the relevant government departments should continue to support heritage education in communities and schools.

The conference also noted the following projects by government:

- African civilizations,
- engagements with the House of Traditional Leaders,
- national symbols, national anthem and the national flag as our heritage to be respected,
- Passport which describes and explains the coat of arms and other national symbols
- Geographic place names and standardization is where the renaming must be bottom up, such as the naming of streets, buildings and places
- Copyrights, Intellectual Property and Performers Laws etc. are being reviewed to protect the creative industry
- Establishment of Community Arts Centers in disadvantaged communities to serve as feeders to theatre in provinces and further to national theatres.
- Recognition of artists and living human treasures is an ongoing programme to recognize living talent
- Accelerate implementation of the revised White Paper: Arts and Culture as approved by Cabinet. However, the conference further called for the 1991 base document of the ANC on Arts and Culture to be recalled to inform the Arts and Culture government White Paper.
- Indigenous Knowledge System is about protecting of our own products such as Rooi Bos, indigenous medicine, Folk Songs etc.
- The Khoi and San Heritage Route which is currently identifying a map of areas where the Khoi and San have their footprint and has so far identified 13 nodal points in the 9 Provinces. This work is ongoing.
- Inclusive language protection, promotion and development (including the repositioning of the former National English Literally Museum into Amazwi Museum to include one of the dominant languages in the Eastern Cape, which is isiXhosa).

5. Recommendations

5.1. Imperatives of Policy Perspectives:

On arts

Art is a mirror of society and interpreter of societal values and cultures. It has an ability to promote the values of Ubuntu/Botho and our diverse cultural values. The promotion of fine art, drama, theatre, films must be introduced in historically disadvantaged schools for children interested in the arts. The promotion, development and funding of public art institutions and their value chain must be developed to competitive standards. Recognising the important role of the arts and noting the exploitation of artists by companies, the conference recommended that a policy on basic salary and compensation of artists in South Africa must be legislated as a matter of priority. The ANC must use a bottom-up approach in the promotion of the arts and should recognize its power as a tool to mobilize society.

The conference recommended that as part of promoting indigenous languages, the state must establish a publishing company that will publish books and stories written in local languages and about South African experiences. In line with this, the state must consider establishing a heritage institute similar to the school of government that will train new cadres as change agents using the arts, culture and heritage.

And therefore the conference noted technological developments (4IRT) in the digital space and the potential of harvesting their commercial value (e.g., non-fungible tokens as a pro- active strategy to protect rights of artists.

5.2. Programmes: *On arts*

The conference recommended that art centres such as Maboneng must be strategically positioned to cater for young people from the immediate communities. It was noted that the public broadcaster continues to prioritise artistic form such as music, drama, films etc. from other countries and recommends that the public broadcaster should prioritise South African productions.

The conference noted that in the Councils/Boards of art institutions, the youth, women and the differentially able are not represented and calls upon government to ensure equitable representation so that the designated groups would be able to push for the agendas that affect their sector in these Councils/Boards. Therefore, recommended that government must consider re-introducing sewing in the school curriculum and extend the music curriculum to all schools. It further recommended that municipalities must make space in the civic centres where artists can display their work and make it accessible to members of the public and tourists.

5.3. Imperatives on Policy Perspectives:

On culture

A policy framework that foregrounds African social systems of Ubuntu, indigenous knowledge systems and the mainstreaming of culture and heritage will assist in decolonizing public social spaces and the education system. A review of the Schools Act on language is urgently needed and that all schools to at least introduce two indigenous regional languages. Language transmits and preserve culture and there was a need to further develop it. Conference recommended a national media policy promoting the equitable use of South Africa's languages in significant articles and editorials be developed and legislated.

The ANC must look at the culture of discrimination, patriarchy and socialization of boy and girl children. These must be combated through consistent campaigns. A campaign against the rape and harassment of LGBTQI+ must be undertaken by the ANC from branch level to national. The ANC should develop a policy on the infusion of indigenous knowledge systems and craft, including medicines into the mainstream.

The Conference noted that there is an increasing moral decay in our society. The Conference recommends that the Department of Arts and Culture must lead society in the modernization and adaptation of our cultural values to be in

line with the mainstream. For example, by laws should be changed to and adapt to African cultures and values. It also recommended that the issue of the wars of resistance and traditional leadership must be profiled and centred and the wisdom of traditional institutions respected.

The Conference discussed the issue of race classification of the historically oppressed groups and divisions by the apartheid state if they still are applicable in a post-apartheid society that promotes non-racialism. The experience of the burning of the library at the University of Cape Town, the burning of parliament and other buildings put some of the country's treasures and heritage at risk. To mitigate this, the conference recommended a mass digitization of our cultural and heritage treasures as one of the ways of safeguarding and preserving them

5.4. Programmes: Culture

A long month programme during the heritage month showing on television and playing on radio documentaries music and stories depicting various aspects of the South African cultural life with over 90 percent of the local content. The promotion of eco-culture as an economic imperative for SMMEs to participate in regional, continental, and global trade. The revitalisation of infrastructure that supported arts and culture that are currently falling apart.

The conference debated and discussed the Geographical Names Change mandate and recommended that a Consideration to renaming the houses inside Parliament and other parts, Union Buildings sections and Judicial offices and other significant sites that impact the new society and nation being built.

The full use of South African languages in all aspects of government must be mandatory, to reflect the letter and spirit of the Constitution. In recognising all of South African languages in the business of the state, it will be the fulfilment of the RSA Constitutional imperative in its Preamble that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.

Strong efforts must be made to protect, preserve, develop, and promote the Khoi and San languages for use before they go extinct.

5.5. Imperatives on Policy Perspectives:

On heritage

The conference noted the existence and approval of the Policy on repatriation and reparation and its approval by Cabinet. Therefore, the ANC should develop a guiding resolution arising from the 55th National Conference to guide its members, structures, families in line with the policy adopted by government. A policy on the classification of heroes and heroines by the government and the liberation movement to guide the status of leaders whether they are local, regional, and national leaders. This should include former comrades that were given initial official status and that status should not be downgraded.

A policy on the distribution of funds for heritage projects where a percentage of the lottery dispensation is targeted at heritage. The funds must be contributed to the responsible department which will distribute to relevant agencies and institutions based on government priorities. A policy of identifying icons whose contribution in society has achieved higher status and should become national asserts that go beyond family, relatives and party. Such a policy is urgently needed to guide the nation to honour these icons properly and appropriately.

5.6. Programmes: *On heritage*

The conference recommended that all spheres of government should develop museums, archives and memorial sites. The conference further noted that some of the memorial sites which are mostly in townships are deteriorating and neglected and proposed that this should be addressed by relevant authorities. These assets should be unlocked for social, economic and tourism development.

The conference noted that there are a number of independent heritage sites and in particular museums started by NGOs and NPOs whose

focus is the liberation history and heritage such as the Mandela House in Soweto, the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, the Liliesleaf Farm Museum in Rivonia must become agencies of the state. The conference recommended that these sites be considered for grading in terms of the Cultural Institutions Act No 119 of 1998 and the National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999. The conference recommended that a criterion for funding for heritage sites and entities must be developed.

The ANC must resolve on local, provincial and national heroes and burial sites and the establishment of heroes' acres. Graves in rural and urban spaces must be looked after and must not be left to decay. Municipalities must take the lead in the management of burial sites.

A site that has national significant, the state must have a right to expropriate such sites to be the assert of the nation (e.g., the Sanlam Centre where Steve Biko was tortured in Qeberha). If similar buildings exist, the state must also expropriate them based on the criteria set on a case-by-case basis.

The conference noted that South Africans tend to promote and celebrate their heritage only on heritage day where people retrieve their ethnic attire from their closets for purposes of showcasing them. The conference recommended that a campaign that promotes the diversity of South African cultures must be instituted whereby monthly a different South African heritage will be promoted. The conference recommended the promotion of visits to museums and heritage sites by learners, students and parents as part of engaging with the heritage of all South Africans and that museums must be reflective of the diversity of the South African experience.

The conference recommended that where necessary and where the names are offensive to the community, members of the community must be assisted to propose to the Geographical Names Change the change of streets or towns to names that the community would feel comfortable with.

It also recommended that local heroes must be commemorated in their localities through different mediums and that the local government must support such initiatives.

The conference noted that there are a number of statues that were erected and are not yet unveiled. The conference recommended that these statues should be unveiled and any impediments to their unveiling be resolved. The government should partner with communities and schools on the development of the National Resistance and Liberation Heritage Route. The conference noted that the liberation history and those of the armies of the liberation movement is neglected with no exhibitions or museums commemorating the gallant fighters of these armies, whereas the armies of colonialism and apartheid are glorified in a state funded museum in Johannesburg and other small museums, and therefore the conference recommended a dedicated museum to the armies of liberation in South Africa, and these may include the wars of resistance.

The history and heritage of the liberation struggle and resistance should be promoted from local government, provincial government and national government. To achieve this, the conference recommended that the National Resistance and Liberation Route must be fully supported and well-funded. The conference recommended that we must actively promote the development and adoption of the Southern African Liberation and Resistance Heritage Route as an anchor flagship project of promoting and preserving liberation history.

6. General Recommendation

The conference noted that the history of the liberation struggle and the liberation movements is scattered throughout the world and therefore recommended the establishment of a memory bank on a non-partisan basis to house the history of all South African liberation movements.

The conference noted the destruction caused by fires at the University of Cape Town Archives, the Parliament of Republic of South Africa

and other institutions with significant archives and heritage of the people of South Africa and therefore recommended that the government must urgently develop a policy and programme of digitization of significant collections across board.

The conference noted that South African heroes are buried all over the country and this may be the will of their families and relatives, however, it also noted that a criterion of heroes that must be developed should not be subjected to the will of families and relatives since the individuals equally belong to the nation. Therefore, a heroes' acre must be established in line with international standards while at the same time make sure that all graves in South Africa are taken care of and respected.

Where renaming of sites has been approved, a narrative of the name must be clearly worded and exhibited in those places and buildings including the use of modern technology.

Municipalities must fuse in the culture of all South African life and review all by laws that are not friendly to the culture of the majority of the people of South Africa united in their diversity.

7. Urgent matters

The Conference discussed the need to organize the colloquium on arts culture and heritage to make an honest assessment of where the ANC is since its last conference on arts and culture in the 1980s.

The ANC needs to urgently mobilize voices for the accelerated implementation of the Revised White Paper that is unfolding. The ANC to submit its input.

Revival of cultural attaché to be established in selected embassies across the world.

There is a need to broaden the scope that focuses on nation building and national reconciliation to meet current challenges through arts, culture and heritage.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMISSION REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Recognising and honouring the contribution of women towards the progressive advancement of the goals of social justice, the betterment of humanity and the general aims of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).

Remembering the contribution of the ANC Women's League to end apartheid by engaging the Afrikaner Women in 1988 and their contribution of setting up ANC structure on their return from exile in 1990, among other contributions.

Today we celebrate **African Women's Day** which marks the **60th anniversary of the Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO)** which was founded on 31 July 1962, a year prior to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

We wish all the women in this plenary, the ANC, South Africa, Africa, and the African Diaspora.

Happy African Women's Day!

INTRODUCTION

1. The report reflects the discussions of the ANC, its leagues, our Alliance partners, and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in the International Relations Commission at the 6th National Policy Conference held 29 – 31 July 2022.
2. The centrality of the ANC's international relations in advancing the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is directed

by its historical mandate of the principle of the Freedom Charter that "*There shall be peace and Friendship*".

3. Since its formation, the ANC's ideological Ethos has been Progressive Internationalism and Pan-Africanism.
4. The ANC moves from the premise that our international relations policy is informed by our domestic policy and vice versa and reiterate the International Relations role in the pursuit of domestic economic development, job creation, poverty eradication and other objectives of the NDR which are interconnected with our pursuit for sustainable regional and continental peace and development.
5. Africa and its development remain the central objective of the ANC's international perspective and policy, with the African Renaissance remaining a key policy objective.
6. The ANC remains committed to and is an integral part of the Progressive International Revolutionary Movement to liberate humanity from the bondage of imperialism and neo-colonialism.
7. The ANC's Progressive Internationalism approach is anchored in the pursuit of global solidarity, social justice, sustainable

peace, common development, and human and food security to attain a just, equitable, non-racial, non-patriarchal, diverse, democratic, and equal world system.

8. International Relations continues to be part of the ANC's strategic approach.

Recognising that:

9. International relations will continue to play a central role in enabling South Africa's development, affecting all policy areas of the ANC.

10. In order for South Africa to strategically navigate the changing geopolitical landscape, an assessment of the party and state's capacity and the diplomatic tools available for implementing foreign policy priorities is required.

11. Our commitment to the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063 as an expression of the aspirations of Africans is central to the view that the silencing of guns on the continent is as much a security matter as it is a governance and development imperative. In this context, the full operationalization of the AfCFTA; the further strengthening of NEPAD and the operationalization of the tripartite free trade area between SADC, COMESA and EAC remain of great importance. The presidential infrastructure initiative also acts as a catalyst for industrialization and the vision of an African Renaissance that continues.

12. The strengthening of links with the African Diaspora should be intensified, as it is the 6th region of the AU; the International Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024) was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in a Resolution adopted on 23 December 2013.

13. Barriers to the realisation of the African Renaissance with very little change in the political economy of the continent remain.

14. Africa's response to Covid-19 has shown the importance of cooperation, sharing of information, exchange of expertise and solidarity.

15. The spike in "xenophobic" attacks and tensions in South Africa, increasingly politicised by political formations seeking to grow their power in the run up to the 2024 elections, poses a serious risk to internal stability and our role in our continental objectives.

16. The building of extensive party relations, relations with social movements and civil society, and its access to critical state power, gives the ANC potential capacity to build momentum across Africa. This assists in turning consensus, policies and plans into concrete actions to attain a progressive, prosperous, and peaceful Africa in keeping with the AU Agenda 2063.

17. The AU recognition that gender equality is a fundamental human right and is an integral part of regional integration, economic growth, and social development. Recalling AU resolution 283 on the Situation of women and children in armed conflicts, 262 resolutions on Women's right to land and productive resources, amongst others. More recently, the AU's African Women's Decade of Economic and Financial Inclusion: 2020 – 2030 further extended 2022 to include youth.

18. The ANC noted the regression of progressive politics in Africa against the backdrop of a changing strategic geopolitical landscape. The ANC recognised this changing strategic landscape on the ANC internal capacity and policy areas to respond.

19. The US-China trade war that intensified under the Donald Trump presidency of the US and sustained under the Biden administration manifested into power games, unilateralism and patriarchal politics weakening international cooperation.

This, however, presents opportunities for progressive forces to push for a more progressive and just new world order.

20. The Russian military operation in Ukraine has turned into a costly war with NATO indirectly getting involved through the unprecedented supply of lethal weapons as part of the larger Western support for Ukraine against Russia. This has a bearing on global geopolitics and has an impact on Africa and South Africa.
21. The rise of new politics driven by neo-Nazism, homophobia, islamophobia, xenophobic tendencies, ethno-religious nationalism, antisemitism, and patriarchal politics.
22. Attacks on social democracy, socialist alternatives and left civil society platforms have become more pronounced.
23. The cohesion of the global South on major geostrategic issues is also in peril due to political and economic gaps and the emergence of narrow nationalism.
24. The United Nations resolution 1325 on women. The role of UN Women in advancing the fight against the discrimination of women and girls, women empowerment and achieving equality between men and women as partners and beneficiaries of development, human rights, humanitarian action and peace and security.
25. Sustainable Development Goals 2030 and importance of realising its implementation in our continent and South Africa.
26. Climate change and its impact has necessitated a global response such as the outcomes of the 2021 Conference of the Parties 26 (COP26). The ANC International Relations must consider using all instruments available to advance a genuinely just transition with domestic and continental development goals as its aims.

Reaffirming:

27. In the pursuit of “*Progressive Internationalism in a changing world*” and to attain a Better Africa and a Better World the international relations work of the ANC has been reorganised around the following pillars:
 - Building a Better Africa and World
 - Party-to-Party, Intra-Party and Multilateral Relations
 - Transformation of Global Governance
 - Policy Development
 - Solidarity and Campaigns.
28. The ANC reaffirms the 54th Conference resolutions and the pillars of the ANC International Relation work.
29. The ANC has done work continentally and globally through the party-to-party relations efforts, peacebuilding, participating in certain forums, solidarity, campaigns, in various institutes involved in transformation of global governance work and forums ensuring constant policy development and implementation.
30. However, limited organisational resources and the impact of the of the Covid-19 pandemic have made resource mobilisation and implementation difficult in a number of areas.
31. The ANC and the ANC government remain committed to the promotion of a humane, just, equitable and free Africa and not seek to dominate the continent nor its institutions.

Therefore, the ANC’s 6th National Policy Conference recommends:

PILLAR 1: CONTRIBUTING TO BUILDING A BETTER AFRICA AND BETTER WORLD

Building a better Africa

32. African Union (AU)

- a. The ANC and the ANC-led government must be vigilant on trade relations with major trading partners to guard against the smuggling of issues in alternative forums when they do not succeed in negotiations with the AU.
 - b. The ANC and ANC-led government to mobilise counterparts in the continent to advance the Africa Renaissance together with Agenda 2063 and AfCFTA as a means of ensuring progress in implementation of programmes and campaigns.
 - c. The ANC and ANC-led government should ensure that the AfCFTA is not only ratified by all African countries but also meaningfully implemented.
 - d. The ANC and ANC-led government should be strategic about AfCFTA through supporting and resourcing it where necessary to ensure it becomes operationalised. Skilled South Africans should be deployed to it and necessary resources be garnered to assist it to execute and stick to its mandate.
 - e. The ANC and ANC-led government should advocate and encourage for an audit of the infrastructure invested in the continent, to identify areas that need strengthening so that confidence in African institutions can be further enhanced.
 - f. The ANC calls on the AU to strengthen the participation of its sixth Region, the African Diaspora, putting the necessary structure in place to allow the diaspora to fully participate in all levels in the AU.
 - g. Morocco's engagement in Africa and admittance in the AU remains problematic while the country continues to colonise Western Sahara. While we disagree with the admittance of Morocco in terms of its alignment with the AU Constitutive Act, the fact of the matter is that they are in the AU, and we have Embassies in each other's countries. This is the reality we need to confront and contend with.
33. **African Credit Rating Agency**
 - a. The ANC recognises the challenges posed by the three dominant Western-based international credit rating agencies on debt sustainability on the continent and the negative impact of the persistent rating downgrade by these agencies on African economies.
 - b. The ANC also notes the continual expansion of international of international rating agencies through acquisition of African-based domestic agencies to establish a global monopoly and domination.
 - c. Further the discussion in the African Union to establish an African Credit Rating Agency.
 - d. The ANC and the ANC led government must fully support the establishment of an African Credit Rating Agency as part of a lasting solution to support access to capital and to change the global financial architecture.
 34. **SADC**
 - a. The ANC and the ANC-led government should invest sufficiently in the SADC region to prevent a direct negative impact on South Africa and the region.
 - b. The ANC must deal with the political crisis in Zimbabwe in a holistic manner and consider the implementation of the Motlanthe Recommendations on Zimbabwe.
- Building a better World**
35. The impacts of the competition between the US and China, the crisis in Ukraine, Covid-19 pandemic, and rising narrow nationalisms among other global developments impacting South Africa and Africa.
 36. The ANC and ANC-led government should view the UN as global terrain of struggle and therefore mobilise for its independence from reactionary influences.

37. The ANC and ANC-led should strengthen its communication on the conflict in Ukraine and other global issues to project an unambiguous position on global issues.
38. The ANC and ANC-led government together with countries of our continent, through the AU, should maximise its contributions in the UN, guided by Progressive Internationalism.
39. **Non-Aligned Movement**
- a. The ANC calls for the revitalisation and reinforcement of the Non-Aligned Movement in view of the worsening global peace and stability, especially due to the Russia-Ukraine conflict among other challenges.
 - b. The ANC calls on countries of the African Union (AU) as a whole to remain non-aligned and to actively participate in the Non-Aligned Movement.
40. **Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS):**
- a. The ANC and ANC-led government must ensure that our membership in BRICS must be seen through tangible actions and outcomes beyond rhetoric. BRICS presence must be seen and felt.
 - b. The ANC and ANC-led government must enhance its participation in BRICS noting the re-alignment of global relations especially with the resurgence of the Cold War, trade wars and further polarisation.
41. In view of persistent oppression and exploitation of peoples in various parts of the world, the weakening of efforts for global peace and stability, the ANC should focus on and intensify international solidarity in all forms.
42. A clear strategy and plan on international solidarity campaigns be formulated by the ANC as a matter of urgency.
43. The ANC should strengthen the ability and capability of global motive forces by, inter alia:
- a. Revitalising South-South Relations
 - b. Reviewing North-South Relations and restructure them to resonate with our latest policies and vision for the NDR.
44. **Palestine and Israel**
- a. Recognizing that the South Africa and Palestine share the same struggle history. Reminded by the words of Nelson Mandela that *“If Palestinians are not free, nobody is free!”*
 - b. Noting the ongoing expansion and growth of the Israeli and colonial-settlement and apartheid and hundreds of Palestinians killed, including children. Also noting the 100s of Palestine’s homes that have been destroyed and displaced.
 - c. The ANC should continue to pledge and intensify its solidarity with the people of Palestine for freedom, independence, justice, and equality.
 - d. The ANC should be in the for front of the civil society campaign in support of the Palestinian liberation by working with solidarity organizations and progressive forces domestically, regionally, and continentally.
 - e. The ANC’s pronouncement on reviewing of our position on Israel should not be considered.
 - f. The ANC reaffirms the call for the downgrade of South Africa’s embassy in Israel.
45. **Western Sahara**
- a. The ANC calls for the completion of the decolonization process in Africa, to protect the right to self-determination of African peoples still under colonial rule; solidarity with people of African

PILLAR 2: CONTINENTAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

41. In view of persistent oppression and exploitation of peoples in various parts of the world, the weakening of efforts for global peace and stability, the ANC should focus on and intensify international solidarity in all forms.
45. **Western Sahara**
- a. The ANC calls for the completion of the decolonization process in Africa, to protect the right to self-determination of African peoples still under colonial rule; solidarity with people of African

descend and in the Diaspora in their struggle against racial discrimination and resist all forms of influences contrary to the interests of the continent.

- b. The ANC intensifies the call for the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, with a view to enable these countries and peoples, to effectively exercise sovereignty.
- c. The ANC must continue to strengthen the long and traditional bonds with Polisario Front built in the common struggle against apartheid and colonialism.
- d. Western Sahara faces huge challenges, and The ANC recommends that a special envoy must be appointed. As a movement the ANC have to consider elevating the issue of Western Sahara, through humanitarian assistance, bursaries, and other material support.

46. Chaos Archipelago and Comorian Island of Mayotte

- a. The ANC calls for the expeditious end to the unlawful occupation of the Chaos Archipelago, the Comorian Island of Mayotte.

47. Cuba

- a. The ANC should pledge further solidarity towards the people of Cuba and the lifting of the Embargo.
- b. The ANC calls on ANC structures and the Alliance and South Africans to intensify the humanitarian campaign in support of Cuba through donations of non- perishable foods, medicine and clothes which can be couriered by container to Cuba.
- c. The ANC and ANC-led government (DIRCO) should strengthen its communication to defend its assistance to Cuba, which was also misrepresented in the media.

48. ESwatini

- a. Given the sustained challenges facing people of Eswatini, the current conflict

has negatively affected the economy and human rights of Swazis.

- b. The ANC intensifies its calls on the Swazi monarch and leaders in Swaziland to create the space for open and free dialogue to find a lasting solution to the challenges facing eSwatini.
- c. The ANC confirms its strong support for the people of Swaziland and the ANC-led government should engage the Swaziland government to find solutions to the problems facing the people of Swaziland.
- d. The ANC together with its alliance partners should merge our solidarity campaigns on the basis of a commonly agreed framework of action.
- e. The ANC should intensify its support for programmes of progressive political and social movements in eSwatini, such as the People’s United Democratic Movement (Pudemo), the Swaziland Youth Congress (SWAYOCO) among others.

49. Sanctions

- a. The Impact of unilateral sanctions on Zimbabwe continues to cause problems for South Africa and the region.
- b. The ANC supports the calls for the lifting of the punitive and cruel sanctions against Venezuela, Iran, Cuba, Syria, Zimbabwe and elsewhere where such sanctions have been imposed unilaterally and unjustifiably.

PILLAR 3: PARTY-TO-PARTY AND MULTILATERAL

50. The ANC’s International relations with Africa at its centre must strengthen relations with like-minded parties as well as parties in power in pursuit of its Progressive Internationalism and realising the African Renaissance.



51. The ANC must rebuild international solidarity networks through Party-Party relations with its historical partners and build new relationships with newly formed progressive forces to mitigate negative impacts of the changing world order and enhance the work of the ANC-led government.
52. The ANC needs to reactivate and strengthen its affiliation to like-minded organisations as well as proactively participate in structures of Socialist International and Sao Paulo Forum, and the Non-aligned movement among others.
53. The ANC should guide and ensure that the ANC Youth League participates meaningfully in party-to-party relations, in IUSY, the Pan-African Youth Union, WFDY, Former Liberation Movements and other progressive international bodies.
54. The ANC should guide and ensure the ANC Women's League participates meaningfully in party-to-party relations, Socialist International Women, Former Liberation Movements, Pan-African Women's Organisation (PAWO), the Progressive Women's Forum and other progressive international bodies.

PILLAR 4: TRANSFORMATION OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE INSTITUTIONS

55. **United Nations (UN)**
 - a. The ANC recognises the urgent need for UN reforms particularly under the current changing strategic global geopolitical landscape.
 - b. The ANC must develop more concrete proposals on UN Reform, including revisions to the Ezulwini Consensus.
 - c. Ezulwini Consensus remains the ANC and ANC-led government position, but does not enjoy support outside of Africa, even amongst our closest

strategic partners. This necessitates a review of the position, even though there is a reluctance to do so in the continent.

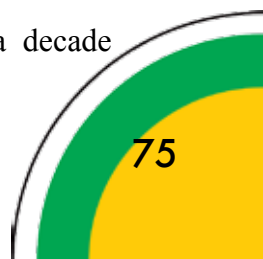
56. International Criminal Court (ICC)

- a. The ANC-led government's resilience in the previous position, the broader continental approach signalling countries of the continents withdrawal and robust engagement have positively impacted and contributed to the current ICC reforms being implemented.
- b. The fact that only a few countries in our continent have ratified the Malabo Protocol, thus delaying the establishment of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights, leaves us with no alternative to the ICC.
- c. The ANC should consider reviewing the position of withdrawing from the ICC.
- d. The ANC should also note that there are pending matters of Israel's violation of Human Rights and the issues related to Venezuela under consideration at the ICC.

PILLAR 5: POLICY DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

57. Gender and International Relations

- a. The ANC and ANC-led government should incorporate the recommendations that have been made by the Gender Reference Sub-Committee – in particular, the establishment of a task team on women in foreign policy anchored in the NEC to assess and monitor gender equality and women empowerment.
- b. The ANC should find a funding mechanism to better utilize our former Ambassadors and their experience by forming a Jessie Duarte International Relations Academy.
- c. In 2020 the AU dedicated a decade



to African Women for Financial and Economic inclusion and the ANC and ANC-led government should develop practical programmes and fast-tracking implementation.

58. Sustainable World Peace

- a. The ANC calls for an end to countries being used as proxies for other countries wars such as Ukraine being used as a proxy by the US and its European allies.
- b. The ANC calls for a de-escalation of tensions on disputes around the South China Sea and to this end reaffirms its One-China policy.
- c. The ANC calls for the resuscitation of the World Peace Movement and should actively engage the progressive forces to realise this.

59. National Interest

- a. Recalling the resolutions from the 54th National Conferences that the ANC's definition of national interest should advance the NDR and be informed by the Strategy and Tactics document of the ANC. We recognise that our national interest should also include our commitment to human rights and democracy, together with trade and economic interests.
- b. The ANC and ANC-led government must address the issue of incorporating our National Interest Framework Document to address the above issues being incorporated into our foreign policy as a matter of national competency.

60. Digital Diplomacy

- a. The ANC and the ANC led government should both develop policy guidelines and implementation frameworks for Digital Diplomacy to enhance capabilities of the organisation.

61. Economic Diplomacy

- a. The ANC and ANC-led government

should consider a constructive engagement on the possible reconfiguration of the International Relations and trade functions in government e.g., evaluate the possibility of bringing these departments together could be beneficial for Economic Diplomacy.

- b. The ANC and ANC-led government should utilise international relations as a strategic tool for the Revitalisation of the Economy to:
 - Assess the status quo of the role and contribution of embassies in facilitating trade and investment.
 - Ensure regular diagnostics and audit on trade and investment being done.
 - Strengthen the activities and programmes of the trade missions in embassies.
 - Expedite the formulation of policy on economic diplomacy.
 - Cities and provinces should not contradict national positions on foreign policy.

62. Xenophobia

- a. The ANC and ANC-led government should address Xenophobia by:
 - Developing a long-term strategy for dealing with Xenophobia. Create public awareness of the dangers of xenophobia and the fact that it is against the character of the ANC being non-racial, and non-sexist.
 - Consider a Xenophobia TRC for people to understand the consequences such as the suffering it causes and on humanity generally.
 - Develop adequate intelligence measures and effective channels for the public to report incidences of xenophobia as an early warning mechanism to avoid worse incidents and flare-ups. It must be understood that we are not xenophobic but patriotic.

- While we are not generally xenophobic, we must consider the reality of incidences of xenophobia and criminality.
68. The ANC must empower youth, women, and people with disabilities as a key focal point.

PILLAR 6: CAMPAIGNS

63. Recognizing that the ANC established one of the largest social justice movements in the 21st century, the ANC noted regression in its campaign work.
64. The ANC needs to strengthen its work on campaigns and the ANC-led government should create broader awareness campaigns on continental matters through the promotion and observation of Africa Day, Africa Women's Day, African Youth Day, through the singing of the AU National Anthem in all spheres together with our national anthem.
65. The ANC and ANC-led government should create broader awareness within the education system and the utilization of media and communications about the African Union and the broader continent.

CAPACITY BUILDING AND EMPOWERMENT OF ANC CADRES FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

66. The ANC and the ANC-led government must ensure that diplomats are not solely bureaucrats but that they should also have a strong political orientation and understanding of South Africa's history, future aspirations, and progressive politics.
67. The ANC must develop and implement a special project to identify potential cadres for international relations work and include capacity building for the identified cadres, inclusive of learning foreign languages.

BUILDING INTERNAL CAPACITY AND COORDINATION

69. The ANC must train some of the ANC Communication Department staff on international relations matters and diplomacy to improve media visibility and pronouncements.
70. The ANC reiterated the urgent need to implement the resolutions in Paragraph 55 on page 60 of the 54th Conference resolutions stipulating:
71. That the Provincial Executive appoint a focal point among members who will liaise daily with the ANC Sub-Committee and Headquarters on International Relations.
72. That a full time Head of International Relations, like Cde Mavivi Manzini that existed before, be appointed urgently.
73. ANC has to strengthen its internal capacity to enable it to build a progressive landscape with like-minded stakeholders and ensure that international relations work is not just left to government alone to execute.
74. The ANC must ensure the participation of the Leagues in international Relations to capacitate and equip them on international related matters and diplomacy and ensure that all structures are carrying out the agreed upon positions of the movement.
75. The ANC should consider supporting the MKLWV on diplomatic and international relations training.
76. The ANC International Relations should assist MKLWV with the repatriation of MK Cdes buried across the world e.g., Cuba and Russia.

77. The ANC must ensure that International Relations is discussed regularly in provincial, regional and branch structures of the movement.

78. ANC-led government (DIRCO)

- a. The ANC and the ANC-led government examine the calibre of the Ambassadors appointed and ensure that they understand progressive internationalism and are exemplary in character.
- b. The ANC-led government should take up its leadership and staff quotas in International and Continental bodies such as the AU and UN to ensure a South

African presence in these institutions to strengthen our participation in the decision making and execution of implementation continentally and internationally.

79. Alliance Programme on International Relations

- a. The ANC together with the Alliance should identify the current progressive forces that can be engage and collaborate with to enhance human progress and development.



LEGISLATURE & GOVERNANCE COMMISSION REPORT

INTRODUCTION BY CHAIRPERSON

The Chairperson Cde Phumulo Masualle opened the commission through providing a brief overview of the high level issues discussed in earlier commissions as well as through introducing the Legislature and Governance draft discussion document. He noted the importance of reflecting on the results of the State Capture report amongst other key issues needing reflection. Included too was the work done to ensure the Electoral Act, to address representation of independents, and Systems Act amendment dealing with appointments of senior management and other related matters promoting professionalism. Other issues included the increasing consequence action against poorly performing municipalities, the issue of outsourcing, the need to clarify roles and responsibilities amongst the troika and the need to improve local economic development.

His input presentation noted that South Africa has achieved on many of the Sustainable Development Goals ahead of the global targets, including, for example:

- We have held 6 national and provincial elections and 5 municipal elections, all of which have been free, fair and resulting in democratic expressions of the will of the people and our delivery records includes examples such as:
 - o 90% of households had access to electricity in 2020 compared with 70% in 2001;
 - o 89,1% of households had adequate access

to water in 2020 compared with 72% in 2001;

- o 83,2% of households had access to flush, chemical or ventilated pit toilet compared with 64% in 2001;
- o 60,5% of households had access to refuse removal in 2020 compared with 55% in 2001.
- Our successes and achievements in realizing our country's Constitutional objectives are significant and we do not publicise and communicate how far our democracy has come under the leadership of the ANC.

He identified the broad problem statement, that there is:

- Poor political will and leadership, and failure to implement the ANC's policies and programmes:
 - o We don't implement our resolutions and monitor our implementation.
- A loss of confidence in the ANC as a leader of society to mobilise all forces to ensure effective service delivery.
 - o This translates to declining support for ANC: over 80 municipalities now don't have a majority party and some of our provinces could slip below 50% support in 2024.

- Failure to respect the values of serving the community, with factional interests.
 - Do we engage our communities, are our ward committees broad-based
 - Resulting in dysfunctionality of council and administrations.
- Violent protests and assassinations, fueled by rival factions.
 - Too many comrades are being killed because of their politics and the protests against our governments have become more violent.
- Lack of accountability and transparency by ANC deployees:
 - Political-administrative interface challenges
 - Do our deployed leaders accept decisions taken by higher structures of the ANC?
- Poor municipal financial management, including poor audit outcomes and poor delivery
 - Over 210 municipalities out of 257 municipalities have at least one serious financial challenge which should lead to intervention.
- Declining levels and quality of service delivery; and
- Increasing inequality, unemployment and poverty.

The key policy statement of the ANC was reinforced, that

- ANC's approach to state power is informed by the Freedom Charter and the principle that **"The People Shall Govern"**.
- Main goal of state transformation is *"building a developmental state that provides effective basic services and with capabilities to take forward a far-reaching agenda of national economic development, whilst at the same time placing people and their involvement at the centre of this process"*.

- The building of a capable and developmental state at all three spheres of government must be achieved through the following measures:
 - Strengthening political institutions to deliver on their mandate.
 - Ensuring the state plays an important role in driving the economy and society.
 - Building effective integrated planning and service delivery systems.
 - Ensuring civil society works with the state in achieving these goals.
 - Strengthening and professionalizing the Public Administration, particularly top management and the delivery sectors.
- Building the educational feeder system to produce developmental skills, technical and professional personnel.

He noted that the previous resolutions of our conferences cover:

- Need for More Integrated Cooperative Governance;
- Future of Provinces;
- Differentiated Local Government Model;
- Role of District Municipalities;
- More effective governance in municipalities;
- Strengthening Ward Committees as part of Community participation;
- A review of the Local Government Financial System;
- A review of the role, scope and composition of the MDB;
- Strengthening systems to detect and act against corruption;
- Strengthening Local Government Systems.

Unfortunately, some of these resolutions had not been fully implemented and there was no institutional mechanism to track resolutions.



In this regard there needed to be an internal institutional machinery to ensure that the ANC guides, monitors and ensures the implementation of conference resolutions.

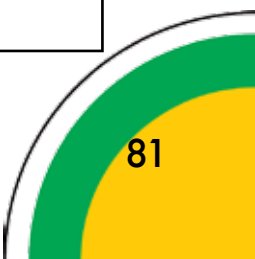
This was endorsed by participants in the Commission who noted that not only should all resolutions either be implemented fully or referred back for modification, but that clear time frames and mechanisms for implementation should be set.

PRESENTATION BY RAPPORTEUR AND

ENGAGEMENT IN COMMISSION ON THESE AREAS FROM THE DISCUSSION DOCUMENT

As Rapporteur, Cde. Thembi Nkadimeng took the Commission through a high level review of each of the key areas covered in the Discussion paper. These summary areas of her presentation which derive from the discussion document are listed in the left-hand column of the following Table which then indicates the responses provided by cdes in the Commission to each of these key areas:

Rapporteur’s focus	Commission inputs
ANC’s Deployees including selection process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor political will and leadership, and failure to implement the ANC’s policies and programmes. • Lack of accountability and transparency by ANC deployees. • Troikas often don’t work or are in conflict with each other • Many municipalities faced with ongoing infighting and factionalism resulting in dysfunctionality of council and administrations. • Arrogance must be curtailed particularly now that office-bearers are interviewed some feel they are “special”
Improving Accountability and address corruption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There should be accountability due to lack of oversight and consequence management. • There is also lack of leadership, crime & fraud prevailing. • All deployees must champion all ANC resolutions • Must vet new members to ensure those with ulterior motives and criminal intent do not capture our structures • Must have education qualifications as a criterion, with a minimum of a matric certificate • Must promote non-racialism • Payments for councillors must come from the fiscus • PR councillors do not work as hard as Ward councillors who should all be full-time • Strengthen consequence action against those who err and go against ANC policy and decisions • Interview of office bearers is good but should focus on track records and not as much on education



Rapporteur's focus	Commission inputs
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PECs cannot override interviews done by national structures • Code of ethical government needed • Councillors should not interfere with CWP and EPWP processes • Whilst must address all issues, some go against constitution, such as that committees should be chaired by opposition parties
Addressing gender and youth representation and mainstreaming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ANC must build future leadership by preparing young people in order to occupy the leadership in the future. • Need youth directorates and set aside resources • Decline in women's representation worrying and need to elect more • Should be replacing all councillors in by elections with ANC women candidates
<p>Improving relationship with traditional leadership and councils</p> <p>Macro configuration of the state</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need consistency and uniformity in remuneration and benefits • Issue of representation in councils needs urgent review • Representation in ward committee should also happen • Executives are too large and need to rationalise departments • Need cost-benefit analysis of spheres of government and re-visit Powers and Functions
Reviewing and revising the model of developmental local governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to review White Paper • Each province should have metros • Ineffective ward committees. • May need to regulate coalitions and also prepare policy on how ANC operates in opposition • Need to have more Executive Committees as that would improve stability compared with Mayoral Executives which enhance weak coalitions particularly in large Category A and B municipalities. • The coalition governments are ill suited to drive development and solve problems facing our people. • Security of deployed officials a major challenge • Review ward boundary delimitation and other technical changes

Rapporteur's focus	Commission inputs
Cooperative Governance and the District Development Model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The establishment of a strong, ethical, and capable state is necessary to grow economy. • The government will be finalising the framework on the professionalisation of the state which include integrity testing, meritocracy etc. • 33 municipalities under administration owing to poor management of political-administration nexus. • The DDM is part of building a capable state, it helps to obviate the duplication of state assets with a specific focus on single budgeting. • SALGA should be represented in provincial legislatures • Provinces and national departments should be sanctioned if they do not participate in IDP hearings • S139 not working and wrong people appointed as administrators • All employees must be conversant with what all spheres are doing • DDM not working and should be reviewed as One Plans weak and not strategic action plans • DDMs must not promote a hierarchy of spheres • National departments must have a presence in provinces and DDM spaces • Roles of COGTA vis a vis SALGA must be resolved
Strengthening ward committees as part of community participation and engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A loss of confidence in the ANC as a leader of society to mobilise all forces to ensure effective service delivery • Failure to respect the values of serving the community, with factional interests • Declining support for the ANC • Violent protests and assassinations, fueled by rival factions. • There is poor communication with communities, • Need annual accountability reviews

Rapporteur's focus	Commission inputs
Addressing financial resources and management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor municipal financial management, including poor audit outcomes • Too much regulation and compliance orientation • All budgets must be spatialised • Fiscal split problematic, particularly as municipalities undertake 45% of municipal functions • MPACs need to meet more regularly than 4 times a year. • Must regulate business forums • Need to separate financial audits from performance audits
Enhancing Human resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some efforts are being made towards establishment of the so-called "<i>Single Public Service/Integrated Public Service</i>" through the enactment of the PAMA, however the process to achieve this objective has been rather slow. As a consequence, the State is not able to operate in a well-coordinated manner in pursuit of seamless service delivery to the populace. • Need professionalisation of public services • Need intensive capacitation of administrations and political employees • Use abandoned schools as skills centres. • Get active partnerships in professionalisation with professional organizations like ECSA, etc. • CFOs, Head of technical divisions should possess requisite educational qualifications and possess registration with a professional body • Must regularise roles of Chief Whips in particular • Need particularly research resources in office bearer offices • Synchronise and share constituency offices/resources.
Addressing apartheid planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need far more evidence-based approaches to delivery of services • COGTA should deal with monitoring all spatial planning such as SPLUMA

Rapporteur's focus	Commission inputs
Environment and climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We must strive to reduce GHG emissions not only for the health of citizens but to ensure that just transition is achieved, especially when our coal stations are old. We must strive for inclusive economic growth through the pursuit of the green economy and empower women and youth to participate in this sector. Must build resilient infrastructure Examine ways to address adaptation such as desalination plants

BROAD RECOMMENDATIONS

Arising out of this discussion within the Commission are a set of broad recommendations as follows:

- That a report be developed on outstanding policy proposals from previous conferences, including any proposed amendments to these, as indicated in the discussion document and this should be for submission to the National Conference.
- That in future clear time frames should be set for the implementation of resolutions;
- That a review of the progress and made on the Local Government White Paper be provided which indicates any further modifications that may be needed;
- That the ANC's Local Government Forum be re-established at a National and Provincial level consisting of ANC Presidency (Monitoring and Evaluation) and SGO (particularly Elections and Political Education), Alliance, Cabinet members, MECs and SALGA. This should also ensure PECs and RECs do not micro manage municipalities but ensure they are monitored and corrective action taken where necessary.
- Coalition Agreements Formalization: The introduction of guiding policy in the formation of coalitions which outlines the guiding principles and approach to coalitions. Consider whether there is a need for coalitions to be regulated through legislation to enhance stability in Councils?

- Conference should resolve that the provisions of rule 25 of the amended ANC constitution should be invoked to restore discipline in the Municipal Caucuses, to expel defiant councillors such as who are working with the opposition.
- Role of ANC in opposition: A clear strategy on the role of the ANC in opposition in Legislatures and Municipalities must be formulated, including effectively utilizing oversight and public participation mechanisms to regain confidence of voters.
- Consideration of incentive system for Municipalities that are performing.

SPECIFIC AREAS IN WHICH THE COMMISSION FOUND SUPPORT

ANC's Electoral System

- Support for ANC's candidate selection process and accountability framework, but this had led to tensions and some strange behaviour by ANC Councillors, defying the higher structures of the organization.
- Appreciation of the work done on the interviews of candidates for the Troikas.
- Recognising that there are now over 80 "hung" councils, there is an urgent need for how these areas where there is no majority party are handled.

- The serious instability found in some of the hung/coalition councils which is impacting on service delivery, it is recommended that MECs introduce changes to Section 12 notices to make such municipalities Executive Committee systems as opposed to their current status as Mayoral Executive systems.

Improving Accountability:

- Focus of all ANC deployees must be -
 - o Championing the needs of the people; and
 - o Building the trust and confidence in the ANC led Democratic State

Addressing Corruption

- ANC needs to mobilise communities and society around issues of corruption, and position itself in a leadership role with respect to a culture of exposing corruption and rewarding whistle blowers.

Addressing State Capture

- The Legislature and Governance noted the findings and recommendations of the Zondo Commission on state capture and corruption; and
- Further notes that there are issues emanating from the report that require the urgent attention of the Legislature & Governance Subcommittee.
- Some of the issues contained therein include, inter alia, direct election of the President, chairing of portfolio committees by the opposition, and amendment to electoral Act etc. The Subcommittee has looked into the issues contained therein and developed draft response for further interrogation and comments by the provinces. In depth analysis and implications of the recommendations will undertaken by the Subcommittee prior dissemination of same to the provinces for sign off.

- The work of the subcommittee will be concluded by end of August 2022 as directed by the National Conference. The final report is expected on 22 June 2022 and the President to report back on 20 October 2022.

Addressing Gender and Youth

- Issues of representation and mainstreaming were dealt with and gender mainstreaming must be found in all spheres of government.
- Concern is expressed that the proportion of women councillors and senior administrations is declining and is well below 50% Ways must urgently be found to ensure that our male dominated Ward committees include women at least as co-chairs.
- In the case of youth, a dedicated capacity needed to be established in all spheres, including training and succession planning.

Macro Configuration of the State

- Role of Parliament was considered and issues around role clarification of particularly Speakers and Chief Whips was required.
- The lack of research and other resources was noted as inhibiting effective governance, including also benefits.

Addressing Gender and Youth

- Issues of representation and mainstreaming were dealt with and gender mainstreaming must be found in all spheres of government
- Concern is expressed that the proportion of women councillors and senior administrations is declining and is well below 50% Ways must urgently be found to ensure that our male dominated Ward committees include women at least as co-chairs.
- In the case of youth, a dedicated capacity needed to be established in all spheres, including training and succession planning.

Macro Configuration of the State

- Role of Parliament was considered and issues around role clarification of particularly Speakers and Chief Whips was required.
- The lack of research and other resources was noted as inhibiting effective governance, including also benefits.

Differentiated Local Government Model:

- Urgent attention must be given to recognizing the highly differentiated nature of local government so that less capacitated municipalities are not expected to perform as if they are well capacitated.
- In this regard the classification and grading of municipalities must be given urgent attention.
- Ways must be found to incentivize municipalities doing well and consolidated support given to underperforming municipalities, including through intra-municipal support programmes where good practices are shared across municipalities

Demarcation:

- Urgent steps should be taken to develop strategies to stabilize the changing ward boundaries.
- Previous resolutions calling for movement towards single tier government, particularly with the increase in Category A municipalities must be enacted in time for the 2026 municipal elections.

Cooperative Governance and District Development Model

- There is an urgent need for much stronger Integrated and synchronized Cooperative Governance and the focus must be firmly on service delivery.

- The District Development Model (DDM) requires all spheres of government to be actively involved in integrated planning, budgeting, and implementation in each of the 52 spaces (Metro's and Districts).
- Ways should be found to ensure DDM are not left to be coordinated by only District municipalities which do not have the capacity to coordinate.
- Instead they must be an all of government approach

Traditional Leadership and Councils

- Recognition was made that the Presidency is coordinating the process of addressing issues raised around Traditional Leadership, through a Ten-a-side Task Team chaired by the Deputy President.
- The work streams established to have a stronger policy engagement to on the institution of Traditional Leadership.
- These initiatives could easily deal with representation in councils and also ensuring that in all ward committees which straddle a traditional area, that Traditional Councils provide at least one representative onto the ward committees.
- Overlook of the developmental monarch, the invest rural strategy to increase economic development.
- A legislative framework for the provision of uniform of benefits to be developed to deal with Traditional leaders and councils.

Community engagement

- Ward Committees must focus on community engagements, with door-to-door campaigns, report backs and the like.
- Follow-ups to all community engagements must be timeously made.

Reviewing State Policies

- There must be clear policy that standardizes the application of Sections 139 of the Constitution (amongst others).
- Administrators must ensure they have the requisite competencies and have no record of poor performance.
- Teams of administrators should work together and should have clear ToRs and reporting lines.
- Addressing Apartheid Planning.
- Specific strategies to improve the implementation of the DDM and in particular reduce apartheid spatial inequalities must be developed.
- Developmental planning such as IDPs, SDFs, SPLUMA should be located in COGTA to ensure there is an integrated approach.

Improving Human Resources

- The National School of Government, DCoG, NT, SALGA, and relevant SETAs need to be strengthened to improve competency levels.
- Roll-out of skills audit (phased and targeted approached) to ensure that placement and skills are aligned.
- Support registration of professionals with registration with relevant professional bodies, not only technical roles.
- Stabilizing the political-administrative interface and ensure longer tenure for accounting officers, including.
- Professionalization of the public service.
- Municipal Capacity Interventions and stabilizing Local Government.
- Institutionalizing Ethics and integrity.

- Rolling out E-Government and use of ICT.
- Steps must be taken to increase the human, financial and technical resources available to local government whilst ensuring delivery on financial compliance and developmental outputs.

Service Delivery

- The establishment of the ANC Local Government Forums must clearly develop clear strategies to improve cross-sphere and cross-sectoral delivery programmes.
- The Presidency Monitoring and Evaluation must provide quarterly reports on the State of Service delivery across all municipalities and consequence action must be taken where municipalities fail to perform.
- The competency levels of built environment professionals must be improved, with only professionals being appointed to head key posts like technical/engineering, planning and finance.

Financial Resources and Management

- The Equitable share formula must be modified to address the inequalities in funding across spheres, particularly given that over 45% of all developmental functions are supposed to be delivered by municipalities. In addition, rural municipalities with low tax bases must receive additional support.
- Municipalities must ensure that funded budgets are in place, including to maintain and rehabilitate existing infrastructure.
- The municipal debt relief proposals need to be urgently finalized to assist municipalities in improving their balance sheets.
- How do we ensure effective collaboration between civil society and organs of state in delivering on the whole value chain of

infrastructure projects, whilst ensuring prescribed maintenance and renewal schedules are implemented.

Developmental Local Governance

- An evidence-based approach to local development needs must be developed to ensure there are clear intergovernmental plans to address the changing social, economic and environmental realities and reduce the apartheid spatial inequalities.
- All DDMs must have a clear social, economic and environmental strategy in which partnerships are clearly defined to retain and expand local economies, whilst also redressing the apartheid spatial inequalities.
- All municipalities must ensure effective collaboration between civil society and organs of state in delivering on the whole value chain of infrastructure projects, whilst ensuring prescribed maintenance and renewal schedules are implemented.

Environmental Sustainability and Climate Change:

- DDM processes must ensure that each of these 52 spaces have an integrated approach to address climate change, including short-, medium- and long-term strategies to build resilience.
- In addition, Disaster Management and Emergency strategies action plans must be coordinated as part of the DDM processes.

DIGITAL COMMUNICATION AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

INTRODUCTION

The National Policy Conference deliberated on the discussion document dealing with Digital Communication and the Battle of Ideas. The discussions focused the following topics:

- Broadcasting and media transformation,
- Information Communication Technology,
- Postal Services and the Post Bank,
- digitizing government and society.

The national policy conference reaffirms the resolutions of the 54th and the past national conferences on the matters under discussion. This document sets out the policy proposals for adoption by the 55th National Conference.

BATTLE OF IDEAS

1. Noting

- 1.1 The ANC emerged from the 54th national conference with a renewed sense of purpose invigorated by the adoption of the resolutions relating to organizational renewal. Society's acceptance of this renewed sense of purpose is reflected in the positive voter sentiment in the last national general elections.
- 1.2 However, the national mood changed during the recent local government elections. There is a notable strong anti-ANC sentiment in the media and national discourse. Largely this arises out of non-transformation of the economy exacerbated by the low levels of economic growth.

Inevitably, this has resulted in high levels of youth unemployment, poverty and inequality.

- 1.3 Compounding the above, it is poor service delivery in particular access to water, energy security and access roads; weakened public safety, endemic-levels of corruption and the lack of effective interventions.
- 1.4 The rising global and domestic dominance of a conservative narrative in public discourse without a coherent rebuttal based on the progressive policies and ideological foundations of the ANC.
- 1.5 While the ANC remains the dominant force in public discourse, there is a general absence of policy and thought leadership from the ANC. The ANC has retreated to a reactive information and publicity strategy.
- 1.6 Since the 54th national conference, we have witnessed the intensification of adverse observations of the ANC by struggle stalwarts, civic and social activist complaining about its inability to carry out its historical mission.
- 1.7 As noted by the 54th national conference,
 - 1.7.1 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, yet there are no mechanisms in South Africa to regulate the social media and OTT against the possible dissemination of fake news.

- 1.7.2 ANC infighting, disunity and use of media to engage in battles of ANC has undermined public trust, portraying an image of organizational paralysis. Challenges and divisions within the ANC and the broader mass democratic movement have created an opportunity for exploitation by opponents of the ANC.
2. It is recommended that conference should resolve as follows:
 - 2.1 The ANC is guided by the historic mission of building a united, non-sexist, free democratic South Africa.
 - 2.2 The NEC has an immediate responsibility to augment the research and policy capacity of the ANC to guide both the general membership and leadership to provide necessary leadership in public discourse, gauge public sentiment, and provide the requisite response.
 - 2.3 The NEC should consider regular policy briefs to the public on topical matters to ensure coherent messaging on the implementation of ANC policies.
 - 2.4 ANC leaders, public representatives and members should be continuously informed on prevailing ANC policies, ethos, principles, and conventions to ensure that in the battle of ideas, every comrade plays a part of influencing public discourse.
 - 2.5 The NEC must review the mandate, capacity, composition and leadership of the Department of Information Publicity (“the DIP”). The DIP must be calibrated into a world class communication instrument to advance ANC positions and the communications machinery must be strengthened across all structures including at a branch level (possibility of branch spokesperson).
 - 2.6 The recalibrated DIP must be the custodian of communicating all ANC official positions. The communication must be coherent, centralized and validated against the established policies, principles, ethos and conventions. At all times, leadership must uphold ANC communications protocol on ANC official positions and the NEC must lead by example
 - 2.7 ANC should improve communication on the achievements of the ANC-led government to deal decisively with corruption in general and, in particular, proactively dealing with any allegation of corruption against any of its members or leaders as part of protecting the ANC brand.
 - 2.8 The ANC should continuously review the organization’s positioning in the public discourse to ensure that corrective measures are taken timeously.

BROADCASTING

3. Noting
 - 3.1 Broadcasting services remains the most powerful method of imparting and receiving information. For any democracy to achieve the objectives of freedom and access to uncensored information, broadcasting policies need to be progressive and take into account the evolution of technology, innovation and the need to broaden access.
 - 3.2 The progress made in the migration from analogue transmission to digital broadcasting as previously resolved by the past national conferences as the country has achieved National terrestrial network coverage.

- 3.3 The financial sustainability of the public broadcaster is important to promote social cohesion, educating, informing and entertaining the nation.
- 3.4 The public broadcaster, the SABC, needs to be competitive and achieve world class news and entertainment broadcasting.
- 3.5 Over the past decade, the ownership of critical media assets in South Africa by historically disadvantaged persons or Black people has regressed. Furthermore, the policy environment has hamstrung the growth of community media thus undermining the objective of driving media diversity and facilitating participation of blacks, women, youth within the broadcasting sector.
- 3.6 The evolution of broadcasting from traditional means of transmission to technologically advanced forms, ie digital broadcasting and new platforms
- 3.7 It is recommended that conference should resolve that:
- 3.7.1 The government must finalize the SABC Bill that provides clear distinction on the management and funding of its public/ developmental and commercial mandate.
- 3.7.2 National fiscus should fund the public/ development mandate of the SABC, whilst the commercial-wing of the SABC must cross subsidize the developmental mandate, and household broadcasting levy must be considered to subsidize the SABC and replace the TV-license fees.
- 3.7.3 The commercial SABC must be regulated in a manner that enables it to be competitive against commercial broadcasters (local and international).
- 3.7.4 The public mandate of the SABC must include the setting up of the Education, Health, Children and History channels.
- 3.7.5 By 2023, government must finalize the audio-visual strategy to deal with the promotion of local content, local language, cultural diversity and heritage and protect local media against unfair competition by international emerging media (streaming and social media).
- 3.7.6 By 2023, Government must table legislation to protect the sustainability of community media including progression to commercial media for media diversity instead of proliferation and promotion of new entrants in broadcasting.

ICT

4. Noting
- 4.1 ICASA has recently concluded the licensing of high demand spectrum. This enables the operators to invest in their networks for the benefit of the economy, introduce new technologies and services.
- 4.2 Fibre connectivity and backhaul is critical for the roll out of universal access to connectivity. There is a need to extend fibre to rural communities and townships to ensure Fibre To The Home (FTTH).
- 4.3 Progress has been made on the rationalization of State Owned ICT Companies towards the State Digital Infrastructure Company that will lead the government's intervention in the roll-out of digital infrastructure including the consolidation of government's fibre assets and municipal-owned fibre.
- 4.4 Radio frequency spectrum is a limited

scarce national resource. Its assignment must be informed by the need to broaden ownership to historically disadvantaged groups and its use to be extended to a variety of services including education, health, mining and manufacturing.

- 4.5 There is need for a review of the Integrated ICT Policy to align it with technological developments, sectoral, and economic development.
- 4.6 The ownership of the ICT sector must be inclusive and reflect more participation by historically disadvantaged groups, particularly Black people, women, and youth.
- 4.7 Data prices remain excessively high hindering access to broadband for online services, eg government information, education and SMME opportunities.
- 4.8 Satellite should explored to improve access to broadband, the protection of the sovereign, research and development.
- 4.9 New and innovative services have emerged from the intersection of ICTs and other economic sectors such financial services.
- 4.10 Digital economy is a reality and has a direct bearing on South Africa's competitiveness as an investment destination.
- 4.11 It is recommended that the national conference resolve as follows:
- 4.11.1 The government should review the ICT policy environment, laws, and regulations to address transformation, technological, global developments, evolving regulatory environment.
- 4.11.2 Spectrum assignment must be informed by the need transform the ownership and control in the sector to include wider participation, especially for Blacks, women and youth. The use of spectrum should extent beyond exclusive holding by electronic communications license. To this extent, consideration should include the use of spectrum by education and health sectors, manufacturing, agriculture, and new industries.
- 4.11.3 The policy should improve regulatory regime to promote efficient use of spectrum including spectrum trading.
- 4.11.4 A consideration of measures to accelerate the rollout of world class mobile infrastructure and fibre in rural areas and townships. These should include a combination of trade incentives, tax rebates, and agreed compact between the government and the sector.
- 4.11.5 The government must develop a roadmap for the decommissioning of 2G and 3G mobile network infrastructure and services and the roll-out of 4G and 5G mobile network including to rural areas.
- 4.11.6 Finalize the establishment of the State Digital Infrastructure Company and ensure that it adequately capitalized and assigned sufficient spectrum to carryout its public mandate.
- 4.11.7 The SDIC must also facilitate SMME participation in the telecommunications sector on more favourable terms and assist municipalities to utilize the fibre infrastructure as new revenue stream.
- 4.11.8 Government must create an enabling environment for investment in data centers and cloud technology to improve the competitiveness of South Africa to exploit opportunities offered by the digital economy. State Digital Infrastructure Company to build, enhance, secure and operate a government data center and South African cloud capacity.

- 4.11.9 South Africa to take measures to realize its potential in satellite technology to increase access to communication, support research and development and enhance the security of the sovereign.
- 4.11.10 Pragmatic measures, policy and regulatory interventions to be considered to promote the intersection between ICT and other sectors and any other innovative solutions arising out convergence of technologies.
- 4.11.11 South Africa to develop a national digital economy blue print 2023. South Africa should accelerate the digitization of government and society and ensure that at least 30% of South Africa is digitized.
- 4.11.12 Government should ensure that it has world class capabilities and systems to curb cybersecurity attacks on government information and databases and prosecute cyber-related crimes.
- 4.11.13 Improve the capability of Post Bank to be able to disburse social security grants to SASSA beneficiaries.
- 4.11.14 Finalize the corporatization of the Post Bank and transform it into a state bank by the end of 2023.
- 4.11.15 Investigate the framework for governance and operation of online platforms in South Africa.
- 4.11.16 ANC-led government, through the DPME must develop a template for government to regularly report on implementation of applicable ANC Conference resolutions



REPORT FROM ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION COMMISSION

Advancing economic transformation

The strategic objective of the ANC is to advance the NDR and achieve the radical social and economic transformation of South Africa into a truly non-racial, non-sexist, prosperous and democratic society, as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

The commission acknowledged that the current economic challenges of rising unemployment, falling investment, and stagnating growth are making life very difficult for millions of people in South Africa and that the ANC must respond with effective economic policies to turn the situation around.

In addition to a renewed emphasis on the need for ethical, people-centered governance, and for pro-growth and pro-poor economic policies, the commission reaffirmed the 54th National Conference resolutions on economic transformation. Concerns were raised with the pace of implementation of some economic policy resolutions and the commission called for a greater sense of urgency in this regard.

In transforming our economy, the deep structural scars of colonialism and apartheid need to be overcome, as do the more recent negative shocks to our economy which have resulted from state capture, the Covid pandemic, weak State capacity, droughts and floods, security breakdowns, looting and unrest, and the impact of the ongoing conflict between Russia and the Ukraine.

Our numerous economic policy interventions must be built on the following key pillars:

- Accelerating the implementation of the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan to advance, amongst objectives, increased infrastructure investment, improved energy security, and wider access to improved data services.
- Expanding investment in infrastructure to improve community access to basic services, increase the overall efficiency and competitiveness of the economy and reignite South Africa's job-intensive construction sector.
- Structural reforms of network industries, including electricity, telecoms, water, rail, and road infrastructure in order to improve the overall competitiveness and performance of the economy and to stimulate growth and job creation.
- Strengthening industrial policy interventions to support the growth and expansion of the manufacturing and services sectors.
- Prioritising youth employment across all areas of intervention so that we can ensure productive opportunities for young people in South Africa and give them new greater hope for the future.
- Using policy frameworks, such as, competition policy, procurement policies

and other instruments to challenge highly concentrated ownership patterns and open new economic opportunities for black South Africans in particular.

- Accelerating the process of land redistribution and urban planning to transform apartheid's spatial geography in urban centers, and to unlock employment, farming and agro-processing opportunities in rural areas.
- Expanding trade with other countries on the African continent and the rest of the world, as part of our agricultural, industrialisation and beneficiation strategies.
- Maintaining macroeconomic stability, in a manner that supports a sustained period of inclusive growth and enables us to accelerate social and economic transformation.
- Improving safety and security measures to better protect economic infrastructure, including stopping cable theft and the destruction of the country's rail system.
- Rooting out corruption at all levels of government, as our people are the main victims of corrupt activities, just as our people will be the main beneficiaries of the programmes of an ethical and capable developmental state.
- Prioritising closer coordination between government and social partners, including through deepened processes of social compacting.

In taking forward economic transformation, the ANC-led government must play a leadership role in guiding South Africa's mixed economy, both public and private sectors, onto a new trajectory of inclusive growth. As noted by 54th National Conference, "Within the context of radical socio-economic transformation, the ANC's strategic relationship with private capital is one of cooperation and contestation. This requires, among others, that the state must actively seek

partnerships with the private sector and provide leadership to guide the country towards its developmental goals." As part of this process the details of our programme of social and economic transformation should be further developed through ongoing organisational discussions including through an Alliance Economic Summit.

Employment creation is a priority

High unemployment is destroying the lives of many of our people. We need to take action to ensure the creation of more job opportunities. New jobs will be created through policies which begin to lift current historically low levels of investment.

Public employment programmes, which were expanded in response to the Covid pandemic, also have a vital role to play in increasing employment opportunities, particularly for young people. The high level of youth unemployment is a national crisis and decisive interventions are required to create work for young people as rapidly as possible.

Rising cost of living, including rising energy costs and food prices.

The cost of living is rising for South African families and the impact has been devastating for the poor and the working class. Fuel price hikes, which also have a direct link to the rising cost of food, are bleeding workers and suffocating the economy.

Economic policy interventions should integrate with social policy to ensure support for citizens. The commission applauded interventions undertaken to make temporary fuel levy adjustments to better manage fuel prices increases in recent months and called for further work to be done in restructuring of South Africa's fuel price mechanisms.

The strain on citizens' incomes requires a bold approach on the issue of income support, while being cognisant of the multiple demands on the fiscus and the need for a sustainable approach to this issue.



Gender equality

Unemployment indicators show that unemployment continues to be higher for women than for men. Gender based violence continues to plague women in the workplace and in communities.

The commission affirmed that ANC policy must continue to prioritise women's participation in all aspects of social, economic, and political life. One of our economic policy objectives must be to increase the share of women employed in the formal sector of the economy. We must also focus on improved enforcement of labour legislation including the minimum wage, which has been shown to have particular benefits for women workers, who are generally the lowest paid.

Generally, we must focus on economic metrics that expose gender disparities in pay levels, and we must promote women's access to certain historically male-dominated activities. Access to finance for women, as well as an increased role for women in owning businesses in various sectors is also vital, including in the tourism sector, as well as in small businesses and co-operatives.

At the centre of all our efforts to work towards women's emancipation should be gender mainstreaming. Necessarily, this would require us to implement a set of activities that include gender-based budgeting and the targeting of public expenditures to promote women's economic opportunities.

Overall, the ANC's interventions to achieve greater gender equality should not only be left to women to carry out. It should be everybody's responsibility.

Infrastructure investment

Expanded infrastructure investment can play a critical role in providing basic services to our urban and rural communities and improving South Africa's overall economic performance and job creation. Budgeting at all levels of

government need to reverse the trend whereby infrastructure investment is being crowded-out by other expenditure items.

Project management skills need to be improved so that the public sector is better able to manage an increase in infrastructure spending. Where appropriate, Public Private Partnerships and other blended finance models must be embraced with tailored designs to maximise value and meet policy objectives.

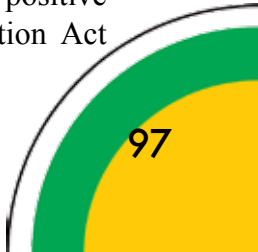
The infrastructure planning capacity through Infrastructure-South Africa should link to defined programmes for execution. In parallel, there should be continued identification of local content opportunities to support industrial policy objectives. Localisation must be designed to ensure that stronger SA construction companies emerge, with better balance sheets, to enable them to participate in broader African opportunities.

Land Redistribution and Agricultural Production

Accelerated land redistribution is vital for transforming apartheid's spatial geography and to unlock employment, farming and agro-processing opportunities. A number of interventions are being undertaken to accelerate land reform and to provide support for black farmers in particular.

Farmers must be given the necessary support to attain water rights and be able to take produce to market including for export. There is a need to expand export markets for various agricultural products, particularly as we continue to experience the disruption of South African citrus exports to the EU and wool to China.

One of the mechanisms to achieve land reform, a constitutional amendment to allow for expropriation without compensation in certain circumstances, was not passed due to insufficient parliamentary support. This resolution should continue to be explored, as should the positive implementation of the new Expropriation Act



which is at an advanced stage in the legislative process.

We must also accelerate the process of bringing underutilised land into production. In doing this an important role can be played by the establishment of a new Land Reform and Agricultural Development Agency. Strategies must also be put in place to increase the productivity of land in communal areas.

On Communal land

The Policy Conference noted the outcomes of the Communal Land Tenure Summit convened by the Inter Ministerial Committee in partnership with National House of Traditional leaders, Contralesa and other Civil Society Organisation's including the Khoi and the San representatives.

The purpose of the Summit was to address the issue of Communal Land Tenure and ownership and the role of Traditional leaders and their communities in the land administration system in order to unlock economic opportunities in communal areas. This is another step of reversing the colonial and apartheid legacy relating to the confinement of African in 13 per cent of the land mass of South Africa. The Summit also emphasized the need for addressing the effects of the 1913 cut-off date on those whose land was taken away before, in particular the Khoi and the San communities.

The ANC Policy Conference urged government to accelerate the implementation of the recommendations of the Summit in order to ensure that Rural Communities can finally have Legally secure land Tenure and land administrative system. Conference noted the need for continuous engagement with the Khoi and the San communities on matters of land access.

Energy Security

Load shedding is crippling South Africa, both from an economic and social stability perspective.

Restoring energy security will be critical for lifting confidence, investment, and job creation. The ANC supports the decisive interventions, recently announced by the President, which will be undertaken to overcome the country's energy crisis and end load shedding in the shortest possible time.

The two primary objectives of this energy action plan are to improve the performance of Eskom's existing power stations and to add new generation capacity to the grid as quickly as possible.

The ANC calls on government, labour, business, and communities to work together to implement these interventions as rapidly and as effectively as possible, as ongoing loadshedding is a binding constraint on growth and job creation for our people.

The ANC also reasserts that as we implement these plans and advance a just energy transition for the country, Eskom as a state-owned company should continue to play a key strategic role in guiding this process to the benefit of the many and not just a few. Government must not to abandoned coal at the expense of energy security, jobs and affected communities.

A solution must be found to unsustainable Eskom's debt problem, and more generally Eskom's operational and financial performance must be improved. There must be accountability and consequences management in relation to the state of Eskom.

Government's key planning instrument, the Integrated Resources Plan (IRP), must continue to be implemented and updated where necessary in response to current conditions. The IRP envisages the usage of an optimal mix of energy sources such as coal, solar, wind, gas, nuclear, hydro and energy storage to maintain security of supply of electricity at the lowest cost to the South African economy.

Energy is about more than just about electricity. These are some of the critical interventions needed in the energy value chain:

- Immediate actions are required to bring power stations into operation and improve the skills base, including sourcing external skills needed.
- Update the IRP, through a process that also includes transparency on the models used to create the key options.
- Regulations should be put in place to enable municipalities to partner with independent power producers so that they can deliver electricity to local communities, this will also provide a source of revenue for municipalities.
- Noting that some of our major trading partners have classified gas and nuclear as green in the energy transition, ensure that our climate adaptation policies are not creating a position that makes us less competitive and limit our ability to utilise these technologies which can have a positive impact on overall energy pricing.
- Noting lessons from the instability caused by total dependence on foreign sources for energy inputs, fast track the implementation of oil and gas exploration, with the aim of developing domestic resources.
- On the recent hydrocarbon discoveries on South Africa's southeastern coast, fast-track the development of these fields and create options for related power plants based in these gas resources.
- Investigate, conduct feasibility studies and make decisions on new domestic refinery capacity, noting the closure of existing refineries.
- Noting South Africa's dependence on imported fuels, ensure efficiency of logistics by supporting the development of the necessary storage and pipeline infrastructure.
- Leverage the BRICS relationships and develop partnerships for SOEs to enable the necessary capability and resources to implement catalytic energy projects.
- Ensure proper alignment between the energy security goals and the climate change commitments and objectives.
- Support must be mobilised for the Climate Change Bill, which aims to help South Africa respond to the realities of climate change – including the increased risk of droughts and floods – and guide the country onto a more sustainable and climate resilient path.
- Just transition plans must be developed for all sectors of the economy and regions of the country, particularly for affected regions like Mpumalanga.

SARB ownership and mandate

The Policy Conference noted the historical anomaly of private ownership of the SARB and reaffirmed the 54th National Conference resolution that the bank should be owned by the state.

Government is urged to find mechanisms to restructure the ownership of the SARB, in a manner which safeguards and further entrenches the SARB's constitutionally-enshrined independence. Fully cognisant of the likely cost implications for the fiscus, which faces many competing expenditure priorities, government is urged to find ways to minimize any liabilities to the state flowing from this process.

The ANC calls on the SARB to implement monetary policy in a balanced manner. Just as monetary policy must target inflation in order to contain the rising cost of living, the monetary policy framework should also take into account growth, employment, and exchange rate factors. It is through correct monetary and fiscal policy management that interest rates – including long-term borrowing rates and risk spreads – can best be contained to create an environment conducive to higher levels of investment, growth, and employment creation.

On the state bank

Delegates reaffirmed previous resolutions on the fundamental imperative and urgency of the establishment of a State Bank. In light of the feasibility study already done in this regard, government was urged to move with speed in implementing this resolution by finding a way of capitalise the state bank.

Fiscal policy

On fiscal policy, it was recognised that ongoing measures to avoid rising national debt and related fiscal crises must continue to guide our approach. It was proposed that Government should better align fiscal policy with our broader industrial development objectives. This includes re-prioritisation of spending patterns and finding ways to shift expenditure from consumption to investment so that there can be higher spending on service delivery and social and economic infrastructure.

Government was urged to intensify its fight against poverty and inequality. Introducing a wealth tax was suggested as one of the avenues that the ANC government should explore to minimize income and wealth inequality.

Industrial Policy

A significant part of the interventions should focus on rebuilding and broadening the industrial base. At the heart of this National Industrial Development Strategy should be localisation policies. Public entities should be obliged to purchase designated locally produced products rather than imports. An example of this is the potential for battery storage of excess capacity of electricity generated by renewable energy plants for which South Africa has the essential raw materials.

Government should drive the modernisation of industrial tooling and skills development to ensure the competitiveness of local industrialisation. New sectors should be developed, such as, the manufacture of electric vehicles and the

expansion of the hydrogen economy, as should industrialisation strategies linked to the so-called blue, green and ocean economies.

The ANC government should embark on a series of concrete measures to support key sectors through the following actions:

- Focusing on building supplier capacity in sectors that have a direct link with the production of inputs into education infrastructure, healthcare, public infrastructure (including public transport), energy, water, and sanitation.
- Increasing economies of scale by aggressively pursuing export markets.
- Investing in capital equipment and focusing on innovation in products, manufacturing processes and materials.
- Building up strong, close-knit manufacturing clusters and supply-chain networks, with increased depth and cost competitiveness; government can support through well-designed Special Economic Zones.
- Using the motor industry programme as a learning experience on how to use the incentive schemes for other priority sectors and particularly scale-up industrial support measures for labour-absorbing sectors such as agro-processing and clothing & textiles so that the number of jobs created in manufacturing is scaled up substantially.
- Enabling the development of new sectors. For example, we should review if the current motor industry incentives are sufficient for the growing electric vehicle market.
- Broadening ownership and the participation of our people, combat anti-competitive behaviour and overcome entry barriers that inhibit SMME's, co-operatives and from breaking through the value-chains.



Mining Policy

The 53rd and 54th National Conference says mining should be for the benefit of all and the resolutions emphasized the importance of creating instruments for broadening wealth distribution, including the establishment of a sovereign wealth fund.

It was also recommended that for the sake of future mining activity and jobs, an intensive programme of minerals exploration should be undertaken so that new mines can be opened and new minerals, some of which are critical minerals for the energy transition underway globally, can be discovered.

Telecoms reform and Access to Data Services

We must make interventions to bridge the digital divide through widening access to data technology and services. Broadband rollout and availability of internet has a great potential to create jobs stimulate small businesses and entrepreneurship. Most rural areas access broadband through mobile networks, and in some of these areas there is no adequate radio network coverage to sustain reliable connectivity.

Government should accelerate infrastructure investment in ICT to promote inclusive growth and also bridge the divide between rural and urban areas. A Rural Broadband fund should be established to improve connectivity to rural communities and create affordable wholesale markets to assist SMME start-ups in particular.

Procurement reform

Public procurement must be implemented in a manner that drives localisation. A higher proportion of public procurement should be procured domestically to drive the local economy and industrialisation. The procurement plan must include set-asides for women to drive women economic empowerment.

The regulation on procurement has loopholes that enable abuse of processes and these must be

looked into and due amendments must be made to tighten up the process.

The procurement processes must be compelled by law to be more open and transparent, building on the initiatives for greater public access to all tender information via open portals and for Government to provide clearer guidance on its preferences for different types of tenders.

The primary intention for government procurement, is to ensure goods and services are provided in a fair, transparent, equitable, competitive, and cost-effective manner, and that government always derives the maximum value-for-money.

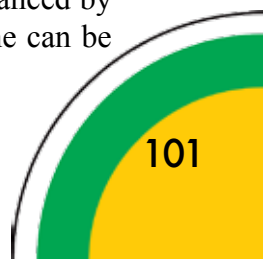
The purchase of expensive and sophisticated equipment imported for SoEs and other organs of state must generally be done directly with OEMs, with no middleperson or third-party agents.

All organs of state must recognise that procurement is amongst their highest risk areas, and their internal control systems and audit committee must be involved in assessing the integrity of their procurement processes, and do regular checks on the outcome of such procurement processes.

Access to business finance

One of the critical factors that inhibit the growth of the industrial sector is access to affordable credit and at terms that are conducive to its long-term development. Furthermore, while cognizant of the strategic role of large enterprises in providing the backbone of economic activity, it is well known that small and medium sized enterprises play a leading role in driving economic activity in many fast-growing economies.

Yet, small and medium scale enterprises tend to have weak collateral. Though they may have prospects for future growth, their financial performance is often too risky to be financed by mainstream financial markets. The same can be



said about firms that operate in the manufacturing sector in particular, which are vulnerable to a multitude of shocks arising from their nature as units that consolidate inputs from a number of diverse sub-sectors. 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.

Skills Revolution and 4IR

Government was urged to increase investment in human capital. Education must be aligned to the trajectory of the country so that the skills that produced are responsive to the needs of the economy. In addition, we need to upskill and train our human capital in a manner that will improve our innovation system. Similarly, the challenges of new technology and the 4th industrial revolution require a revolutionary approach to training and skills development.

Initiatives that accelerate the placement of youth – on a massive scale – in employment that generates skills and experience should be intensified. Life-long learning initiatives should also be prioritized with the understanding the technologies that drive the 4IR are going to affect all spheres of our lives, including the world of work, in ways that are unpredictable.

Restructuring of state-owned companies

Delegates reaffirmed the 54th conference resolution that states that “Active steps to achieve accelerated economic growth include: Stabilising the governance and finances of State-Owned Companies (SOC) and ensuring that SOC’s play a developmental role”

Accordingly, government should develop a consolidated structure and funding model for commercial and non-commercial SOEs so that they can play a critical role in the implementation of the ERRP and development of the economy broadly.

The Eskom Social Compact implementation must be sped up, including the finalization of the debt relief package. This will enable it to ramp up maintenance and invest in new generation capacity.

Efforts to secure and rebuild Transnet and Prasa must be accelerated. This will boost mining, agriculture and manufacturing.

Generally, there should be an ongoing review of all state-owned companies to assess on the balance of evidence which should be retained, consolidated, or repositioned and which services we need to fund as public utilities.

On Tourism

The tourism industry is a growth focal point, able to absorb varying skills levels through employment. The sector is one of the hardest hit by the impact of the Coronavirus.

Industrial linkages of the sector have important implications for the general stimulation of South Africa’s economy through the multiplier effect from the expenditure side, and the fall in demand of related sectors such as agriculture, transport, petroleum industry has started filtering through the economy.

The commission called for a more coherent approach based on the consolidation of the travel, tourism and hospitality mandate including:

- Centralising key aspects of tourism mandate that are scattered across different portfolios in government. These include regulation and licensing of various travel, tourism, and hospitality operations (e.g., tour operators, time shares, gaming, liquor), state ownership of key tourism products and services (e.g., tourist accommodation establishments) amongst others.
- Strengthening the use of licensing as a lever to drive investment, development, and transformation of the tourism sector.

- Supporting the implementation of the Tourism Equity Fund and other transformation initiative.
- Improving support for SMME's and co-operatives in the tourism sector.

On Aviation Sector Reforms

The role of the aviation sector remains critical to the South African economy. Although decimated by Covid-19 with lockdowns and travel restriction, this sector witnessed resounding growth in air cargo which proved to be more resilient than passengers.

The sector is poised to provide solutions to facilitate intra- Africa trade as part of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement – particularly for the agricultural, pharmaceutical, clothing and textiles, aerospace and automotive parts, and high value coin and jewellery sectors.

The Aviation sector is a key driver and enabler for tourism and trade facilitation and our country is well endowed with appropriate Infrastructure, knowledge, skills, capacity.

The Department of Transport's and ACSA Air Freight strategies must urgently be finalised and implemented. In the medium to long term, the Aviation Sector will rely on modern, complex, efficient, and reliable airport infrastructure across the country including rural areas, whose critical infrastructure network plagued by the same challenges as other network infrastructure sectors in the South African economy.

Under the leadership of Infrastructure South Africa together with the various Network Infrastructure SOE's such as ACSA, SANRAL, Transnet, PRASA, etc., a review of network infrastructure ownership, management and responsibility should be undertaken to reassess the effectiveness of current arrangements and to propose the reassignment of functions to appropriate institutions with capacity to curb the deterioration of network infrastructure.

On Financial Sector Transformation

The Commission noted the crucial need to transform the financial sector more effectively and sustainably as part of the overall transformation of the economy.

There is a need to take more concrete policy decisions on financial sector transformation as well implement various ANC resolutions on financial sector transformation. This is important in order to secure improved access to finance for black-owned businesses as well as for households in working class communities. Employment equity targets need to be achieved in this sector at all levels.

Financial Sector Stability

The capacity of SARS must be strengthened to better enable the entity to address illicit trade and illicit financial flows, as such activities undermine the ANC's growth and transformation objectives.

The stability, integrity and security of the nation's financial system is critical to protecting its sovereignty.

The credibility of the South African financial system is under threat. This threat manifests in our internal weaknesses to develop and enhance our financial system leading to external actors attempting to use vulnerabilities in the system for nefarious means.

The South African financial system is under threat of being grey listed by the Global Financial Action Task Force. Action must be taken to strengthen the credibility of our financial system. This includes strengthening the measures in place to deal with anti-money laundering (AML), counter financing of terrorism (CFT) and counter financing of proliferation (CPF).

On Fintech

The Fourth Industrial Revolution introduces disruptive digital technology that has resulted in disruptive use cases in the financial services industry.

The use of digital technology has resulted in innovations that created vertical and horizontal disruption in the financial services industry. This has resulted in a growing financial services start-up sector known as fintechs, designed to address market inefficiencies and challenge the hegemony of market dominating players.

Fintechs have the potential to make financial services ubiquitous, cheaper, and more accessible to all South Africans. The regulatory environment must be accommodating towards new entrants and particularly South African founded fintech companies.

Anti-competitive behaviour either through intimidation, coercion or acquisition by the dominant financial services companies must be closely monitored and if necessary, stopped.

The state must help to stimulate the start-up sector by providing new business with access to capital, access to market and a stimulating fintech regulatory environment

Capable State Developmental State

To build a capable developmental state requires the state machinery to undergo a renewal process. This includes a capable bureaucracy, strong and well governed SOEs, and a culture of service, efficiency and responsiveness.

The state must rise above state capture, so that it has the political authority to give strategic

direction in the interests of national development, whilst allowing space for a professional bureaucracy to execute the development strategy without interference.

The successful implementation of the ANC's vision for radical social and economic transformation will depend on South Africa building a democratic state machinery that is developmental in orientation, and is ethical and capable in operation. Such a state will have the authority to lead, guide and mobilise all social partners in the realisation of the country's developmental and transformation agenda.

In mobilising society on a state-led programme of radical social and economic transformation, the ANC seeks to achieve the following key objectives:

- Creating decent employment for all South Africans.
- Eliminating poverty and dealing decisively with the extreme inequalities in our society.
- Democratizing ownership and control of the economy by empowering the historically oppressed, Africans and the working class in particular, to play a leading role in decision-making.
- Restructuring the economy so that it meets the basic needs of all South Africans and the people of the region, especially the poor.
- Ensuring equitable and mutually beneficial regional development in Southern Africa, thereby fostering the progressive integration of the region.
- Limiting the negative environmental impact of our economic transformation programme.

CLOSING ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA TO THE 6th ANC POLICY CONFERENCE

National Chairperson Cde Gwede Mantashe,
Deputy President Cde David Mabuza,
Treasurer General Cde Paul Mashatile,
Former President Cde Thabo Mbeki,
Former Deputy President Cde Kgalema
Motlanthe,
Members of the National Executive Committee,
Leadership of the ANC Women's League,
Veterans League and Youth League,
Leadership of the Alliance and broader
democratic movement,
Stalwarts and Veterans,
Distinguished Guests, Delegates, Comrades,

We have now come to the end of our 6th Policy Conference.

True to the democratic traditions of our movement, this Conference has been characterised by open and robust debate.

Even where delegates have had differences, there has always been a firm commitment to engage with each other and to find common positions.

While we must continue to debate how we can best address the challenges our country faces, we

are all agreed on the goals we must pursue.

We are all agreed that we must unite all South Africans to achieve the complete emancipation of all our people.

We have noted that across all the commissions, there was a shared consensus that both the ANC and government must respond “adequately, urgently and assertively” to the challenges that our people confront on a daily basis.

The challenges include unemployment, poverty, crime, gender-based violence and femicide, corruption, social cohesion, racism, the energy crisis and the rising cost of living.

Delegates recognised that these many challenges will not be resolved unless we intensify the genuine renewal of the ANC and the building of a capable, ethical and developmental state.

This means that we need to clearly define and articulate 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 in pursuit of a National Democratic Society.

The renewal of the ANC therefore requires that we remain rooted among the people, must demonstrate a willingness to serve and make sacrifices, and must be willing to acknowledge

and address our weaknesses.

Since our 54th National Conference we have made important progress in implementing our resolutions on renewal and rebuilding, but we have recognised at this Policy Conference that we need to act with greater purpose and urgency.

We have agreed here that the over-arching framework for renewal needs to include:

Firstly, the renewal of the ANC's values and organisational culture and ethics,

Secondly, dealing decisively with corruption and unacceptable conduct,

Thirdly, engaging with, and pursuing the aspirations of the people.

Fourthly, taking responsibility to use the resources of the state for the people's benefit as required by the Constitution – economically, efficiently and equitably.

This task belongs to every member, leader, public representative and structure of the ANC.

All the elements of our renewal framework need to be integrated into every aspect of our work in the ANC, in society and in government.

Policy Conference agreed that ANC branches should play a more active role in the renewal process and be well rooted among our people.

Comrades,

This 6th Policy Conference has affirmed our fundamental position that the people shall share in the country's wealth.

This Policy Conference has agreed we need to undertake extraordinary and urgent measures to accelerate inclusive growth, create employment and alleviate poverty.

We have also noted with great concern the impact of the rising cost of living on South African families, and have made a number of recommendations specifically on rising fuel and food prices. We have called on government to act urgently to support consumers and businesses at this difficult time.

But these measures will not be successful unless they are embraced by all sections of society and unless all sections of society are involved in forming and undertaking these measures.

We are committed to build an inclusive and lasting social compact.

While different constituencies may pursue different interests, and may hold different views, we share a common national interest in unity, stability, growth, employment and prosperity for all.

We have discussed the respective and complementary roles that the public and private sectors should play in developing our economy.

We have called for the state to be strengthened, for our state owned enterprises to be stabilised, restructured and effectively capacitated to drive inclusive economic growth and social development.

We have recognised the vital role of the private sector, particularly small business, the informal sector and cooperatives, in creating employment and other livelihood opportunities. And we have proposed a range of measures to unlock the huge potential of businesses of all sizes to emerge, grow and thrive.

We have recognised that our economic progress requires a secure supply of affordable and sustainable energy.

Conference has endorsed the actions recently announced by government to improve the performance of Eskom's existing power stations and to add new generation capacity to the grid as quickly as possible.

It has affirmed the need for a diverse mix of energy sources and a just transition to a low carbon economy that ensures our energy security, protects jobs and livelihoods and does not compromise our industrial development.

Expanded infrastructure investment should be accelerated to play a critical role in providing basic services to urban and rural communities and improving South Africa's overall economic performance.

We must use available means, including the new Expropriation Bill, to accelerate land redistribution.

As the delegates to this Policy Conference, we are determined to achieve gender equality in all areas of life, starting within the ranks of our movement, in every structure and in every programme. We have agreed that this is everyone's responsibility, and not only the responsibility of women.

As part of this, the empowerment of women – economically, politically, socially and culturally – must be one of our foremost priorities. Among other things, Conference has urged the application of over-arching equality legislation and using procurement more effectively to empower women economically.

We are all agreed that all South Africans have a right to live in peace and security, and that no-one should live in fear of crime, violence or abuse. We are committed to work together to end all forms of violence committed by men against women and children.

All delegates to this Policy Conference are agreed that the development and empowerment of our youth is vital to the future of our nation. We have agreed on the need to intensify our efforts to provide young people with quality education and relevant skills, to expand the various programmes that bridge the gap between learning and earning, and to use all available policy instruments to encourage businesses to hire more young people.

We are all agreed that every person in this country must, without exception, have access to quality education, decent health care, housing, water, sanitation, electricity and safe, reliable transport.

This means that we need to fundamentally overhaul local government, ensure that it is properly resourced, effectively managed and led by honest, capable and committed people.

The Policy Conference noted once again the historical anomaly of private ownership of the South Africa Reserve Bank and reaffirmed the 54th National Conference resolution that the bank should be fully owned by the state.

Delegates urged the ANC government to find mechanisms to restructure the ownership structure in a manner and at a pace that takes account of the likely cost implications for the fiscus.

Delegates also urged that the process for establishing a state bank be accelerated.

All the measures proposed to grow and transform the economy rely on a fiscal policy that ensure our national debt is contained within sustainable limits, and that spending is reprioritised away from consumption towards investment.

In this way, we can align our fiscal policy with industrial policy, which should focus on rebuilding and broadening our industrial base.

We have agreed to propose that the procurement system should by law be more open and transparent, building on the initiatives for greater public access to all tender information.

Comrades,

This Conference has demonstrated more clearly than ever before our common commitment to rid our organisation of factionalism, patronage and corruption, and to rebuild and to renew.

It has made the unequivocal statement that we must fulfil the promise that we have made to our people to place their interests and their well-being among all others.

We have reaffirmed the resolutions of the 54th National Conference on corruption and state capture.

The overwhelming view of Policy Conference is for the retention of the step-aside provisions to enhance the integrity of the movement and its leadership.

Conference noted strong concerns on the perceived lack of consistency in the application and implementation of the policy. Conference agreed that these must receive urgent attention so that the application of the guidelines is impartial, fair and consistent.

Delegates have affirmed the ANC approach to the report of the State Capture Commission, and have urged that the findings and recommendations of the report form the basis of a society-wide effort to tackle corruption in all its forms.

Over the last three days, through intensive and thorough discussion, we have developed a series of policy proposals on how to achieve our revolutionary objectives.

Some existing policies we have affirmed, some we have refined and some we have changed.

These policy proposals will now go to the structures of our movement for further debate before being placed before our 55th National Conference for consideration and adoption.

Let us use the next few months to build our branches through political discussion.

As we have done over the decades – whether in mass formations, in exile or in prison – let us turn every branch meeting into an umrabulo session.

Let us use these meetings to deepen the political consciousness of the hundreds of thousands of ANC members so that they may lead the fundamental renewal of our movement.

This Policy Conference gives us hope for the future of our movement.

It has sent a clear signal to our members, our supporters and the people of this country that, whatever our challenges, whatever our shortcomings, the ANC is alive.

It sent a clear signal that the ANC is committed to consolidate and deepen the freedom for which so many sacrificed their lives.

This Conference has made plain that the ANC will continue to direct its attention and its significant capabilities towards serving the people of South Africa, particularly the poor, the working class

and the vulnerable.

This Policy Conference gives us encouragement that the renewal of the ANC is unstoppable, and that we have both the means and the commitment to rebuild and revitalise our movement.

Our sincere thanks go to all those who were involved in ensuring the success of this 6th Policy Conference, particularly the staff of the ANC, who have borne the brunt of the ANC's financial difficulties, but who have time and time again demonstrated their commitment to our cause. This Conference has determined that the resolution of this challenge must be a priority.

I wish to thank all the delegates to this conference, the representatives of our Alliance partners and other formations.

This 6th Policy Conference has effectively prepared the path towards our 55th National Conference.

Let us now go out to our branches, to our communities and to all social formations to report on these deliberations and to work together to decide the direction of our movement and our country.

I wish all delegates safe travel as you head home.

From this Policy Conference, we can emphatically declare:

The ANC lives.

The ANC leads.

The struggle continues.

Amandla.

I thank you.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**SECRETARY GENERAL'S OFFICE**

Chief Albert Luthuli House 54 Sauer Street Johannesburg 2001 PO Box 61884 Marshalltown 2107 RSA
Tel: 27.11.376.1000 Website: www.anc1912.org.za Email: fpotgieter@anc1912.org.za

TO: Provincial Secretaries / IPC Co-Ordinators
Secretaries General / Co-Ordinators: ANCVL / ANCYL / ANCWL

Dear Comrades,

NOTICE OF INTENT TO PROPOSE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The National Working Committee (NWC) on 26 July 2022 noted and supported the report of the NEC Sub-committee on Constitutional and Legal Affairs on Draft ANC Constitutional Amendments.

Please find attached hereto proposed constitutional amendments which will be considered by the 55th National Conference on 16 – 20 December 2022.

According to Rule 28 of the ANC Constitution: *"Any amendments to this Constitution shall be by a two-thirds majority of delegates present and voting at the National or Special Conference. Notice of intent to propose any amendments to the Constitution should be forwarded to the Office of the Secretary General at least three months before the National or Special Conference. The NEC shall give at least one month's notice for any Constitutional amendment."*

Please ensure that the proposed amendments are circulated to all ANC structures in the Provinces / Leagues and comments are returned no later than 15 September 2022.

Further enquiries can be directed to:

Cde Ronald Lamola

Chairperson: ANC Constitutional and Legal Affairs

c/o Comrade Billy Malatji and Chrispin Phiri (Mobile: +27 82 923 8247)

Email: billy.malatji@gmail.com / phirichrispin@hotmail.com

Yours Comradely,

Paul Mashatile
TREASURER GENERAL obo
SECRETARY GENERAL'S OFFICE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Date: 15 August 2022

PROPOSED DRAFT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Proposed Areas of Amendments to the ANC Constitution (Constitution), divided into four (4) broad sections, to provide constitutional and political impetus to the Renewal Project of the ANC:

The ANC constitution is underpinned by the principles of democratic centralism and participatory democracy by the members and structures.

The proposed amendments must enhance our capability to advance the objectives of the ANC stated as follows under Rule 2 on Aims and Objectives of the ANC.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of the ANC are:

- 2.1 To unite all the people of South Africa, Africans in particular, for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression;
- 2.2 To end apartheid in all its forms and transform South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter (Appendix 2) and in pursuit of the National Democratic Revolution;
- 2.3 To defend the democratic gains of the people and to advance towards a society in

which the government is freely chosen by the people according to the principles of universal suffrage on a common voters' roll;

- 2.4 To fight for social justice and to eliminate the vast inequalities created by apartheid and the system of national oppression
- 2.5 To build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty in which the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the people is recognized;
- 2.6 To promote economic development for the benefit of all;
- 2.7 To support and advance the cause of women's emancipation;
- 2.8 To support and advance the cause of national liberation, development, world peace, disarmament and environmentally sustainable development; and
- 2.9 To support and promote the struggle for the rights of children and the disabled.

The discussion document on Organizational Renewal prepared for National Conference has proposed various AMENDMENTS to the ANC Constitution (Constitution) to give political and constitutional impetus to the ANC Renewal Project.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH TO UNDERSTAND THE POLITICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RATIONALE AND IMPERATIVES FOR AND BEHIND THESE PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS IS TO BE FOUND IN THE CONTENT OF THE DISCUSSION DOCUMENTS ON ANC ORGANIZATIONAL RENEWAL: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES (ESPECIALLY PARAGRAPHS 34-51) AND THE CHANGING BALANCE OF FORCES AROUND THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRANSFORMATION AGENDA (ESPECIALLY PARAGRAPHS 39-48).

The proposed amendments seek to address issues pertaining to organizational renewal premised on the Renewal Project of the ANC. Various structures of the organization were consulted on the proposed amendments. The assignment was more consultative and included hosting of a workshop that structures participated to enhance a meaningful and informed propositions on the proposed amendment. The Veterans League also made meaningful contribution to the work.

The 54th National Conference will be held on 16-20 December 2022. Accordingly, notice of intent to propose any amendments must be given by 15 September 2022 by branches. The NEC must give notice for any constitutional amendment by 15 November 2022.

Rule 28 AMENDMENTS

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

In the final analysis Constitutional amendments must:

1. Give constitutional impetus to the renewal process to enable to ANC to create a better life for all.
2. Enhance the integrity of the organisation;
3. Enhance the internal dispute resolution mechanism of the organisation;
4. Fix structural inconsistencies in the constitution;
5. Enhance the functionality of the organisation;
6. Empower the Electoral Commission to determine guidelines for the eligibility of members to stand as candidates to be elected to the position of Official; the raising and show of sources of funds and resources for their respective campaigns; and
7. Deepen internal democracy

PLEASE NOTE: The actual wording of the proposed Constitutional amendments are contained in the Annexure attached hereto. The numbering of these Constitutional amendments is NEW and do not necessarily reflect the existing numbering to be found in the Constitution. These **areas** of Amendments, are divided into four Sections, but should be read holistically and in an integrated manner. These amendments make provision for:

**SECTION ONE:
MEMBERSHIP ISSUES**

AMENDMENT 1:

Introduction of criteria to be used when assessing whether an aspirant member is fit to be an ANC member or not, especially the criteria which automatically exclude membership of the ANC. An appeal mechanism is provided for (new Rule 4.3);

AMENDMENT 2:

Introduction of an induction course which an aspirant member must attend and complete before becoming a full member (new Rule 4.4);

AMENDMENT 3:

Introduction of mechanisms to limit or restrict the manipulation or abuse of the membership system (new Rules 4.16-18);

**SECTION TWO:
ORGANISATIONAL AND
STRUCTURAL ISSUES**

AMENDMENT 4:

Introduction of a mechanism to allow the Branches to engage the leadership at all levels of the organization directly on specific issues, which require the consideration and response of the relevant leadership structures. Branches need to be outward looking and become a resource for and leader of the community served by that Branch (Rule 23.2.6);

The NWC is of the view that we must specify these areas where the structures can engage upper structures directly to avoid a self interpretation or wide implementation of the provision that may result in undermining upper structures.

AMENDMENT 5:

Allowing for the holding of meetings virtually at Branch level in terms of directives prescribed by the NEC (Rule 23.2.2);

AMENDMENT 6:

Introduction of a mechanism to allow the Veterans League to engage the leadership at all levels of the organization directly on specific issues, which require the consideration and response of the relevant leadership structures (Rule 7.8);

AMENDMENT 7:

For uniformity amongst Executive structures of the ANC the possibility of a PEC holding more than one election within the four years of

its existence should be removed OR introduce the recall mechanism to all executive structures and adding an increased threshold of 50 percent. (Amended Rule 17.2.1)

**SECTION THREE:
CONSEQUENCE MANAGEMENT
ISSUES**

**Part 1: INTEGRITY COMMISSION AND
INTEGRITY APPEAL TRIBUNAL**

AMENDMENT 8:

Constitutionalizing of the Integrity Commission and an Integrity Appeal Tribunal. At present the Integrity Commission is a product of a National Conference resolution and the Tribunal has been appointed but its procedures have not been adopted by the NEC. These structures should remain recommendation making structures, but strengthen and fix the processes of decisions made by NEC in relation to matters of Integrity. Only allow National IC. (New Rule 24.1-11, Part 1).

Look at the possibility of an appeal chamber on one integrity committee where the full sitting could be the appeal chamber.

**Part 2: MANAGEMENT OF
ORGANISATIONAL DISCIPLINE**

AMENDMENT 9:

Allowing the Officials or NWC to appoint a NDC or NDCA comprising members without a possible interest in specific prescribed instances, allowing for more flexibility in the present strict hierarchical disciplinary process and further to harmonize and align provisions relating to appeal procedures, including removal of Review applications, but including procedural fairness under an application of Appeal (Rules 24.19-22);

AMENDMENT 10:

Including further acts of misconduct and including a provision to expel a member automatically if convicted in a court of law of

specific serious offences (Rule 24.18.1);

AMENDMENT 11:

Allowing for the expansion of the membership oath in relation to consequence management (Rule 4.19);

AMENDMENT 12:

Adding a further duty of members relating to consequence management (Rule 5.2.10);

AMENDMENT 13:

Prohibiting a disciplinary committee from postponing or delaying a disciplinary hearing because of a parallel process, whether inside or outside the organization, relating to the same matter, unless sanctioned by the relevant political structure or a court of law (Rule 24.26.2);

AMENDMENT 14:

Providing for the expansion of the grounds on which the NDCA may grant an extension of the prescribed periods within which disciplinary processes must commence or be finalized (amended Rule 24.26.7);

AMENDMENT 15:

Providing for the expansion of the forms or service allowed in serving disciplinary processes upon a charged member (clause 3-5 of Appendix 3);

AMENDMENT 16:

Constitutionalizing and regularizing of the temporary suspension and step aside process and further aligning and harmonizing of the temporary suspension and step aside mechanism (present Rule 25.70), including constitutionalizing of the voluntary step aside mechanism (Rule 24.28 and definition clause);

AMENDMENT 17:

Allocating of political accountability for the efficiency and effectiveness of all matters relating to the consequence management administrative machinery in the ANC as a whole, to the specific responsibility of the Deputy Secretary General (Rule 16.9);

AMENDMENT 18:

Establishing the Office of the Chief National Presenter (Rule 24.31);

Part 3: NATIONAL DISPUTE RESOLUTION COMMITTEE

Appendix 4:

AMENDMENT 19:

Providing for the scope, jurisdiction and functionality of the NDRC to be broadened to narrow the scope of potential litigation in our Courts around such disputes. (Amended Appendix 4);

AMENDMENT 20:

Quorum

Inclusion of various consequential amendments arising from the above amendments. Consideration may need to be given to the quorum provision in the definition clause, as it does not make provision for what constitutes a majority;

That a branch that has failed three times to quorate should be deemed to have quorate in the third attempt.

Look at performance playing some role in quorum of all the structures.

AMENDMENT 21:

Introduce a transitional arrangement clause in the Constitution to extend the term of office of a BEC, REC, PEC or NEC for a fixed period after the elected period has expired to accommodate the finalization of electoral processes.

AMENDMENT 22:

The Electoral Commission is a product of a National Conference resolution. The NWC is of the firm view that the Electoral Commission must be constitutionalized.

The Electoral Commission has drafted a Discussion Document which is being processed through the ANC structures. Once it has been processed, the Task team of the NEC Subcommittee on Constitutional Affairs (Task team) need to engage comrade Kgalema Motlanthe, the Chairperson, to identify possible amendments for inclusion in this document.

Furthermore, the re-introduction of a clause which was allegedly removed from the Constitution dealing with the use of private funding in internal ANC elective processes, should be further pursued by the Task team.

AMENDMENT 23:

DEEPENING INTERNAL DEMOCRACY

Currently leadership at a branch level is directly elected on the basis of “one member one vote”. However, on regional, provincial and national levels leadership are elected mainly through delegations elected by Branches.

So, the question has been raised, should consideration be given to introducing an internal electoral system through which ANC members can directly vote for leadership at regional, provincial and national levels?

Further, research, benchmarking with other organizations or trends across the globe, discussion and engagement is needed. The above will also have to respond to how a one member one vote will affect the organizational character, the role of branches, electoral commission, etc.

PROPOSED DRAFT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

ANNEXURE 1

THE ACTUAL WORDING OF THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

SECTION ONE: MEMBERSHIP ISSUES

AMENDMENT 1:

Introduction of criteria to be used when assessing whether an aspirant member is fit to be an ANC member or not, especially the criteria which automatically exclude membership of the ANC. An appeal mechanism is provided for (new Rule 4.3)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

- 4.3.1 Subject to Rule 4.1, when the application for membership is assessed, the criteria agreed to by the NEC in the mechanism contained in Rule 4A below, becomes part of this Rule and must be applied when assessing if an aspirant member is fit to be a member or not.
- 4.3.2 The NEC may at any stage amend these criteria by way of the passing or amending of a resolution.
- 4.3.3 The criteria or factors which must automatically exclude membership of the ANC must include:
- (a) having been found guilty in a court of law of murder, rape or armed robbery;
 - (b) having been found guilty in a court of law of any other offense containing an element of serious violence, or any other sexual offence leading to listing in the Sex Register, or any other offense involving physical violence or abuse relating to women or children;
 - (c) having been found guilty in a court of law of any offence relating to drug trafficking or human trafficking or money laundering or racketeering, or any offence including involvement of an organized crime syndicate or gang;
 - (d) having been found guilty in a court of law of an offence containing an element of dishonesty and is of a serious nature because of the amount involved or because the money was destined for a project catering for the poor, unemployed or the marginalized in society or because the perpetrator was an elected ANC leader or a public representative or a civil servant or a person in a position of trust or authority;
 - (e) having been found guilty in a court of law of any offence and been sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine;
 - (f) having been found guilty in a court of law of any offence containing an element of violence of a serious nature or an element of dishonesty of a serious nature and been sentenced to imprisonment with the option of a fine;
 - (g) having been served with a charge sheet to appear in a court of law for any of the offences

- listed in paragraphs (a)-(e) above;
- (h) having been found guilty in disciplinary proceedings, or having been served with a charge sheet in disciplinary proceedings, for any act of misconduct containing an element of serious violence, sexual violence, harassment or abuse, or serious dishonesty, or physical violence or abuse relating to women or children, or for an act of misconduct in Rule 24.18.1 and identified and listed by the NEC as a serious act of misconduct so as to exclude membership; or
 - (i) any unethical conduct or behavior identified by the NEC as so serious as to exclude membership, which must include deliberate neglect or lack of maintenance of or providing for, or abuse of, children

- 4.3.4 Any aspirant member who is refused full membership on the basis of one of the grounds listed in Rule 4.3.3 above is entitled to one appeal to the NEC in terms of a mechanism established by way of the passing of a resolution by the NEC.
- 4.3.5 The decision of the NEC in terms of Rule 4.3.4 above is final.
- 4.3.6 A member may lose her or his membership, as determined by a mechanism established by resolution of the NEC, if any relevant information relied on during the assessment of the criteria was falsified or misrepresented or fraudulently provided by the member, in any manner whatsoever.

AMENDMENT 2:

Introduction of an induction course which an aspirant member must attend and complete before becoming a full member (new Rule 4.4)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

- 4.4.1 No aspirant member of the ANC may be accepted as a full member until she or he has attended and completed an induction course of the ANC and has been issued with a certificate of completion.
- 4.4.2 The NEC must design, implement and maintain an ANC induction course within the ANC structures.
- 4.4.3 The NEC must decide on a date when the induction course becomes operational by way of the passing of a resolution.
- 4.4.4 Each PEC, under the guidance and supervision of the NEC, must establish, implement and maintain the ANC induction course in that province.
- 4.4.5 When an aspirant member in a province has attended and completed the induction course, the PEC must issue her or him with a certificate of completion.
- 4.4.6 The membership of a member is automatically null and void, as determined by a mechanism established by the passing of a resolution by the NEC, if a certificate of completion was never issued to her or him or if the certificate was obtained, in any manner whatsoever, falsely, fraudulently, invalidly or by misrepresentation.

AMENDMENT 3:

Introduction of mechanisms to limit or restrict manipulation or abuse of the membership system (new Rules 4.16-18)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT:

- 4.16.1 Members shall pay an annual subscription fee as determined by the National Executive Committee.

- 4.16.2 Non-earning members or those on reduced incomes shall pay such fees as determined by the NEC.
- 4.16.3 If the membership fee of any member, at the time of joining or at any subsequent occasion, is paid by any other person that fact must immediately be conveyed to the BEC in writing. The BEC must then record that fact in the minute of its next meeting, and must report that fact in the next Branch or sectoral Branch meeting and then record it in the Branch or sectoral Branch meeting minute.
- 4.16.4 Any failure to report such payment of a membership fee timeously or at all may lead to the loss of membership by such a member, as determined by a mechanism established by the passing of a resolution by the NEC.
- 4.16.5 A member must at all times be in control and possession of her or his membership card and the card shall not be held by another member or any other person acting on behalf of another member as a proxy of a member, or the card must not be held by any other person as security or as guarantee for any reason whatsoever.
- 4.16.6 Any member or any person acting on behalf of a member, who is in possession of a membership card, for any reason whatsoever, other than for official ANC business, may lead to the loss of membership by such a member, as determined by a mechanism established by the passing of a resolution by the NEC.
- 4.16.7 Any member or any person acting on behalf of such member, who willingly hands possession of her or his membership card to another person, for any reason whatsoever, other than official ANC business, may lead to the loss of membership by such a member, as determined by a mechanism established by the passing of a resolution by the NEC.
- 4.17 Any member who contravenes any aspect of Rule 4 or 4A may be liable to be disciplined in terms of this Constitution.
- 4.18 Any failure or contravention by a Branch or sectoral Branch, to administer any provision of this Rule or Rule 4A properly, may affect the status or good standing of that Branch or sectoral Branch, at conference time, as determined by a mechanism established by the passing of a resolution by the NEC.

SECTION TWO: ORGANIZATIONAL AND STRUCTURAL ISSUES

AMENDMENT 4:

Introduction of a mechanism to allow the Branches to engage the leadership at all levels of the organization directly on specific issues, which require the consideration and response of the relevant leadership structures. Branches need to be outward looking and become a resource for and leader of the community served by that Branch (new Rule 23.2.6)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

- 23.2 The Branch shall:
- 23.2.3 Be the basic unit of activity for members within the ANC.
- 23.2.4 Be the place where members exercise their basic democratic organizational rights to discuss and consider any organizational matter and consider and formulate policy matters;
- 23.2.5 Be the progressive motive and transformative force and the progressive thought leader

in the area or constituency covered and serviced by the Branch. Branches must be outward looking and become a resource and the leader in the community that Branch serves and services;

23.2.6 Be entitled to process any view, proposal or recommendation relating to any matter which that Branch views as, relating to:

23.2.6.1 any act of misconduct or any unethical conduct of any member, office bearer public representative or deployee, which is or may be negatively impacting or detracting from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC, or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute, or may not be in the best interest of the organization; or

23.2.6.2 a policy or implementation process of or in government which in the community is impacting negatively on our people or is not achieving the intended outcome of such policy or process, to the NEC, PEC or REC, whichever may be applicable, for timeous consideration and response, through a mechanism established by the NEC by passing of a resolution.

AMENDMENT 5:

Allowing for the holding of meetings virtually at Branch level in terms of directives prescribed by the NEC (amended Rule 23.2.2)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

23.2.1 The Branch shall:

23.2.1

23.2.2 Meet as provided for in the rules and regulations, at least once every 2 (months) in a branch general meeting. A Meeting or activity of a Branch may be held virtually, as long as it is done in full compliance of any directions or guidelines, if any, as provided for in a Resolution of the NEC. A meeting of the Branch, as referred to in Rule 23.5 below, may be declared null and void, if it was not held in full compliance of such NEC directives or guidelines, if any;

AMENDMENT 6:

Introduction of a mechanism to allow the Veterans League to engage the leadership at all levels of the organization directly on specific issues, which require the consideration and response of the relevant leadership structures (new Rule 7.8).

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

7.8 The Veterans League shall be entitled to process any view, proposal or recommendation relating to any matter which the Veterans League views as, relating to:

(a) any act of misconduct or any unethical conduct or any other act, activity or conduct of any member, office bearer, public representative or deployee, or structure, of the ANC, which is or may be negatively impacting or detracting from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC, or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute, or may not be in the best interest of the organization; or

(b) a policy or implementation process of or in government which in the community is impacting negatively on our people or is not achieving the intended outcome of such policy or process, or any other matter of or in government, to the NEC, PEC, REC or

BEC, whichever may be applicable, for timeous consideration and response by the relevant structure, through a mechanism established for this purpose by the NEC, in consultation with the Veterans League, by the passing of a resolution by the NEC.

AMENDMENT 7:

For uniformity between Executive structures of the ANC, the possibility of a PEC holding more than one election within the four years of its existence should be removed OR introduce this recall mechanism to all Executive structures with an increased threshold to 50 percent (amended Rule 17.2.1)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

17.2 The Provincial Conference shall:

17.2.1 Be held at least once every four (4) years.

(Delete the words “and more often if requested by at least one third of Branches in good standing in the Province”)

QUESTION: What is the rationale behind the removal of this clause? It seems retrogressive? This is one of the few clauses that the Executive structures can be held accountable between conferences? Why remove a clause allowing accountability? Maybe the threshold is too low and can be increased but the principle is solid. If 50 percent want to recall an Executive structure it is already facing a legitimacy crisis, so too retain the recall mechanism with this raised threshold may make more sense.

ALTERNATIVE PROPOSED AMENDMENT FOR ALL EXECUTIVE STRUCTURES IN ANC

17.2 The Provincial Conference shall:

17.2.1 Be held at least once every four (4) years and more often if requested by at least 50 percent of Branches in good standing in the Province.

X *The National Conference shall:*

(a) *Be held at least once every five (5) years and more often if requested by at least 50 percent of Branches in good standing in the ANC.*

X *The Regional Conference shall:*

(a) *Be held at least once every three (3) years and more often if requested by at least 50 percent of Branches in good standing in the Region.*

X *The BBGM shall:*

(a) *Be held at least once every two (2) years and more often if requested by at least 50 percent of the members in the Branch in good standing.*

SECTION THREE: CONSEQUENCE MANAGEMENT ISSUES

Part 1: INTEGRITY COMMISSION

AMENDMENT 8:

Constitutionalizing of the Integrity Commission and an Integrity Appeal Tribunal. At present the Integrity Commission is a product of a National Conference resolution and the Tribunal has been appointed but its procedures have not been adopted. These structures should remain recommendation making structures, but strengthen and fix the processes of decisions made by NEC in relation to matters of Integrity. Only allow National IC. (New Rule 24.1-11, Part 1)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

Rule 24 CONSEQUENCE MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES OF THE ANC PART ONE: INTEGRITY COMMISSION OF THE ANC

Integrity Commission

24.1 The NEC shall appoint an Integrity Commission of the ANC. *The Integrity Commission shall be the only structure in the ANC dealing with unethical conduct, as the matter needs to be centralized, to avoid various and contradictory interpretations.*

Composition, appointment, vacancies and term

24.2.1 The Integrity Commission shall be appointed and composed as set out in Rule 5.2.16.1.

24.2.2 Members shall hold office for a period of five (5) years and shall be eligible for reappointment.

24.2.4 The NEC shall fill any vacancy which arises for whatever reason. Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson

24.3 The Chairperson shall convene and preside over all meetings of the Integrity Commission. In the absence of the Chairperson, the Deputy Chairperson shall perform this function.

Meetings

24.4.1 The Integrity Commission shall meet at least once every two (2) months. The Chairperson may decide to convene such additional meetings as he or she deem necessary.

24.4.2. The quorum for any meeting of the Integrity Commission shall be fifty (50) percent plus one (1) of its appointed members, one of which must be either the Chairperson or Deputy Chairperson, of the members of the Integrity Commission and a decision will be taken by a majority of the members present

Purpose and objectives

24.5 The purpose and objectives of the Integrity Commission are:

24.5.1 To provide leadership, by:

24.5.4.1 Promoting, maintaining, defending or upholding integrity, honesty and truth, and

24.5.4.2 Combatting unethical conduct, In the ANC, by increasing compliance with the ANC Constitution, Rules and Code of Conduct, by ANC members.

24.5.2 To enhance the standing and image of and restoring the trust in, the ANC in society, by discouraging or avoiding any conduct by its member, which:

- 24.5.2.1 May negatively impact or detract from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC; or
 - 24.5.2.2 Brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute; or
 - 24.5.2.3 May not be in the best interest of the organization; and
- 24.5.3 Ensuring that office bearers, public representatives, members or deployees respect, promote, defend and uphold the highest ethical foundations in and of the ANC and the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC.

Unethical conduct

- 24.6.1 The founding documents of the ANC, including the ANC Constitution, any Rules or Codes of conduct or deployment contracts deployed cadres are required to comply with and “Through the Eye of the Needle” document, and our National Constitution, will guide the content of ethical conduct expected from each ANC office bearer, public representative, member or deployee.
- 24.6.2 Unethical conduct is an evolving concept in the ANC and the Integrity Commission shall determine what amounts to unethical conduct at any given time.
- 24.6.3. Unethical conduct includes conduct lacking or violating ethical or moral principles, or conduct not conforming to the patterns of behavior usually accepted or established as consistent with principles of personal and social ethics, or conduct unwilling to adhere to proper rules of behavior, or conduct not in accord with the standards of behavior of a profession, and shall include:
 - 24.6.3.1 Any conduct regarded as unethical by the Integrity Commission;
 - 24.6.3.2 Any precedent established in a ruling or ethical judgment of the Integrity Commission;
 - 24.6.3.3 Any act or conduct of an ethical nature which negatively impacts or detracts from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC in disrepute or may not be in the best interest of the organization;
 - 24.6.3.4 Any act or conduct which contains an element of dishonesty or impropriety, including corrupt practices and any act of corruption;
 - 24.6.3.5 Any form of sexual harassment or abuse;
 - 24.6.3.6 Any violation of an ethical nature of the oath of membership or any other provision of Rule 4 or Rule 4A;
 - 24.6.3.8 any form of serious neglect, including deliberately not paying maintenance or not maintaining properly when he or she has the means to do so, or cruelty, or abuse, of children; or
 - 24.6.3.9 Any form of licentious and lascivious behavior.

Jurisdiction and matters which may serve before the Integrity Commission

- 24.7.1 The Integrity Commission shall have jurisdiction over any alleged unethical conduct of an office bearer, public representative, member or deployee, as long as such conduct

does not form part of a charge sheet which has been served on the charged member and is serving before a disciplinary committee.

- 24.7.2. The Officials or NWC or NEC may refer any alleged unethical conduct or impropriety by an office bearer, public representative, member or deployee, to the Integrity Commission, if:
- (a) it is or may negatively impact or detract from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC, or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute or may not be in the best interest of the organization or is or may not be in the interest of the organization; or
 - (b) *identified or named in a report, whether final or not, of a commission, tribunal or any other forum established by government, as a person who may, directly or indirectly, allegedly be or has been involved or benefitted from an act or conduct containing an element of dishonesty or impropriety, or any other act or conduct which may amount to a serious offence, or any conduct which is or may negatively impact or detract from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC, or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute or is or may not be in the best interest of the organization; or*
 - (c) any member referred any alleged unethical conduct of another member, office bearer, public representative or deployee, to the Officials or NWC or NEC, which is or may negatively impact or detract from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC, or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute or is or may not be in the best interest of the organization; or
- 24.7.3 The Integrity Commission, without a referral from the Officials or NWC or NEC, may call before it any office bearer, public representative, member or deployee, for any alleged unethical conduct, which is or may negatively impact or detract from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC, or brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute or is or may not be in the best interest of the organization; or
- 24.7.4 Any office bearer, public representative, member or deployee accused of or reported on, in any manner whatsoever, to be involved in any unethical conduct may directly approach the Integrity Commission to expeditiously deal with and process the matter.

Powers and authority

- 25.8.1 The Integrity Commission shall have the power and authority to summon or call any office bearer, public representative, member or deployee, who falls within the jurisdictional scope of Rules 24.7.1 and 24.7.2 or 3 or 4, before a hearing of the Integrity Commission, to answer for and explain any alleged involvement in alleged unethical conduct.
- 25.8.2 Any office bearer, public representative, member or deployee who is summoned or called to appear at or before a hearing of the Integrity Commission, is obliged to:
- 25.8.2.1 appear at the hearing on the date and time provided and shall remain present for as long as he or she is requested to do so or is excused; and
 - 24.8.2.2 fully cooperate and comply with instructions of the Integrity Commission, including providing an acceptable explanation to clear his or her name,

by answering fully and truthfully all allegations, facts or complaints of involvement in alleged unethical conduct, brought against him or her.

- 24.8.3 The Integrity Commission shall have the power and authority to:
- 24.8.3.1 Conduct a hearing where all the evidence or information relating to the alleged unethical conduct is placed before and examined by the Integrity Commission;
 - 24.8.3.2 Summon or call a witness, who is an ANC member, to appear before the Integrity Commission and request a person, who is not an ANC member, to appear before the Integrity Commission, to present any oral or documentary evidence or information relating to the alleged unethical conduct, as the Integrity Commission deems necessary;
 - 24.8.3.3 Instruct any person appearing before it to produce or submit any documentary evidence or information relevant to the matter;
 - 24.8.3.4 *If any member is summoned or called to appear before the Integrity Commission to answer alleged unethical conduct, and he or she refuses or fails to fully cooperate and comply with instructions of the Integrity Commission, including to provide an acceptable explanation to clear his or her name, by answering fully and truthfully all allegations, facts or complaints of involvement in alleged unethical conduct brought against him or her; or refuses or fails to attend or appear at the hearing when given reasonable notice to do so, or fails or refuses to remain in attendance at the hearing until excused, the Integrity Commission should persuade him or her to do so, but if he or she still fails or refuses to do so, the Integrity Commission must recommend to the NEC that such office bearer, public representative, member or deployee, shall urgently be dealt with in terms of Rule 24.28.1.3;*
 - 24.8.3.5 *Once the Integrity Commission has heard, examined and analyzed all the evidence and information placed before it, make any reasonable findings or deductions arising from the evidence or information placed before it; and then write an ethical judgment, including any recommendations which may include taking of action in terms of Rule 24.28.1.3, flowing from such judgment, provided that every reasonable attempt must be made in writing the ethical judgment not to include information or details of a confidential nature;*
 - 24.8.3.6 The Integrity Commission shall file its ethical judgment with the Officials and NEC and any affected member, within three (3) months of the date of referral in terms of Rule 24.7.2 or the date on which it was seized with the matter in terms of Rules 24.7.3 or 4;
 - 24.8.3.7 If the matter has not been finalized by the period referred to in Rule 24.8.3.6 and more time is required, an extension must be requested and granted timeously from the Officials;
 - 24.8.3.8 The proceedings, including the hearing, of the Integrity Commission, are confidential;
 - 24.8.3.9 No legal representation is permitted in proceedings before the Integrity Commission. But, an office bearer, public representative, member or deployee may be assisted by any member in good standing in such proceedings; and
 - 24.8.3.10 Any ANC member summoned or called as a witness to appear before the Integrity Commission, who refuses or fails to appear or remain before the

Integrity Commission before being excused, or is a recalcitrant witness, makes such member liable to facing disciplinary proceedings in terms of this Constitution; and

24.8.3.11 Draft their own rules of procedure, as long as they accord with the tenets of natural justice and reasonableness, allow for the highest and most practicable level of confidentiality of information during the hearing and in the processing of the matter after the hearing, and such rules are tabled in the NEC for noting.

24.8.4 A report, including an ethical judgment, of the Integrity Commission must be tabled at the first meeting of the NEC following its submission, for noting and processing. *The NEC must finalize its decision within one month of its tabling in the NEC. The decision of the NEC must immediately be conveyed to the Integrity Commission and be made public.*

24.8.5 Any office bearer, public representative, member or deployee, affected by a decision or ethical judgment of the Integrity Commission may appeal against such decision or judgment, in writing, stating the grounds of appeal, to the Officials or NWC. The Officials or NWC will refer the appeal to the Appeal Tribunal of the Integrity Commission, for processing.

Responding to media and other responsibilities

24.9 The Chairperson of the Integrity Commission shall be responsible for responding to media queries related to the integrity of the Integrity Commission.

24.10 The Integrity Commission is responsible to conduct workshops with members and structures of the ANC in relation to all aspects of the functioning of the Integrity Commission.

Integrity Appeal Tribunal of the Integrity Commission

24.11.1 An Integrity Appeal Tribunal of the Integrity Commission (the Tribunal) must be established and constituted in terms of Rule 12.2.17.2.

24.11.2 The Tribunal shall process any appeal referred to it by the Officials or NWC or NEC, against any ethical judgment, including any finding or recommendation relating to such judgment, made by the Integrity Commission.

24.11.3 The Tribunal shall:

24.11.3.1 Process any appeal referred to it as soon as is possible;

24.11.3.2 Determine its own procedures, as it deems fit, commensurate with the kind of procedures usually associated with such a body and with the tenets of natural justice, including conducting the proceedings confidentially and providing any measures to treat any confidential evidence or information before the Tribunal with the utmost of confidentiality;

24.11.3.3 In the event of being placed in possession of any evidence or information serving before the Integrity Commission, respect and uphold the confidentiality of such evidence or information;

24.11.3.4 Allow parties, if deemed necessary by the Tribunal, within strict time limits, to place brief written representations before the Tribunal, in the format instructed by it;

24.11.3.5 Only in the most exceptional of circumstances, allow the hearing or placing of oral evidence or information before or making of oral representations before, the Tribunal;

- 24.11.3.6 If it deems it appropriate, to refer any procedural defect found in the process adopted by the Integrity Commission in processing the matter, back to the Integrity Commission with any instructions it deems fit, for reconsideration of the matter after appropriately rectifying the defect in terms of such instructions, and then referring its revised ethical judgment, including findings and recommendations, to the Tribunal;
- 24.11.3.7 If it deems it appropriate, within reasonable limits, may call on any person to provide the Tribunal with any evidence or information it may deem fit, to enable it to finalize its recommendation to the NEC, including the form in which such information must be placed before it, provided that this may include confidential information before the Integrity Commission;
- 24.11.3.8 Any decision or recommendation of the Tribunal must be supported by at least three of its members;
- 24.11.3.9 Due to the confidential nature of the evidence or information before it, not permit any legal or other representation in the processes of the Tribunal, except for the preparation of any written submission or other document; and
- 24.11.3.10 any ANC member summoned or called to appear before the Tribunal, who refuses or fails to appear or remain before the Tribunal until being excused, or is a recalcitrant witness, shall be liable to be disciplined in terms of this Constitution.

24.11.4 The Tribunal must refer any recommendations it may have in respect of any procedural or substantive aspect of the ethical judgment, including the findings and recommendations, arrived at by the Integrity Commission, to the Officials, for tabling at the first NEC meeting after receiving it. The NEC must consider and make a final determination on the matter within one month of tabling in the NEC. *The decision of the NEC must immediately be conveyed to the Tribunal and the Integrity Commission and be made public.*

Part 2: MANAGEMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL DISCIPLINE

AMENDMENT 9:

Allowing the Officials or NWC to appoint a NDC or NDCA comprising only members without a direct interest in prescribed instances, to bring some flexibility into the present strict hierarchical disciplinary processes AND further to harmonize and align provisions relating to appeal procedures, including the removal of review applications, but including procedural fairness under an application of Appeal (amended Rules 24.19-22).

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

DEFINITIONS CLAUSE REMOVES THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN APPEALS AND REVIEWS “Appeal, for purposes of Part 2 of Rule 24”, means a challenge by a party to disciplinary proceedings of any aspect of the findings and decisions of the disciplinary committee concerned relating to the merits and substance of the matter, and it includes any challenge to the existence of any procedural flaws or mistakes in the conduct of the proceedings, particularly whether the tenets of natural justice were adhered to.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

National Disciplinary Committee

24.19.1 The quorum for any sitting of the NDC shall be 3 (three) of the members appointed in terms of Rule 12.2.15 above, one of whom shall chair the relevant disciplinary proceedings in the absence of the designated Chairperson of the NDC, *and a decision is taken by a majority of the members present.*

24.19.1. A.1 *Notwithstanding any other provision in this Constitution, the Officials or NWC or NEC:*

- (a) *must appoint a NDC comprising non-NEC members, whether such members are part of the NDC in terms of Rule 12.2.15 or not, to hear a disciplinary matter against an Official or NEC member or any public representative, for any conduct containing an element of dishonesty or impropriety, or any other act of misconduct, or any conduct referred to in Rule 24.19.2, deemed serious by the Officials or NWC, or*
- (b) *may appoint a NDC comprising non-NEC members, whether such members are part of the NDC in terms of Rule 12.2.15 or not, to hear a disciplinary matter against an Official or NEC member or any public representative, for any other conduct referred to in Rule 24.19.2 and not referred to in sub rule (a) above, deemed serious by the Officials, NWC or NEC, or*
- (c) *may appoint an NDC, whether such members are part of the NDC in terms of Rule 12.2.15 or not, to hear a disciplinary matter against any other member of the ANC not referred to in sub rule (a) and (b) above, for any conduct containing an element of dishonest or impropriety, or any other act of misconduct, or any conduct referred to in Rule 24.19.2, deemed serious by the Officials or NWC. 24.19.1.A.2 The quorum for any sitting of the NDC in terms of sub rule 24.19.1.A.1 shall be 3 (three) of the members appointed, with one of them appointed as Chairperson and a decision shall be taken by a majority of the members.*

24.19.2 The NDC shall have jurisdiction to:

24.19.2.1 Hear and adjudicate upon any violation or act of misconduct contemplated in Rule 24.18.1 *or any case in terms of Rule 24.19.1.A.1, referred to it by the relevant body; and*

24.19.2.2 Act as an appeal committee in respect of cases adjudicated upon by a PDC, *or by a RDC or BDC which may be referred to it.*

24.19.3

24.19.3.1

24.19.3.2

24.19.3.3

24.19.4

Where the NDC acts as an appeal or review tribunal

24.20.1

24.20.2



National Disciplinary Committee of Appeal

24.21.1 The quorum for any sitting of the NDCA shall be 3 (three) of the members appointed in terms of Rule 12.2.16 above, one of whom shall chair the relevant disciplinary proceedings in the absence of the designated Chairperson of the NDCA, and a decision is taken by the majority of members present.

24.21.1.A.1 Notwithstanding any other provision in this Constitution, the Officials or NWC or NEC:

- (a) must appoint a NDCA comprising non-NEC members, whether such members are part of the NDCA in terms of Rule 12.2.15 or not, to hear an appeal when an Official or NEC member or any public representative is involved, for any conduct containing an element of dishonesty or impropriety, or any other act of misconduct, or any conduct referred to in Rule 24.21.2, deemed serious by the Officials or NWC or NEC, or
- (b) may appoint a NDCA comprising non-NEC members, whether such members are part of the NDCA in terms of Rule 12.2.15 or not, to hear an appeal when an Official or NEC member or any public representative is involved, for any other conduct referred to in Rule 24.21.2 and not referred to in sub rule (a) above, deemed serious by the Officials, NWC or NEN; or
- (c) may appoint a NDCA, whether such members are part of the NDCA in terms of Rule 12.2.15 or not, to hear an appeal when any other member of the ANC not referred to in sub rule (a) and (b) above is involved, for any conduct containing an element of dishonest or impropriety, or any other act of misconduct, or any conduct referred to in Rule 24.21.2, deemed serious by the Officials or NWC or NEC.

24.21.1.A.2 The quorum for any sitting of the NDCA in terms of Rule 24.21.1.A.1 shall be 3 (three) members, with one of them appointed as Chairperson and one of the members acting as chairperson when the chairperson is absent, and a decision shall be taken by a majority of the members present.

24.21.2 Notwithstanding any provision in this Constitution, the NDCA shall have jurisdiction to:

24.21.2.1 Adjudicate upon any appeal applications brought before it in all matters determined by the NDC in terms of Rule 24.19.2 or any matter referred to it in terms of Rule 24.21.1.A.1; and

24.21.2.2 Adjudicate upon applications brought before it in terms of this Constitution.

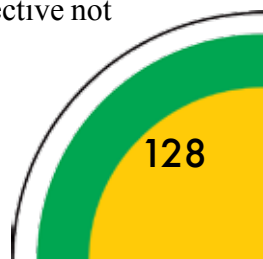
24.21.3 The NDCA shall have the competence to impose the following verdicts:

24.21.3.1

24.21.3.2 Dismiss the appeal and confirm the sanction imposed by the NDC and/or PDC and/or any other disciplinary committee; 24.21.3.3

24.21.3.4 Grant, uphold or dismiss the application in terms of Rule 24.21.2.2 and/or issue any appropriate directive; and

24.21.3.5 Impose such appropriate finding and/or issue any appropriate directive not covered above.



24.21.4 The decision of the NDCA shall be final.

Review by NEC to ensure procedural fairness

- 24.22.1 The NEC may, in its discretion, review any decision taken by any of the disciplinary committees (if it was the final arbiter) to ensure that procedural fairness has been afforded to all parties to the disciplinary proceedings.
- 24.22.2 If the NEC finds that procedural fairness has not been afforded to any party to the disciplinary proceedings, the NEC shall refer the matter back to the appropriate disciplinary committee, for rehearing.
- 24.22.3 The members of the NEC who were party to the institution of the disciplinary proceedings and members of the NDCA, or NDC, as the case may be, who are also members of the NEC and who presided over the hearing and appeal or review concerned, shall recuse themselves from the NEC meeting during the discussion of the case.

Provincial Disciplinary Committee

- 24.23.1 The quorum for any sitting of the PDC shall be 3 (three) of the members appointed in terms of Rule 19.9.17 above, one of whom shall chair the relevant disciplinary proceedings in the absence of the designated Chairperson of the PDC, and the decision is taken by the majority of the members present
- 24.23.2 The PDC shall have jurisdiction to hear and adjudicate upon any violation or act of misconduct referred to it by the PEC, the PWC or the Provincial Secretary.
- 24.23.3 The provisions of Rule 24.19.1-4, but not Rule 24.19.1A.1, above shall, mutatis mutandis apply to a PDC, RDC or BDC.
- 24.23.4
- 24.23.5
- 24.23.6

Rights of appeal and procedure

- 24.24.1 A member, found guilty by a Disciplinary Committee of the ANC shall have 1 (one) further opportunity to appeal to the appropriate Disciplinary Committee.
- 24.24.2 Any member, found guilty by a Disciplinary Committee shall have the right within 21 (twenty- one)days from the date of the public announcement of the ruling and sanction, to appeal against the finding or sanction or both or any procedural deficiencies, to the next higher Disciplinary Committee.
- 24.24.3 The decision of the Disciplinary Committee adjudicating the appeal of a member in terms of Rule 24.24.1 shall be final, unless any other provision in this Constitution provides to the contrary or directs otherwise.
- 24.24.4 The ANC, as the complainant, shall have the right to appeal against the decision and sanction or both or any procedural deficiencies, imposed by a Disciplinary Committee within 21 (twenty-one) days from the date of the public announcement of the ruling and sanction and to cross appeal in cases where an appellant has noted and lodged an appeal.
- 24.24.5 The proceedings to be followed for the conduct of appeal proceedings before the NDC, NDCA and/or PDC shall be determined by the NEC.

AMENDMENT 10:

Including further acts of misconduct and including a provision to expel a member automatically if convicted in a court of law of specific serious offences (amended Rule 24.18.1)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT**PART TWO: MANAGEMENT OF ORGANISATIONAL DISCIPLINE**

Acts of misconduct

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

24.18.1.1 Acting in breach of the membership oath or acting in violation or contravention of or failure to comply with or perform any provision of Rules 4 and 4A;

24.18.1.2

24.18.1.3

24.18.1.4 Engaging in any unethical or immoral conduct which is or may negatively impact or detract from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC, or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute or is or may not be in the best interest of the ANC, as may be determined by the Integrity Commission;

24.18.1.5 Behaving in a manner or making any utterance which is or may negatively impact or detract from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC, or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute or is or may not be in the best interest of the ANC;

24.18.1.6

24.18.1.7

24.18.1.8

24.18.1.9

24.18.1.10

24.18.1.11

24.18.1.12

24.18.1.13

24.18.1.14

24.18.1.15

24.18.1.16

24.18.1.17

24.18.1.18 Being convicted in a court of law for the offence of bribery, fraud, theft of money, corruption, money-laundering, racketeering or any other act which contains an element of financial dishonesty or impropriety;

24.18.1.19

24.18.1.20 In the case of a public representative, breaching his or her contract of deployment concluded with the NEC or if a contract had not been concluded any breach which usually will be regarded as unacceptable act or for a public representative to perform;

- 24.18.1.21 In the case of a member of an ANC Caucus, failing, refusing or neglecting to carry out or execute an instruction or mandate of such caucus or of a duly authorized instruction of the Chief Whip of a caucus;
- 24.18.1.22
- 24.18.1.23 any contravention of or failure to comply with or perform in terms of Rule 24.28.5;
- 24.18.1.24 any act or conduct or attempt or conspiracy which is meant to manipulate, undermine or circumvent the democratic processes in the ANC, to benefit or prejudice a member or group of members over another member or group of members in the ANC or for any other form of unacceptable or unethical gain, by unauthorized leaking, distribution or peddling of information, or buying or peddling of votes, or paying, buying or falsifying of membership, or undermining, manipulating or circumventing quorum or any other prescribed requirements when voting on mandates, or accepting as members dead or fictitious persons or persons who have not specifically agreed to be members, or setting up bogus or unauthorized branches, in any manner whatsoever, or by any other unauthorized or unethical means;
- 24.18.1.25 Conviction in a court of law of any offense containing an element of violence of a serious nature or an element of dishonesty of a serious nature and being sentenced to imprisonment with the option of a fine; or
- 24.18.1.26 Any act or conduct prohibited or any contravention of or any failure to comply with or perform in terms of any other provision of this Constitution.
- 24.18.2 Notwithstanding any other provision in this Constitution, any member, office bearer or public representative found guilty by a Disciplinary Committee of any act of misconduct referred to in Rules 24.18.1. 13 or 24.18.14, 24.18.17(d) or 24.18.1.24 above shall be ineligible to be or remain as a member of the ANC and shall be expelled from the Organization.
- 24.18.3 Notwithstanding any other provision in this Constitution, any member, office bearer, public representative or deployee who has been convicted of an act of misconduct in terms of Rule 24.18.1.2 shall be ineligible to be or remain as a member of the ANC and shall be expelled from the Organization, if he or she had been convicted and/or sentenced by a court of law, on any of the grounds listed below:
- (a) of murder, rape or armed robbery;
 - (b) of any other offense containing an element of serious violence, or any other sexual offence leading to listing in the Sex Register, or any other offense involving physical violence or abuse relating to women or children;
 - (c) of any offence relating to drug trafficking or human trafficking or money laundering or racketeering, or any offence including involvement of an organized crime syndicate or gang;
 - (d) of an offence containing an element of dishonesty and is of a serious nature because of the amount involved or because the money was destined for a project catering for the poor, unemployed or the marginalized in society or because the perpetrator was an elected ANC leader or a public representative or a civil servant or a person in a position of trust or authority;
 - (e) of any offence and has been sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine; or
 - (f) of any offence containing an element of violence of a serious nature or an element

of dishonesty of a serious nature and has been sentenced to imprisonment with the option of a fine.

AMENDMENT 11:

Allowing for the expansion of the membership oath in relation to consequence management (amended Rule 4.19)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT:

4.19 On being accepted in the ANC, a new member shall, in a language he or she knows well, make the following solemn declaration to the body or person designated to administer such oaths:

“I, [...], solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims and objectives of the African National Congress as set out in the Constitution, the Freedom Charter and other duly adopted policy positions, that I am joining the Organization voluntarily and without motives of material advantage or personal gain, that I agree to respect the Constitution and the structures and to work as a loyal member of the Organization, that I will place my energies and skills at the disposal of the Organization and carry out tasks given to me, that I will work towards making the ANC an even more effective instrument of liberation in the hands of the people, that I will defend the unity and integrity of the Organization and its principles, and combat any tendency towards disruption and factionalism, and that I will fully respect, cooperate, comply and abide with the consequence management processes, proceedings and structures of the ANC, including that I agree to voluntarily step aside and/or accept any temporary suspension, from any office, position or post I hold or may hold or any right or privilege I am or may be entitled to, as a member, pending the finalization of any processes or proceedings, whether inside or outside the organization, relating to my alleged wrongdoing, unethical conduct or act of misconduct, by me, if the organization is of the view that any unethical conduct or any other conduct of mine is or may be negatively impact detract from the image, reputation, character, values, principles or integrity of the ANC or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute or may not be in the best interest of the organization .”

AMENDMENT 12:

Adding a further duty of members relating to consequence management (new Rule 5.2.10)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

5.2.10 Fully respect, cooperate, comply and abide with the consequence management processes, proceedings and structures of the ANC, including to voluntarily step aside and/or accept any temporary suspension, from any office, position or post a member may hold or any right or privilege a member may be entitled to, as a member, pending the finalization of any processes or proceedings, whether inside or outside the organization, relating to any alleged wrongdoing, unethical conduct or act of misconduct, by a member, if the organization is of the view that any unethical conduct or any other conduct of the member, is or may be negatively impacting or detracting from the image, reputation, character, principles, values or integrity of the ANC or which brings or could bring or has the potential to bring or as a consequence thereof brings the ANC into disrepute or may not be in the best interest of the organization.

AMENDMENT 13:

Prohibiting a disciplinary committee from postponing or delaying a disciplinary hearing because of a parallel process, whether inside or outside the organization, relating to the same matter, unless sanctioned by the relevant political structure (new Rule 24.26.2)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

24.26.2 No NDC, PDC, RDC or BDC shall postpone or delay a specific disciplinary hearing because of the existence of any criminal, civil or administrative proceeding or any other process or proceeding, which may or may not impact in whatsoever manner on that specific disciplinary hearing, unless, after being requested to do so, the NEC, PEC, REC, BEC, whichever is applicable, has specifically by resolution authorized such postponement or delay of that specific disciplinary hearing to a specific date and may provide for or impose any terms and conditions as it deems fit

AMENDMENT 14:

Providing for the expansion of the grounds on which the NDCA may grant an extension of the prescribed periods within which disciplinary processes must commence or be finalized (amended Rule 24.26.7);

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

24.26.7 *Notwithstanding the provisions of Rule 24.26.6 above, where disciplinary proceedings cannot commence or be finalized due to the unavailability or dilatoriness of a charged member and/or his or her representative, or due to the unavailability of one or more of the members of the Disciplinary Committee concerned, **or due to an act of nature or a natural disaster, a health crisis or disaster or any act, action or activity which the disciplinary committee concerned could not have foreseen**, the Chairperson of the Disciplinary Committee may apply, in writing, to the NDCA for an extension of time.*

AMENDMENT 15:

Providing for the expansion of the forms or service allowed serving disciplinary processes upon a charged member (clauses 3-6 of Appendix 3):

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

Service of the charge sheet and other processes and documentation

3. *It is preferable that the charge sheet is served personally on the charged member by a member of the ANC so authorised.*
4. *If personal service is not possible, the charge sheet may be faxed or sent by registered post to the physical or postal address of the charged member **or sent electronically to the email address of the charged member.***
5. *Service of the charge sheet on the representative of the charged member **or the charge sheet being sent electronically to the representative of the charged member** shall be deemed to constitute service to the charged member.*
6. *The service of any other process, communication or documentation during the disciplinary process, other than the charge sheet, on the charged person, may take place in terms of the forms of service above.*

AMENDMENT 16:

Constitutionalizing and regularizing the temporary suspension and voluntary step aside process and further aligning and harmonizing of temporary suspension and step aside mechanisms (present Rule 25.70), including the constitutionalizing of the voluntary step aside mechanism (Rule 24.28 and definition clause)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT**DEFINITION CLAUSE**

“Step aside or stepping aside” means voluntarily relinquishing, forgoing or refraining from, temporarily exercising or enjoying, in whole or in part, her or his rights, benefits, privileges or entitlements, including not standing for a position on a BEC, REC, PEC or NEC or from holding any other office, post or position, as an office bearer, public representative, member or deployee, pending the finalization of any process or proceeding, including any disciplinary hearing, appeal or review, whether inside or outside the organization, relating to any alleged wrongdoing, unethical conduct or act of misconduct;

PROPOSED AMENDMENT**Temporary suspension or voluntary step aside in the best interests of the ANC**

- 24.28.1 Notwithstanding any other provision in the Constitution, where a public representative, office-bearer, member or deployee has been:**
- 24.28.1.1 convicted in a court of law of any offense, particularly an offence containing an element of dishonesty or impropriety or any other serious offence, pending the finalization of any appeal or review or any other proceeding in our courts or any disciplinary proceedings in the organization; or**
- 24.28.1.2 Indicted to appear in a court of law on any charge, particularly an offence containing an element of dishonesty or impropriety or any serious offence; or**
- 24.28.1.3 recommended by the Integrity Commission in terms of Rule 24.8.3.7 to be dealt with in terms of this Rule, and if the NEC, NWC or PEC, whichever is applicable, is satisfied that it would be in the best interest of the organization, instruct the Secretary General or Provincial Secretary, whichever is applicable, too immediately:**
- (a) *ask such public representative, elected office-bearer, member or deployee to voluntarily step aside, as defined, within a specified time period, and if he or she fails to do so, immediately temporarily suspend him or her in terms of paragraph (b) below; and /or*
- (b) temporarily suspend such public representative, elected office-bearer, member or deployee.
- 24.28.2 The voluntary step aside or temporary suspension shall remain in force, pending the finalization of all processes or proceedings, including any disciplinary hearings, appeals or reviews, whether inside or outside the organization, relating to such matter and may impose any terms and conditions to regulate her or his participation and conduct during the period of suspension or step aside.**
- 24.28.3 During the period of the voluntary step aside or temporary suspension the elected office bearer, public representative, member or deployee shall not be entitled to**

exercise any of his or her rights in terms of the Constitution, save for attending the disciplinary proceedings and enforcing his or her right of appeal. **In addition, any public representative, elected office-bearer, member or deployee, shall during the period of suspension or step aside be prohibited from standing in or accepting any position or post, whether elective or cooped, on a BEC, REC, PEC or NEC.**

24.28.5 Any failure to comply with this Rule in any manner whatsoever or any failure to comply with any terms and conditions set in terms of this Rule, constitutes an act of misconduct in terms of Rule 24.18.1 and upon conviction leads to automatic expulsion.

24.28.6 The office bearer, public representative, member or deployee may, at any stage, apply to the NDCA to set aside the voluntary step aside or temporary suspension, provided that the NDCA may, upon application, or of its own accord, only set aside such step aside or suspension, if new facts or if exceptional circumstances, so warrants, and then set aside such step aside or suspension, and may provide for or impose any terms and conditions as it deems fit

24.27.14 The NEC or PEC may, at any stage, set aside the voluntary step aside or temporary suspension, if new facts or if exceptional circumstances warrant such setting aside and inform the member and the NDCA accordingly.

AMENDMENT 17:

Allocating of political accountability for the efficiency and effectiveness of all matters relating to the consequence management ADMINISTRATIVE machinery in the ANC, as a whole, to the specific responsibility of the Deputy Secretary (new Rule 16.9)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

16.9.2.1 The Deputy Secretary General, under the direction and supervision of the Secretary General, is given the specific task to ensure efficient and effective consequence management administrative machinery, in terms of Rule 24, within the ANC at all levels of the organization.

16.9.2.2 To this end, a report dealing with all aspects of the administration of consequence management in the organization must be tabled, considered and processed at each NEC meeting.

AMENDMENT 18:

Establishing the Office of the Chief Presenter (Rule 24.31)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

Office of Chief National Presenter

24.31.1 Establish an Office of Chief National Presenter of the ANC.

24.31.2. The NEC must appoint:

24.31.2.1 a member of the ANC, who is not a member of the NEC or a member of staff at HQ, in terms of Rule 12.2.18, as Chief National Presenter; and

24.31.2.2 a team of Presenters, Investigators and any other person with the necessary forensic skills, who are ANC members and serve on a voluntary basis, to

perform any act, task or function as directed by the National Chief Presenter, provided that the Officials or NWC may, on request of the National Chief Presenter, appoint any further member to such team, including a person who is not an ANC member.

24.31.3 The Office of the Chief National Presenter shall investigate and represent the best interests of the ANC in all consequence management matters within the ANC, which have been referred to it by the Officials or NWC or NEC or any official or structure which has been specifically authorized by the NWC.

24.31.4. The NEC must put in place reasonable measures, to ensure that the Office of the Chief National Presenter is insulated from personal or factional interests and pressures or any other interests which are not in the best interests of the ANC; is expeditiously assisted with the efficient and effective performance of its duties and functions, especially in relation to the gathering of evidence from members and structures and the assistance from staff at HQ; and is adequately and appropriately resourced to perform its duties and functions.

Part 3: NATIONAL DISPUTE RESOLUTION COMMITTEE

Appendix 4:

AMENDMENT 19:

*Providing for the scope, jurisdiction and functionality of the NDRC to be broadened to narrow the scope of potential litigation in our Courts around such disputes. (Amended **Appendix 4**);*

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

Appendix 4

National Dispute Resolution Committee

1. Name

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

2. Terms of reference

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

2.1 Parties who may declare a dispute

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

2.2 Definition of a dispute

2.2.1 A dispute shall mean:

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

2.2.1.2 The failure or refusal to recognize a member, duly elected by his/her branch,

to represent it as a delegate at any properly-constituted Conference of the ANC;

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

2.2.1.4 The failure of a branch to adopt its credential report before proceeding to the election of office bearers. 2.2.1.5 The failure by a regional, provincial or national deployee to exercise proper oversight and give correct directions at a BGM or BBGM.

2.3 Hearing of dispute

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

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

2.3.3 In addition to formal physical hearings the NDRC may conduct hearings virtually and invite relevant parties to the platform.

2.8 Establishment of PDRC in each province

2.8.1

2.8.2

QUESTION: Do we want to establish PDRC in each province? How will they relate to the NDRC? Which disputes will the NDRC deal with and which disputes will the PDRC deal with? Will each PDRC have an appeal structure? If yes, we need a substantive rewrite and the present two clauses will not suffice.

QUESTION: Should we allow a member to lodge a dispute? Then member will be able to act against mandate of Branch? Should we not create a deadline to bring dispute before a conference (say one week)? Should we not say if NDRC decided no one at conference may raise the issue?

SECTION FOUR: GENERAL AND OUTSTANDING ISSUES

AMENDMENT 20:

Inclusion of various consequential amendments arising from the above amendments. Consideration may need to be given to the quorum provision in the definition clause, as it does not make provision for what constitutes a decision once a quorum is present.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

Definitions and Interpretation

When the NEC is directed in terms of any provision in this Constitution to perform or exercise a task, function or power by way of the passing of a resolution, when such resolution has been duly passed by the NEC a copy thereof has to be formally sent to each structure of the ANC.

**PROPOSED AMENDMENT**

“quorum” means the minimum number of officials or members of a structure, committee, assembly or gathering, usually a majority, who must be present for the valid transaction of the business of the meeting **and a decision is taken by the meeting by a vote of the majority of the members present;**

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

Consequential amendments relating to general matters: Amend Contents clause; Amend Definitions and Interpretation clause (“BEC”, “Branch”, “candidate duly endorsed”, “properly constituted Branch General Meeting”, “Suspend or suspension”; and **Amend Rule 5.1.5;**

Consequential amendments relating to sectoral Branches: **Amend Rules 4.8.2; 5.1.6 (new); 5.2.1; 5.2.8.1; 5.2.8.2 (new); 5.2.9; 7.1.4; 10.1.1.1; 17.2.2.1; 19.6 (new); 19.10.7; 19.10.10; 19.10.12; 19.10.12.1; 20.3.2; 21.4.1; 21.6; 21.10.7; 21.12 (new); 21.14.2.2; 23.1; 23.10; 23.11; 23.14; and 24.16.2; and**

Consequential amendments relating to consequent management: **Amend Rules 12.2.12.1; 12.2.12.2; 12.2.17.1 (new); 12.2.17.2 (new); 12.2.18 (new); 12.2.19; 24.12.2 and 3; 24.13; 24.16.1; 24.26.7; and 24.29.3.**

PROPOSED AMENDMENT 21:

OUTSTANDING ISSUE: Introduce a transitional arrangement clause in the Constitution to extend the term of office of a BEC, REC, PEC or NEC for a fixed period after the elected period has expired to accommodate the finalization of electoral processes (new Rule ??);

Proposed Amendment

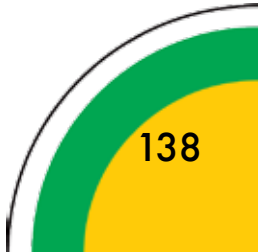
DISCUSSION: The task team must discuss this matter do establish exactly what is intended so we can draft an appropriate amendment.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT 22:

OUTSTANDING ISSUE: *The Electoral Commission is a product of a National Conference resolution. Should it not be constitutionalized? Is there any alignment and harmonization needed between the Electoral Commission and the National Conference Electoral Commission in Rule 14?*

The Electoral Commission has drafted a Discussion Document which is being processed through the ANC structures. Once it has been processed, the Task team of the NEC Subcommittee on Constitutional Affairs (Task team) needs to engage comrade Kgalema Motlanthe, the Chairperson, to identify possible amendments for inclusion in this document.

Furthermore, the reintroduction of a clause which was allegedly removed from the Constitution dealing with the use of private funding in internal ANC elective processes, should be further pursued by the Task team.



PROPOSED AMENDMENT 23:

OUTSTANDING ISSUE: *Currently leadership at a branch level is directly elected on the basis of “one member one vote”. However, on regional, provincial and national levels leadership are elected mainly through delegations elected by Branches. So, the question has been raised, should consideration be given to introducing an internal electoral system through which ANC members can directly vote for leadership at regional, provincial and national levels? Further, discussion and engagement is needed.*





Issued by the African National Congress

Chief Albert Luthuli House, 54 Pixley Ka Seme Street, Johannesburg 2001.

Tel: 011 376 1000. Web: www.anc1912.org.za.

Twitter: @MYANC / Facebook: @MyANC / Instagram: @myanc_ / Youtube: MyANC