



ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

DELIVERED TO THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
NASREC, GAUTENG – 16 DECEMBER 2017

**BY ANC SECRETARY GENERAL
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1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 This is the report of the National Executive Committee to the 54th National Conference of the African National Congress, covering the five years period between the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung, December 2012 and this 54th National Conference. It follows on the Mid-Term Organisational Review tabled in the October 2015, National General Council. Hence, reference is often made to that report. Its purpose is to account for the work done, highlight challenges encountered and suggest solutions going forward.
- 1.2 The 53rd National Conference was the ANC's centenary. In 2012, the ANC completed 100 years as a people's movement leading the struggle for freedom. In this sense, this report constitutes the first NEC report on the first five years of the ANC towards its second centenary.
- 1.3 The national liberation movement, the ANC, remains at the helm of South African society and its politics. In this regard, it has continued to advance change and the transformation of the conditions of the most poor and marginalised, through various policy interventions articulated and implemented by its Government. The ANC must, therefore, continue to earn the leadership of society.
- 1.4 The 53rd National Conference characterised our current phase as the second phase of the transition of the National Democratic Revolution towards the National Democratic Society. This phase should be characterised by radical socio-economic transformation. In this regard, Conference recognised how the ANC brought about change in the lives of the people and the country broadly. It, however, concluded that such change is yet to transform wholly, and provide economic power to the majority. Unemployment, poverty and inequality must be obliterated.
- 1.5 Conference endorsed the National Development Plan as a medium to long-term vision and plan for our country. In this regard, it emphasised the imperative of enhancing the capacity of the state, the development of capabilities in society to enable improved quality of life among the people and greater participation and inclusivity in the economy, and to set the country on an upward trajectory of economic growth and development.

- 1.6 Furthermore, Conference resolved on the Decade of the Cadre. Fundamentally, for the national liberation movement to withstand the challenges of an ever-changing global context, stay true to its values and principles and ideological grounding, and thwart the negative tendencies on the rise among its members and structures, an earnest process of developing the right calibre of membership was a non-negotiable if it sought to reach its second century and continue to lead our society.
- 1.7 In this sense, the 53rd National Conference was a continuation and correct validation of the 52nd National Conference, which had resolved on the Developmental State and the need for Organisational Renewal with the idea of preserving our essential aspects and adapting to the changing national and global environment.
- 1.8 Our transformation of society, and the resolutions of the aforementioned conferences, occurred in the context of many challenges that beset our organisation in the various spheres of its operations – such as, organisational structures, governance, unity in the Alliance, and relationship with the people and society. Some of the challenges are a result of self-inflicted wounds and, others arise from external factors opposed to the movement and its outlook on society and the world.
- 1.9 Gradually, and over a sustained time period since ushering in the democratic dispensation, our movement has experienced a decline. The decline manifests itself in a multi-faceted manner across different areas such as: quality and quantity of membership; ideological outlook and policy articulation; efficiency and effectiveness of our structures; organisational discipline and the waning of our values and principles among leaders and members alike; cohesiveness and cohesion in the Alliance; electoral performance and ability to govern; and influence in the broader society. All normal organisations pass through such a phase. However, decline is arrested when there is recognition that something dramatic has to be done, whereupon a new growth trajectory is initiated. Our movement has reached such a moment.
- 1.10 In addition, further bedevilling an already toxic environment, the Presidency has been assailed internally and externally in an unprecedented manner never witnessed in the history of the our movement, in particular, and the liberation movement broadly. Also, there is a rising groan about state capture, corporate capture and the role of money in politics and policy making. Fierce, even fatal, contestation, together with an almost endemic factionalism between and among comrades dominates our structures, causing grievous divisions in the movement as a whole.
- 1.11 The legitimacy of our movement as the standard bearer in society, and champion of its freedoms, is in serious threat. Not only is there a growing gap between the movement and the people, there also is an increase in the trust deficit. This trust deficit also arises out of a national and global environment where liberal democracies face a crisis, and a general mistrust for the ruling and business class. Central to the crisis is the adverse effect of global capital accumulation of wealth for a minority elite, against impoverishment of the majority, and the seeming – if not perceived, collaboration of politics or the state.
- 1.12 The offensive from external forces, at its core the regime change agenda, is real. Colour revolution is the mode of the offensive, with a possibility of graduating the offensive into a hybrid, which is a combination of soft and hard forms of the attack, with the potential to return Southern Africa into its Cold War era type of conflict. The weaknesses that are described as the manifestation of the decline reduce the capacity of our movement to withstand, fight and defeat the offensive. The intensity of our internal fights makes it impossible for the movement to appreciate the threat to the revolution.
- 1.13 This year marked the hundredth anniversary of the life and times of our late President, comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo. Throughout our movement, various memorial lectures and events were organised to draw lessons from this icon of our organisation, and our country, in the context of the challenges that face the liberation movement today. As we close this year of comrade OR Tambo, we are also beginning the celebrations of the hundredth anniversary of another of our late Presidents, comrade Nelson Mandela. These anniversaries should energise our movement and remind us of the quality and selflessness of the leadership that has, over time, inspired us and provided vision and unity to the movement and our people as a whole.

“We must continue to learn from, and review the experiences of the past 100 years of selfless struggle, as well as experiences of other progressive movements. The ANC has survived due to, among others:

- Its deep roots and connection with the people;
- Vibrant internal democracy and collective leadership;
- Readiness and willingness of its members to make sacrifices in pursuit of the cause of the people as a whole;
- Readiness to acknowledge its weaknesses and decisively address them in order to escalate and accelerate the people’s struggle;
- Ability to adapt to changing conditions and rise to the occasion at critical moments;
- Ability to uphold and build unity of a cross section of South Africans and progressive forces in the world in pursuit of the cause of humanity”

(ANC Resolutions, 2012, Organisational Renewal)

2. RECALLING THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

- 2.1 The Centennial Conference urged us all to recall the things that ensured the ANC’s survival over the century. It impressed upon leadership and membership to relive the basic ways of executing political work and mandate, which it described as follows:
- *Deep roots and connection with the people.*
 - *Vibrant internal democracy and collective leadership.*
 - *Readiness and willingness of our members to make sacrifices in pursuit of the cause of the people as a whole.*
 - *Readiness to acknowledge weaknesses and decisively address them in order to escalate the people’s struggle.*
 - *Ability to adapt to changing conditions and rise to the occasion at critical moments.*
 - *Ability to uphold and build unity of a cross section of South Africans and progressive forces...*
- 2.2 The ANC’s rootedness and connection with the people, in the form of ANC structures engaging society, was confirmed with its majority victory in the 2014 national general elections, although there was some decline from the 2009 general elections. There are indications of a growing trust deficit between society and the ANC. In the second half of this term, we saw a decline in our performance in the 2016 Local Government elections, dropping by 8% compared to the 2014 elections. Of particular concern are the massive losses incurred in the Metros, something that threatens to relegate the ANC into a rural party, in a similar manner to other liberation movements that are in decline.
- 2.3 We have sought to maintain our unity as a leadership collective, even under challenging situations. However, this character of a collective leadership has come under immense strain as a result of factions and slates. In some instances, decision-making is removed from structures, resulting in them being used as a sounding board or mere formality. Despite this, the structures are expected to take collective responsibility for and defend decisions they cannot honestly own.
- 2.4 The culture of a vibrant internal democracy, wherein all views are sought and consensus reached based on the best and appropriate course of action, is almost non-existent. Resultantly, motivated only by the mentality to win any debate or election, results of every conference are appealed immediately they are announced. Court challenges are a commonplace option where results do not favour one or the other faction.
- 2.5 We have, including in our Alliance Summits, correctly identified and acknowledged that crass materialism – in particular, the use of money, is a cancer eating away at our organisation; both its leadership and membership alike. Crass materialism and money is corroding all the values and principles of the organisation. Hence, self-interest overrides pursuit of the cause of the people as a whole. It is difficult to deal with this malaise because money changes hands in secret.
- 2.6 We are today faced with a painful challenge, where the entirety of the liberation movement is projected as corrupt. State capture is a reality facing our society that forms part of public discourse – including the

Legislature inquiries – and private debates. Often, numerous revelations come to the fore, for instance, the Gupta e-mails some of which are confirmed by those accused. Also established brands like KPMG, Bell Pottinger, Mckinsey - and lately Multi Choice, are under threat as a result of allegations of association with state capture. Many in our movement are in denial that state capture is a reality facing our country. There is a strong view that State Capture is a narrative mainly developed by the media and beneficiaries of the Apartheid State. In which case, the state cannot be regarded as captured if not all of its three arms are not captured. The debate is raging on, with society having strong views on the matter. The ANC, therefore, cannot afford to be perceived as confused or defensive in the face of this debate. This conference must provide concrete guidance to the leadership, not only on the position the ANC must take but also how should it engage this debate. At this point in time the ANC is divided in this debate to a point of seeing our disagreements as boxes of enemy camps.

- 2.7 Recognising that we live in a dynamic and ever-changing national and global context, that requires us to adapt and rise to the occasion at critical moments, we declared the period from 2012 to 2022, the Decade of the Cadre. The focus of this decade long programme would be *ideological, political, academic and moral training of a critical mass of ANC members*. Notwithstanding the difficulties of building capacity in our current environment, also faced with challenges of the sins of incumbency, efforts have been afoot to realise this objective. Our structures must continue to be seized with political education. The discussion on organisational renewal must, therefore, be a permanent feature of our movement to ensure that we adapt and change. The environment within which we operate makes the effort to build capacity very difficult with the sins of incumbency dwarfing the efforts of our political education.
- 2.8 The ANC remains the only realistic formation that can unite a cross section of all our people and engender real change. Hence the current preoccupation throughout society, among proponents and opponents to our movement, about the ANC's ability extricate itself from decay and decline, and lead.
- 2.9 In this context, the role of the Leagues of the ANC needs interrogation, in advancing this aim. They

should be tested against the objectives for forming these structures. The ANC Women's League's primary objectives is to *defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside of the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation, in the people's struggles and in national life*. The primary objective of the ANC Youth League is *to unite and lead young people, men and women, in confronting and dealing with the problems that face the youth and to ensure that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and life of the nation*. The objective of the ANC Veterans' League is *to ensure that Veterans make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC, to the movement and to the life of the nation*.

- 2.10 The Alliance has always been an integral and critical component of advancing the National Democratic Revolution. We have consistently reaffirmed that its unity and strength are the guarantor of the transformation of South African society, and success of our revolution. Presently, the Alliance is at its lowest ebb. It is without cohesion and a coherent approach to challenges facing it and society. Currently, the ANC's historic allies seek alternative allies and run joint programmes with other forces, including those that were historically hostile to our movement. Leading to this conference, instead of doing some introspection, we contended that our allies have become reactionary. The SACP, and COSATU to a lesser degree, has proposed constituting these working-class formations into a "left axis". By choosing to contest elections on its own, the SACP displays an extreme version of this proposition. This conference must dig deep into the challenges facing the Alliance so that genuine solutions can be found. We must understand the underlying factors and suggest ways to strengthen the alliance. We must answer whether Alliance structures need to be adapted in the current conditions.
- 2.11 In the present conjuncture, in addition to the challenges highlighted before, we have witnessed various societal actors and formations seeking to unite, in opposition to the ANC. In other instances, some activists and stalwarts – including veterans of our movement, have come together in different forums to denounce the ANC and its leadership. This is unprecedented in the history of our movement. This reality suggests that we are failing to grasp that society is beginning to look for any alternative that

offers them an opportunity to be served. The major question, therefore, is whether the ANC is able to instil hope in society. Does the good story to tell continue to resonate with society? We are at the stage of freedom where people are beginning to forget where we were in 1994, and how far we have gone. This phenomenon is becoming more pronounced as the movement is projected negatively by our detractors, and by some from within the movement.

- 2.12 For the better part of this term, although aware that we have been on the back foot, we opted for denial as a tactic to deal with our problems. This has weakened our movement in the face of society, dented the image of the ANC and weakened the trust of the people in their liberation movement.
- 2.13 This national conference presents us with an opportunity to lead rather than permanently being on the defensive. There is a reasonable expectation that

we present a detailed account of all the challenges that confronted us, and provide genuine solutions that can improve our situation. After the Mid-Term Organisational Review there was insufficient effort to apply the basic ways of re-connecting the movement with society. This conference must be concrete about directing the leadership to take decisive and visible action on various fronts, internally and externally. This conference is an opportunity to make a candid analysis of our reality or choose to deny it, which will lead to the demise of our mission to unite and transform South African society. Delegates must be reminded that it is always a mistake of conferences to take resolutions for the past but expect forward mobility. The resolutions of this conference must be forward looking and come up with possible solutions and guidance into the future.

3. THE STATE OF THE STRUCTURES OF OUR ORGANISATION

3.1 The National Executive Committee (NEC)

3.1.1 The 53rd National Conference elected a National Executive Committee (NEC) of 86 men and women, to lead the organisation during the period under review. The NEC was elected as follows:

Table 1: Members of the National Executive Committee

Officials	
President: Jacob Zuma	
Deputy President: Cyril Ramaphosa	
National Chairperson: Baleka Mbete	
Secretary General: Gwede Mantashe	
Deputy Secretary General: Jessie Duarte	
Treasurer General: Zwelini Mkhize	
Directly Elected Additional Members	
Obed Bapela	Nocawe Mafu
Nozabelo Ruth Bengu	Dikeledi Magadzi
Lynne Brown	David Mahlobo
Zoleka Rosemarry Capa-Langa	Fikile Slovo Majola
Bhekokwakhe Cele	Nomzamo Winfred Madikizela-Mandela
Collins Chabane	Jane Manganye
Siyabonga Cwele	Kebby Maphatsoe
Rob Davis	Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula
Thoko Didiza	Philly Mapulane
Nkosazana Clarice Dlamini-Zuma	Billy Lesedi Masetlha
Bathabile Olive Dlamini	Joyce Mashamba
Sidumo Mbongeni Dlamini	Sam Mashinini
Ayanda Dlodlo	Tito Mboweni
Beauty Dlulane	NomaIndia Mfeketho
Ebrahim Ebrahim	Humphrey Mmemezi
Lungi Gcabashe	Nomvula Paula Mokonyane
Malusi Gigaba	Pinky Mokoto
Enoch Godongwana	Ednah Molewa
Pravin Gordan	Joyce Moloi-Moropa
Derek Hanekom	Pinky Moloi
Tina Joemat-Peterson	Angie Motshekga
Zweledinga Pallo Jordan	Aaron Motsoaledi
Zizi Kodwa	Sankie Dolly Mthembu-Mahanyele
Dipuo Letsatsi-Duba	Jackson Mthembu
Pule Mabe	Nathi Mthethwa
Rejoice Mabhudafhasi	Thenjiwe Mthintso

Joel Sibusiso Ndebele
 Joel Netshitenzhe
 Maite Nkoana-Mashabane
 Gugile Nkwinti
 Sefora Hixsonia Ntombela
 Nosipho Dorothy Ntwanambi
 Thulas Thembelani Nxesi
 Blade Bonginkosi Nzimande
 Mildred Oliphant
 Naledi Pandor
 Joe Phaahla
 Jeff Radebe
 Ngoako Abel Ramatlhodi
 Mirriam Segabutla

Rosinah Machwene Semenya
 Susan Shabangu
 Lindiwe Sisulu
 Max Vuyisile Sisulu
 Stone Sizani
 Mcebisi Skwatsha
 Sisisi Tolashe
 Pam Tshwete
 Sue van der Merwe
 Fikile Xasa
 Tony Sithembiso Yengeni
 Senzeni Zokwana
 Lindiwe Zulu

3.1.2 In this term,

- Three of the NEC members passed away – namely; comrades Nosipho Ntwanambi; Sisi Mabe and Collins Chabane.
- One member of the NEC resigned, that is; comrade Pallo Jordan.
- As a consequence, the NEC co-opted four members – namely; comrades Mathole Motshekga; Fikile Mbalula; Dipuo Peters and Reginah Mhaule.

3.1.3 All the Chairpersons and Secretaries of all the nine provinces, and Presidents and Secretaries of the Leagues, are ex-officio members of the NEC. In the end, the full complement of the NEC is 110 members.

The National Working Committee (NWC)

3.1.4 In its first meeting after the 53rd National Conference, the NEC elected the National Working Committee from among the directly elected members of the NEC. The following members were elected:

(See Table 2 below)

- Two members of the NWC passed on, that is, comrades Collins Chabane and Sisi Mabe. The NEC replaced them with comrades Sisi Ntombela and David Mahlobo.

The National Officials

3.1.5 The National Officials met every Monday to discuss issues and work to be executed with urgency. They also visited many regions, including where there were problems. The details of their work were reported fully to the NWC and, where additional work and capacity was required the assistance of the NWC was solicited.

Table 2: Members of the National Working Committee

Collins Chabane	Nathi Mthethwa,
Bathabile Dlamini	Maite Nkoana-Mashabane,
Malusi Gigaba	NomaIndia Mfeketho
Derek Hanekom	Blade Nzimande,
Tina Joemat-Petterson	Naledi Pandor,
Sisi Mabe	Jeff Radebe,
Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula	Susan Shabangu,
Nomvula Mokonyane,	Limdiwe Sisulu,
Aaron Motsoaledi,	Fikile Xasa,
Jackson Mthembu,	Lindiwe Zulu

- 3.1.6 The Officials confronted threats that could tear the movement apart. Each time there was an offensive on the person of the President the threat heightened; causing Officials to present a united front. Only once did Officials publicly pronounce their disagreement. The incident was, however, managed swiftly. It, nevertheless, highlighted the importance of a thorough going consultation among Officials, as a tool for unity, at the apex of the organisation. This is not a matter of being in agreement but a necessary irritation to the exercise of power.
- 3.1.7 The availability of three of the six Officials, as Presidential candidates, further complicated this space. The other three Officials, by displaying their leaning with respect to the candidates, further made our work strenuous. This imposed the serious need for the Officials to manage even the most complex challenges facing the organisation. Key to this being the ability to discuss and engage in the structures of the ANC, particularly the National Officials, when there are problems

Overall Work of the NEC

- 3.1.8 All work undertaken by the NEC is processed by the National Working Committee. The volume of work done by the NEC reflects the hard work in the NWC. All the NWC reports to the NEC reflect the issues that would have been handled for the two months between the NEC meetings. Even problems and challenges highlighted about the NEC manifest themselves in the NWC. . Only on three occasions that the NWC tried unsuccessfully to disown or withdraw its report to the NEC. In all three occasions the report carried issues that were regarded as controversial but hot in the public discourse.
- 3.1.9 The outgoing NEC must be credited for doing a lot of mass political work under extremely difficult conditions. They have visited every region of the ANC several times, and engaged the branches directly. In most cases, when dealing with one or the other challenge, the NEC had to go to the regions to solicit views of the members.
- 3.1.10 This was, however, the most difficult term for the NEC. The complexity of the situation is reflected in the general discontent, where the NEC is blamed even by branches after they were engaged.
- 3.1.11 Among the issues the NEC dealt with, over a number of years, was the Nkandla case. Our early analysis came to the conclusion that was confirmed by the court and implemented as court judgement, that is, that of paying the determined percentage of the costs of the non-security features in the security upgrades. We came to the conclusion that the main problem about the project was inflation of prices and whoever was involved be brought to book, following the investigation by the SIU. The ANC, at the end of long deliberations, had been asked to give space to the government to deal with a problem emanating from the work of the various departments of the state. One basic lesson we learnt from this experience is that, whatever happens in the ANC-led government impacts directly on the ANC. Any attempt to wash our hands and declare ourselves innocent is a luxury we cannot afford. The incoming NEC should be more structured in its engagement with the Government. This should give expression to the ANC being the strategic centre of power and, therefore, allow it to provide leadership and guidance to the government. It must have the space to explain the risks to the organisation. In hindsight this is what we failed to do and allowed government advisors to overrule the views of the ANC. After five years they accepted the payment for the percentage of costs for non-security features in the security upgrades. By the time the government legal advisors came to the same conclusion as the ANC, damage and hurt was deep on a number of individual comrades and the organisation. The NEC absorbed the pain and led the organisation to the end.
- 3.1.12 The matter ended up in the Public Protector's report and ultimately the Constitutional Court Judgement. Again, the NEC went face to face with the membership and absorbed insults in many areas. The NEC was even criticised for taking collective responsibility for whatever mistakes that could have been committed in the process of execution of the responsibility. The lesson learnt in the process is that during difficult times the principles of the organisation get sacrificed and politics become personalised. That is a challenge that the incoming NEC must extricate the organisation from. It is more important for the ANC structures to be concrete with decisions it takes on difficult and complex issues. Failure to be concrete and firm creates fluidity, making it more difficult to provide leadership to society.
- 3.1.13 The debate about political consciousness against

conscience was about personalisation of politics more than an effort to instil political understanding and clarity on the concepts. These two concepts should never be counter-posed. Conscience and revolutionary morality must guide every cadre of the Movement. Political consciousness derives from ideological clarity and political awareness that makes every cadre appreciate that party line is a product of debates, discussions and consensus. Elevating one's view above the organisational position is always frowned at. The ANC must not be reduced into a gathering of free agents. We are losing the principle of knowing where one stands irrespective of the company one finds himself or herself in. It does not matter how angry one can be, but to hurt the ANC must not be an option. The party line must be respected and when comrades are in disagreement they must raise their discomfort within the structures of the organisation.

- 3.1.14 Formation of parallel structures, as was the case with the Veterans and MK cadres, is not a solution to the challenges facing the movement. The MK Council and Veterans and Stalwarts were protest formations that were characterised by parallelism to MKMVA and the ANCVL. All it does is to cause more confusion and complicate our space. We have witnessed a trend of comrades invoking old identities to earn new recognition. This tendency tended to fragment the movement than strengthening it. This conference should discuss this trend and provide political leadership and guidance to the incoming NEC as to how best this can be eradicated, without suppressing dissenting views within the organisation.
- 3.1.15 During this term, which coincides with the fifth parliament, the opposition parties led by the Democratic Alliance, tabled eight motions of no confidence on the President of the ANC in his capacity as the President of the Republic. All of them were defeated. However, the eighth and last one was unique, in that a sizeable number of ANC members of the National Assembly voted with the opposition. The ANC was subjected to a lot of pressure to allow its members to follow their conscience and not the party line. This sounded noble in the environment where the target was the President of the ANC as an individual. The risk to the ANC and prospects of the movement losing power was relegated into being secondary. The NEC resisted the temptation of destroying

the party in pursuit of hurting the person. This conference must grapple with this principle and provide leadership to the incoming NEC. Many more motions of no confidence are likely to be tabled as part of the strategy of the opposition forces to destabilise the ANC. This conference must provide leadership on how best to deal with this kind of offensive.

- 3.1.16 Society is currently engaged in a debate about state capture and how it hurts the economy and the reputation of South Africa as a country. Once more, our movement is flatfooted in this debate, because we are reducing it into a personal attack on those seen to be associated with the Gupta family. When we put faces to the problems, we are disarming ourselves of ever coming up with solutions. The Gupta e-mails that are in the public domain are being debated by society while the movement is flatfooted. Big brands are being destroyed daily, including Bell Pottinger and KPMG. There is a risk of the 106-years old brand, the ANC, being dented and ultimately destroyed while we are procrastinating.
- 3.1.17 The issue of White Monopoly capital being used as a counter to state capture is not scientific. This might be popular, but it is self-defeating. It removes our eyes from the reality that white domination, in all aspects of our lives, is the essence of the revolution. That the white section of society remains dominant owners of the economy, controlling and managing it, cannot be accepted. Deracialising the economy should be at the heart of the programme of the liberation movement. It should not be reduced into a new phenomenon that constitutes an immediate problem facing our movement; nor one to counter-pose different comrades in the movement.
- 3.1.18 It is contended that state capture cannot be limited to the Gupta family when Afrikaner capital always had, and continues to capture the state. Hence the argument that the Judicial Commission of Inquiry, announce by the President, should stretch back to 1994. There are also some who argue that the Inquiry should go back to the beginning of colonisation, in 1652. The conference should guide and simplify this debate, and ensure that it calls all cadres to action. At the heart of this confusion are the divisions among comrades, boxing each other into solidified factions. This deprives our movement of space and the capacity to enrich the debate, and coming up with appropriate conclusions.

These are the major challenges this NEC had to deal with. It was divided around these issues due to failure to cohere on answers to these vexing questions. As we hand over in this conference we have a duty and obligation to give full explanation of the business that is left unfinished and continues to haunt the organisation.

The Integrity Commission

3.1.19 The 53rd National Conference resolved that the National Executive Committee should establish the Integrity Commission at national level.

3.1.20 The Integrity Commission executed its mandate with diligence, despite some resistance in some instances. Nine cases, involving fifteen members and leaders of the ANC, were brought before the Integrity Commission. From these, twelve comrades complied and three comrades did not comply with the recommendations of the Integrity Commission.

3.1.21 The commission had several meetings with the officials to discuss challenges facing the organisation. This was seen as a necessary intervention to guide and advise the officials. Meetings with the officials are the necessary, open engagement, not cases, when the organisation is facing challenges.

3.1.22 The Integrity Commission, as resolved by the NGC, has to be strengthened. Its decisions must be enforceable. The leadership of the ANC must be open to being engaged by the commission, and vice versa, where and when there are reservations.

THE SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE NEC

3.1.23 The content of the work of the NEC is embodied in the work of the sub-committees. It is through the sub-committees that resolutions of the National Conference are implemented, and their work is hereby summarised. The assessment of the implementation of resolutions and adapting them, where necessary, is done every January and July in the NEC makgotla.

A. Communication and the Battle of Ideas

3.1.24 The sub-committee reported in detail in both the National General Council and the National Policy

Conference. It has worked closely with the relevant government departments in ensuring that ANC policies are implemented; and established four work-streams; that is, broadcasting, print media transformation, ICT and the battle of ideas.

3.1.25 To mobilise society in support of the ANC policies, the sub-committee organised four stakeholder consultation meetings that were attended by cadres of the movement, the industry and active individuals in the different sectors. A number of internal workshops were organised to give political content to the work of the committee. The alliance partners were invited to these workshops to enrich the debates.

3.1.26 The relations with deployed cadres have improved, which has resulted in better working relations between the committee and the Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Directors General in the relevant departments and ministries. There was a time when there were tensions with some of the deployees due to disagreements on either the interpretation or the understanding of ANC policies.

3.1.27 The DIP had suffered capacity problems, including lack of research capacity. This situation has been ameliorated by the additional capacity provided through the internship programme.

Battle of Ideas

3.1.28 The 53rd National Conference resolved that there should be increased participation of the cadres of the movement in public debates on political and ideological matters. This could not be fulfilled though some of the leaders and cadres showed an improved willingness to engage.

3.1.29 It is necessary to appreciate that society requires consistent explanation of decisions and positions taken by the movement. The movement can take any position as long as people will understand. ANC Today, an online publication, and MY ANC, go a long way in closing the communication gaps. The biggest challenge was the sharp decline and harm to the ANC image due to infighting among leaders of the ANC. The perception of corruption, nepotism, cronyism and schemes associated with political leaders in the organisation is the main contributing factor to the tarnishing of the ANC image. As the leadership of the ANC moved throughout the country, celebrating the life and times of Oliver Tambo, positive signs which need to be consolidated began to emerge.

3.1.30 The intra-organisational violence, for example, in KZN where ANC public representatives are being targeted and the incidents in the Eastern Cape, is denting the image of the ANC. The perception is that the ANC is a violent organisation, as comrades are prepared to kill for positions.

3.1.31 The distribution of policy documents and facilitation of open dialogues and discussions that involved intellectuals is a step in the right direction, towards regaining lost ground. The DIP should sustain it beyond the National Conference.

3.1.32 The following tasks remain outstanding and should be taken forward by the incoming NEC:

- Strengthening the link between the ANC and communities by establishing local Peoples' Parliamentary Forums.
- Regular publication of Umrabulo and Mayibuye complemented by regular NEC Bulletins to keep society informed.
- Resourcing DIP including resourcing of policy research.
- Training of leadership and employees in political communication, despite the fact of every branch not having an e-mail address as yet.
- Social and digital media policy should be finalised.

3.1.33 The resolution of the 53rd National Conference on the development of a Government communication, a coherent framework and institutional arrangement that will enhance collaboration between the ANC and Government has not been fully developed. This is despite there being a fully-fledged department of communication headed by a minister, as part of implementing this resolution. The GCIS, working with the National School of Government has developed the curriculum for government communicators. More than 500 communicators, including Mayors and councillors, have gone through the early phase of the programme. GCIS need to be strengthened at the level of leadership and be stabilised. Government has continued to support community radios and local media platforms, but hardly use them to communicate government messages and programmes.

Information and Communications Technologies

3.1.34 The resolution of 53rd National Conference that government should create a coherent National Policy Framework and Strategy on ICT has been

implemented. A White Paper on Integrated Information and Communication Policy was adopted in 2015. The government has developed an over-arching e-Strategy targeting key sectors of the economy and eSMME, to support new innovative entrants and to foster their economic growth.

3.1.35 The Broad Band Policy and Strategy was concluded in 2014 and piloted in eight district municipalities. Lack of capacity to deploy broadband infrastructure, particularly in the rural areas, is slowing the progress. This can be resolved by deploying all the capacity available and achieve the intended goals with the shortest possible time. Government should also use the capacity in the state-owned companies to support implementation.

3.1.36 The empowerment targets for the sector have been reviewed, resulting in the development of the ICT Sector Code of good practice, and appointment of the ICT BEE Sector Council in 2016. Strengthening of the capacity for ICASA has been prioritised in the White Paper on Integrated ICT, and needs to be implemented urgently.

Postal Services and Posbank

3.1.37 The turn-around plan adopted for SAPO is starting to show signs of improvement. Board and Management were appointed and SAPO should begin to regain its market share that was lost during the time of upheaval. For the last eighteen months, following a period of protracted strikes, there has been relative labour peace in the entity.

3.1.38 Fulfilling the long-standing resolution of the NEC, endorsed by the policy conference, that Postbank should be the preferred service provider in the area of distribution of social grants; current improvements would take a big step forward. All the problems in this regard should be resolved.

3.1.39 There is some progress made towards granting Postbank full banking licence. An independent board has now been appointed and is undergoing fit-and-proper processes overseen by the Reserve Bank.

Broadcasting Policy and Digital Migration

3.1.40 Broadcasting Policy Review remains outstanding. The SABC has been unstable for the better part of the last five years. The process of stabilising it and capacitating it with a competent management team is underway. The study group in Parliament

must be commended for undertaking a painful but necessary process.

3.1.41 The Broadcasting Digital Migration programme has experienced severe delays due to policy tensions on encryption/non-encryption of set-top-box. The Digital Terrestrial Transmission presents an opportunity for the SABC multi-channel environment. The government should accelerate the development of the strategy for manufacturing of Digital Television Sets as part of the local manufacturing strategy.

3.1.42 The adoption of the Cyber security policy in 2013, resulting in the establishment of the Cyber security hub at CSIR, must be supported.

Print Media Transformation

3.1.43 The ANC study group has been engaged to lead the process of conducting an inquiry on the desirability and feasibility of the Media Appeals Tribunal, within the framework of the country's constitution. This process has not been concluded and, therefore, remains outstanding for the incoming leadership of the ANC to take forward.

3.1.44 Print media remains untransformed and hostile to the ANC. Fair and balanced reporting remains elusive. In the process democracy and rights as enshrined in the constitution are trampled. Community media is suffering from lack of financial resources. Government must support this sector.

B. Archives

3.1.45 Following the centenary celebrations in 2012 the NEC established an Archives sub-committee with the aim of continuing with the Centenary Legacy Projects and the preservation of the history of our movement. Among these projects was the establishment of the Heritage Institute as the repository of archival material of the struggle for freedom. Central to the objectives of this committee is to strengthen the project of rewriting the history of South Africa, and reverse the obliteration and misrepresentation of the history of the Black majority by the colonial and apartheid governments. An attempt is being made to identify, locate, audit, index and showcase the liberation archives.

3.1.46 Archives at the ANC Headquarters and University of Fort Hare were brought back to South Africa

after the unbanning of the organisation from the various mission offices in all corners of the world. The choosing of the University of Fort Hare was informed by its links with the liberation struggle in South Africa and the continent. Some of the sensitive archives are being retrieved from the University of Hare to the ANC Head Quarters. Other archives are in many other institutions like Mayibuye Centre, University of the Western Cape, Russia, Serbia, Italy, GDR, and the USA. Many of these centres are waiting for the ANC to indicate their readiness to manage these archives.

3.1.47 As part of auditing and indexing of the archives the sub-committee undertook various phases which included digitisation and metadata capturing of still images, audio and video recording and website development and management. With limited resources the process has been slow.

3.1.48 The 53rd National Conference resolved that an ANC History Book be authored. The project took a bit longer but it is back on track now. The major challenge is the shortage of financial resources. The publishing of the book will require another R300000.

3.1.49 The NGC resolved that the Heritage Institute be located within the state without surrendering the role of the ANC in managing its resources. The Institute will facilitate cultural exchanges and interactions, nurture academic excellence and learning. To safeguard the institute, it was resolved that:

- The Institute should always be headed and managed by the individuals from the liberation movement.
- The Board must always have members from the liberation movement.

3.1.50 The Freedom Charter needs to be declared a National Heritage Object. This will prevent the Freedom Charter from being expropriated and sold to private collectors. This exercise is conducted in partnership with the Department of Arts and Culture and Liliesleaf Farm Museum.

3.1.51 There are three main challenges facing archiving in the ANC:

- Lack of financial resources.
- Inadequate in-house skills in the area of mounting, archiving, digitising and exhibiting.
- Lack of policy on the intellectual property of the ANC.

C. Peace and Stability

3.1.52 This sub-committee covers six areas: Correctional Services, Home Affairs, Intelligence, Justice and Constitutional Development, Police and Defence and Military Veterans.

Correctional Services

3.1.53 The capacity of the Parole Boards and outputs of Case Management Committees have improved to 96,52% of parole cases considered in 2015/16. All parole boards are working according to standard procedure and set processes.

3.1.54 The programme of integration of former inmates is being implemented with the involvement of community structures. Various institutions and organisations are partners of the Department in the rehabilitation programme. The ANC is urged to participate in ensuring the victim participation in parole processes. This aimed at healing the scars of crimes among victims, families and communities. For victims to participate effectively the department should provide them with support and information of the crime when the release of the offender is considered. Auxiliary social workers have been trained and work on the victim preparation programme. Participation in this programme is growing at a very fast pace.

3.1.55 The Departments of Correctional Services, Justice and the SAPS must cooperate in addressing the question of long periods spent in remand detention and improve better case flow management. The Department of Correctional Services is expected to report all cases of remand detainees that have been in custody for at least two years to the Judiciary. The situation is exacerbated by detainees who cannot afford bail.

Home Affairs

3.1.56 The Department of Home Affairs is moving the Asylum Centres close to the northern ports of entry so that application can be processed as applicants enter the Republic. Land has been acquired in Lebombo to build the processing centre. Refugee Centres in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town have been closed. NGOs and Lawyers are challenging this closure.

3.1.57 The Department is reviewing the White Paper on immigration. The aim is to raise awareness in the government and in society about immigration. The aim is to educate society against narrow nationalism

and combat xenophobia. In 2016 a programme was undertaken to educate organs of civil society and the traditional leaders in this regard. The department is participating in the United Nations Protection Group dealing with matters of xenophobic attacks and local integration. A working group consisting of organs of civil society, community leaders, lawyers for human rights, academic institutions and UN agencies, has been formed and meets regularly.

3.1.58 Law is being tightened to criminalise the fraudulent acquisition of vital documents, to ensure that such crimes are treated as serious priority crimes. This is aimed at strengthening the Immigration Act that came into force in 2014. An appeal is made for ANC branches to actively participate in the stakeholder structures and forums. The department is currently working on the development of a single identity system, capable of keeping the profile of all South Africans and documented foreign nationals. This is in the form of the comprehensive National Identity System seamlessly integrating biometrics and biographical systems.

3.1.59 The Department of Home Affairs is expected to play the lead role in the management and running of the Border Management Agency. The Bill is currently before the NCOP. There is now agreement that:

- The Border Management Agency will assume all frontline customs functions at Ports of Entry.
- Revenue collection will remain a SARS function supported by the BMA

Intelligence

3.1.60 The National Security Strategy adopted by the Cabinet in 2013 is now being implemented. National Key Points are still secured by private security companies as various government departments are locked in long term contracts. National Security Agencies are being capacitated to take over this responsibility.

3.1.61 The security of cyber space requires public awareness. This is inhibited by lack of financial resources. The integrity of state information systems is critical and must be protected. The Economic Intelligence Unit is now operational. South Africa is participating in the UN, AU and SADC countering terrorism efforts.

Justice and Constitutional Development

- 3.1.62 The resolution of the 53rd National Conference reaffirmed the position that the branches of the state are co-equal parties, entrusted with distinct constitutional powers in their quest to realise the ideals of a democratic South Africa. Each branch of the state must therefore observe the inherent constitutional limitations regarding its own power and authority, and that no branch should undermine the others when exercising its constitutional mandate.
- 3.1.63 The meeting of the Heads of the three Arms of the State on 27 August, 2015, discussed areas of possible conflict, triggered by the Judiciary feeling that the Executive did not obey the judgement that called for the arrest of President Al Bashir. The Executive was concerned by the absence of any mechanism of dealing with Judicial overreach and potential unethical behaviour on their part. Subsequent to this meeting the cabinet established an inter-ministerial committee to look into the issue of judiciary governance and court administration. The NDP acknowledges that “for the law to be an agent of change, it must be interpreted and enforced in a progressive, transformative fashion.” The absence of a legislative framework for the screening of candidate judges risks the appointment of judges that are beholden to the past and the anti-transformation ideology. While there is progress on the racial transformation aspect, there is little focus on the philosophy and activism. As we observed in the NGC the result of this is the assimilation of the newly appointed judges.
- 3.1.64 Cabinet is considering the proposal of government giving preference to briefing black lawyers by the. The Legal Practice Act promulgated in 2015 has translated into the establishment of the Legal Practice Council. This piece of legislation provides transformative measures and removal of barriers in the legal profession for the previously disadvantaged communities.
- 3.1.65 The rationalisation process of court jurisdictions aligned to municipal demarcation has been completed in Gauteng, North West, Limpopo and Mpumalanga. In the Free State and the Northern Cape, the process is about to be completed. There are still municipalities without court infrastructure. The construction of the Limpopo and Mpumalanga High Courts enhances

the rationalisation process and advances access to justice.

- 3.1.66 There is a serious backlog in the appointment of magistrates with about 250 vacancies not filled. There is still confusion about the interpretation of the Seventeenth Amendment of the Constitution, which gives the Chief Justice constitutional powers in relation to norms and standards for court performance. The role of the Cabinet member responsible for the administration of justice is being clarified.
- 3.1.67 The NEC must attend to the contradictions pertaining to the constitutional provisions relating to traditional leaders and their role and function in society, with particular reference to their adjudicating power. The revised Traditional Courts Bill was approved by the Cabinet in December 2016 and scheduled for introduction into Parliament. The ANC must address the contradictions in the ANC internal debates on the matter. Contradictions are primarily about patriarchy and the role of women in the traditional system. The traditional courts are consensual and provide alternative dispute resolution system for millions of our people in traditional communities.
- 3.1.68 The perception that State legal services are weak is informed by the number of serious cases that the state has lost. This is a reflection of weak leadership at administrative level. To turn the situation around, the Solicitor General has been appointed. The office is being professionalised so that it can attract good lawyers. This will minimise the practise of overlooking state lawyers in favour of private practices.

Police

- 3.1.69 The resolution of establishing a single police service has been delayed. The White Paper and a discussion document have been developed in this regard. The Ministry has launched the SAPS transformation programme driven by the Deputy Minister and supported by the Transformation Task Team. The Ministry is keen to establish street committees as part of fighting crime. This is also linked to the review of the Community Police Forum system. Rhino Poaching is one of the most serious challenges facing the country. NATJOITS developed the strategy to deal with this challenge. Police working the Department of Environmental Affairs is developing capacity to find intelligence-

led policing in this area. National Key Point Act is being repealed and replaced it with the Critical Infrastructure Bill. This Bill is now at NEDLAC. The status of Non-Statutory Forces is being attended to as part of the transformation programme.

Defence and Military Veterans

- 3.1.70 The Defence Review process is completed, and should be implemented. Implementation is, however, inhibited by inadequate funding; thus suggesting that an alternative funding model should be considered, including disposing of obsolete assets of the Defence Force, generating income from moveable assets, use of endowment properties, reduction of leased property portfolio and UN reimbursement income as some of the options. In April 2016 the SANDF withdrew peacekeeping forces from Sudan. Implementation of the Education and Awareness Plan has been developed but implementation is slow.
- 3.1.71 Exhumation and repatriation of the remains of comrades who perished during the war for liberation, remains a challenge. There is no policy that guides government departments, but discussions have started. Integration of MK ex-combatants into society and structures of the ANC remains elusive. The implementation of the programme for Non-Statutory forces is trying to address the plight but the scale is small compared to the demand. DMV is engaging South African Qualifications Authority and the National School of Government on the process of the Recognition of Prior Learning programme for Military Veterans.
- 3.1.72 The need to review the Military Veterans Act and the Special Pensions Act has been acknowledged and a task team has been established. Government Departments are required to comply with the Military Veterans Act if ex-combatants are to benefit fully from government programmes.

D. Social Transformation

Arts and Culture

- 3.1.73 The 53rd National Conference defined inequality, poverty and unemployment as the key challenges the country face. The Strategy and Tactics states that, “our strategies for social transformation must seek to empower people to lift themselves out

of poverty while creating adequate social net to protect the most vulnerable in our society.” As part of the Radical Socio –Economic Transformation the social transformation sub-committee defines radical social transformation as the prioritisation of the rights of children, creation of national identity and creation of an inclusive society as spelt out in the Freedom Charter.

- 3.1.74 The commitment to make high-speed broadband internet universally available is being implemented. The conditional grant for community libraries and funding received from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation public libraries is assisting to expand internet connectivity. More than 360000 users across the country have access to free internet through the libraries.
- 3.1.75 As part of developing social cohesion and nation building the Department of Arts and Culture is supporting creative industries. Funding is provided for the activities of artists, entrepreneurs and organisations across the country. Benchmark mapping study was completed in 2014 which calculated the economic impact of creative industries to the economy. The Department of Arts and Culture has supported 250 community arts programmes since 2015 and refurbished 15 centres.
- 3.1.76 The Use of Official Languages Act is being implemented aimed at ensuring that all government departments comply and opportunities are created for aspirant language practitioners. The Department of Arts and Culture is working hard to promote preservation of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems. Funding is provided for a number of projects, such as festivals and theatre production, through open call processes and funding agencies. Rolling out of the Charter of Positive Values is underway though relatively slow; and plans are afoot to step up the rollout. Most provinces held provincial Social Cohesion Report Back and Monitoring summits in preparation for the National Summit held in 2015.
- 3.1.77 The Department, working in partnership with Business and Arts South Africa, started training and mentoring programme, providing opportunities for young artists 2017. In 2015, 12 incubator programmes were launched in the field of music and visual arts. The National Action plan to combat racism, xenophobia and related intolerances was completed by the Department of Justice.

3.1.78 The promotion and protection of the Liberation Heritage Routes has seen the construction of a number of museums and monuments, for example, the Income Museum, the Matola Raid Monument and Centre. As part of the National Heritage Monument, iconic statues are being built, with 55 already completed. The Cabinet, as of August 2015, approved three projects per province. All the 27 projects are at various stages of implementation.

Human Settlements

3.1.79 The 53rd National Conference resolved that a comprehensive human settlements legislation be developed. The Macro Human Settlements Framework is being prepared. Hostels redevelopment continues, as directed by the national conference, through the Community Residential Units Programme. The resolution that the housing cooperatives be used in housing projects requires a comprehensive legislative framework. Policy, in this regard, is being developed. The Housing Development Agency has released 13000 square metres of state land for human settlements. The Department of Human Settlements has signed a social contract with the financial institutions; and a Government Employees Housing Scheme has been established to support government employees achieve home ownership. To regulate work with the private sector to close the gap market PIE Act Amendments have been completed. Legislation is being developed to ban invasion of land earmarked for development.

Social Development

3.1.80 The Department of Social Development, as directed by conference, has tabled the consolidated government paper on Comprehensive Social Security at NEDLAC. The NEDLAC has now established a Task Team composed of all constituent components to engage on challenges, gaps and recommendations in the government paper. The central proposal is the establishment of the National Social Security Fund to provide mandatory cover retirement, death, disability for all workers. The proposed framework includes: expansion of asset base of the poor through housing, small business and land reform programmes; retirement funds reform; unemployment; accident insurance, and the National Health Insurance. Caution is raised about proposing policies that promise free service

without adding productive work or considering issues of affordability for the country.

3.1.81 The South African Integrated Programme of Action for Early Childhood Development-Moving Ahead, was approved by the Cabinet in September 2013. The Early Childhood policy was approved by Cabinet in December 2015. The first phase of the policy is being implemented starting from 2017. The Department of Basic Education has developed a National Curriculum Framework for children from birth to age four years old. Qualifications for educators and other professionals have been developed, approved and gazetted by the Department of Higher Education.

3.1.82 The White Paper on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was approved by the Cabinet in December 2015. This will enable South Africa to domesticate the UN Convention that was ratified by government in 2007. The first progress report has been released in November 2017. Disability was relocated from the Ministry of Women, Children and the People with Disability to the Ministry of Social Development in 2014.

3.1.83 The report of the Department of Public Works on the progress made in making public buildings accessible is still outstanding. The national policy advocates accommodation of children with disabilities in the local school so that they remain part of the community and an inclusive education system.

Women

3.1.84 The Ministry has embarked on a turnaround strategy, focusing on financial and supply chain management, following a period of mismanagement. The issue of underfunding has been addressed with the National Treasury. The report on the status of women in the South African Economy was commissioned and published in 2015. The work that has been initiated on framework for Gender Responsive Budgeting across the government departments is beginning to make an impact. The advocacy work of the department is focusing on work exposure for girl learners and young women, women leadership and women in the economy.

Youth

3.1.85 The 53rd National Conference resolved that there should be more focus on developing skills required

by the economy. 73899 work-based learning opportunities were funded through SETAs. The Department of Higher Education has joint scholarship programmes with the governments of China, Russia, Sweden, Japan, South Korea, Ireland and Chile. This is in addition to longstanding programmes entered into with countries like Cuba on the training of Medical Students. The University of the Western Cape has been accredited to offer post-graduate qualification for TVET lecturers. Eleven other Universities have applied for accreditation. Key projects are being funded by the National Skills Fund, that is, systematic improvement of public TVETs; construction of three TVET campuses, Tabazimbi, Bambanani and Nkandla; establishment of work-integrate learning facilities for engineering students in the University of Johannesburg; and Cape Peninsula University of Technology for establishing renewal energy training facilities.

- 3.1.86 All schools have been declared alcohol and drug free zones and the COGTA-led Task Team has ring-fenced 15% of MIG funding for sport facilities, as part of the war on drugs and alcohol abuse.

Water and Sanitation

- 3.1.87 The 53rd National Conference resolved that the policy be reviewed and remove the unused and inequitable water allocations from the entitlement holders to ensure more equitable distribution of water. To implement this resolution the Water and Sanitation Bill is at an advanced stage of being promulgated. The policy position of the Department is that it must be obligatory for any holder of an entitlement that has water that is no longer utilised to surrender such use to the public trust. This should be legislated for it to be enforceable. The department is encouraging increased use of currently underutilised water resources such as ground water, re-use of water, desalination and rainwater harvesting. Thirty-four bulk water and sanitation services infrastructure projects have been completed. 807 tanks have been installed to harvest water for food production and household production use.

E. POLITICAL EDUCATION

- 3.1.88 The 53rd National Conference declared the decade 2013 to 2023 the Decade of the Cadre;

and instructed the incoming National Executive Committee to develop a decade-long programme of action, in line with the proposals put forward in the Organisational Renewal Report. Furthermore, it gave content to Cadre Policy.

- 3.1.89 In January 2014 the sub-committee convened a three-day workshop to revise and adopt the political education concept document. In February 2014 it convened a three-day political school for provincial and regional educators. Members of the sub-committee participated in the rollout of the sub-regional political school programme between May and August 2014, covering eight provinces except Gauteng. Members of the NEC were assigned three topics, in the programme, to cover – that is, Strategy and Tactics; the Constitution and factionalism. The sub –committee is readily available to support political education programmes of the leagues.
- 3.1.90 Cadres' forums were convened in regions and the sub-regions, on an ongoing basis up to the end of 2015, to focus on Organisational Renewal and the Freedom Charter. All Provincial Executive Committees have been inducted. PECs have conducted the REC. All Youth League Task Teams were inducted by the Political Education Sub-committee. Five provinces have formally established political schools as part of the national programme of the decade of the cadre, for example,
- Gauteng runs a consistent political school, which has now been cascaded to zones and sub-regions.
 - The Eastern Cape launched its political school, named Thobile Bam. There are three regional schools, namely, Robert Resha in the Chris Hani region; one in the OR Tambo region and the other in the Nelson Mandela Metro.
 - Mpumalanga ran a three-day political school, targeting 60 provincial facilitators; followed by a series of sub-regional schools covering 100 cadres.
 - KwaZulu Natal held a winter school in 2014.
 - Northern Cape runs its political school, named Jack Simons.

- 3.1.91 The Political Education and Training Unit, working with Education and Training Unit, ran the programmes to prepare and capacitate ANC structures and members for participation in the National and Provincial elections campaign. The

provincial workshops targeted 500 campaign managers, 2 per LET, 60 training coordinators, 90 provincial trainers, and 20000 BET and VD coordinators.⁷⁰ youth leaders were trained on mobilisation of young people, involving the entire Progressive Youth Alliance. A national workshop and nine provincial workshops were held targeting Ministers, MECs, Mayors and their spokespersons. Political Memorial Lectures are part of the political education programme. Also, annually, the sub-committee hosts a two weeks Political Party Management School with sister parties in the region, CCM, SWAPO, FRELIMO, MPLA and ZANU-PF.

3.1.92 The sub-committee produced discussion documents, that is, Anatomy of Factionalism; the Balance of Forces (for the National General Council); Black Capitalists without Capital; Corridors of Corruption (reprint) and four editions of Umrabulo. Working with ETU, the sub-committee designed an online political school programme with six modules as outlined in the education concept document. A Branch Manual is now available and widely used by the branches. Trainers have been trained at various levels of the organisation on facilitation of the Branch Manual.

F. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

3.1.93 The 53rd National Conference resolved that policy interventions should be undertaken to accelerate economic growth and intensify the programme of economic transformation. This was identified as urgent in implementing the radical economic transformation, in the second phase of the transition. This resolution guided policy interventions and policy formulation; including the 2014 Election Manifesto, NGC policy positions, 2016 Local Government Election Manifesto, and the six makgotla held during the period under review. The various interventions did not give the ANC and its government the expected results.

3.1.94 A retarded economic growth, including the period where our country witnessed technical recession, and the successive rating downgrades needs urgent attention to turn the economic around. The 53rd National Conference urged the NEC to unite all South Africans around the NDP to promote growth and development, and direct all efforts towards the eradication of unemployment,

poverty and inequality. The low rate of economic growth has retarded the implementation of the NDP and suggested interventions. This requires regular assessment and setting of short-term goals in pursuit of the overall vision. The prolonged period of low economic growth has resulted in reduced tax revenue and increased budget deficit. The national debt has risen astronomical over the past few years. These, coupled with rising indebtedness of state-owned companies and a high degree of policy uncertainty, has resulted in the downgrading of our country by credit rating agencies, with the possibility of further downgrades in future.

3.1.95 Conference urged the NEC to ensure that state-led infrastructure investment, focusing on social and economic infrastructure improvement, uses local content and local companies. Importantly to note, infrastructure investment cushioned our economy from total disaster. Despite the number of interventions certain problems had a negative impact on the economy, including reluctance of the investor to invest in South Africa, citing policy uncertainty, corruption, poor governance in state institutions including state owned companies and the perceived infighting in the governing party.

3.1.96 The national conference directed the NEC to accelerate the transformation of the mining sector, ensure more South Africans benefit from mining and have safe and decent jobs; including development of surrounding communities and labour sending communities. The South African mining sector has not been performing well. The conflict between the industry and government impacted on decline in investment, job losses and nose dive in production and output. Disagreements about the mining charter have deepened the crisis in the industry. Critically, the management of the process was tardy, thus alienated many players in the industry. This has hampered attempts at beneficiation. Bringing about regulatory certainty in mining and gas extraction has not moved with the expected speed.

3.1.97 There are numerous initiatives to promote youth employment, for example, youth employment fund, a tax incentive for companies employing young people. The latter had a good uptake rate, assisting to create new employment opportunities for young people. The joint initiative between government and business and expanded public

works programmes and community works programme added the much-needed opportunities for the youth. However, despite all these efforts, youth unemployment remains stubbornly high, particularly among African and Coloured youth. Bigger effort and prioritisation must be put on building cooperatives, supporting small and medium enterprises and township businesses, as they have a lot of potential for employment creation.

- 3.1.98 Elements of a developmental state are being implemented, that is, progress towards licensing the Postbank and discussions to create another fully-fledged state bank; engendering a progressive tax system – reinforcing that high-income earners pay higher tax; a national minimum wage agreed to by various social partners and a stricter Competition Commission against anti-competitive behaviour. The land reform programme is continuing and land redistribution has seen land being transferred into the hands of black South Africans. However, the process is very slow and needs to be accelerated. The debate in the National Policy Conference demonstrated the urgency of this matter.
- 3.1.99 Building a capable developmental state with capacity to serve the people is an urgent project. Efforts being made are weakened by corruption and poor governance real or perceived. This deprives the state of the leadership role in the transformation of the economy.
- 3.1.100 The ongoing, rather unstructured debate about the role of the South African Reserve Bank should be formally engaged, with considerations of the independence of the SARB; the implications the discussion and subsequent decision.
- 3.1.101 The 54th National Conference has a duty to take decisions that build new hope and confidence in the South African economy. We have a duty to unite our country across race, class and gender. The relations between the state and capital must be understood as that of “unity and struggle of the opposites”, and appreciate that we need one another for the prosperity of our country.

G. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- 3.1.102 This is one of the most active sub-committees. It was supported by a department divided into two sections, that is, South-South and North-South. Each section had a manager and two

coordinators. The department is now depleted, with many comrades are deployed elsewhere, and only three are remaining behind. DIRCO is supportive of the work of the sub-committee, but coordination between them needs to be improved. International relations work will always be important to our movement, and the work of this committee is very critical.

Building a Better Africa and World

- 3.1.103 The ANC remains committed to the realisation of Agenda 2063 of the African Union. This is an Integrated, Prosperous and Peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena. The main aim is to ensure positive socio-economic transformation in the next fifty years in the continent. This is a bold vision in the face of many challenges in the continent; such as wars and general unrest, poverty, instability and other forms of strife.
- 3.1.104 The wave of uprisings in the northern part of the continent, termed the Arab Spring, led to the overthrow and assassination of leaders who had been in power for significant periods of time. More worrisome are the external interests that invest heavily in agitation for discontent and mobilisation for mass popular protests and unrest. In the case of Libya, the AU roadmap was totally undermined and belittled. These are forms of soft colour revolution. The conference must develop concrete suggestions as to what the continent should do when powerful countries subdue one of the countries in the continent, even if it is not through military action. What kinds of solidarity actions are necessary?

Building a Global Progressive Movement

- 3.1.105 Since the ANC hosted the XXIV Socialist International Congress, in Cape Town, several changes have been introduced, that is,
- The SI has expanded its Ethics Committee, and the outgoing Secretary General of the ANC is one of its members,
 - MPLA has a seat and representative in the Finance Committee,
 - SI Africa Committee is chaired by comrade Emanuel Galou, President of the Social Democratic Party of Benin, and comrade Ebrahim Ebrahim is the deputy chairperson.

3.1.106 Since this Congress, a group of European Social Democratic Parties broke away to form the Progressive Alliance. This began as a campaign group, but all signs indicate that there is a new organisation being formed.

3.1.107 The XXV Congress re-elected comrade Luis Ayala as Secretary General, after the ANC candidate was withdrawn in the last minute. Comrade Papandreu was re-elected President.

Party-to-Party Relations

3.1.108 The ANC continues to interact actively with parties that are former liberation movements, governing parties and parties with similar ideological outlook as ourselves.

3.1.109 In the African continent, the following pertains:

- BDP in Botswana has developed strong relations with the ANC. It has begun to move away from an inward looking to a more dynamic international relations policy. Their 65th Anniversary, to which the ANC was invited, was jointly celebrated with the 55th anniversary of the Lobatse Conference. We have committed to develop two monuments in Botswana, one in the venue of the Lobatse Conference in 1962 and another in commemoration of the two massacres in Gaborone. This will be part of the liberation heritage route.

- The BNF in Botswana has also been in constant contact with the ANC. We have sent delegations to all their conferences and other activities. The difficulty is in managing the competition they have with the BDP. We have a responsibility to explain that we have a relationship with both parties independently.

- FRELIMO hosted an FES-sponsored seminar for the region. Following the election of the new Secretary General a delegation visited Maputo to share experiences. A monument to memorialise the Matola massacre has been developed, also as part of the liberation heritage route.

- EPRDF of Ethiopia continues to engage the ANC, including not omitting to invite us to their conferences.

3.1.110 In the mid-term assessment we lamented that we had not developed relations with parties in Latin America. A lot of work has been done to change that reality; with various conferences

providing a good platform for engagement and for parties to re-assure each other of continued relations. Colour Revolution is spreading in Latin America and we have the responsibility of trying to understand it. Conservative commentators have linked the rolling protests to the demise of socialism in Latin America. The sub-committee met and engaged the Group of Latin America and Caribbean Countries in February 2016 as part of strengthening relations with Latin America. Below are our relations with Latin America:

- The ANC has maintained dynamic relations with the Communist Party of Cuba. This a longstanding relationship forged in the trenches of the struggle for freedom. Rapprochement between Cuba and the United States of America, with Embassies opened in both countries, is the direct product of international solidarity with the people of Cuba. So, too, Cuba being removed from the list of countries regarded as “global sponsors of terrorism”. Two campaigns still require our active solidarity, namely, lifting of the economic and trade blockade by the US on Cuba; and closure of the US military base in Guantanamo Bay. The present USA administration has displayed signs that progress made during the Obama administration, of building relations between the USA and Cuba, is being reversed.

- The Socialist Party in Venezuela has been under siege since the passing on of comrade Chavez. The focus is on delegitimizing socialist orientation in government and ultimately overthrowing the government of comrade Maduro. Organised mass “popular” and “populist” protests have strong elements of colour revolution. This externally driven offensive has been resisted successfully up to this point. The ANC must strengthen the relations that have been established.

- The Workers’ Party of Brazil has been going through a very difficult period, which culminated in the impeachment of the President. The former President, comrade Dilma Rousseff, was charged and convicted for fraud. Her successor has also been charged too. The ANC is in the process of reviving and strengthening the relationship with the Workers Party, hence our visit to Brazil.

3.1.111 In Europe, Central and Eastern Europe:

- Some exchange programmes have been undertaken since we signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the United Russia Party.
- Although social democratic parties have withdrawn from the Socialist International, they maintain their relations with the ANC. We have received invitations, which we honoured, to the conferences of the Norwegian Labour Party; the Swedish Social Democratic Party; and we also partook in the 150th anniversary of the German Social Democratic Party.

3.1.112 Regarding China, the ANC has a longstanding Memorandum of understanding with the Communist Party of China, which is extensive and covers a wide range of areas. This MOU has just been renewed for another five years. Between 2012 and 2017 six political exchange programmes have been undertaken. This programme is supplemented with provincial study exchanges. The Communist Party of China has committed to help the six former liberation movements in Southern Africa to build the regional political school in Tanzania. CCM and the Government of Tanzania are providing land for the school. In 2016 the ANC hosted the second summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, which was the first time the forum was held on African soil. The partnership with the People's Republic of China is strong at both party and government level.

Former Liberation Movements

- 3.1.113 The meeting of former liberation movements in Southern Africa occurs every six months. This has, however, been accidentally altered to an annual meeting because of the change of leadership in some of the sister parties. The Secretaries General produced a document on the threats facing the liberation movements and the revolution. The recent developments in Zimbabwe, although not directly alluded to or anticipated, constituted part of the analysis.
- 3.1.114 This is a very important structure that must be sustained. It has facilitated the engagement with the Communist Party of China to support the building of the regional political school. The MOU, thereto, has been signed. The Former

Liberation Movements will be expected to honour their side of the commitment, in terms of the management of the school and supplying students.

Transformation of Global Governance

- 3.1.115 The South African Government is active in global and continental multilateral structures. It avails the best of its talent to these structures but could improve.
- 3.1.116 The manner in which the ANC worked and mobilised the SADC, and beyond, when it campaigned for the Chair of the African Union Commission is indicative of can be achieved when we are united, and speak with one voice.
- 3.1.117 Transformation of the UN and its institutions is urgent. There is general agreement, among the developing countries, that the Security Council must be more inclusive. Several African countries are running individual lobbies to be permanent members of the Security Council. These divisions are weakening the position of the continent.
- 3.1.118 The ANC has consistently raised concerns about the workings of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The National General Council resolved that the Government should start the process of withdrawal from the ICC. This process is proving to be slow and complex.
- 3.1.119 Our membership of BRICS is beginning to bear fruit. The BRICS Bank, known as the New Development Bank, opened its doors in 2015. The South African Government must be commended for the decision to contribute to the capitalisation of the Bank. The African regional centre of the Bank is due to open in South Africa.

Campaigns

- 3.1.120 **Cuba:** The Friends of Cuba Solidarity (FOCUS) must be commended for keeping the alliance partners together in the solidarity campaign. The release of the Cuban Five was, but another, evidence that international solidarity is crucial. South Africa was the first country to receive the Cuban Five in recognition of the humble role we played in the campaign. Our Parliament, through the National Assembly, must be commended for adopting the motion on the release of the Cuban Five. We must now campaign vociferously for the lifting of the illegal trade and economic blockade

against Cuba by the USA, and the withdrawal of the US military from Guantanamo Bay.

- 3.1.121 **Swaziland:** The ANC has not been active in the campaign for the democratisation of the political system in Swaziland. Political repression in the Kingdom of Swaziland remains a concern, as observed by the 53rd National Conference. We must open space for dialogue in Swaziland.
- 3.1.122 **South Sudan:** We support all efforts to find solutions to the conflict in South Sudan. The deployment of the Deputy President as the Special Envoy to South Sudan deserves our support.
- 3.1.123 **Western Sahara:** Our relations with the Polisario Front continues to be strong. We support one another in all international structures and multi-lateral institutions. A delegation of two visited the camps and assured them of our support. The upgrading of the status of the Polisario Front in the Socialist International, is a product of fighting against Morocco's attempts to have it kicked out of the International.
- 3.1.124 **Palestine:** The campaign for the independence and self-determination of the Palestinian people remains high on our agenda. This is even more critical in the face of the establishment new settlements in the West Bank, against international agreements, by the Israeli regime. The ANC continues to engage all the factions of the PLO about unity. The latest development of unity talks between Fatah and Hamas is welcomed.

H. LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNANCE SUB-COMMITTEE

- 3.1.125 This sub-committee focuses on building a capable state, institutions supporting democracy, local government, public service and administration, cooperative governance, basic service delivery and legislature. It monitors, identifies challenges and ensures remedial actions.
- 3.1.126 After conducting an analysis of hotspot areas, poor services protests, voter trends and poor municipal financial state; the committee established a Rapid Response Team. The team traced the root causes for the failures in each area and drew lessons to develop strategies to deal with problems. In the public service, the capacity disparities translate into uneven performance by the Government in departments and geographical areas. Key contributing factors in this regard are:
- Tensions in political/administrative interface,
 - Instability of administration leadership,
 - Skill shortage,
 - Erosion of accountability and authority,
 - Poor organisational design and
 - Low staff morale.
- 3.1.127 The above weaknesses are more glaring in areas covered by former Bantustans. These areas need more attention as the needs are more visible and urgent. Many acting top leaders in the administration also cause serious instability. Service delivery is negatively impacted on by high levels of unemployment and poor revenue collection. The high rate of illegal connections of both water and electricity, together with poor billing systems, cost many municipalities heavily. Although there is a systematic improvement, with clear set standards for appointments, poor financial management in particular - and management in general remain a challenge. The problem of misalignment between bulk supply and reticulation in the water and sanitation services and energy supply, cost municipalities heavily in terms of reputation and revenue.
- 3.1.128 The resolution of the 53rd National Conference that provinces and municipal boundaries be reviewed has not been implemented. The panel has not been appointed, despite the terms of reference having been developed. The sub-committee has also established a Government Strategic Support Team, which will be fully functional in 2018, to:
- Strengthen and fast track implementation of resolutions.
 - Ensure politically driven and led interventions accountable to the ANC.
 - Involve ANC aligned experts.
 - Supply research, intelligence collection and accurate information.
 - Strengthen technical capacity.
- 3.1.129 The review and consolidation of Institutions Supporting Democracy is underway. Presiding Officers held several engagements and consultations with all the relevant institutions. A framework has been agreed to for consolidation and merging of key aspects.

- 3.1.130 The ANC officials established a task team following a series of engagements with CONTRALESA. The task team was mandated to engage with CONTRALESA on key policy issues and all other matters that have been outstanding for some time. The traditional leadership system in South Africa requires further clarity. The National Policy Conference resolved on a summit on traditional leadership, which was convened in November 2017 with CONTRALESA and other progressive formations. The resolution of the land question has become urgent; and traditional leaders are losing patience with the lack of forward movement.
- 3.1.131 The sub-committee has developed ANC structures where we are a party in opposition. The strategy has been workshopped with Mayors, Chief Whips, regional chairpersons and secretaries and the SALGA caucus. The workshop also included the strategy to deal with the dynamics of coalitions.
- 3.1.132 The Political Funding Bill is now before Parliament. It is envisaged to be finalised in the early part of 2018.

I. HEALTH, EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- 3.1.133 The Subcommittee has been very consistent in executing its mandate of providing guidance and exercising oversight over its constituent sectors and reporting back regularly to the ANC NEC. Members of the Subcommittee have carried out their duties with diligence. However, there have been instances of late or non-submission of reports by some sectors; and some of the members appointed to the Subcommittee never assumed their tasks due to other commitments. The Subcommittee also enjoyed the participation of representatives of constituent and fraternal organisations, namely, the Leagues, Legislature, Alliance partners and other MDM structures.
- 3.1.134 Provinces have been assisted to establish provincial and regional subcommittees. Although Conference resolutions have been implemented, it has not happened with the necessary urgency and vigour. The challenge is developing a cohesive plan for implementation.

Basic Education

- 3.1.135 The implementation of an integrated schools' infrastructure build is underway, carried out in collaboration with the Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Committee (PICC) through the Provincial Schools Build Programme and the Accelerated School Infrastructure Delivery Initiative (ASIDI). Since inception of the ASIDI Programme 187 schools have been completed. To date these are mostly in rural areas of the Eastern Cape and other provinces. 202 schools are at various stages of planning, procurement of contractors and construction. All these replacement schools have rails and ramps making them full service schools. The rationalisation and merger of 216 small schools in the Eastern Cape has been finalised.
- 3.1.136 Together with the Department, nationally and provincially, the subcommittee on the Quality of Learning and Teaching Campaign (QLTC). The subcommittee awaits provincial submissions on progress on ANC action against corruption and fraud; and ensuring accountability of ANC structures, leaders and employees. Implementation of the Quality Management System (QMS) has not occurred, as SADTU has not signed the agreement to date. The appointment of school principals is work in progress which is included in draft amendments to the South African Schools Act, 1996 as part of BELA Bill, which focus on, among others, the powers and roles of SGBs in the appointment of school principals; their locus of authority in terms of language; the capacity of schools; and curriculum choices. The review of the funding model for schools and review of the quintile model has not been completed. A working group was established, and is expected to table its final report by March 2018. The DBE has developed draft Guidelines for Funding an Inclusive Education System, previously known as Norms and Standards. The Ministerial Task Team report on making History compulsory in the curriculum is due by end of 2017.
- 3.1.137 The Department of Basic Education has finalised a sector plan towards compulsory Grade R by 2019 which includes the post provisioning and conditions of service of Grade R educators. This will take forward the National Integrated Policy for Early Childhood Development that was developed and approved by Cabinet on 09 December 2014; and the concept document

that has now been finalised for consultation for the additional Pre-Grade R year. Revisions to the Draft Policy and Learning Programme for children with severe to profound intellectual disability have been finalised. The Policy is ready for promulgation in early 2018. The Guidelines on the Resourcing of an Inclusive Education System have been approved by the Council of Education Ministers (CEM) in September 2017 for publication for comments. These Guidelines will inform Provincial Planning for the expansion of inclusive education support at provincial, district and school level. On the introduction of Learning Programme for Learners with Severe Intellectual Disability; the South African Sign Language (SASL) Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) was approved in July 2014. A phased-in implementation commenced in January 2015 in 42 Schools for the Deaf across Provinces. The implementation covered Grades R-11. The system is currently being prepared for writing of Gr 12 at the end of 2018. 53 Senior Phase and Grades 11/12 teachers and Deaf Teacher Assistants (DTA) as well as 40 Language subject advisors were trained on SASL CAPS in 2017.

Higher Education

- 3.1.138 Conference resolved that policy for free higher education to all undergraduate level students be finalised for adoption before the end of 2013. This policy has not been tabled to the Subcommittee for finalisation and adoption by the ANC NEC. The National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), with DHET guidance, introduced in October 2013 a newly structured student-centric model of funding to enable the progressive introduction of fee-free education for the poor and working class from 2014 onwards. A further process was embarked upon to develop a support and funding model for poor and missing middle students in higher education and training sector including the college sector, viz. community, teacher and nursing training, agricultural; and technical and vocational education and training (TVET) colleges. A policy dialogue model to develop a fully-fledged costing model was reimagined and replaced by a reference group for the Ministerial Task Team appointed to develop the new model.
- 3.1.139 The Report of the Working Group on Community Service for Graduates in South Africa, which is a feasibility study of community service for graduates in South Africa and a document that was supposed to include proposals of a model for implementing community service for graduates was finalised in March 2015 and submitted to the Subcommittee. It awaits discussions and processing for forward submission to the NEC. The National Macro Infrastructure Framework for Public Universities is a consolidated plan with estimated costs of infrastructure requirements to expand the post-school education and training system, which is linked to and coordinated by the Presidential Infrastructure Coordination Council (PICC). It was drawn up from campus master plans as well as maintenance and disability audits submitted by all universities in 2015/16. The total maintenance backlog in universities alone is estimated to be in the region of R25 billion. The Subcommittee, having received the 2014 Survey of Former College of Education Sites, awaits a similar consolidated report of sector infrastructure requirements with estimated costs of the college component of the higher education and training sector.
- 3.1.140 Conference had resolved that public colleges, in particular nursing and agriculture, be transferred to a national competency; this has not happened. The full report and recommendations of a task team established by the directive of Cabinet on public Agricultural Colleges is in the process of being finalised for approval by the respective Ministers for forward submission to Cabinet. It should be noted that the work done by the DHET and government departments such as DoH on the opening of colleges and expansion of the college sector, particularly the of teachers and nurses education and training in hospitals and facilities, has mainly concentrated on expanding teacher training in, or through, university campuses and not on the actual re-opening of teacher training colleges as directed by conferences and various political policy directives. There are policy and legislative impediments that have to be resolved for this strategic issue to be resolved at the level of government bureaucracy and statutory bodies. Further, a full infrastructure audit is yet to be undertaken, despite the 2014 Survey of Former College of Education Sites completed and colleges identified.

Health

- 3.1.141 Although NHI fund has not been set up as yet, communities and stakeholders have been engaged and are being mobilised to ensure broad social support for the roll out of the NHI. The Subcommittee provided guidance and oversight. The draft White Paper was finalised and submitted in 2014. It was approved by Cabinet in June 2017 and published in the Government Gazette on 30 June 2017.
- 3.1.142 The Ministry and National Department of Health is yet to assume responsibility and overall management of Central Hospitals. The National Health Council has formally adopted and facilitated the implementation of operational management structures and processes for hospitals to ensure effectiveness and efficiency in the rendering of health services. The Ministry and National Department of Health have not yet assumed responsibility and overall management of Central Hospitals. The National Health Council has formally adopted and facilitated the implementation of operational management structures and processes for hospitals to ensure effectiveness and efficiency in the rendering of health services.
- 3.1.143 The Nelson Mandela-Fidel Castro Health Collaboration was expanded in 2012 by increasing the intake of students from about 90 per annum to close to 1000 per annum. Most local universities have expanded their training platform for medical students thereby increasing their total intake per annum. Collaboration with the Ministry of Higher Education and Training is weak and some provinces have embarked on external programmes without coordinating their actions with the Subcommittee.
- 3.1.144 The Subcommittee has ensured that greater focus is placed on Military Health Services, especially its infrastructure which includes the state of clinics and hospitals, health technology, human resources and quality of care, as directed by the resolution of conference. The Subcommittee will initiate discussions with the ANC NEC Subcommittee on Peace and Stability on this matter.

Science and Technology

- 3.1.145 Conference resolved that Government should adequately finance and capacitate the National

System of Innovation and target achieving 1,5% expenditure of GDP by 2017. This target has not been achieved. However, the National Cabinet approved a memorandum on the research and innovation vote/budget coordination process to ensure that government adequately finances and capacitates the National System of Innovation (NSI) and targets achieving 1,5% expenditure of GDP by 2017. Engagement took place between DST and National Treasury focusing on the modes of implementation.

- 3.1.146 The following remain as challenges that still need to be resolved:

- The Subcommittee to review and consolidate of official policy documents of specific sectors from 1994 to date into ANC policy booklets or brochures for reference and use; the involvement of all structures of the ANC from branches to national in coordinated programmes of action of all sectors of the Subcommittee; and ensuring that the sector makes the necessary follow up on the improvement of military health services infrastructure including health technology, human resources and quality care.
- The Science, Technology and Innovation Sector should ensure the improvement of uptake of Science, Technology and Innovation (STI) outputs within government or public sector.
- The Basic Education Sector needs to deal with assessment of educators; periodic and regular national assessment of learners; accountability of governance structures and communities on matters of education;
- The Higher Education and Training sector should address earnestly the underfunding of the post-school education and training system; infrastructure including student accommodation infrastructure; student funding, and the quality of teaching, learning, training and research in some sections of the system.
- The Health Sector needs to ensure the delivery of quality health services, implementation of the National Health Insurance (NHI); control of communicable diseases, in particular tuberculosis; health system management, particularly management and delivery of services; financial management including

supply chain management, human resource planning, development and management; and delivery and maintenance of health infrastructure.

J. THE SECRETARY GENERAL’S OFFICE(SGO) – ADMINISTRATION

- 3.1.147 This office has the responsibility of placing the organisation above everything else. It must, at all times, pull things together even when and where there are tensions. Unsurprising, it is often blamed for all the ills and not credited with any success.
- 3.1.148 The Head Office of the ANC operates on a tight budget, without luxuries nor necessities associated with an efficient organisation. All the departments put together constitute the work of the SGO. Our staff members must be commended for carrying the organisation through difficult challenges confronting it. The organisation is, arguably, running optimally and developmentally, with minimum staff.
- 3.1.149 We have established the culture of being responsive, not to ignore queries of branches and even individual members. The more we open our offices the more the demand to serve in the space of the regions increases. Tensions and complaints which many branches have with their regions, cases that should be resolved at that level, comprise the bulk of our workload. This is made more difficult by factionalism at that level. Provinces, at times, deliberately undermine this important office. This occurs when factions feel that they are dominant enough to control the organisation. Attempts are also then made to divide the SGO, box it into

one or the other faction, thus requiring a mature SGO that understands the importance of sharing information. It is through sharing of information that the SGO has been able to thwart all these attempts.

- 3.1.150 The ANC must ensure that this office is never undermined, whether by its incumbents or other components of the organisation. It must, instead, be supported in the interest of the organisation to succeed. It is unhealthy for the SGO to constantly be at loggerheads, even if it succeeds. It works better when there is support and cooperation.

3.2 MEMBERSHIP AND THE PROVINCES

- 3.2.1 The actual political life in the ANC takes place in the provinces where the branches and members are located. Political life for every member and leader of the ANC must be in the branch. It is for this reason that the NEC members are deployed to the various provinces to provide political leadership and guidance.
- 3.2.2 Many of the deployees failed to demonstrate full commitment to the work of the ANC and defaulted in their deployment. Some comrades have done good work in the provinces and contributed immensely to the work of the ANC. It is the hardworking comrades who most often are blamed and unfairly criticised when there are problems. These comrades deserve much of our support, because those who lead in absentia are insulated, but do not make a contribution.
- 3.2.3 The work of the deployees has been complemented by periodic deployment of NEC

Table 3: Membership Trends between conferences

Province	52 nd National Conference	3 rd National General Council	53 rd National Conference	4 th National General Council	54 th National Conference
Eastern Cape	153164	161161	187585	124050	140696
Free State	61310	41627	121074	51088	91910
Gauteng	59909	70305	134909	87759	99245
KwaZulu Natal	102742	192618	331820	158199	181860
Limpopo	67632	101971	161868	84413	130347
Mpumalanga	54913	46405	132729	96799	158598
North West	47535	57911	75145	78922	119830
Northern Cape	37262	37122	36428	38680	38791
Western Cape	36497	40427	38499	49960	28459
Total	620964	749547	1220057	769870	989736

members to the regions, to engage directly with the branches. Even in this exercise few NEC members are reliable in terms of honouring the deployment. Other members of the NEC always find excuses for not honouring the deployment. Many of those who hardly honour deployment are keen to be retained in the NEC, assumedly for status rather than being prepared to serve. As we go through the state of the provinces it is important to keep in mind the direct interventions of the NEC.

Membership

- 3.2.4 Membership of the organisation is its lifeblood. Organising and mobilising all the classes and strata in society remains one of the main tasks of our movement.
- 3.2.5 A trend that should concern is that of membership recruitment being intensified towards conferences, mostly as a mechanism for provinces to garner more delegates. Hence membership fluctuations that makes our membership look suspect in terms of the basic understanding of the organisation. This is about the quality of membership as opposed its quantity. The conference must discuss this distinction as it is used by our detractors, both within and outside of the organisation. The membership (*in Table 3*) can be analysed further.
- 3.2.6 The trends indicate that our membership picks up around conferences and drop around National General Councils. Literally, it means membership is treated as a tool for voting. Such membership, in the main, has no political life in the ANC. This accounts for why branches battle to form a quorum. The general talk of poor quality of membership is a reflection of the phenomenon of bulk recruitment, without bulk political education. The journey from joining to being a cadre is complex and difficult.
- 3.2.7 The visits to the regions by the NEC were part of mass political education. This has impacted on ensuring that the membership is informed and critical. We are beginning to see engaging membership in the regions of the ANC. Further investment in political education, in all its forms, will strengthen the ANC going into the future. The quality of debates in the National Policy Conference reflected progress that is being made yet understated.
- 3.2.8 Factionalism is entrenched in the organisation. This has a serious weakening effect on the organisation. A common feature of factionalism is that a dominant faction behaves as owners of the ANC that does everybody else favours. This reduces the organisation into a bargaining platform for factions. The word majority gets factored into the vocabulary of the movement although no voting takes place. Every meeting, in this situation, becomes a shootout. Contestation in the case of internal elections becomes life and death and those contesting are seen as enemies even if at individual level they display comradeship.
- 3.2.9 Americanisation of campaigning, with full regalia and big cash flows, is beginning to take root. T-shirts bearing preferred candidates abound across the provinces, seriously impairing the organisation in the process. The culture and tradition of the leadership of the movement managing succession to the benefit of the ANC, instead of individuals, is dying. comrades tend to opt for the narrow approach of advocating for the rights of individual members to elect and be elected. In the long term we are going to end up with a system of primaries with all its anomalies. Attempts to suppress different views are evidence of a disjuncture. The solution is on developing strong policies on internal democracy, rather than hoping to subject those who disagree to disciplinary processes. Should the ANC, in this context, try to stop this or adapt its policies to this rapidly changing reality?
- 3.2.10 This is equally talking to urgent need for a strong social media policy. It is in this space that comrades attack and insult one another. We forget that beyond the conference we will need one another. We belong to the ANC and that is what brings us together.
- 3.2.11 This is not just a manifestation at national level. All provincial and regional conferences are contested on the basis of results. The new trend is to contest all the way to the courts, with threats directed at leadership while processes are still underway. This is an indication that there is a body in the ANC that has designed itself a negative role. This programme is heavily sponsored to keep the ANC busy. This is the manifestation of a liberation movement that is trapped in linking leadership roles to access to and control of the resources. Contest among factions is fast becoming a life and death battle. Linked to this tendency is the temptation to collapse conferences where the dominant factions lack numbers. In most cases, this tendency is supported and coordinated

at a national centre where the core of the faction resides. The incoming NEC must make concerted effort to deal decisively with and stamp out this problem. Anarchy is on the rise and tends to be rewarded.

- 3.2.12 These challenges illustrate that an uninformed membership is vulnerable, and pose a serious threat to the organisation, and does so without being aware of it.

PROVINCES

I. Eastern Cape

3.2.13 The Eastern Cape had eight years of relative stability from fifteen years of divisions and fragmentation. This stability accounts for the province registering the slowest decline in local government election support, and marginal growth of support in the general elections, despite the loss of the Nelson Mandela Metro. The dissolution of the REC and establishment of an RIT that operated for about two years did cause instability in the region. Divisions and over-reliance on factional side briefings, in a region that had been marginal for a long period of time, impacted on the outcomes of local government elections. In the 7th Provincial Conference there were very serious efforts made to ensure that comrades appreciate the importance of co-existence and tolerance. The stability of the province was disrupted by the preparations for the 8th Provincial Conference, when comrades who worked together for ten years in ensuring stability got divided into two groups that contested each other. Comrades did not heed advice given them against the ugly contestation. The ugliness of that contestation heightened in the conference when comrades fought physically, and a number of comrades were injured. When factions are named they become entrenched. Signs of hardened attitudes are visible in the province.

3.2.14 The PEC has remained functional and active for the whole term. The PWC has been fully functional and processing the work of the PEC. Both the PEC and PWC are meeting regularly as required by the constitution of the ANC. All sub-committees of the PEC are in place with visible improvement from the previous sub-committees. It is through these sub-committees that the PEC is executing its responsibilities. Six policy areas, led by sub-committees, are seen to be doing very well; that

is, education, health, economic transformation, legislature and governance and organising. The province, however, accepts that more work needs to be done to strengthen the sub-committees.

3.2.15 The organising sub-committee is driving many campaigns and programmes, and was the key driver of the election campaign. Regions are fully involved in the work of the organising committee. Economic transformation can only work better if the provinces make the necessary contributions rather than believing that it is a national issue. This sub-committee needs to be strengthened in the Eastern Cape. The province has separated the education and the health sub-committees for the purpose of ensuring more focus. The province has been lagging behind in the area of education for some time, hence need for a more focused effort to improve this important area of work. The health sub-committee is working closely with the provincial department of health in a province where socio-economic situation is generally of low standard. The department requires a lot of support in executing the ANC resolutions. The progress made in implementing NHI is linked to the work done at national level. Legislature and governance has done relatively well in monitoring the work of the ANC in governance. Regions, with the exception of Alfred Nzo region, were poorly attending this critical committee. Invited members from the legislature and caucus kept this committee going. It is the Masiphathisane programme that clearly exposed the gap and distance between the people and the ANC. The province continues to improve from a very low base in 1994. The communication sub-committee has not done well. Its work was sustained by a nucleus of comrades; that is, the provincial secretary, the PEC spokesperson, the head of the communication sub-committee and the appointment of the media liaison officer. The provincial political education sub-committee was chaired by the provincial chairperson. There is an army of 20 trained trainers in the province. The most impactful programme has been training structures in preparation for major activities like conferences and general councils. Three regions have launched political schools; O.R. Tambo, Chris Hani and Nelson Mandela. Many regions used memorial lectures and cadres' fora to implement mass education. But there are still serious bottlenecks.

- 3.2.16 The Eastern Cape has one of the few functional Provincial Integrity Commissions, which was established in 2014. It has innovatively accessed capacity located in the ANC Caucus. There are two instances where the commission was undermined, which is a question that the conference must address. The issue of the integrity commission in all the provinces must be taken seriously, and they should be given space to do their work. The province has also established a committee dealing with exhumation, repatriation and reburial of the remains of victims of apartheid. This work is mainly led by the MKMVA. The focus has been on cadres who fell in the SADC region and the continent. This committee has led the work of developing policy at municipal level. 78 repatriation cases have been handled thus far.
- 3.2.17 The province is satisfied by the ever-presence of NEC deployees in the PEC, PWC and Officials' meetings, to provide guidance to the PEC. The Province appreciates the contribution and support of the NEC and NWC through the number of visits to the province, intervening in many challenges facing the organisation.
- 3.2.18 The province has done relatively well in the election work. There was slight improvement in the 2014 general elections, with some decline in Nelson Mandela Bay and Sarah Baartman regions. There was further decline in the local government elections in 2016, translating into the loss of control of Nelson Mandela Metro and Kouga municipalities. All the regions in the province are functional and in good standing. There is need to improve the work in the areas where the province registered electoral decline. As the province moved closer to the 08th Provincial Conference regions began operating in factional blocks and fought bitterly among themselves.
- 3.2.19 The ANCVL is functional and actively participating in all the programmes of the ANC in the province. It is honouring all the constitutional obligations and attends all the structural meetings in the province. The ANC Women's League is functional with a working PEC elected in 2015. The structures meet as required by the constitution of the League. It is working well with the women caucus in the legislature. It meets regularly with women in deployed in strategic positions in government. The ANC Youth League's PEC was elected in 2014 and remained intact and functional for the

duration of their term of office. It was dissolved when they were preparing for the provincial conference. The NEC appointed a PTT which moved swiftly in dissolving six of the eight RECs; a matter that was appealed with the Officials of the ANC. This impasse remains unresolved. MKMVA is functional and active in the province. It has good relations with the ANC and is participating in all ANC programmes in the province. They are invitees in both the PEC and the PWC. The biggest challenge is the high number of MK ex-combatants who remain unemployed and require social and emotional support.

- 3.2.20 The Alliance is functional and its Secretariat meets regularly. The alliance works together, dealing with various challenges facing the movement and also intervenes in hotspots. It is, however, not functional at sub-provincial level. There are serious conflicts between various COSATU affiliates and government departments, particularly in municipalities.

II. Free State

- 3.2.21 The relative stability in the province is marred by several contradictions and contestation among comrades, manifest in the management of relations through the courts. The PEC is functional and meets as required by the constitution, with its members deployed to all the regions to provide political support and guide the implementation of the provincial programme. The PWC manages the day-to-day work of the organisation and also processes decisions of the PEC. Most sub-committees are not functional. Legislature and Governance actively engages councillors and monitors their performance. The appointment of the communication manager has improved the coordination and functioning of the committee. Many of the committees are event-driven, and not programmatic.
- 3.2.22 The province has implemented the decision to retain the election structure even after elections. Both the Leagues and the alliance partners are part of the election structures. The ANCVL has its own election programme that contribute immensely to the work of the ANC. The only part that needs correction is the programme being more integrated into the overall programme, and the WL attending meetings of the election structures. The PEC

decided to have street coordinators for the elections, and where this has been implemented it works effectively. The Free State continues to do well in the elections, but has been systematically declining. The ANC lost overall control of Metsimaholo in the last local government elections, and witnessed this strategic municipality being governed by a coalition of opposition parties. Metsimaholo collapsed to a point of inability to pass the budget. Ultimately, it was dissolved. A new dynamic developed, with the SACP contesting elections in all the 21 wards. Mangaung also declined in the last local government elections, losing seven seats in the council. The municipality works well with both the leagues and alliance partners. All the other regions are functional and undertake programmes.

- 3.2.23 The ANCVL has been supportive of the ANC in all the programmes and work. The ANCWL has focused mainly on the socio-economic status of women in the province. The leadership structure elected in November 2015 is intact and functional. The ANCYL's PEC is functional, and currently preparing for the provincial and regional congresses. All the regions are functional and intact, with only the Xhariep region run by a Task Team.
- 3.2.24 The Alliance works well, with some challenges from time to time. The relations with the SACP are cordial, and the Party participates in ANC programme. The SACP decision to contest elections in Metsimaholo, tensions rose. The ANC has good and sound political relation with COSATU, wherein they have joint programmes. The disruption of the main May Day Rally created serious tensions in the alliance. Relations with SANCO are good, with shared programmes.

III. Gauteng

- 3.2.25 Gauteng is among the provinces that visited sub-regions to report back on the outcomes of the 53rd National Conference. This was followed up by a Provincial Conference in October 2014.
- 3.2.26 The PEC, in the two terms covered by the period under review, has been stable and hands-on in dealing with the challenges facing the province. This enabled the PEC to provide guidance and leadership to regions, and ensured unity of the province in trying times. PEC members were deployed to the regions and sub-committees. Many of the sub-committees remain sub-optimal in

operations. There were three annual PGCs and two Special PGCs, in this whole period.

- 3.2.27 The five regions of Gauteng are an important part of the organisational architecture:
- Johannesburg and the West Rand are cohesive, with the capacity to manage government and organisational matters.
 - Sedibeng struggled with coherence and cohesion.
 - Ekurhuleni has improved organisational stability, but battles with political management and governance.
 - Tshwane is emerging from a crisis, and is working hard to instil confidence in the people. The PEC's focused intervention in Tshwane is beginning to show improvement.
 - Sedibeng, after relative stability, was divided in both regional conferences. The region was, therefore, weakened.
- 3.2.28 Gauteng witnessed two sets of difficult Local Government Elections. In both cases, that is, 2014 and 2016, there was decline in electoral support for the ANC. Central to the difficulties was the manipulation of the candidate selection processes. The loss of three Metros in the province, despite the hard work invested into the elections campaign, was both painful and difficult to explain. This puts gain to the fact that, unleashing negative energy normally undermines the positive work being done in the province. Post the August 2016 elections, attempts to negotiate coalitions in the Metros, except in Ekurhuleni and later Mogale City, did not succeed. The Province requires concentrated focus for the ANC to regain the control of the Metros.
- 3.2.29 The province is focusing on developing a high calibre of membership to be close to standards set by our forebears and veterans, whose social conduct shaped the values of the ANC. These values of courage, conviction, compassion, generosity, honesty, integrity, humility, self-sacrifice and temperate attitude; must be instilled at all levels of the organisation. The quality of membership determines the quality of the branch. Currently branches are seasonal, in terms of their activism. There is growing bureaucratisation and branches are not playing the leadership role in communities.
- 3.2.30 The Alliance has constructive, meaningful and mature relations. What pertains at national level has had little, if at all, any bearing on the province.

IV. KwaZulu-Natal

3.2.31 The KZN province has been stable over many years. Membership has been growing fast and this growth has been reflected in the growing electoral support over several elections. Signs of cracks began to show in the Provincial General Council, where a new chairperson was elected following the election of the Provincial Chairperson to the position of Treasurer General. There were serious tensions in that PGC. Since then the province has never been the same.

3.2.32 At the beginning of 2015 the province requested for permission from the NEC to hold an early provincial conference. The NEC did not accept the request of the province. The province came back three months later and repeated the request. We must emphasise that both groups that were contesting each other motivated for an early conference. This can be explained by assuming that both groups were confident that they would win the conference. The NEC was deeply divided in these discussions resulting in the decision scraping through and the early conference being approved. The process leading to the Provincial Conference was clearly contested, with many branches having disputes that were attended to until the conference was in session.

3.2.33 The conference went through the processes, including physical verification of delegates. After the results were announced, a flurry of objections and appeals followed; something characteristic of ANC factions presently. The PEC took a good initiative to create unity among all the comrades. There were good signs of unity until a massive reshuffle of the Executive and removal of the Premier. Tensions and contradictions were sharpened; creating an environment where a comrade killed another comrade and the enemy infiltrated the space, leaving everyone suspicious of one another.

3.2.34 The serious disagreements emanating from the conference have ended up in court. The court's judgement was that, the conference and its decisions are illegal and void. It found that the alleged irregularities were not of material effect, that the ANC was at fault by convening a conference without the request from a one third of the branches. This judgement had to be appealed for the following reasons:

- The judgement totally takes away the authority

of the NEC to take political decisions regarding early conferences.

- The court makes the request by one third of the branch branches compulsory.
- The court makes the four-year term outer limit and therefore makes four years minimum, and the four terms the minimum.

This contestation continues to be in courts but efforts to unify the province must and will continue.

3.2.35 KZN is the only province that registered some growth in the local government elections. This was the case despite the tensions and political killing of candidates in the run-up to the elections. Contest for deployment is becoming life and death, with comrades more prepared to kill for these positions. The number of killings suspected to be intra-party is high and continues to grow. We must commend the Premier of KZN for appointing the Moerane Commission to investigate these killings.

3.2.36 The regions are functional with both the membership and electoral support growing in all the regions. Four of the regions are facing various challenges, namely:

- Emalahleni reached a level of instability and disunity that the province dissolved it and appointed a provincial task team to run its affairs. The region appealed but unfortunately the team that was assigned to deal with the appeal never completed the work. The constitution stipulates that a dissolved region should be taken to the conference within six months. That constitutional requirement has been broken and the conference has not been held.
- Far North region has been affected by serious divisions for some time. The local government list processes deepened the divisions. The ANC lost the control of Jozini municipality as a result of the divisions. The PEC ultimately decided to withdraw all the powers delegated to the REC and a provincial task team was appointed to run the affairs of the region.
- Harry Gwala region was working well and united, but divisions started when the regional chairperson was elected as deputy secretary of the province. The RGC that elected the new Chairperson was highly contested, leaving the region divided. The assassination of the deputy regional secretary deepened the

divisions. The PEC decided to withdraw the powers delegated to the region and appointed a provincial task team to run the affairs of the region.

- Lower South Coast is reported to be stable, with capacity to mobilise. It carries campaigns and programmes of the ANC. The dissenting branches that appealed the regional conference continue to be unhappy. Following the provincial conference and the municipal list processed, branches have alleged manipulation of processes. On the basis of these complaints the PEC decided to withdraw the powers delegated to the REC. The Lower South Coast was the only region that appealed the decision of the PEC. The NWC visited the region twice.

These four regions need to be attended to, but the conferences that are due should be held in the first quarter of 2018. Ethekewini region also need close attention in view of their recent challenges.

- 3.2.37 PEC sub-committees are functional and carry the load of the work of the PEC. The sub-committees have a Monday a month dedicated for meetings. They are effective and provide content to the policy development and discussions in the province. The contribution of the province to the discussions in the Policy Conference reflected the work of the sub-committees.
- 3.2.38 The Leagues are functional and have structures in the province. They are active in the programmes and campaigns of the ANC. The formation of the Young Women's Desk, focusing on the mobilisation of young women, is contributing positively in the Province. The ANCYL is active and robust. The PEC must be prepared to guide it, as it sometimes makes public pronouncements even before the national structure has commented on national issues. The ANCVL is active and participate in ANC programmes. MKMVA is functional and has divided itself into six regions, based on the concentration of MK ex-combatants. It is currently busy with the verification programme and development of the database.
- 3.2.39 The Alliance is functional but face a number of challenges. The regular meetings of the Alliance Secretariat facilitate discussions whenever there are challenges. The 2016 local government list processes heightened the divisions, especial in Ethekewini region. Many SACP members contested the local government as independent candidates with some winning and, therefore, reducing the ANC support base. Alliance structures are not functional at sub-provincial levels. The absence of programmes beyond the elections is contributing to the weakening of the alliance.

V. Limpopo

3.2.40 This province is relatively stable, but with persisting historic challenges. The PEC was dissolved and run by a Provincial Task Team at the time the Provincial Government was under Section 100. In February 2014 a new PEC was elected. This PEC worked well and stabilised the province up to the point when it started showing signs of division when the Section100 was lifted and government stabilised.

3.2.41 The PEC meets regularly and even supplements the normal PEC meetings with special meetings with specific focus. The PWC is processing all the work that goes to the PEC. PEC members are deployed to the regions to provide political guidance and leadership. Sub-committees are working, although not optimally. A lot of work has to be done to empower these sub-committees, not only in this province but in all the provinces to strengthen their work, as it is linked to the work of the national sub-committees.

3.2.42 The election support is declining from one poll to the next. This is one of the two provinces that had remained above 80% in many elections but has now declined to below that threshold. This decline combined with similar decline in Mpumalanga has serious impact on the overall performance of the ANC. This does not reduce the responsibility of other provinces to perform but it is a reminder of our star performers. The loss of control of Tabazimbi and Modimolle/Mokgopong was a big blow to the ANC. It was even more serious in that it was the result of our own divisions and infighting. There is no clear indication of any strategy to recover the lost control even when local structures cry for help wrestling the power back. The revolt for Malamulele to be an independent municipality degenerated into a crisis, with minimum intervention in the early stages of the process. When the Demarcation Board sought to correct this by creating a new municipality; and the Vuwani community did not accept the incorporation into the new municipality. This culminated into another

revolt and destruction of public infrastructure, particularly the schools. Despite all the denials, these flashpoints almost revived tensions that were tribal in form. This required swift movement by the provincial leadership. In both of these areas the provincial leadership must do a lot of political work to restore the trust of the people in the ANC. Losing ward 10 in Polokwane to the EFF in the by-elections is a bad sign for the province.

- 3.2.43 The ANCVL is very active and involved, making serious contributions, in organisational activities and matters. It makes a clarion call for unity in the province so that the ANC can regain the lost ground. ANC Women's League structures are functional, participating in all the constitutional structures and campaigns of the ANC. They are now preparing for the regional conferences. The ANC Youth League is actively participating in all the activities of the ANC. The league is preparing for regional conferences. All the regions have held their conferences, except Waterberg which is also ready for its conference. Three of the five regions have been led by task teams over a period of time. When structures are led by task teams for long periods it is sign of weakness of the organisation.
- 3.2.44 The Alliance is functional. The removal of the Provincial Secretary of the SACP as a Mayor raised tensions and sharpened contradictions. The booing of an ANC official in the May Day rally raised serious tensions between the ANC and COSATU. All these differences have been addressed and the alliance is back on track. Constant interaction among the alliance partners is the only working formula for the alliance.

VI. Mpumalanga

- 3.2.45 The Mpumalanga Province has been stable for a long time now. The tensions with the SACP have been addressed and managed. The PEC is quite hands-on in the affairs of the province. The PWC is also functional processing all the work of the PEC. The sub-committees are doing good work in developing programmes for the province and monitoring implementation thereof.
- 3.2.46 The province has prioritised political education as part of the programme to stabilise the province. The province has also developed a unique system of communicating NEC and PEC decisions. Regional secretaries are convened and a communiqué is

developed. Every regional secretary is expected to interact with branch secretaries. If this would be a normal practice in the organisation the flow of information would be smooth.

- 3.2.47 All the regions are in good standing having held their regional conferences in 2017. They are all operational with all the structures in place. The focus on membership recruitment has been successful, with a massive growth in the provincial membership, as reflected in the membership analysis. The electoral performance has been declining over the past two elections covered by the period under review. For the first time Mpumalanga has declined below 80% in the local government elections. The combined decline of Mpumalanga and Limpopo has a direct impact on the overall performance of the ANC.
- 3.2.48 The Leagues in the province are functional. The ANCVL structure is functional. This is a relatively new structure in the province as it was only launched in 2015. The ANCWL is functional and vibrant although led by an acting chairperson following the death of both the chairperson and deputy secretary of the league in the province. It is now working towards a PGC to close the two vacancies. All the regional structures of the ANCWL are functional. The structures of the ANCYL are functional and vibrant with sustained programmes. All the regions are in good standing and functional. The Progressive Youth Alliance is ad hoc and relatively weak. The ANCYL hardly meet and engage with the YCL. MKMVA is active in the province participating in all ANC programmes. This structure is facing many challenges related to the MK ex-combatants, particularly in terms of social challenges such as housing, unemployment and business opportunities.
- 3.2.49 The Alliance relations in the province almost collapsed. It was in this province that the ANC and the SACP fought physically in the full glare of the television cameras. It took the Alliance summit to facilitate owning up by the leaders of the ANC and commit to building the alliance relations. The province must be commended for re-building the Alliance relations to where they are today.

VII. Northern Cape

- 3.2.50 The Northern Cape has been very stable over the period under review. It is the stability of the

structures that provided capacity for the province to withstand the pressure of having three of its five officials going through a long court case, and the passing on of the provincial treasurer. The province went through this difficult period with resolve and determination. This stability and unity showed signs of cracking in the period leading to the 8th Provincial Conference. Like in all other provinces, divisions were bitter because comrades who worked together were contesting one another. With all the features of factionalism of being divisive and destructive the mutation of factions is evident everywhere, the Northern Cape being no exception. The passing on of the provincial treasurer also became a source of serious disagreements, with officials supporting different candidates. This was however managed carefully and politically.

- 3.2.51 The PEC remained intact and executed its work diligently. It continued to meet as required by the constitution and fulfilled their deployments in the regions to ensure that decisions and resolutions of the PEC, NEC and Conferences are implemented. PEC meetings were rotated in the regions as part of strengthening the regions. The PWC was functional and met every second week, with its meetings well attended. Only two meetings could not meet because the quorum was not reached. The officials met every week to deal with strategic and urgent matters affecting the organisation.
- 3.2.52 The province has a structured political education programme ran through the Jack Simons Political School, in line with the 53rd National Conference resolution on the decade of the cadre.
- 3.2.53 The five regions in the province held their conferences and three of them already due for their next conferences by the end of this period. The 8th Provincial Conference list processes exposed divisions in many of the regions, with many of the comrades in leadership fighting over deployment to municipal positions. This translated into some chairpersons of regions trying to run parallel REC programmes and even write parallel reports in at least two regions, JTG and Francis Baard. This is the highest level of divisions, which should not be allowed to persist. The other regions are operational; with difficulties in Namaqualand mainly attributable to the distance. The region has engaged itself in organisational renewal resulting in improved performance in the 2016 local

government elections. The ANCVL was launched in October, 2009 and continues to be active. The PEC is trying to find the best formula of tapping into the experience and knowledge of the veterans. They held their first conference in June, 2015. The ANCWL is active in the province and continues to be a champion of hope and aspirations of women in the province. They have a leadership that has the necessary skills to manage the organisational dynamics and contradictions. It is a campaigning league, with the climax being during the month of August. The ANCYL is rebuilding its structures following a period of degeneration and almost collapse. The youth in the province is highly mobilised and leads all the protests. The structures of the ANCYL played a significant role in the 2016 local government elections. The Francis Baard REC was disbanded due to deep-seated discontent among young people.

- 3.2.54 The Alliance is functional and involved directly in common programmes. This is one of the provinces where the alliance partners are part of the deployment committee so that they are not made spectators in the critical aspects of the alliance work. COSATU continues to unite workers in the province despite disparities among the unions in terms of strength and ideological clarity. The federation has locals in a number of towns. The SACP has grown in both size and ideological clarity. It is vibrant and engaging with experienced leadership which has been around for some time. It convenes Socialist Forums regularly. It has also been running a number of campaigns in the province. All the alliance partners and MDM structures participate in the provincial makgotla that are held twice per annum.

VIII. North West

- 3.2.55 This report covers the periods of the PEC that was elected in 2011, and the current one that was elected in February 2015. The composition of the PEC, in the first period, changed dramatically following the resignation of comrade Wolmarans, after his conviction and the summary suspension of his membership. Comrades Philemon Mapulane, Pinky Mokoto and Pinky Moloi resigned after being elected to the NEC. Comrade Kabelo Mataboge was suspended for two years after a protracted disciplinary hearing. The province, in line with the constitution, held a PGC in December 2013

where the vacancies that were created as a result of the prevailing situation, were filled. The PEC, nevertheless, faced numerous challenges causing it to operate below par. In addition to resisting to work with the PEC, many of the regions became dysfunctional. Failure to register candidates for local government in Tlokwe and Tswaing almost handed over those municipalities to the opposition. Further, tensions between the PEC and the Provincial Government emboldened some of the deviant behaviour.

- 3.2.56 Comrades Wolmarans and Mataboge have since been reinstated to the ANC. The former, resulting from his acquittal upon appeal; and the latter having been pardoned following his disciplined behaviour while on suspension. Comrade China Dodovu's membership was temporarily suspended pending the outcome of his case on charges of murder laid by the State. He has, since, been acquitted.
- 3.2.57 The current PEC was elected unopposed, reflecting the hard work of trying to eradicate anarchy. The NWC was elected and sub-committees set up, and all PEC members deployed to the regions. The PWC, which was elected in the first PEC meeting after the Provincial Conference, has been active, optimally functional and meets regularly to process decisions of the PEC. The NEC deployees are hands on in doing the work. They have good relations with the PEC, and have provided political guidance continuously.
- 3.2.58 The sub-committees are functional and make a big contribution to the work of the PEC. These meet regularly and make visible contribution, that is, Organising and Campaigns; Economic Transformation; Legislature and Governance and Media and Communication. Political education was institutionalised after the revival of the Oliver Tambo Political School. All PEC and REC members have been trained as trainers for the Branch Manual. The following sub-committees hardly met, that is, Social Transformation; Peace and Stability; and International Relations.
- 3.2.59 The local municipalities are struggling in the province. Audit outcomes for the period under review show very insignificant improvement. Much is to be done in the municipalities for them to be able to serve communities. The province has continuously declined in terms of the electoral support. The worrying trend is the decline in areas that have always been strongholds of the ANC in

the province in general, and rural municipalities in particular.

- 3.2.60 The province is campaign oriented, beyond just the elections. This entails deploying organisers to support the regions. Overall, though, the regions are uncomfortable with the supporting as they perceive it as a way to monitor them. The membership drive is witnessed by growth of membership.
- 3.2.61 Regions have, however, gone through a very difficult period. The province should, however, be nudged to appreciate the importance of the provision of the constitution viewing the state of the regions described below:
- Bojanala was run by a task team since November 2016, despite the constitution requiring the REC to be elected within six months of dissolution, and ultimately held the conference.
 - Ngaka Modiri Molema has been led by a Task Team for close to two years in contravention of the constitutional provision. Despite this the membership has increased.
 - Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati is run by an RTT since the dissolution of the REC in September 2015. This is more than two years since the dissolution, totally ignoring the provisions of the constitution.
 - Dr Kenneth Kaunda is the only region with a constitutional REC in the province. The RWC is not fully functional. The REC is now suspended by the PEC.
- 3.2.62 The ANCVL meets regularly, except periods when the secretary had been hospitalised. It comprises the ANC's mobilising machinery in the province. The ANCVL's structures are functional. Two members of the PEC absconded from the structure and they were then relieved of their responsibilities. The WL has warm relations with the PEC of the ANC. The ANCYL is in good shape, and able to deal with organisational challenges. They take up issues affecting young people and engage various institutions to guard and advance the interests of the youth. However, high levels of unemployment made it difficult for many members to attend the activities. The MKMVA, has good relations with the ANC in the province. The PEC has provided it office space to carry out its work. The database of all ex-combatants in the province has been developed.

3.2.63 The Alliance Secretariat meets regularly, rotating meetings to the various regions. Relations with the alliance partners is fluctuates. When the Secretary of the SACP was removed from the Provincial Executive tensions and contradictions sharpened.

IX. Western Cape

3.2.64 The Western Cape continues to be unstable, stumbling from one crisis to the other. This state of affairs has been with the province for the last eight years in varying degrees. By 2012, divisions in the province were visible with all the regions equally divided. These divisions deepened in the 8th Provincial Conference where leadership was contested by hardened factions, and the product reflected this weakness. The province needs constant attention of the NEC as it navigates through a difficult period characterised by many challenges.

3.2.65 The regions have been relatively stable for some time, but are now beginning to crack as well. The proximity of the provincial Head Office to the biggest region in the province, the Dullah Omar region, is clearly a disadvantage. The PEC is easily tempted to directly run the affairs of the region, resulting in serious conflict and contradictions. A lot of time is spent on trying to resolve unnecessary conflicts. The inherent risk is that the region is not given space to commit mistakes and learn. Equally, the region is given unnecessary space to blame the PEC for its own weaknesses.

3.2.66 The lost ground in the local government elections is slowly being regained in various by-elections, though from a very low base. Early signs of being an effective opposition are beginning to show but very few comrades are visible in this effort, with many MPs and MPLs too laid back. If we had the critical mass of activists in this space the divided DA would be seriously on the back foot.

3.2.67 The PEC has embarked on many programmes directed at forging unity. They meet regularly as required by the constitution. The tensions that occurred in the period when both the chairperson and the secretary were suspended continues to show. This was an example of a leadership in crisis. The chairperson was never re-instated but the province has not been able to convene a PGC and fill the vacancy. Despite all these challenges the NEC has, on two occasions when there was a call for the dissolution of the PEC, decided to

continue trying to guide and strengthen the PEC. Efforts to have ongoing campaigns will surely help the province find its feet. The mere effort to have a campaign running contributes positively, meaning that what is termed a failed campaign is rather a not so successful a campaign. The attempt itself galvanise the progressive forces. The PWC meets regularly as required by the constitution and process the work of the PEC. Ten sub-committees are in place with seven of them being functional.

3.2.68 The province appreciates the support of the NEC employees. Their availability to provide guidance and leadership has contributed to the province being able to pull through the various challenges. The NWC support and NEC visits have also added a lot of value.

3.2.69 The ANC showed decline in the two elections during the period under review. The loss was heavy during the local government election, the ANC without a single municipality to control. Massive losses were recorded in the Metro and Boland, with twelve candidates not registered at all mainly in the Boland. The manipulation of lists was massive in the Western Cape, and process to rectify this is underway. Recently the ANC has won 5 of the 7 by-elections in the province, two of which were regained from the DA. This is a positive sign that the movement can rebuild itself.

3.2.70 The ANC Veterans League is due for its provincial conference. Work is being done to update its membership database. The biggest challenge facing the Veterans League is a shortage of resources. The ANC Women's League is, for more than five years now, run by a Task Team. Convenors and coordinators of the Task Team have been changed three times. It has all the weaknesses and divisions outlined in analysing the ANC. It has some campaigns. The regions are also run by task teams. The ANC Youth League has an elected PEC but all the regions are run by task teams. This reflects the overall weakness of the organisation. The PEC must urgently to build structures in the regions. The MKMVA is operational in the Western Cape. The biggest complaint is that many ex-combatants are excluded from participating in the organisational activities. It is more visible in mobilising factional activities without work done in looking after the welfare of ex-soldiers.

3.2.71 Alliance relations are fairly good, although

the Alliance does not meet as regularly as it is required. At least the alliance is working together in campaigns and activities of each other in the province. The weaknesses identified about the ANC extend to the alliance partners. Dynamics at national level are impacting negatively on the workings of the alliance in the province.

3.3 THE LEAGUES OF THE ANC

I. The ANC Veterans' League

- 3.3.1 The 52nd National Conference resolved that the NEC should establish the ANCVL. The league was launched in December 2009.
- 3.3.2 The membership of the Veterans' League is not recruited but qualifies based on membership of and service in the ANC. A veteran, therefore, is defined as a member of the ANC who is 60 years and older, with an uninterrupted service of 40 years to the ANC and the movement.
- 3.3.3 The objective of the Veterans' League is *"to ensure that Veterans make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC, to the movement and the life of the nation."* The 53rd National Conference tasked the ANCVL to lead a campaign of moral regeneration. This is distinct to the work of the Integrity Commission. The important aspect of this is the ability of the ANCVL to provide leadership in times of confusion and tensions. This includes active participation of veterans in the political education programme of the ANC. They should be champions of unity and cohesion and be able to clarify that unity is not absence of differences and lack of diversity but ability to work together guided by common purpose and appreciation of what pulls us together, that is, the National Democratic Revolution.
- 3.3.4 The NEC of the ANCVL met ten times during the period under review. For the most part, the NEC had difficulties meeting because of lack of resources to execute its programme. The situation with the President of the league created a serious challenge. The matter could not be resolved amicably, and was further complicated by his appearance at the launch of the United Front, a rival formation. The ANC then communicated that such an act amounted to terminating the relationship with the ANC.
- 3.3.5 The formation of the protest group of veterans and senior citizens, calling itself as Veterans

and Stalwarts, reflected the urgent need for strengthening the ANCVL. This would ensure that all veterans can have a platform to raise their concerns and grievances.

- 3.3.6 The ANCVL has now held its first conference since its inaugural one. The various streams of the veterans should now be united. The NEC should assist unite and strengthen the ANCVL.

II. The ANC Women's League

- 3.3.7 The ANC Women's League conference was overdue by two years when it convened in August 2015; due to focus on rebuilding structures and battling to have sufficient resources. The conference was highly contested and tense, characterised by allegations and counter-allegations of manipulation of process or use of money to buy delegates. However, it was professionally run, happened without conflict or disruption, and elected a new leadership.
- 3.3.8 The NEC meets quarterly as per schedule, but call special NEC meetings when urgent matters are to be addressed. It implements campaigns and programmes. Two members were co-opted, one member resigned and the vacancy is still to be filled. The NWC meets more regularly to implement programmes adopted by the NEC. There is slight improvement in how the sub-committees work, with a high number of members is not actively participating. There is overreliance on the convenors of committees and technical support to formulate policy positions. A source of concern is that very few NEC members honour their deployment to the provinces. A new committee, Organisation Building and Young Women Desk chaired by the Deputy President, has been established and adopted by the NEC.
- 3.3.9 The ANCWL has embarked on a number of campaigns, notably, its role during election campaigns. The launch of the Young Women's Desk was important, and impacted on society. The annual campaign of 16 days of activism, highlighting the scourge of violence against women and children is now a societal campaign. The Molo Makhelwane/Dumela Moagisane campaign, whose objective is to build stronger, inclusive, constructive and socially cohesive communities, is an important campaign. This multi-dimensional campaign is directed at poverty, food security, abuse of women and children, vulnerable persons

in society, access to education, diseases and safety and security. The National Women's Day continues to be supported by society broadly. The ANCWL must be commended for its visibility in courts in support of victims on violence against women and children. It should also be supported in its efforts to engage sectors during policy development of the ANC. The ANCYL continues to be the Secretariat of the Pan African Women's Organisation.

3.3.10 The provinces experience varying degrees of development, as seen below:

- Mpumalanga is active and vibrant with all the regions being active. The Young Women's Desk has been established in all the four regions. More than 700 young women attended the provincial launch, and a provincial programme was developed.
- The Free State has been the most active with campaigning, particularly active in picketing at courts whenever there is a case of violence against women and children.
- North West is intact and has held its provincial and regional conferences, respectively. The province is developing a programme on helping the community in Marikana.
- Limpopo is a province in good standing and is working on the induction workshop.
- Eastern Cape has been visited by the NEC and the NWC to assess the state of the organisation. The province hosted the launch of the local government election trail in December 2015.
- KwaZulu Natal has held the provincial and regional conferences. The province hosted the closing activity for the women's month.
- Gauteng provincial executive committee is more than a year overdue.
- Western Cape has been under a PTT for more than four years.

3.3.11 The ANCWL, however, faces the following challenges:

- Lack resources to implement all the programmes
- Non-functionality of some of the sub-committees
- Membership stagnation and conference-linked growth

- Poor implementation of the branch induction programme

III. The ANC Youth League

3.3.11 The current leadership of the ANCYL was elected in the 25th National Congress held on 4th-6th September, 2015. This was after the ANCYL National Executive Committee was dissolved by the ANC; and a period during which the affairs of the ANCYL were run by an appointed National Task Team. The NTT worked hard to build structures of the ANCYL and re-affirm the authority of the organisation over its structures. That work culminated into the National Congress in September 2015.

3.3.12 The National Executive Committee of the ANCYL meets regularly but sometimes fails to meet due to lack of financial resources. Five of the NEC members are full-time in the Head Office of the ANCYL. One member of the NEC has since ceased to be a member having absented herself for the meetings of the NEC three times without an apology. Four comrades have also been co-opted to the NEC as provided for by the constitution. The NEC members are deployed to the various provinces.

3.3.13 The NWC is functional and meets regularly to process work of the NEC. The NWC has visited a number of regions assisting with ensuring that political guidance is given. More work is needed in the area of engaging external stakeholders.

3.3.14 The Provinces are functional with different challenges facing them, as shown below:

- Gauteng is functional after going through a period of serious challenges. NEC deployees are commended for the work they did in helping the province improve. Interventions included the dissolution of the REC of Johannesburg by the NEC. Signs of divisions are being detected in Sedibeng.
- Northern Cape PEC meets regularly as required by the constitution and continues to influence the ANC in the province. The province is stable with one region dissolved, that is, Pixley kaSeme. Long distances are making work in the province difficult and challenging.
- Mpumalanga is stable and has good relations

with the ANC, the other leagues and MKMVA. All the regions are intact and active.

- Western Cape has a relatively functional PEC. All the regions in the province are run by RTTs. Many of the regions are run by task teams for more than four years. The PEC is due for a provincial conference.
- North West is meeting fairly regularly but not complying with the constitution. All the regions have lapsed terms and mandates. The province is currently preparing for both the provincial congress and all the regional conference.
- Limpopo is relatively stable and vibrant. The PEC meets as required by the constitution. The regions are struggling. Waterberg is affected by demarcation and the REC is divided. Peter Mokaba is run by a task team.
- Free State is stable and relates well with the ANC in the province. It has just gone through its Provincial Conference and touched the ground running. Three of the regions are in good standing and two are due for their regional congresses.
- KwaZulu Natal is functional and vibrant. It has held its provincial congress without any problems. This is one PEC that has a coherent

programme. Seven of the eleven regions have held their regional congresses with two more having indicated that they are ready for regional congresses.

- Eastern Cape was dissolved two months to its provincial congress, and a Task Team put in place. The province of the ANC Youth League appealed the dissolution. The officials of the ANC could not finalise the appeal. All the RECs were dissolved by the PTT, except Sarah Baardman. Only the Alfred Nzo Region is now in good standing, having held its regional congress.

Progressive Youth Alliance

- 3.3.15 This is the Alliance of the ANCYL, YCL, SASCO and COSAS. The ANCYL has taken a decision not to contest SRC elections on its own, but to do so as part of the PYA. This cooperation has seen 85% of the SRCs being led by the PYA.
- 3.3.16 There are, however, serious tensions between the ANCYL and the YCL. The ANCYL sees the YCL as overly negative and seeking to discredit the ANCYL in all public platforms. The relations with COSAS are warm and cordial, and the two support each other in their programmes.

4. UMKHONTO WESIZWE MILITARY VETERANS ASSOCIATION (MKMVA)

- 4.1 The Umkhonto weSizwe Military Veterans Association is an important formation, whose primary objective is to defend the interests of ex-combatants MK. This includes looking after the welfare needs of these comrades.
- 4.2 The establishment of the Military Veterans Department in government, is part of the effort to ensure that government plays its part in sustaining decent life for veterans of the struggle for liberation.
- 4.3 MKMVA has gone through various terms marked by divisions. These divisions persist to the present. At one point the ANC had to dissolve the structure and started a process of uniting the MK community. This stabilised MKMVA for a limited period. The tensions rose when the Commissariat formed itself into a force of opposition. MKMVA spent some time in courts contesting power and resources. The organisation prevailed and continued to do what could be done in the circumstances
- 4.4 The 5th MKMVA National Conference again brought the divisions to the fore. A process had to be developed, where all the streams of the MK community were pulled together. There was agreement on ensuring that the MKMVA National Conference was all-inclusive. Unfortunate, this undertaking was undermined and divisions continued.
- 4.5 In protest a section of MK that had already formed itself into an MK Council pulled out, organised its own conference and elected a parallel structure. In the main, these are former commanders and commissars of MK. This constitute a contradiction in that, the respect they are accorded is negatively impacted, and their much-needed contribution becomes watered down in both the MKMVA and the ANC. It is the MK Council that resolved that the President should step down, and the NEC of the ANC resign. This call was part of the public outcry in society, and from within the ANC.
- 4.6 The biggest problem, though, is the resentment expressed by MK members. The contention is that the MKMVA is overtaken by people who were never MK combatants. This concern is complicated by the provision accommodating former Defence Units in the structure of MKMVA. This appears to be a section that continues to grow.
- 4.7 The NEC has agreed that further efforts be undertaken to unifying the MK community. Issues viewed to be seemingly at the heart of the divisions must be opened for discussions, and among these are:
- Organising MKMVA according to various detachments.
 - Reaching out to all MK ex-combatants.
 - The use of military camouflage for ANC and MKMVA activities.
 - Management of the limited resources of MKMVA.
 - Sustained unity in MKMVA and the role of MKMVA in working for unity in the ANC.

5. THE ALLIANCE

- 5.1 The Alliance is a partnership of three independent partners, the ANC, the SACP, COSATU and SANCO. It is a very historic revolutionary relationship that is a direct product of struggle for freedom and shared trenches. It developed organic rules of engagement, as equal partners in pursuit of the revolution. However, when the environment changed and freedom was attained, rules were not reviewed.
- 5.2 Present reality is that the Alliance has almost collapsed and the relations have been deteriorating over time. Despite early signs of collapse, all attempts to stop the decline and resuscitate the Alliance did not work. Decline manifested in the weakening of consultation among the partners. The tradition that had developed of comprehensive consultation about serious matters disappeared, and partners were only informed at the last hour. Public pronouncement on issues shared in confidence created an environment where there was no consultation. When this practice became a norm, including in cases of Cabinet reshuffles, it became clear that government work was gradually, but ultimately totally, being removed from political influence. This became one of the major causes for tensions. The tensions translated into fewer alliance meetings except the secretariat meetings, which met more regularly. However, as tensions rose the alliance secretariat meetings also faltered.
- 5.3 The public posture of the SACP and COSATU on difficult matters facing the ANC was perceived as oppositionist. The anti-Zuma marches sharpened the contradictions when some of the alliance leaders marched with the opposition. This was seen as collusion with the opposition forces. The flip side was the argument that the masses could not be left to the leadership of the opposition forces, hence the Party decided to go where the masses are. This contradiction further sharpened the tensions.
- 5.4 The call for the President to step down deepened the crisis. The disruption of some of the May Day rallies, particularly the main rally in Mangaung, signalled the near collapse of the alliance. It also caused suspicion of different leaders of the ANC, since some were booed when others were not booed. This was followed by a trend of the alliance partners barring the President of the ANC from addressing their meeting. This pitted the President and the Deputy President against each other, as the allies started begin specific on inviting the latter.
- 5.5 During the Parliament debate on the motion of no confidence against the President, some of the Party members articulated its directive as guiding their position. As it was never stated clearly, it raised suspicions when the outcome of the secret ballot was announced.
- 5.6 The meetings of the Party and COSATU, anecdotally referred to as the “left axis”, is cause for continued tensions. There is nothing amiss when the revolutionary working class party shares ideas with the trade union federation. However, in a polluted environment it raises alarm, and suspicions can only be alleviated by regular formal meetings.
- 5.7 The individual partners themselves have their own problems and weaknesses, despite the focus on the ANC. Also, some in the ANC argue that the other partners should not discuss the ANC in their meetings. In our latest engagements all alliance partners appreciated and accepted that all the alliance partners have an interest in the leader of the alliance. The issue is how such discussions are couched and what announcements are made in public. The ANC is the leader of the alliance and society, and will therefore be discussed beyond the alliance. Developments in the ANC are of national interest and will, therefore, be of interest outside its own structures and ambit.
- 5.8 The SACP has to step up its ideological contribution and scientific analysis to the debate, particularly now that the movement is going through a very difficult period. The fact that the Party is affected directly by the problems and challenges in the ANC disarms it of making such a contribution optimally. As the alliance partners we then get trapped into dynamics and contradictions that are immediate. The tensions emanating from deployments and removal of the Party cadres in the various provinces cause serious tensions. Our expectation is that the micro-contradiction must not deprive the entire movement of the necessary positive contribution and analysis of the SACP.

- 5.9 Equally too, COSATU has its own challenges that need urgent attention of the alliance. The biggest challenge is that the industrial unions are weak, thus rendering the Federation to be public sector dominated. Although this could be positive, in the context where the ANC is a governing party it could result in political blackmail. Bargaining issues become politicised and the relations get polluted by disagreements in the bargaining processes. With industrial unions having weakened the strengthening of public sector unions becomes life and death. Unwittingly this tempers with the alliance relations. Some of their public pronouncements on the ANC create serious contradictions. Their call for the President to step down caused serious tensions. The banning of the President of the ANC from addressing their key gatherings contributed to the collapse of the alliance relations.
- 5.10 SANCO is more stable than ever, in a long time. The biggest problem is poor resource base, making it difficult for the organisation to run any sustainable campaigns. The result is SANCO feeling like a junior partner in the alliance. Their positive contribution gets understated. They feel that they get overlooked even in deployment, even though a number of their leaders are deployed in parliament.
- 5.11 The state of these alliance partners determines the health of the alliance relations. The contradictions in society impact directly on the alliance. We sometimes behave as if the alliance an island and expect of each other to behave as if elevated above society. When this is not workable we tend to want put one another on terms and force one another to comply with views that are not necessarily the view of a particular partner.
- 5.12 The conclusion we can come to is that the alliance is almost in a state of collapse. This demands of the new leadership to work hard to breathe life into this important, special and unique political structure. The alliance remains very relevant and in need more than ever before.
- 5.13 A serious discussion has now started on the alliance being made operational with a secretariat that runs the day to day administration and coordination of programmes. The SACP and COSATU have proposed the reconfiguration of the Alliance, details of which are yet to be articulated. This is a necessary exercise as trust cannot be the only basis for the alliance, particularly when one of the alliance structures is a party in government and responsible for huge resources and deployment. Many of the tensions arise from material issues. This is one of the immediate tasks for the incoming NEC.

6. THE ANC'S ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE

- 6.1 The ANC has, since the inception of democracy, continued to be victorious at the polls. Of significance is that, in each case of the national general elections, we have maintained a majority 60%. This is despite the fact of most commentators and analysts, particularly in 2014, had predicted that the ANC would poll in around below 50%.
- 6.2 The ANC's highest elections results were in 2004, when we achieved 69%. The lowest was in the 2016 Local Government elections where we gained 54%. It is critical to recognise that the movement reached a plateau in the 2004 national general elections; and started on a gradual decline since 2009, followed by 2014 where despite our 60% majority the numbers came down. The Local Government Elections in 2016, saw an accelerated decline, which is our lowest ever poll. This is the lowest we can ever be otherwise the threat of losing power is real. Of greatest concern is that in the successive elections we continued to decline systematically. This conference must factor this reality in all its work. We have an obligation to turn this graph up otherwise going under 50% will soon be reality. Our movement cannot take this for granted.
- 6.3 The loss of major urban centres is equally concerning given that concentration of the population is in these centres. Some eleven years ago we lost the city of Cape Town, and we have and never recovered it. In the 2016 Local Government elections we lost six major urban centres; that is, Johannesburg, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni, Nelson Mandela Bay, Rustenburg and Metsimaholo, and govern two of those centres through coalitions.
- 6.4 The trends are captured in the schedule below:
- 6.5 Our own research, in the run-up to the 2016 Local Government Elections, confirmed that less than 50% of the population was positive about the direction the country was taking. Uppermost among issues highlighted by the people were: employment, corruption, and crime ahead of basic services. The factors identified by our research, influencing the mood of voters ahead of the 2016 Local Government Elections, which highlighted the trust deficit and the concern among our people regarding our capability to govern, were:
- ANC candidate selection
 - Cabinet reshuffle and reaction by Treasury
 - Concourt Decision
 - Spy tapes judgement
 - Vuwani protests
 - Tshwane and Western Cape
 - SABC and SAA challenges
- 6.6 The leaders and members of the ANC are generally negative about their own organisation. The public pronouncements we make communicate a message to society that we cannot be trusted. In an attempt to be transparent about our challenges, we stop at only communicating negative messages without owning up and showing our ability to address the problems. This is either a sign of being overwhelmed or lacking capacity to lead.
- 6.7 We should analyse our strategy in order to understand these losses, including how the divisions contributed to them. We should try to understand the reasons that motivate ANC cadres to be prepared to lose municipalities because of personal or factional interests. Why should comrades give false information to the leadership to achieve narrow interests?
- 6.8 When analysing the results in Tshwane the temptation is to blame the province and the NEC for affirming comrade Thoko Didiza as the Mayoral candidate. We should honestly answer why it is that the region did not nominate a sitting Mayor, the regional chairperson, as one of the three proposed candidates. This situation, coupled with the "no Sputla no vote" campaign, reflected serious contradictions at that point in time, and also the factors that still need to be decoded. This conference provides that opportunity of charting the way forward.
- 6.9 The analysis on the loss of the Nelson Mandela Metro concentrates on untested allegations of corruption by individuals. The same allegations resulted in the dissolution of an REC with the accused individuals not being confronted. The book recently released by one of the deployees, a consultant of a government department, has confirmed the depth of disinformation. This includes Nicodemus delegations that fed individual

leaders with information that was readily accepted. This conference provides an opportunity to do a detailed analysis of the situation in Nelson Mandela Bay. Any cadre of the movement who continues to divide the ANC in the region must be nudged to visit our comrades in the Western Cape to learn how divisions constitute a blockade to any prospects of recovery.

6.10 The Elections Team in working on the local government election strategy set some objectives:

- To win majority seats in all municipalities we controlled.
- Increase ANC support where we are in opposition.
- Increase voter turnout in all municipalities, particularly in the ANC base areas.
- Win back the support lost in 2009, 2011 and 2014.

6.11 None of the goals were achieved, instead we lost a further 8% of the support. The principles identified for successful campaign were:

- Placing voters and their concerns at the centre of all activities.
- Having clear and credible message.
- Leadership and candidates that are directly engaged with the masses.
- Good performance in government.
- Communication that is positive and minimise negativity.
- Mobilise the ANC base.

6.12 On assessing the campaign, the team came to the following conclusions:

- The research was underfunded and delayed and could not be used optimally to inform the campaign strategy and adaptation.
- Our cadres were not sufficiently motivated and not optimally capacitated.
- Divisions were a distraction to the campaign.
- Low participation of NEC and PEC members deprived the organisation of experience.

6.13 To arrest the decline the ANC has to deal with the following:

- We need to ensure that we are registering more voters for every set of elections.

- We must ensure that our support base does go and vote.

- The reduce opportunities of local parties and independent candidates, that are mostly breaking away from the ANC.

- We must continue to improve our candidate selection processes.

- Our leaders at all levels must be made to appreciate that factional selection of candidates is very costly to the ANC, and even more so in the long term.

6.14 One issue that needs urgent attention is the formula used to calculate results. It is benefitting losers by allocating more PR seats. It benefits us where we have done badly and reward the opposition where we have done well. The system delivers an unfair outcome. Parliament has been asked to revisit and review the formula.

7. CONCLUSION

7.1 This report is a handover report to the incoming NEC of the ANC. An attempt has been made to give as clear a report on the challenges that face the organisation as clear as possible. The volume of work done is a solid foundation to build on.

7.2. Immediately, rebuilding the reputation and image of the movement should be a priority. In the same breath, the serious sign of decline must be arrested and a new growth trajectory developed.

7.3 Provinces and regions that need our urgent attention must be helped. Although sub-committees have improved, there remains more room for further improvement.