

ANC GAUTENG DISCUSSION DOCUMENTS



2011 – 2012



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Introduction

The discussion documents are meant to generate conversation/s in the ANC structures and the broader liberation alliance. Very soon the regions will be convening elective conferences. In the same vein the ANC Womens League as well as the Umkhonto We Sizwe Military Veterans (Gauteng) will be going to their provincial conferences.

In this regard, the discussion documents should help branches to focus on political education. The main thrust of the documents are on , reorganising the ANC Local Structures to focus on solving the people's problems, the challenges of selecting appropriate leaders for our branches and higher structures, enhancing our capacity to lead and govern. Our attention is also drawn to the issues of economic, social transformation and international relations for the Gauteng City Region.

The idea of the papers is that , they should arm our structures to take appropriate resolutions, prepare for the national policy conference as well as the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung.

1. RENEWAL FROM BELOW: RE-ORGANISING THE ANC LOCAL STRUCTURES TO FOCUS ON SOLVING THE PEOPLE'S PROBLEM

1.1. Introduction.

- The discourse on organisational renewal has thrown many questions about the future of the ANC. The movement and society are yet to respond systematically and methodically to these questions.
- The two NGC discussion documents conclude that leadership renewal and defending the core values, principles and traditions of the ANC are among the issues that require serious and urgent attention.
- This paper focuses on the renewal of the grassroots structures of the movement in order to place peoples' issues at the centre of the ANC's work.

1.2. Find Solutions to the Peoples' Problems.

- Comrade Govan Mbeki ("Oom Gov") defines organisation as **the collective ability to solve the problems of the people**. Organisation is a weapon of struggle through which the masses constantly strive to transform their adverse conditions.
- At the moment, the personalisation and factionalisation of politics constitute the dominant political culture. Our cadres and structures discuss every issue from the standpoint of personalities and factions.
- We lack a principled and organisational approach to matters. Renewal must bring back the organisation and the people to the centre-stage!

1.3. Takeforward renewal practically.

- As the ANC in Gauteng, we have identified **five interventions** to effect genuine renewal:
 - 1) Reframing the discourse on leadership renewal to confront the organisation's core problems;
 - 2) Introducing bold measures to safeguard the ANC's integrity and protect its value system;
 - 3) Improving the governing capacity of the ANC;
 - 4) Massive roll-out of the political education campaign among the membership and leadership;
 - 5) Re-organising the grassroots structures of the ANC to focus on the problems of the People;

1.4. State of the Branch.

- There are **four common problems** afflicting the ANC Branch wherever it is located:

1) Seasonal activism and politics of rulership – branches are active only in the run-up to elective conferences and list processes when leaders are to be elected and public representatives deployed.

2) Bureaucratisation and personalisation of branch politics - branch meetings are dominated by administrative matters and personal squabbles rather than debates over international and national current affairs. This chases away members who want to talk politics.

3) Inability to give leadership to communities – silence of the ANC on issues affecting localities. Due to the pre-occupation with the politics of rulership (permanent mode of fighting for leadership and resources), most branches are not focusing on community development issues.

4) Collapse of the ANC's value system – total breakdown of discipline, rampant factionalism and selective application of discipline. Violence and intimidation are fast replacing reason and debate as the mode of engagement.

1.5. Push Renewal from below.

- This paper proposes a set of interventions to cultivate grassroots developmental activism whose primary focus is to solve the problems of communities, as a critical response to the dangers of atrophy. We call this “renewal from below”.
- While grassroots intervention will not resolve all the problems occasioned by incumbency, it is a key site of renewal that warrants relentless attention by the movement. Politically-vibrant and community-oriented branches can rescue the organisation.
- How rooted is the ANC in communities? How strong are the grassroots structures on the ground?

1.6. The landscape in the Gauteng City-Region.

- The four common problems of the ANC branch manifest themselves in different ways depending on the nature of the local landscape.
- The Gauteng urban landscape is made up of townships, informal settlements, suburbs, inner-cities and peri-urban areas.
- The church is the most popular organisation in the Gauteng city-region, followed by the burial society and stokvels. Only 25% of the people of Gauteng are active in political organisations.
- What this means is that there is an absence of political organisation in most Gauteng communities, hence the high level of instability.

1.7. Organisation and the Problems of the Townships.

- **The old townships have common problems** poorly maintained infrastructure, inadequate facilities for recreation, ailing public services, high rate of violent and social crime, drug abuse, collapse of the township economy and high cost of living!
- In many townships, the ward-based has creates a silo mentality and lack of solidarity. Ill-discipline and factionalism have reached epic proportions - there a collapse of the ANC value system. There an absence of the ANC from problems affecting communities. Cells, street and block committees will improve the ANC's leadership in communities.

1.8. Organisation and Problems of the informal settlements.

- **Common problems in the informal settlements** lack of basic infrastructure and social services; absence of centres for sports, arts, culture and recreation; high rate of

unemployment; high rate of violent and social crime; high rate of urban poverty; low level of social cohesion; too many foreign nationals;

- Historically, the ANC branches were much stronger Gauteng's informal settlements. However, in-fighting over the control of development projects has destroyed some of the best branches. Cells, street and block committees can enhance ANC leadership.

1.9. Organisation and Problems of the Inner-City.

- **Common problems of inner-city areas** inner-city decay; high crime rate; environmental problems; high rentals in neglected flats; running battles with landlords; hijacking of buildings; sale of drugs; People who live in inner-city are mainly foreign nationals, students and civil servants.
- The ward-based branch model is not working for inner-city residents. There is a need for organisational presence of the ANC in each building or block of flats. Most inner-city residents are also alienated from the governance process.

1.10. Organisation and Problems of the Suburbs.

- Most suburbs are dominated by high density residential complexes and "gated communities" as well as well stand alone houses. Problems in the suburbs - infrastructure maintenance; environment; crime; racism; access to some public schools.
- Over the past decade, the ANC has tried to establish a presence in suburbs. However, our modest success is undermined by a continuous re-demarcation of wards. The cells and units in townhouse complexes and high density suburbs will improve the visibility of the ANC.

1.11. Problems of People in the Peri-Urban and Rural areas of Gauteng.

- Significant number of people live in the peri-urban or semi-rural parts of our province. Farm workers are grossly exploited and have no security of tenure. Evictions are rife. Limited access to basic services and social infrastructure.
- Again, the ward-based branch has not been able to effectively represent the voice of the workers on the farms and plots. Most peri-urban wards are too vast and people have to travel quite a distance to go to branch meetings. The cells and units in plots, farms and villages will improve ANC presence.

1.12. Return to the M-Plan: Take the ANC closer to where People Live.

- Our efforts at building and strengthening branches have been directed at the current ward-based branch without much success in getting branches to become "the vanguard of the community".
- Re-introducing the cells, units, street and block committees will go a long way in shifting the focus of the ANC grassroots structures on the problems of the people in communities. Training

local activists in development activism and raising the level of political education below the branch can give impetus to the renewal of the movement.

1.13. Proposal for debate in Regions and Branches.

- The current ward-based has not been able to improve the ANC's leadership of communities. We need to take the ANC political programme and organisational work to households, street and block level in the form of cells, units, street and block committees. What is your experience?
- The primary focus of these structures will be to involve ordinary members and residents in the campaigns that seek to find solutions to community development challenges. Recruitment and political education of members must take place at cell, street level, block and unit level. The ward-based branch will remain the policy-making body.
- All branches should be divided into sub-branches or units which correspond with VDs. Sub-branches should be further divided into cells or street committees.
- Each cell should be composed of **between ten and twenty members** who live in the same street, residential complex, flat or farm. Sub-branches or units should correspond to VDs. The street and block committees will be formed mainly in the townships and informal settlements, while the suburban and inner-city areas will have cells, block committees and sub-branches/units.
- Each sub-branch/unit, street committee, block committee and cell will have a Convenor, Organiser and Commissar. The principal task of these structures is to improve mass and ideological work on the ground - recruit new members, train them politically and ideologically and deploy them to undertake community development work.
- All cells, units, street and block committees must know all ANC members in their area and ensure that the majority of their members are in attendance at every meeting, including the BGM.
- In order to ensure that the ANC's leadership role is felt on the ground, lots of effort should be dedicated to the training of the commissars of sub-branches, street and block committees and cells should be the number one priority of the PEC/ RECs so that they can facilitate debates and education of members.
- Cells, units and street committees should also be utilised to disseminate information between different structures of the organisation. They should what happens in every community and what development intervention is needed in each locality.
- The first task of every cell, unit and street committee is to know all ANC members. Secondly, they should know all the families in the neighbourhood.
- The ANC branch must be the force for unity, stability and social cohesion in communities, not the source of instability and divisions. The ANC branch must be main initiator and theoriser of the development plan of the community (IDP) and must be the leading voice of the communities on the IDP.
- The ANC Councillor is the representative of the entire community. The strategic posture of Councillors should be that they are the representatives of the people and the community, not representatives of the ANC or council.
- The sub-branches/units, street and block committees as well as the cells must monitor service delivery and evaluate the impact of government programmes on the wellbeing of the people.
- Popular participation on governance and development matters should take place in every street, block or residential complex or block of flats.

- A new definition of a “branch in good standing” must include the work of the branch in the community, political development and discipline of members and the role of the branch in governance priorities.

1.14. Conclusion.

- The M-Plan was introduced in the early 1950s to enable the movement to survive under difficult conditions. According to Cde Nelson Mandela, the underlying **four principles** of the M-Plan were to:
 - 1). Consolidate congress machinery (ANC);
 - 2). Enable the transmission of important decisions taken at a national level to every member of the organisation
without calling public meetings and issuing press statements;
 - 3). Build local branches which will be able to represent the will of the people and
 - 4). Extend and strengthen the ties between congress and the people and consolidate congress leadership.
- We believe three of the four the underlying principles of the M-Plan remain relevant today.
- It is for this reason that this paper argues for a return to the M-Plan under new conditions: the introduction of cells, sub-branches/units, street and block committees in order to reconnect our organisation with the masses and direct its attention to their problems and wellbeing.
- The form and content of our current branches suffers from complete alienation from the issues facing communities. The proposed re-organisation of the branches is part of the renewal of our movement so that it can continue survive as a people’s movement and the agent for change for many years after its First Centenary.

2. THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE. A PERSPECTIVE FOR DISCUSSION

Elections, lobbying and leadership transition in the ANC

2.1. Background and purpose of document

The ANC 52nd National Conference held in Polokwane in 2007 adopted a resolution on '*Election of ANC leadership*'¹ that affirmed '*Through the eye of the needle?*'² as the organisational and political basis for the movement's approach to electing leadership, as well as the provisions in the ANC Constitution that allow any member of the ANC in good standing to take part in elections and to stand for elections to leadership at any level of the organisation.

The National Conference instructed the NEC to "initiate a review of the *Through the eye of the needle* including guidelines on lobbying and other internal practices, learning from the experiences of what happened in the run-up to this Conference" and a process of political education to enhance the approaches in the document. The Conference resolution also identified the need for a second discussion document, which will address the development of a "comprehensive approach to matters of leadership transition in the organisation and government, drawing lessons from other progressive parties in the world."

These resolutions reflected the 52nd National Conference's determination that the incoming NEC should make it a priority "to deal with all issues that must help restore unity and cohesion of the movement so that by the time we go to the 2009 elections and the Centenary, our movement marches together in unison", and "to establish a period of renewal of the values, character and organisational practices of the ANC as a leading force for progressive change in our country."³

President Jacob Zuma emphasized the critical nature of these resolutions in his *Political Overview* at the March 2008 NEC meeting. The task that faces the NEC, he said, "... is how to initiate, guide and sustain this period of renewal." Reflecting on the issues pertaining to leadership contestation, the President reiterated:

"The ANC has not, has never been and will never be a faction..."

When elected leaders at the highest level openly engage in factionalist activity, where is the movement that aims to unite the people of South Africa for the complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression? When money changes hands in the battle for personal power and aggrandizement, where is the movement that is built around membership that joins without motives of material advantage and personal gain? When the members of the NEC themselves engage in factionalist activity, media leaks and rumour-mongering, how can we expect the membership of our movement to carry out their duties to observe discipline, behave honestly and carry out loyally the decisions of the majority and the decision of higher bodies?"

Attending to these issues has become critical and urgent. The manner in which the ANC Youth League managed contestation for leadership in the build-up to and at its 23rd National Congress in 2008 and the build-up and events at the Eastern Cape ANC Provincial Conference in 2009 have brought out in even bolder relief some of the tendencies that the 52nd National Conference, and subsequently the President, warned about. It further raised the spectre that these may have taken root much deeper than the movement has appreciated.

The purpose of this perspective is therefore to initiate the discussions on elections, lobbying and leadership transition in the movement, by (a) placing leadership elections in the ANC in a historical perspective; (b) asking the questions when and how leadership transition became a problem in the ANC; (c) exploring some of the objective factors contributing to the current nature of leadership contestation and finally, (d) raising possible solutions for discussion.

These perspectives have been presented and debated in various political education forums since October 2009, but remain open for debate and further enrichment. By March 2010, the NEC Political Education Committee as mandated by the NEC will finalise the responses and the perspectives in a discussion document envisaged by the 52nd National Conference, as one of the papers towards the National General Council in September 2010.

2.2. ANC approach to internal elections - a historical perspective

The ANC since its inception in 1912 - except during the periods of illegality - allowed for a process of regular democratic elections for leadership at all levels of the movement. Even during the three decades of illegality, the National Executive Committee under the presidency of Cde Oliver Tambo regarded itself as 'acting' and the national conferences held during this period as 'consultative'. ANC Constitutions and organisational rules gave any member the right to nominate, stand for elections and to be voted for. This process by its very nature meant contest among individuals and lobbying by their supporters. It also meant that leadership transition happened throughout the history of the ANC, not only because of generational changes.

In the history of the ANC, we tend to remember and draw attention to leadership contests and transitions that signaled a strategic change or shift in the ANC. For example, it is rather difficult to explain the building of a mass ANC in the 1950s after the adoption of the 1949 Programme of Action, without also mentioning how the ANC Youth League wanted to ensure that they find the correct leader willing to lead in the implementation of this programme. Thus the contest at this Congress that saw the end of Dr Xuma's term as President (1940-49) and the election of the preferred YL candidate, Dr JS Moroka (serving from 1949-1952).

We also draw attention to the end of the term of JT Gumede (serving from 1927-1930) as President at the 1930 National Conference to explain the emergence (and ebb and flow) of the 'two strands' which influenced our liberation movement: African nationalism and Marxism. The leadership contest between Gumede and Seme (1930-1936) is thus described as a contest between those led by Gumede who wanted a united front with the Communist Party on the one hand, and a section led by Seme, who was skeptical about this approach on the other hand⁴.

There are interesting lessons that need to be investigated further in the aftermath of these two leadership contests from ANC history. For example, after winning the elections for ANC President in 1930, can the dramatic organisational decline of the ANC in the 1930s solely be laid before the door of Seme, or was it also influenced by other subjective factors of the time such as divisions in the Natal and Cape Congress structures and the contest in the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) around the relationship between the national and class struggle? What impact did the global recession and depression of the 1930s in South Africa have on the balance of forces and thus the movement at the time? In the same vein, after being elected in 1949, Dr Moroka's presidency did not last that long (1949-52), and yet the rise of the ANC as a mass movement continued based on the 1949 Programme of Action adopted at the same conference. Thus, what role do individuals and leadership play in the shaping of the movement's strategy and organisational development, and how do we judge such leadership?

Former ANC Youth Leaguer Joe Matthews in an interview with SADET (2008:17)⁵ recalled the 41st National Conference of 1952 held in Johannesburg, where Dr Moroka was replaced by Nkosi Albert Luthuli as President of the ANC:

“The following year he (Luthuli) was nominated as national president of the ANC at a very chaotic conference that was held in Johannesburg. A lot of leaders were banned at the time but were meeting secretly somewhere and then you had to have messages going back and forth from the conference to the leaders for ratification. On the issue of elections, the leaders were completely divided about who should replace Dr Moroka. Some said Mandela must replace Moroka; others backed Dr Njongwe, who had become very famous because of the success of the Defiance Campaign in Port Elizabeth; and then you had Chief Luthuli. When the leaders couldn’t agree, nominations were put to the floor and over 50 nominations for president were proposed.”

It is rather inconceivable today that at either National or Provincial or even Regional conferences, we would have so many candidates contesting for President or Chairperson! In fact, it is a measure of the institutionalisation of the ANC that very, very few candidates make the thresholds for nomination to the top six and Presidency in particular. Indeed, candidates that eventually are included in the final ballots at National Conference must have been through the eye of the needle!

These examples from ANC history before its banning in 1960 certainly show a very robust process of internal leadership contestation, more often than not taking place around internal debate and contestations on key strategic questions facing the liberation movement. And yet, despite the contestation, the movement remained true to its historical mission of uniting the people, and managed to harness its structures and broader progressive forces in action, to take forward the struggle.

2.3. When and why did leadership transition become a problem for the ANC?

If we agree with the historical interpretation that leadership contestation has been part and parcel of the organisational culture of the ANC, when and why did leadership transition become a problem in the ANC? What are the manifestations of this problem and how does it impact on the ability of the ANC to pursue its mission in the current period?

This section will move from the premise that although there might have been contest around leadership in the movement during the exile years, these were managed to a large degree. Similarly, in the mass democratic movement, especially the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU), leadership issues did rear their head from time to time, but were subsumed under the overarching task to unite the broadest range of forces against apartheid. The concentration of this perspective will therefore be on the period after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 and the 1994 democratic breakthrough, when the issues became more acute.

A study of this 20 year period - 1990 to today - will show that current approaches to our management of leadership transition evolved over time, starting at the moment of entry into government and progressively becoming more of a problem. Each National Conference and National General Council since 1994 highlighted different aspects of the problem. By the 52nd National Conference in 2007, the negative tendencies associated with leadership transitions had become part of a subverted organisational culture, and thus the clarion call from Polokwane for organisational renewal.

1990-1994, uniting different strands of the liberation movement: Following the unbanning of the ANC, the SACP and other organisations on 2 February 1990, major organisational challenges facing the ANC were linked to the re-establishment of mass, legal structures across the country, the return and

integration of exiles and political prisoners, negotiations, state-sponsored violence and preparing for governance and elections. Cde Nelson Mandela, then Deputy President, described this process in his Keynote address to the National Consultative Conference in December 1990:

*The ANC is emerging from the shadows of 30 years of underground existence and is engaged in establishing itself once more as a legal political movement. The problems relating to this transition are innumerable. We have been obliged to reconstruct an entire organisation from the smallest local branch unit to the national leadership structures during a period of very rapid change and high expectations in our country. That the process has been uneven should not dismay or alarm us. That it is fraught with new and unique problems was to be expected. That we do not all see the problems in the same light was inevitable given the differing strands of experience that have shaped our membership, from its leading bodies to the branch level.*⁶

Leadership transition issues at the time therefore related to the integration of the different organisational 'strands of experiences' that made up the movement at the time: exile, prison, underground and the mass democratic movement. The NEC meeting held late February beginning March 1990 started this process of integration when it resolved that "immediately the comrades who were members of the NEC before they were arrested, namely Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki will resume their places with the NEC."⁷ The same meeting elected comrade Nelson Mandela to the position of Deputy President.

As the ANC re-established itself as a mass legal organisation in the country, leadership formation and contests during those early years continued to be articulated as reflective of the dynamics of merging organisational traditions and cultures. This was certainly evident at the 17th National Congress of the ANC Youth League in Kwandebele in 1991 and the relaunch Conference of the ANC Women's League in Kimberley held the same year. Both these Leagues had active Sections in exile, as well as mass democratic formations of women and youth that certainly saw themselves as Congress⁸. Members from these formations joined the ANC as individual members in large numbers. Both these Conferences, in their discussions on the substantive issues of the day and their roles and functions as Leagues of the ANC representing specific sectors, also had to consider how this would find expression in the leadership they had to elect and the subsequent trajectory of each League.

In addition to the merging of different organisational cultures, strands and leadership, the 48th National Conference in Durban in 1991 also had to deal with the end of an era, when Cde OR Tambo, having led the movement for nearly three decades, stepped down as President. The NEC elected at the 1991 Conference in a real way brought together the different strands of the movement, as well as different generations of the ANC, not only in the additional members elected, but also reflected in the top six officials⁹. This was achieved through a combination of consensus-building by the most senior ANC leadership around the position of Deputy President, and democratic contest on other positions such as that of Secretary General. The unity of these different strands "brought a dynamic political chemistry into the evolution of the organisation. It has also provided a wide and deep pool of experience within leadership"¹⁰ (*The eye of the needle*. ANC, 2001: par. 44).

After 1994, balancing government and organisational deployment: The democratic breakthrough of 1994 saw the ANC winning elections decisively and leading the Government of National Unity. One of the issues arising from this period was the weakness to balance organisational and government deployment, articulated by President Mandela in his address to the 49th National Conference in Bloemfontein thus: "Ours was not a planned entry into government. Except for the highest echelons, we did not have a plan for the deployment of cadres. We were disorganised, and behaved in a manner that could have endangered the revolution."¹⁰ The President and the Secretary General in

their reports to this Conference raised the need to find a balance between people joining the ANC simply to further their careers and the movement providing opportunities for career-paths for members and cadres. *The eye of the needle* (ANC, 2001: par. 47) again raised this matter:

Entry into government meant that a great many cadres of the movement moved en masse from full-time organisational work. This was a necessary shift arising from the victories we had scored. However, this was not done in a planned manner. As a result, for the first few years, there were virtually no senior leaders of the ANC based at its headquarters. This had a negative impact on the task of mass organisation. While progress has been made in this regard, further work needs to be done to ensure that ANC structures operate as an organisational and political centre for everything the ANC does.

The 49th National Conference in Bloemfontein in 1994 and the 50th National Conference in Mafikeng in 1997 saw the handing over of formal leadership positions by the Rivonia generation. It was at the 50th National Conference that the red flags (or still yellow) started going up. Reports to the National Conference by both the President and Secretary General raised concerns in the context of particularly fierce leadership contests in the lead-up to provincial conferences during the 1996 period; with growing concerns that the intensity and divisiveness of the contests reflected the fact that leadership positions in the ANC were being seen as stepping stones to positions of power and material reward in government. The ANC Youth League in this context presented a position paper to the National Executive Committee of the ANC on *Organisational and leadership issues in the ANC*, which became part of the discussion documents towards the Mafikeng Conference in 1997, along with a document on “*The challenges of leadership*.”¹¹ The latter document in the lead-up to Mafikeng introduced the issue thus:

One of the tasks the National Conference is charged with is the responsibility of electing a leadership collective. This is a matter that should be discussed openly within constitutional structures of the movement. Such discussions should be informed by the strategic tasks of the organisation and the challenges that it faces in the current phase. In this process, it is natural and necessary that there should be contest among individuals and lobbying by their supporters. Our challenge is to ensure healthy and comradely competition, so that we emerge from this process united, with a leadership suited to the current phase. On the other hand, if pursued in dark corners, and in a spirit of self-interested sectionalism, the process would degenerate into debilitating contests which divide the movement and divert it from the major task of social transformation. It could also be easily exploited by forces of counter-revolution.

The *Strategy and Tactics* adopted in 1997¹² for the first time raised concerns about the tendency in liberation movements and their leadership, once in government, to become socially distant from their mass constituencies:

“The occupation of positions of power by individuals from the black majority, and the material possibilities this offers, does create some ‘social distance’ between these individuals and the constituencies they represent. It should not be ruled out that this could render elements in the revolutionary movement progressively lethargic to the conditions of the poor. This is not a distant and theoretical possibility, but a danger lurking as we pursue fundamental change from the vantage point of political office. Preventing it is not a small appendage to the tasks of the NDR. It is central to the all-round vigilance we should continue to exercise.”

And yet, despite the warnings, these issues more and more became a headache for the movement during the next period.

Eating at our soul: The National General Council (NGC) held in Port Elizabeth in 2000 critically took stock of the character of the ANC, noting

“...the Reports of both the President and the Secretary-General, Council identified many dangers that have arisen under the new conditions of struggle. Disturbing trends of careerism, corruption and opportunism, alien to a revolutionary movement, have started to take root at various levels of our organisation. These problems have the potential to eat at the soul of our movement, and to denude our society of an agent of real change.”¹³

The NGC thus sought to draw on the historic traditions of the movement, reintroducing the primary role of the ANC as an agent for change, its character as a revolutionary movement, the centrality of the branch in communities and the role of ANC cadres. It recognised the urgent need “to entrench the ethos of a transformative morality, discipline and caring among our members, our people and our country as a whole.” ¹⁴

However, the momentum of the 2000 NGC was not sustained and the *Organisational Report* to the 51st National Conference held in Stellenbosch in 2002 indicated that some of the tendencies warned against in Mafikeng in 1997 had become part of a more generalised trend, with organisational positions increasingly seen as stepping stones to government; divisive leadership battles often over access to resources and patronage becoming the norm; and allegations about corruption and business interests of leadership, deployed cadres and membership abounding. These tendencies fed into a climate of division, with debates on urgent matters of the day often reduced to labeling, growing intolerance in debates, and widespread perceptions of sidelining of comrades.

In a number of provinces and in some more than once, the NEC intervened when divisions and factionalism paralysed the organisation and governance in these provinces, dissolving Provincial Executive Committees, establishing interim leadership to organise provincial conferences to elect new leadership. In some provinces these interventions have assisted, but in general, lasting solutions also depended on the general state of the organisation and culture of the movement as a national unitary organisation.

The Stellenbosch Conference in 2002, in the context of weak branch structures and even weaker cadre development programmes, also raised concerns about members and branches being used as ‘voting cattle’ in leadership battles, and the tendency to have recruitment and active structures mainly for the purposes of elective conferences, in the absence of consistent programmes to organise and mobilise the local communities and the motive forces.

This more generally raised the concern that these tendencies contribute to the subversion of organisational culture, evident in such actions as the abuse of the ANC membership system: gate-keeping, ghost members, commercialisation of membership and other forms of fraudulent practices. It also raised concerns about the issue of factionalism - of elected leadership seen and operating as a faction; leadership at the highest level engaging in factional activity; decisions taken outside of organisational structures and of deployment based on factions.

2.4. Subversion of organisational culture - the emergence of a shadow culture

At the 2005 National General Council in Tshwane and leading up to and at the 52nd National Conference in Polokwane in 2007 the following other tendencies were identified as part of the same trend of the subversion of our organisational culture: growing disrespect for organisational forums manifested in intolerance in debates; heckling, howling, indecent behaviour at meetings; resolving disagreements through violence; disrupting or walking out of meetings and conferences; allegations of the use of state resources and agencies to fight battles in the movement; elective conferences characterised by lobbying lists, block voting and winner takes-all scenarios, followed by purges or perceptions of purges and the marginalisation of sections of the movement, till the next conference when the next group takes over and do exactly the same; and the so-called 'left' and 'right' ideological divide, labeling (1996 class project and ultra-left) and perspectives on the Alliance that seem to take us way back to the 1930s.

These tendencies have become so persistent and widespread that they in fact represent a shadow culture, which co-exists alongside what the movement always stood for. It draws on ANC history and symbolism and like a parasite, uses the very democratic structures and processes of the movement to its own ends. Thus the 52nd National Conference in Polokwane in 2007 signaled a grave warning that these tendencies

"...threaten the very survival of the ANC as the trusted servant of the people it has been for 96 years..."

and that such tendencies are *"...in direct opposition to everything the ANC represents, including its value system, its revolutionary morality, its selflessness, the comradeship among its members, its deep-seated respect for the truth and honesty; its determined opposition to deceit and double-dealing; and its readiness openly to account to the masses of our people for everything it says and does."*¹⁵

The 52nd National Conference has been described as 'a watershed conference' and we now regularly talk of the 'post-Polokwane' era. The draft discussion document on *Organisational Renewal* (ANC, 2009)¹⁶ explains this characterisation of Polokwane, by pointing towards the interventions of the Conference with regards reaffirming the centrality of the people, the role of membership and grassroots and clarifications on the relationship between the party and state.

2.5. Not one single moment, but over time

The above timeline seeks to illustrate that what we now experience as the subversion of ANC organisational culture did not happen in one moment, but evolved through a cumulative process, which over time begun to cast a shadow over the immense strides we made as an organisation.

The tendencies we talked about have become part of our organisational culture - operating as a parallel or shadow culture - involving 'old' and 'new' members and leadership echelons at all levels, increasingly leaving 'no voice in its ranks able to provide guidance'. This subverted shadow organisational culture has the following immediate impact: (a) it undermines internal democracy, cohesion, discipline, participation, membership control and the culture of debate in the movement; (b) it fuels public perceptions of a movement at war with itself, caring about none but itself, whose leadership (bar a few saints) are socially distant and have lost the moral high ground; (c) it feeds into the culture of cynicism about politics, withdrawal from political participation and channeling of participation and protest into other forms of expression; and finally (d) it makes us lurch from conference to conference with leadership battles starting even before the new leadership has settled in and started to execute their mandate.

Above all, these tendencies in the ANC have also impacted on our ability to give strategic and moral leadership to the country, and on our historic mission to serve and unite.

And yet...

Despite this shadow, the movement made an immense impact under very difficult circumstances to lay the foundation for the transformation of South Africa, played an active role in defining a vision of renewal for the African continent and took its place among countries from the South to advocate for a more just and democratic global order. Furthermore, the 2009 election campaign and results showed that despite facing a split from within, the ANC as a political movement still has the greatest capacity for uniting and mobilising the country behind a common vision.

The ANC has also maintained its tradition of self-reflection and criticism; thus the emergence of a critical mass of opinion, uniting behind the tasks of organisational renewal set by the 52nd National Conference in 2007.

2.6. Leadership transition in a changing environment

Over the last fifteen years, we have spent a lot of time - not least at successive National Councils and Conferences - on introspection around what are essentially the symptoms or the subjective manifestation of the problem, with insufficient attention to the objective factors and context which gave rise to them. This section will discuss five major developments (there may be others), which form part of the backdrop in which leadership transition occurred during the period under discussions. These are (a) the challenges of incumbency, (b) the global ideological paradigm, (c) the impact of the mass communications and information revolution, (d) the impact of the changes over the last sixteen years; and (e) the issues of party finances.

2.7. The challenge of incumbency

The ANC, as it prepared to govern and confirmed in *Strategy and Tactics* after 1994, identified state power (and winning elections) as the most important pillar for dealing with the legacy of apartheid colonialism and the building of a national democratic society. Thus over the fifteen years we have made immense strides to transform the state, the budget and public service, and our cadreship in a short space of time mastered important aspects of this pillar.

However, “ruling parties are not only shaping political agendas and institutional and economic development, but also monitor the bureaucracy, control the distribution of public resources, and supervise the activities of public corporations. Parties in government play an important role in shaping the relationship between state and society, and between wealthy interests and power.” (Blechinger, 2002:11) The Alliance discussion document *State, Property Relations and Social Transformation* (Alliance, 1998) thus cautioned: “unlike the apartheid state, the NLM [National Liberation Movement] cannot rely for its political sustenance on patronage and a callous disregard of public resources and the needs of the poor. The democratic state should in principle handle public resources with respect and a sense of responsibility. This includes ensuring that public resources allocated for specific purposes actually reach the intended beneficiaries.” The 1997 Strategy and Tactics document was correct when it noted that the management of this process and how it impacts on the movement and its cadreship, is not simply ‘a small appendage’ to the tasks of the NDR, but requires ‘all-round vigilance’ (ANC, 2002 op cit).

This challenge - of how to use this immense power consistently and unflinchingly for the greater good and in the interest of the most vulnerable - is one that confronts progressive ruling parties and movements across the board and in all continents. In pursuit of this central objective, progressive movements and parties had to content with finding the correct ways of dealing with the following issues:

The patronage and neo-patrimonialism challenge: including how to ensure deployment to governance based on competency and commitment to the vision of transformation, instead of deployment based on factional interests or for accessing resources; how to prevent the channeling of public resources to party structures, leaders or members; avoiding the shaping of political and economic institutions to benefit interest groups or constituencies and preventing undue influence of those with money, connections and resources to influence elections, lobbying and access, in the process seeking to shape the national agenda.

Bureaucratisation of political movements: blurring the distinction between movement and state; social distance between leaders, members and mass base; arrogance of power and bureaucratic indifference; demobilisation of members and mass base; domination by technocratic elites and the professionalisation of politics and a decline of activism.

Statist approaches to social transformation: the people and citizens as passive recipients of government delivery and development; challenges to approaches of government seen as challenges to the legitimacy of government or transformation; movement and civil society structures seen mainly to support government; a paradigm of 'good governance' vs democracy.

Corruption: theft of public resources; abuse of position to extort bribes or kickbacks; services in exchange for bribes; business and public office conflicts of interests.

Erosion of progressive values and organisational culture: hegemony of greed and consumption or 'we did not struggle to be poor'; the nature of social change and growth of inequality; undermining internal democracy by limiting or seeking to discredit debates on alternatives; organisational culture and enforcement of rules, increasingly for expediency rather than principle.

The extent to which progressive movements and their leadership - when in power for protracted periods - deal with the above matters, fundamentally shapes the nature of the society they seek to build, influences societal values and determines whether they continue to play a revolutionary role in their societies as agents of change. Butler's (2007:1) contention that the ANC's "intellectual frameworks and political processes - rather than the institutions of constitutional democracy - will forge the society's sense of collective purpose and make its key political and policy choices," is therefore not surprising and highlights the historic responsibility on the ANC and its leadership to address these matters with all-round vigilance.

Over the last fifteen years a number of internal policies have been adopted to deal with these matters, including resolutions clarifying the party-state relations and policies such as the *Cadre Policy and Deployment strategy*¹⁷, which was revised and updated by the NEC in 2008. Why these have not been entirely effective in dealing with the challenges is a matter that we will return to later.

2.8. The dominant global ideological paradigm

ANC *Strategy and Tactics* documents since 1997 acknowledged that the South African transition took place in a global context dominated by a neo-liberal ideology, agenda and system of values, which

were not conducive to our transformation, the creation of a better Africa and of a more just world. This was not unique to South Africa. Lewis (2000: 21) writing about the democratisation of countries of Central and Eastern Europe note that these transitions of the early 1990s took place in a global context which was “also more uncertain and potentially unfavourable for democratic transition than it was, for example for the countries of Southern Europe during the 1970s under Cold War conditions.” John Saul (2005:15) describes the ‘promise’ of the neo-liberal paradigm as follows:

The power of the nation-state is waning. Such states as we know them may even be dying. In the future, power will lie with global markets. Thus, economics, not politics and armies, will shape human events. The fallacy of this approach - of the glorification of greed and the market, the retreat of the state and politics - is only now generally apparent, as the financial crisis exposed the morally indefensible excesses and failures of this period.

Again, progressive parties and movements and their leadership across the globe had to confront this paradigm, and had to chart development paths for their countries to allow for a measure of national self-determination, which the dominant paradigm of that era sought to deny them. The ANC too had to navigate this period through the policy choices we made and the impact (and unintended consequences) these had on our development path as a country and on our movement.

2.9. Influence of the information revolution

The mass communication and information revolution has had a profound impact on societies and on political and other movements across the globe. One of the major developments in this regard is the growing dominance of commercial media over traditional forms of communication between movements and their membership and mass base. As Leif (1998: 281), writing about media impact on European social democratic organisations rather fatalistically puts it:

In today's media society, politics enter public awareness only if the media make people aware: unless it is popular 'prime time' material, politics never enters into anybody's awareness. Media politics is no small fry matter, it is dealt with uncontrolled, in private. This in turns defines the specific direction of the lobbying within parties.

The ANC in rising to this challenge has often been in the forefront of strategies to engage with this new reality, including the fact that the movement was the first political party in South Africa to start its own website in 1995. It regularly uses research and opinion surveys to aid its elections strategy development, while at the same time emphasising internal communications (through organs such as ANC Today, NEC Bulletin, Umrabulo) and direct communications with its mass base. The innovative use of ‘new media’ was particularly evident during the 2009 elections campaign, and is one of the explanations for the concerted outreach to young and first-time voters. Part of the ongoing challenges of the ICT revolution also include engaging with the rise of user-generated content, and the potential for instant messages to reach increasingly larger groups of people.

The negatives of the information revolution include the shallowness that is associated with instant and constant news feeds, short attention spans and the tyranny of the sound bite. For political movements and parties there is also the challenge of leaders who are made in the media or who have to be ‘media friendly’. In response, organisational programs (and often policies) too become ‘instant’ and responsive and the media is then used to forward agendas within organisations. One of the manifestations of the shadow organisational culture in the ANC of the last couple of years have been the public spats between leaders and the use of the media to discredit each other and to fight internal leadership battles in the movement and the Alliance.

The engagement on the issues of communications remains an important part of ANC organisational strategy, as recognized by the extensive resolution from the 51st National Conference in 2002 on Communications, which also set clear benchmarks. The 52nd National Conference resolutions on *Communications and the battles of ideas*¹⁸ re-affirmed and extended the policy positions of the previous conference, in the context of the battle of ideas.

2.10. Changes of the last sixteen years and the challenges of building a national democratic society

The foundation built during the first fifteen years of freedom, developments on the African continent, the global environment as well as the simple passage of time already had an impact on the nature of our society. These include changes among the motive forces, for example the shifts in trade union membership from the dominance of workers from primary (mainly mining) and secondary sectors towards services (public sector), reflecting shifts in the country's economy and labour markets; the growth of the black middle class and a small, but visible black bourgeoisie; the impact of urbanisation and of internal and external migration; the persistence and changing nature of the national and gender questions; the persistence and changing nature of inequality and poverty; and the post-apartheid generations with their different experiences, issues and perspectives.

*The challenges of leadership*¹¹ thus recognised the necessity of the ANC in its leadership collectives to embody these changes in the motive forces and our society, arguing that our collectives are 'melting pots', which represent and should be seen to represent a "synthesis of not one but the cross-section of various strands and identities. Overall, the ANC should strive to be the microcosm of the motive forces of transformation and in broader terms, the microcosm of the South African nation being born."

The eye of the needle (ANC, 2002: par. 6 and 11-17) urged members when considering nominations for leadership to ensure that these collectives reflect the current tasks of the NDR - building a national democratic society. This should find expression in the kind of ANC required to meet these challenges: a mass people's movement, a non-racial and non-sexist national movement, a revolutionary democratic movement, a leader of democratic forces and a champion of progressive internationalism.

2.11. The issue of party financing

The issue of the financing of the movement and how this could be used to influence leadership and policy outcomes and the integrity of the ANC is a growing concern. This, however again does not only confront the ANC or South Africa. The research institute IDEA (2003:v) in its *Handbook on Funding of Political parties and elections campaigns*, notes that:

Parties need to generate income to finance not just their electoral campaigns but also their running costs as political institutions with a role to play between elections. Yet parties, in newer as in older democracies, are under increasing pressure, faced with a vicious circle of escalating costs of campaigning, declining or negligible membership income, and deepening public mistrust about the invidious role of money in politics. Their problems of fund-raising are causing deep anxiety not just to politicians but to all those who care about democracy. The issue of party finance has in the past been dealt with in sharply contrasting ways across the world, but there are now signs of some convergence in the debate. There are at least three distinct but interrelated questions:

How free should parties be to raise and spend funds as they like?

How much information about party finance should the voter be entitled to have?

How far should public resources be used to support and develop political parties?

Each of these questions raises others about the function of political parties in society and reminds us of how much remains to be done, even in some quite stable democracies, to have political parties act according to basic principles of transparency and the rule of law. There are no simple answers about how political finance should be organised.

Mindful of these issues, the 52nd National Conference resolution on Funding (ANC, 2007 par. 63) was therefore unambiguous in the policy positions it adopted:

The ANC should champion the introduction of a comprehensive system of public funding of representative political parties in the different spheres of government and civil society organisations, as part of strengthening the tenets of our new democracy. This should include putting in place an effective regulatory architecture for private funding of political parties and civil society groups to enhance accountability and transparency to the citizenry. The incoming NEC must urgently develop guidelines and policy on public and private funding, including how to regulate investment vehicles.¹⁹

2.12. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

“... (it) is critical that we act decisively and with determination on this matter. If not, we will find ourselves at the end of our term of office having to report exactly the same problems that we identified in Stellenbosch, at the Tshwane NGC, and in Polokwane.” President Zuma input to the National Executive Committee, March 2008.

There is no question that the ANC has in a very forthright way grappled with all of these matters and often adopted policies and rules to guide the organisation to deal with these challenges. Why then, despite the adoption and reaffirmation of ‘*Through the eye of the needle*,’ have we failed to curb the insidious culture that has developed around our leadership contests in the movement?

Part of the purpose of this perspective is exactly to initiate a broad-based discussion around this question, because it would be too easy to once again adopt policies and guidelines, only to come back in a few years time reaffirming such guidelines, but having failed to implement them.

A number of explanations have been raised in the initial discussions of this perspective. One explanation is that we have been quite undialectical in our approach - focusing on symptoms rather than the essence or root causes of the problems, thus calling into question our diagnosis of the issue and the solutions. Another explanation is that it is a failure of implementation and enforcement, and until such time that we (especially leadership) are seen to be obeying the rules ourselves and acting without fear and favour in enforcing discipline and the organisational rules, the situation will continue. Others feel that the gaps in our rules - for example on lobbying - leave gaps for opportunism, and we therefore need to develop lobbying guidelines and rules of enforcement. Yet another is that as a voluntary association, the ANC relies on the effectiveness of its structures, its political management and the understanding and consciousness of its cadres to ensure implementation of its organisational policies, culture and rules. The key is therefore political education.

Whatever the explanations, the Polokwane Conference and earlier approaches called on us to consider the following measures as a matter of urgency:

a) *Make organisational renewal an urgent priority:* Leadership renewal is but a component of organisational renewal, of the process to refocus the movement, its leadership and members on its primary mission to serve and unite our people. These and other aspects of renewal are discussed in more details in the forthcoming paper on organisational renewal²⁰. To ensure that renewal is indeed thorough-going, we need bold and exemplary leadership, a critical mass of ANC cadres committed to the objectives of the renewal, broad-based understanding of the concrete tasks, and a commitment based on the understanding that organisational renewal requires consistency of practice and principle.

b) *Draw clear lines between right and wrong, and strengthen and enforce organisational guidelines:*

The factionalism that is associated with a shadow organisational culture often breeds intolerance, removing the vibrancy of debate and the mutual enrichment among members that are the life-blood of the organisation. Disruptive conduct in meetings and conferences, including shouting down those who hold contrary views and even indecent and violent conduct, can become the order of the day. If this is allowed to continue, many members will recoil from taking part in ANC meetings. Some may simply let their membership lapse, and all kinds of rogues may take the movement over - with dire consequences for the ANC and indeed the revolution as such.

In the process, the line between right and wrong and between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour becomes blurred, as goal posts get shifted depending on who is involved. Such ambiguity opens the movement to all sorts of opportunistic behaviour. This ambiguity has persisted around a number of important issues, such as corruption, abuse of state resources for factional or personal purposes, and the general conduct expected of ANC leaders and cadres. These blurred lines are often there not because of our policies, but because in practice we do the opposite, fail to act against those who cross the lines and we thus face a gap of credibility, having ceded the moral high ground.

In some circumstances the ambiguity may be because of the absence of clear guidelines. In such instances, we must develop guidelines in the context of current experience, which draw a clear and unambiguous line between right and wrong. Once the lines are drawn, we must act against transgressors, without fear or favour. For example, one such issue is the conduct of members in ANC meetings. There have been incidents where the gatherings of our movement, for decades regarded as the parliament of the South African people, have degenerated to such an extent that it not only resulted in the movement not able to conduct its business, but also undermined the very dignity of the ANC as a parliament of the people. This certainly is one matter where current rules require strengthening and where we need vigilant enforcement, as suggested in Box 1.

Box 1

CONDUCT IN GATHERINGS

In meetings, ANC members have a right to contribute to discussion on any issue, in line with meeting agendas and rules. This includes matters pertaining to debate on candidates for election into any position or selection of delegate(s) to Conferences. In such discussion, members have the right to be “wrong”; but should accept the view of the majority when such a view has been procedurally adopted.

Respect for meeting rules are an important part of ensuring that the organisation is able to conduct its affairs, and to allow all members to contribute to the political life of the movement.

Acts of misconduct in gatherings already in the ANC Constitution (Rule 25.5) and which need to be discouraged:

- Undermining the respect for or impeding the functioning of the structures of the organisation;
- Participating in organised factional activity that goes beyond the recognised norms of free debate inside the organisation and threatens its unity;
- Fighting or behaving in a grossly disorderly or unruly way; and
- Deliberately disrupting meetings and interfering with the orderly functioning of the organisation.

In line with these and other provisions of the Constitution, the following should also be prohibited:

- Preventing other members from stating and arguing their points of view, including through heckling or other disruptive activities;
- Forcing one’s way into meetings which an individual does not have the right to attend, refusing to abide by accreditation rules or allowing such conduct;
- Suppression of legitimate dissent which is aired in accordance with the rules of the meeting or otherwise generally ignoring procedures on how a meeting should be run;
- In the meeting, as a candidate, failing to take steps, including interactions and/or statements to stop misconduct in one’s name; and
- As an accredited observer or guest, engaging in conduct that violates these and other rules of the ANC.

c) Review and strengthen core aspects of our internal electoral processes

The eye of the needle (ANC 2001: par. 18-24) clearly spells out the principles of ANC organisational democracy including elected and collective leadership, branches as basic units of the ANC, consultations and mandates, criticism and self-criticism, democracy as majority rule and the applications of democratic centralism.

Eye of the needle (par. 25-32) also reviews the constitutional guidelines for elections, and the critical role of branches and branch members as the electoral college for all elective positions in the ANC. In general, it agrees that these guidelines - the right of any member to stand and be elected subject to qualifications in terms of track record; the nominations process in branch general meetings; the election of delegates to conferences; nominations from the floor at conferences; and voting by secret ballot - are critical to a democratic organisation, and still relevant. However, it recognised the potential for subversion of these very processes, when it talks about how members should take charge and the critical challenges facing branches, to ensure the integrity of its membership system and the responsibility of delegates to deliver the mandate of their branches, as well as allowing themselves to influence and be influenced by other delegates. A major challenge is how to ensure the integrity of the process so that discussions about leadership take place in branches based on the tasks at hand and the requirements of leadership, rather than simply being roped into support one list or another, without debate and discussion on the tasks of the movement and what each individual on such lists can and should contribute.

Our process is based on the revolutionary assumption that the organisation through its membership and structures discuss the requirements of leadership and who best in its ranks can fulfill these tasks. One of the tendencies of the last fifteen years has often been of individuals or groups of individuals aspiring towards leadership, and then seeking to convince the organisation and members to nominate and elect them, often in opposition to another group - either getting them out or preventing them from coming in. This tendency is counterproductive when it is based not on the tasks at hand and qualities of individuals, but on expediency (getting in at all cost) or a half-baked vision with little intention of uniting the movement behind such vision. Thus means and ends become equally suspect.

The eye of the needle also noted that putting oneself forward to be elected to leadership is regarded as in 'poor revolutionary taste' in our organisational culture, with the formal process only allowing for names to emerge from branches or Leagues. Thus if an individual aspires to a position, they can only make this known through third parties: either by lobbying members and structures to nominate them, getting an informal lobby group to lobby ANC members and structures, or to announce or leak such intentions to the media. This often forms the basis of destructive lobbying practices.

We thus need to find a way of strengthening our electoral processes generally and the nominations process in particular, by:

- Circulating electoral rules and other guidelines for conferences way in advance, so that the organisation sets the debate about conferences, rather than individual agendas as played out in informal processes and in the media.
- Incorporating the 'broad criteria for leadership' into our electoral rules to ensure political discussions on candidates for nominations; and
- Developing guidelines on lobbying, with structures to enforce it (*see for example Box 2*).

Box 2

RULES ON LOBBYING

A democratic electoral process is about influencing and being influenced by others about the value that a candidate will add to the work of the organisation. As such, structures, members and even the candidates or aspirant candidates have a right to express their views, in the process influencing the

electoral process and allowing themselves to be influenced in the process of engagements about these issues. This will take place in informal interactions as well as in formal structures of the movement.

However, no structure outside of the ANC has a right to nominate or lobby for any candidate. While appreciating that the public at large will have an interest and even preferences, which in a free society may be publicly expressed, mobilisation for such support, including setting up of lobby-groups that seek to influence internal ANC processes, by candidates or their supporters should be prohibited.

We should therefore consider discouraging the following specific wrongful lobbying practices, by adding them as acts of misconduct in our electoral rules, including:

- Raising and using funds and other resources to campaign for election into ANC structures;
- Production of t-shirts, posters and other paraphernalia to promote any candidature;
- Promising positions or other incentives or threatening to withhold such, as a means of gaining support;
- Attacks on the integrity of other candidates, both within structures of the movement and in other forums, save for legitimate critiques related the substance of the contestation which should only be raised in formal meetings of the movement;
- Suppressing honest and legitimate debate about candidates (on these issues of substance) in formal meetings of the movement;
- Open and private lobbying or utilisation of the media in support of or opposition to a particular candidate;
- Allowing structures or individuals to condone violation of Constitutional provisions and/or regulations, and/or failing to report such violations when they occur; and
- Generally, as a candidate, failing to take steps, including interactions and/or statements to stop misconduct in one's name.

d) Sanctions and enforcement

Attached to all rules should be sanctions that fit the level of misconduct. Many of these are contained in the Constitution, and include suspension and even expulsion. However, in the context of electoral processes, additional sanctions and enforcement mechanisms are necessary, which will serve as a disincentive directly linked to the context of the misdemeanor, including:

- Disqualification as a candidate or delegate;
- Expulsion, from the meeting, of a candidate or delegate or observer or guest; and/or
- Naming and shaming of candidates or members or their ANC/non-ANC supporters.

Our disciplinary committees as set out in the Constitution are responsible for hearing and passing judgment on whether someone has contravened the disciplinary and electoral rules. In normal circumstances, the leadership collectives (NEC, PEC, REC and BEC) are responsible for ensuring that the provisions of the Constitution and other organisational rules are adhered to and/or enforced. However, the incumbents in these collectives often have an interest in the electoral process, in so far as they may be candidates or aspirant candidates. They may therefore be tempted to be less vigilant and to look the other way when their supporters break the rules.

Our electoral rules already take this in consideration, with election commissions made up of comrades who are not contesting for leadership at a particular moment and who in the heat of such contests, can draw attention to the broader interests of the movement. The electoral commissions are furthermore responsible for pronouncing at the end on the 'procedural integrity' of the electoral process. There is however no such impartial or disinterested bodies to ensure the enforcement of rules throughout the process, thus leaving the field wide open for all sorts of abhorrent behaviour.

The rules proposed for discussion are meant to reinforce the processes started to renew the values, character and organisational integrity of the ANC. They are not meant to supplant, but rather to reinforce, the other elements of this campaign such as political education and induction. As with all rules, they can lend themselves to partial application or perceptions of such; or galvanise an industry of legal expertise to find loopholes of avoidance. This should be obviated through the utilisation of the movement's disciplinary structures in finalising the details, proceeding from the perspective that the ANC is a voluntary organisation.

It should be expected that, once the system is put in place and sufficiently publicised, it would serve as a deterrent at least to the most vulgar expressions of ill-discipline that we have witnessed in the recent period. Further, it is hoped that consistent application of the system, especially in the early stages, will be indication enough that there is consequence to delinquency.

d) Strengthen and renew leadership capabilities and the political management of leadership development, transition and succession planning

For any revolutionary movement, the reproduction and maintenance of its organisational culture and leadership cannot be left to chance. ANC branches and the Leagues are important 'schools of socialisation' in this regard, since they are the first point of entry and (should) provide the most consistent and vibrant forums for members to participate in the political life of the ANC, and thus for the development and emergence of leadership.

The recent NEC Lekgotla²¹ elaborated on the 'twin tasks' of branches as firstly to mobilise and organise local communities around transformation and development, and secondly, as a political school for the ANC to develop, train and maintain cadres and leadership who understand the policies and politics of the movement and gain practical experience in mass work, problem-solving and service to the people. This is the only way to ensure that branches and the general membership remain the foundation of our movement. If we achieve a critical mass of branches that successfully play this role, the process of involving the ANC membership in the resolution of critical questions facing the organisation will be so much easier, especially in instances where decisive action is required to introduce new approaches, or to deal with such problems as divisions, opportunism and corruption. This involvement of members is critical not only in terms of democratic principles, but it is an important instrument of practical political education²².

The Youth and Women's Leagues, as sectoral formations of the ANC and through their branch structures, also have similar yet specialised functions. The ANC Youth League serves as a preparatory school for young members and leaders, by harnessing their energy, innovation and enthusiasm in the transformation process. As a mass movement of young men and women, it also provides young activists with practical experiences of mass work, problem solving and service to the people. In addition, it mobilises and champions youth interests in the ANC and in broader society. It is therefore not surprising that from the ranks of the ANC Youth League have emerged some of the

most tried and tested cadres and leaders of the ANC. The ANC Women's League similarly is a political school for women, harnessing the reservoir of community activism we find among women virtually everywhere, raising their consciousness and awareness about their position and emancipation as women, the building of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous country for all, and preparing them to take their place in the ANC and in broader society, pursuant of these goals.

The recently launched Veterans League is a unique formation, an embodiment of the organisational experience and memories of our movement. It should thus play a critical role in the process of political education and leadership development.

The Kabwe Consultative Conference in 1985 adopted a resolution on cadre policy²³, which sought to institutionalise the process of cadre and leadership development in the movement. This policy, and subsequent resolutions on political education and cadre development and deployment from Conferences which followed, recognised the importance of the development, deployment and maintenance of cadres. For example, since Mafikeng in 1997 resolutions have been adopted on deployments to government, from the President to the public service to local councilors and on the accountability of our public representatives, because we recognise the role the state plays in shaping and driving the social transformation agenda and that this too should not be left to chance. What has been lacking is a deliberate human resource development programme for the ANC, which encourages and creates opportunities for training and gaining experience in the myriad of spheres necessary to build a national democratic society. The implementation and coordination of such a policy should allow for a more conscious and transparent process of career-pathing by party cadres, and will also strengthen our deployment policies at all levels.

The recent NEC Lekgotla²¹ also pronounced on leadership conduct, calling for the development of an *ABC of Congress leadership*, which should spell out our basic approaches to leadership, and the conduct expected from ANC leaders at all levels.

A strong call emerged from Polokwane for us to refine our approaches to leadership transition and succession, including learning from other progressive movements and parties. This should allow us as we approach elective conferences of whatever structure in the movement to be prepared not only to consider the tasks at hand, but ensure that leadership transition also takes into consideration intergenerational learning, balancing continuity and change to ensure the preservation of organisational memory and experiences, as well as renewal and replenishment. This, according to the Polokwane resolution, should be the subject of a separate discussion paper.

e) Building a new morality and a new cadre

The discussions towards the 2000 NGC (and reiterated in this year's January 8 statement²⁴) raised very sharply the issue of the movement taking the lead in defining a new morality, which should help us construct and form the foundation of the national democratic society we seek to build. The discussion document "*ANC revolutionary movement and agent for change*" puts it thus:

In broad terms, socio-economic processes such as the national democratic revolution - which require strategic subjective interventions to shape unique social relations - differ from the ordinary capitalist system and its predecessors in that they do not rely solely on the "animal spirits" of voluntarism, relations of production that evolve on their own. They either stand or fall on the basis of whether a New Person has been shaped in turn to reshape the existing social relations. Our programme is not only about transformation of material conditions, but also about engendering new social values.

Failure to build a New Person, among revolutionaries themselves and, in a more diffuse manner, in broader society, will result in a critical mass of the vanguard movement being swallowed in the vortex of the arrogance of power and attendant social distance and corruption, and, ultimately, themselves being transformed by the very system they seek to change. An important challenge, among others, is to ensure a systematic intervention by the ideological centres and institutions of society, as well as women as mothers and the family as a whole in shaping social values and a new morality.”

The process of engendering new social values will require comradely and frank debates about the nature of the society, institutions and values we espouse and live by. It will require introspection and reflection on the role and image of the movement as a leader of our society, as well as self-reflection by its leaders and members on our collective and individual contribution to the shaping of this role and image.

2.13. CONCLUSION

Finally, rules on their own will not solve a problem that has become so embedded; we need to engage with the context and the organisational culture that gave rise to these tendencies. The drive for the organisational renewal of the ANC should help pave the way for critical reflection and debate, creating an atmosphere where we can collectively find lasting solutions to these very difficult problems. This requires leadership to lead honestly, humbly and decisively, and for membership and cadres to ensure that we take responsibility for the health of our movement.

As we prepare for the Centenary of our movement, we dare not fail!

3. Critical issues for Through the Eye of the Needle moving forward.

3.1. Context

- ANC National Conference 2012
- Regional Conferences
- Woman League
- MKVA

3.2. Problem Statement

- This Presentation seeks to revisit the ANC policy document on leadership election “through the eye of the needle” with the intentions of adjusting it to the current realities and challenges confronting the movement. This is after a realization that all what the ANC expect from its Cadres is well captured and documented but is not practiced.

This is due to the following reasons:

- The ANC has been quite un-dialectical in its approach- focusing on symptoms rather than the essence or root causes of the Problems, this calls into question the diagnosis and solution to the problem (our response to the challenges has been a set of containment measures, not through-going).
- Impact of Incumbency;
- Patronage and neo-patrimonialism challenges;
- Bureaucratization of political movements;
- Statist approaches to social transformation;
- Corruption;
- Erosion of progressive values and organizational culture;
- The Dominance of global ideological paradigm;
- Influence of the information revolution.

3.3. Business interest and Politics (Plutocracy)

- Leadership;
- Succession planning in the Organization;
- The failure of implementation and enforcement, ANC leadership should lead by example, by obeying party rules, and acting without fear or favour in enforcing discipline and organizational rules.

3.4. Organizational renewal: An urgent priority

- Leadership renewal is but a component of organizational renewal, of the process to refocus the movement, its leadership and members on its primary mission to serve and unite our people.

- To ensure that renewal is indeed through going, we need bold and exemplary leadership, a critical mass of ANC cadres committed to the tasks, and a commitment based on the understanding that organizational renewal requires consistency of practice and principle.

3.5. Draw clear lines between right and wrong

- The Factionalism that is associated with a shadow organizational culture often breeds intolerance, removing the vibrancy of debate and the mutual enrichment among members that are a life-blood of the organization.
- In the process, the line between right and wrong and between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour becomes blurred, as goal posts get shifted depending on who is involved. Such ambiguity opens the movement to all sort of opportunistic behaviour. This ambiguity has persisted around a number of important issues, such as corruption, abuse of state resources of factional or personal purposes, and the general conduct expected of ANC leaders and cadres. These blurred lines are often there not because of the lines and we thus face a gap of credibility, having ceded the moral high ground.
- In some circumstances the ambiguity may be because of the absence of clear guidelines. In such instances, we must develop guidelines in the context of current experience, which draw a clear and unambiguous line between right and wrong. Once the lines are drawn, we must act against transgressors, without fear or favour. For example, one such issue is the conduct of members in ANC meetings

3.6. Strengthen core aspects of our internal electoral process

- We should therefore consider discouraging the following specific wrongful lobbying practices, by adding them as acts of misconduct in our electoral rules, including:
 - Raising and using funds and other resources to campaign for election into ANC structures;
 - Production of t-shirts, posters and other paraphernalia to promote any candidature
 - Suppressing honest and legitimate debate about candidates (on these issues of substance) in formal meetings of the movement;
 - Open and private lobbying or utilisation of the media in support of or opposition to a particular candidate;
 - Allowing structures or individuals to condone violation of Constitutional provisions and regulations, or failing to report such violations when they occur; and
 - Generally, as a candidate, failing to take steps, including interactions or statements to stop misconduct in one's name.

3.7. Sanctions and Enforcement

- Sanctions are there in the Constitutions, but in the context of electoral processes, additional sanctions and enforcement mechanisms are necessary, which will serve as a disincentive directly linked to the context of misdemeanor, including:
 - Disqualifying as a candidate or delegate;
 - Expulsion, from the meeting, of a candidate or delegate or observer;

- Naming and shaming of candidates or members or their ANC/non-ANC supporters.

3.8. Strengthen and renew leadership capabilities

- For any revolutionary movement, the reproduction and maintenance of its organizational culture cannot and leadership cannot be left to chance. ANC branches and the Leagues are important 'schools of socialization' in this regard, since they are the first point of entry and (should) provide the most consistent and vibrant forums for members to participate in the political life of the ANC, and thus for the development and emergence of leadership.

3.9. Building a new morality and a new cadre

- The process of engendering new social values will require comradely and frank debates about the nature of the society, institutions and values we espouse and live by. It will require introspection and reflection on the role and image of the movement as a leader of our society, as well as self-reflection by its leaders and members on our collective and individual contribution to the shaping of this role and image.

3.10. Areas for Discussions

- How do we ensure that leadership is accountable to the membership of the ANC?
- How do we ensure that the leadership does not use ANC members as voting foddors?
- How do we root out wrong tendencies that have emerged recently in the movement, with regard to election of leadership in our structures?

Wrong tendencies such as:

- Printing of T-Shirt;
- Use of Money and other resources to influence leadership outcome;
- What is the role of the provincial and regional leadership in giving direction and support to the members of the ANC?
- How do we ensure that the leadership of the ANC stays in contact with the motive forces for change?
- Are there weaknesses in our internal Electoral and Lobbying processes?
- If yes; what are the weakness and what should be done to overcome them?
- How do we promote organisational programmes and policies outside personal and factional agendas?
- What should the ANC do to prepare members for leadership responsibilities?

3.11. Conclusion

- Finally, rules on their own will not solve a problem that has become so embedded; we need to engage with the context and the organizational culture that gave rise to these tendencies. The drive for the organizational renewal of the ANC should help pave the way for critical reflection and debate, creating an atmosphere where we can collectively find lasting solutions to these very difficult problems. This requires leadership to lead honestly, humbly and decisively, and for membership and cadres to ensure that we take responsibility for the health of our movement

4. Enhancing the ANC's Capacity to Govern.

4.1. Background.

The ANC lead government seeks to build a Democratic Developmental State that is anchored on Democratic governance. Our perspective on Democratic governance refers to and denotes our approach and attitude to the policy formulation process as well as its implementation.

Policy making, to a large extent, reveals much about the nature of the state, especially its institutional characteristics, that is, the internal institutional arrangements and the nature of the relationship that the state has with non state actors, such as business, trade unions and broader civil society organisations. Similarly, a country's economic governance, to a large extent reveals much about its development orientation. (Omano Edigheji / Peter B Evans)

In thinking about a Developmental State in South-Africa (as anywhere else), it is important to think about its political dimension, and not simply to conceptualise it in narrow economic terms. (ibid)

“Countries with weak internal institutional arrangements and poor relations with non state actors, Fail in their attempts to build developmental states. They (states) generally have poor outcomes in most indicators of economic and social progress: i.e. low growth, low investment, high illiteracy, lack of access to basic social services such as health and education and poor physical infra-structure such as roads and electricity and so on.- The point is that effective systems for interaction do matter, similarly, institutional capacity matters” .(ibid)

4.2. Introduction.

One of the key challenges facing our movement, in our efforts to democratise the state and society, is our capacity and ability to establish right institutions which will be a *sine qua non* for developmental success.

The ANC as a key strategic centre of power carries the responsibility of providing strategic leadership (ethical and moral) over its government, which in turn, exercises leadership over the state and society, in pursuit of the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.

There is a need for the ANC to continuously clarify and further develop its perspective and approaches to governance, drawing lessons from our experience of the past seventeen years of democracy.

Understanding and appreciating the ANC's governance mandate and governance architecture, the sources of the ANC's authority, the role of ANC government and the ANC's approach and posture towards the State over which it exercises political authority on behalf of the people of South Africa is very crucial.

The task of promoting and ensuring good governance and accountability is nor less

Neither important nor separate from the other tasks of service delivery and meeting the basic needs of the people. In fact, good governance lies at the centre of our efforts to build a Democratic Developmental State and Society.

4.3. The ANC's governance mandate.

The ANC has since its inception sought to be a Parliament of the people. This perspective has been affirmed through policies, resolutions and declarations spanning over a period of 99 years of the existence of the ANC. The most profound expression of this perspective is found in the preamble of the Freedom Charter, where it states that, *"There is no Government that can justly claim authority, unless it is based on the will of the people"*.

Firstly, the ANC derives its own mandate from, amongst others, years of experience of championing the struggle for national liberation and the emancipation of the people of South Africa, Africa and the world. The progressive policy positions and resolutions of the ANC are developed and adopted by its policy formulation organs as defined in its Constitution. The ANC policies are in turn canvassed with broader society through various means.

Since the advent of our democracy, the ANC's policy and mandate is also derived through the electoral process, in which the ANC manifesto is placed before the electorate for support and approval. Through the process of democratic elections, the ANC receives a popular mandate to form an ANC government.

The ANC manifesto, after been popularly supported by the electorate, gets translated into government policy and the government programme of action. The ANC government's responsibility is to transform, lead and guide the state to implement programmes that lead to the realisation of the popular mandate.

However, we must bear in mind that the State is not an ANC State, but a State of the people of South Africa. Governments will come and go, the State remains.

It is in the process of implementing this mandate, that the challenge of Political Management of Democratic Governance becomes even more urgent.

4.4. The ANC and legal frameworks.

The role of the ANC as a ruling party, its oversight and strategic leadership role in relation to its own government, the posture and approach of the ANC government towards the State over which it exercises political authority and leadership and society as a whole, **constitute the essence and function of Political Management of Democratic Governance.**

The ANC governance model and theoretical perspective should also help distinguish the **hierarchy of detail** to be dealt with by deployed cadres in government and **hierarchy of strategic issues** to be dealt with by the party and vice versa. Failure to distinguish between the two functions and roles creates unnecessary tensions and blurs the line between the Party and the State.

Whatever we do, in pursuit of the popular mandate, should not undermine our Constitutional Democracy, Laws and Regulations that we, as a governing party, put in place and endorsed. There is no contradiction between the objectives of the NDR and our Constitutional Democracy.

The ANC's theory and practice on Governance should also help us distinguish between Political and Administrative Mandates. The challenge is to ensure that the Administrators/Public Service,

understand and appreciate the political mandate and political leaders understand and appreciate administrative mandates and responsibilities of bureaucrats within the public service. The appreciation of the distinction between the roles of an administrative head in governance matters as opposed to a political head is imperative in ensuring proper accountability and transparency in our system of Governance. (Herein lies fault lines)

4.5. The Party and the State.

The party has a responsibility to ensure that, in the process of seeking to transform both the state and society, the legitimacy of the state is not compromised. Whereas the party, through its government, exercises political authority over the State, the separation between the Party and the State is imperative.

Given the character and nature of the ANC, contestation to influence and control the State is an ongoing struggle, whose outcome will partly be determined by the balance of forces, as well as the imperatives of what type of society and State, the ANC seeks to build.

The ANC's approach and orientation on the question of State Power and its use is well documented. The Strategy and Tactics document of the ANC, as adopted at the ANC's 52nd National Conference held in Polokwane, is clear on what must be done.

The challenge lies in our day to day experiences, wherein the ANC, its Alliance partners and its functionaries in and out of government, *adopt different and at times conflicting postures towards the State and its Organs.*

The ANC fully embraces the doctrine of Separation of Powers as articulated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The ANC appreciates and accepts the different roles played by the Executive arm of government, the Legislatures and the Independent Judiciary. (Three arms of the state) We also appreciate the centrality of the people of South Africa in the democratic governance and legislative process, i.e. role of citizens in particular and civil society in general, on whose behalf we govern.

Our principled Stance, Posture and Attitude are not simply based on the Constitutional imperatives. The ANC'S stance, i.e. on the centrality and the "will" of the people, is premised on the understanding that these values constitute the core and essence of our Constitutional Democracy, which is built on the foundations of the most progressive and advanced values and vision of human civilisation.

The ANC embraces, support and understands the importance of the role and place of the Judiciary and other institutions that support democracy, including Chapter 9 Institutions. Notwithstanding the imperatives to transform Society and the State, both our theoretical and practical approach needs to take into account our principled stance on the Separation of Powers, without eroding hegemony.

The task of transforming the Judiciary and the Criminal Justice System is urgent. However, the ANC does not abrogate to itself (only) the task of ensuring that we have a transformed and independent judiciary, it is the impartial Judicial Services Commission which recommends suitably qualified legal practitioners for consideration to serve the Judiciary. The composition of the Judicial Services Commission is established on the principle of proportional representation, (multi-party) where currently the ANC is in the majority within the legislative arm of government (National Assembly). The recommended legal practitioner may then be endorsed and appointed by the Head of State.

Weaknesses in the articulation and implementation of our Deployment Strategy and Policy have attracted negative criticism from our detractors. At the centre of this failure is our inability to strike a fair balance between political integrity and professional competence. At stake is whether we can build an effective, competent, professional and capable public service to serve a Developmental State and deepen and preserve the democratic and developmental character of the State.

We need to develop a consistent governance theory on managing these complex sets of dynamics and relationships.

4.6. ANC Policy Cycle.

The effective political management of governance is also hampered by a lack of understanding of ANC policy formulation process and cycle.

Whereas the ANC Constitution spells out clearly who is responsible for policy formulation and development, as well the processes that must be followed;

And notwithstanding the fact that ANC resolutions and policy positions are well documented and relatively accessible;

ANC members and leaders quite often confuse their own preferences, opinions, views and sometime wishes with official policy positions of the ANC.

The deliberate fudging of official Party policy positions with individuals' stance on matters of governance must be avoided at all costs. Ambiguity on policy interpretation and implementation impacts negatively on the political management of governance. E.g. (provincialisation of primary health care). Opportunists and other negative tendencies thrive in an environment characterised by uncertainty and confusion.

The ANC has over a period of at least seventeen years of democratic governance, learnt invaluable lessons on how to manage governance. Where doubt has arisen over governance matters, consultation with the relevant officials elected to lead the organisation at various levels and spheres of governance has resolved issues. The ANC Caucus system and the Whippery have evolved over time to ensure party political discipline.

The interface between deployed cadres in government (executive and the legislature) is managed through caucus and the legislature oversight committees. The interface between the Party and its caucus (through the Whippery) is regulated through the office of Provincial secretary at the Provincial level and Regional Secretary at the local level. The "Governance Committees" provides overall strategic leadership and guidance to all deployed cadres, in line with the party mandate and policy frame-work.

The capacity of Party Secretaries, as full-time functionaries at the Regional, Provincial and National Level, to manage and guide the governance process is critical in ensuring a smooth and seamless system of Governance and Political Management. It is therefore very important for this capacity to be enhanced. The need for a clearly defined process and system of ongoing Monitoring and Evaluation of government (executive and the legislature) performance cannot be over emphasised.

The reporting and mandating process on relevant issues, depending on the **hierarchy of strategic issues** and **hierarchy of detail**, is also paramount. Failure to manage governance processes

properly causes paralysis and tension on both the party and government. Ultimately this impacts negatively on service delivery.

4.7. Relationship between the Legislatures and the Executive.

The task of exercising oversight over the performance of the Executive cannot be left to opposition parties alone. The healthy tension that exists between the Executive Arm of government and its Legislative Arm is necessary. ANC public representatives are beginning to appreciate that Good Governance and Oversight is our responsibility as well. Difficult questions posed to members of the Executive, in the main, must come from the ANC benches, with the intention of helping ANC deployees to perform better. In this regard, ANC study groups and policy units play a critical role.

The ANC Caucus, as branches of the ANC in government, brings together under one roof, all ANC deployees. Caucus in this sense acts as a clearing house for Members of both the Executive and the Legislative arm. Caucus affords all deployees a platform on which to jointly plan, strategise and co-ordinate the implementation of the ANC's mandate. It is also a platform for the elected leadership of the Party to brief deployees on organisational matters relevant to the functioning of the ANC Caucus.

4.8. The Party and Governance at the regional level.

Most of the fault lines on Governance and Political Management are more pronounced and evident at the regional level. The relationship between the appointed Mayoral Committee and the Regional Executive Committee needs to be closely examined. The degree of instability and lack of coherence is much more exaggerated and pronounced at this level.

We need to reflect on how our governance model functions at the local government level. The separation of Legislative and Executive powers at this level is not as clear cut as it is at the national and provincial level. We need to reflect on the current pilot projects such as in the City of Johannesburg, where an attempt has been made to separate the role of the Executive from that of the Legislature/Council.

The current arrangements at local government level are such that, primarily, the Office of the Mayor, Speaker and the Chief Whip of Council constitute the "Troika". The Mayor leads the Executive (Mayoral Committee), the Speaker is the Chairperson of the Legislature (Council) and the Chief Whip as the Chair of Caucus.

The success of this model varies from one municipality to the other. It is this "Troika", together with Regional Secretary of the ANC that constitutes the Governance Committee. The assumption is that the Regional Secretary represents the views of elected party officials and the entire leadership collective of the region.

With regards to the ANC's strategic role and oversight function in the context of the Governance Committee at the municipal level, the question of the hierarchy of detail and the hierarchy of strategic issues that each component must deal with needs further clarity and discussion. The distinction between the two cannot be simply resolved through a definition, as the boundary is too complex.

We need to rely on our accumulated collective experience. However, some key principles must be adhered to by all parties involved. These will include, amongst others, respect for the rule of law. Decisions around procurement and supply chain management are regulated by the law. The art and Science (state craft) of managing issues of deployment of senior managers and staff, needs to be further refined and enhanced so as to avoid contestation and the blurring of roles between the party and those who are deployed in government and the administration.

4.9. The ANC Branch and governance.

The ANC Branch is the most basic unit of our organisation. It is at this level that all members of the organisation participate in shaping the life of the ANC. The Branch Executive Committee lies at the centre of the political management of governance at this level.

The BEC is responsible for co-ordinating, leading and guiding the implementation of the branch programme of action. In addition, the BEC is responsible for managing the ANC's interaction with our Alliance partners and other civil society formations at the local level.

The ANC BEC is also entrusted with the responsibility of bringing together all progressive forces at the local level. Some of the challenges that need to be managed properly include, amongst others, developing a common approach together with ANC Councillors in the area on how to manage and develop a system of interaction with the community. In terms of the ANC guidelines, Ward Councillors are ex-officio members of the BEC in cases where they are not directly elected members.

The Ward Councillor works with a Ward Committee, which is not a constitutional structure of the ANC, but a critical structure that represents broad community interests. The relationship between the BEC of the ANC, the Ward Councillor and the Ward Committee is very critical. In cases where there is bad blood between these critical players, good governance tends to suffer. The Ward Councillor, together with the ANC BEC, is expected to be working closely with other community governance structures such as the Community Policing Forum's, the School Governing Boards, Clinic Committees, CDW's and Local Development Forum etc.

Given the often poisoned relationship between some of our cadres at the local level, particular attention needs to be paid to the issue of good governance. Unlike at regional, provincial and national levels, the ANC branch is at the coalface of governance. The branch of the ANC is the closest to our people and communities. A common protocol needs to be developed and agreed upon by the Alliance and other fraternal organisations at the local level, including the Leagues of the ANC, to help guide and manage the governance process at the branch level.

4.10. Deployment policy.

The NEC of the ANC has issued guidelines which spell out clearly what our approach should be on matters of deployment. Firstly, the key issue in relation to deployment is getting the balance right between political integrity and professional competence. Secondly, in terms of the current NEC guidelines, it is only the NEC and the PEC's that have the authority to establish deployment committees. Again, our accumulated experience must guide us on how best to manage these challenges. Lastly, the issue of City and Municipal Managers, who are also office bearers of political parties, has been outlawed in our governance model.

4.11. Conclusion.

Resolutions adopted at various ANC conferences, including the recently held National Conference held in Polokwane (2007) and the subsequent National General Council held in Durban-KZN (2010), recognised and re-affirmed that a democratic Developmental State in South-Africa, has to be undergirded by the principles of democratic Governance

Over the past 17 years of democracy, the ANC has made significant progress in transforming the state and promoting democratic governance. The ANC has amassed a wealth of experience in its efforts to ensure the effective political management of governance in pursuance of the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.

The ANC as a strategic centre of power, and governing party, has a responsibility to continuously monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of its internal systems of interaction with all social partners.

Effective institutional arrangements and the governance system determine the capacity of the State to deliver on its transformational mandate.

References 1. Constructing a democratic developmental state in South Africa: potentials and challenges (edited by Omano edigheji)

5. ANC's Economic Vision: "The People shall share in the wealth of the country"

5.1. What informs ANC Economic Policy?

- A thriving and **integrated economy** that draws on the creativity and skills that our whole population can offer, building on South Africa's economic endowments to create employment opportunities for the benefit of all.
- An economy in which increasing **social equity and economic growth** form a virtuous cycle of development, which progressively improves the quality of life of all citizens, rolls back the frontiers of poverty and frees the potential of each person.
- An economy in which **national prosperity is ensured through innovation and cutting-edge technology, labour-absorbing industrial development**, a thriving small business and cooperative sector, the utilisation of information and communication technologies and efficient forms of production and management.
- An economy in which the **socio-economic rights of all are progressively realised**, including through fair labour practices, social security for the poor, the realisation of universal access to basic services and ongoing anti-poverty campaigns that promote the economic integration of all communities.
- A **mixed economy, where state, cooperative and other forms of social ownership exist together with private capital in a constructive relationship**, and where democracy and participation lead to growing economic empowerment.
- An **economy that is connected to the world**, benefiting from vibrant trade relations with North and South, and which is an integral part of a balanced regional economy that contributes to the growing prosperity of Africa.
- A **sustainable economy** where all South Africans, present and future, realise their right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being.

5.2. Gauteng Vision 2055

- Gauteng as the City Region
- Leadership from society working together for growth and development
- Business, Religion and Labour, Community Leaders of Civil Society & State Owned Enterprises
- Integrated and vibrant economy
- State of the art infrastructure
- Smart and knowledge based economy
- Socially cohesive communities
- Environmental Sustainable City Region
- Responsive Government
- Gauteng linked to key destinations in the world

5.3. Spatial Development Perspectives

- Integrated economy
- Preserving arable land

- Freight and Logistics
- Transportation
- Spatial consolidation of the economic activity
- Sustainable human settlements

5.4. Current Challenges

- Spatial division that perpetuate inequalities in the economy
 - Inner core – Cbd's and industrial areas
 - On the periphery – townships and informal settlements
 - At the outer periphery – peri-urban areas
 - Land usage needs to be managed in line with the strategic programme to build an inclusive City Region
 - Transport linkages within the City Region need to developed
 - Rapid Urbanisation and In-migration
- Competiveness and productivity
- Import parity Pricing
- Regulations (all three spheres of government)
- Increasing cost of living (food, transport, shelter)
- Traffic congestion
- Structural unemployment and a low skills base

5.5. What can we do?

- Fault lines in the economy can be broken down
- New drivers in the economy can be leveraged
 - ICT and climate change and green economy
- Global crisis affected the first world SA is resilient, this can be maintained
- Gauteng well placed to make links into Africa
 - Increase trade by bring in raw materials and exporting finished goods
 - Finance sector concentrated in Gauteng, leverage on this
 - Relations with African countries, NEPAD, AU, BRICs exist and can be deepened with trade
 - New sectors can be developed more fully
 - Pharmaceuticals
 - Petro chemicals

5.6. Big ideas

- Growth and jobs
 - Movement of goods and services and people
 - Skills for growth
 - Gateway to Africa
- Flagships
 - Five regions have distinct comparative advantage and can cooperate
- Urban poverty
 - Concentrated in Gauteng
 - Interventions to fight poverty must ensure a linkage between development and sustainable livelihoods

5.7. Catalytic Interventions for GCR

- Strategic Economic Infrastructure
 - New Freight and logistics Hubs (inland ports)
 - ICT (Province wide broadband infrastructure)
 - IDZ (mineral beneficiation)
 - Manufacturing Capacity for Pharmaceutical Industry
 - Public Transport Infrastructure and new road networks
 - Water and Sewer
 - Renewable Energy
 - Tourism
 - Destination for arrivals
 - Shopping festival
 - International horse racing event
- Motor and Water Sport
- Attract skills for the economy

5.8. Key advantages in Regions

Ekurhuleni

- Manufacturing (steel and mining, chemicals)
- Rail and Road linkages
- OR Tambo International Airport and Related Industries (Aerotropolis Development)

Sedibeng

- Vaal Dam & Steel and Chemical Industries
- Bulk Infrastructure
- Maize Triangle

West Rand

- Move from Mining into Greening
- World Heritage Site
- Light Agriculture

Johannesburg

- Financial Sector, ICT, Creative Industries, Pharmaceuticals, Services (BPO)

Tshwane

- Automotive sector, Innovation, ICT, Agro-processing, Diamond mining

5.9. Province to Take up

- Policy and legislative issues
 - Wealth Creation for ownership of assets
 - Sustained and continued support to priority sectors of economy
 - Beneficiation and a domestic demand as well as a domestic market

- And attention on the binding constraints on the economy
- Linkages with other provinces
 - Mining (Limpopo, North West, Free State, Mpumalanga)
 - Sea port (KwaZulu Natal)

5.10. The Key Tasks for Branches and Regions

- Lead the development of regional development and growth strategies and the ward IDPs
- Identify interventions to revitalise the township economy
- Engage with:
 - Businesses within a branch
 - Organised Labour leaders
 - Identify young people who qualify for bursaries as part of skilling the economy
- Promote the setting up of community and household food gardens to encourage food security
- Promote Community Savings Co-operatives and encourage bulk buying.

5.11. Questions

- How do we create an environment for citizens to build sustainable live hoods and create wealth for themselves?
- What is the comparative advantages of your current regional economy?
- What should be the economic vision for your region in line with Gauteng Vision 2055?
- How do we move social grant beneficiaries to be less dependent and to generate income?
- In taking forward this vision what should be the role of provincial government and municipalities ?
- What enabling policies and instruments do we need to realise this vision?

6. Social Transformation

6.1. Introduction and context.

The discussion underway must provide an opportunity for self criticism by members of the African National Congress in the immediate and those of the Mass Democratic Movement generally. In the long term it should be a discussion that permeates society generally and make sure it is mobilized to appreciate its space and role in defining a revised Social Transformation and Development Policy direction.

Adesina in an instructive definition of Social Policy sums it by saying: “Social Policy is the collective public effort at affecting and protecting the social wellbeing of the people within a given territory. Beyond immediate destitution, social policy might cover education and health-care provision, habitat, food security, sanitation; guarantee some measure of labour markets protection and so on.

He continues and says: “The idea of a tolerable, minimum level of livelihood and decency is intuitive and socially constructed and normative (ideological rather than technical). These define the links between economic and social relations and governance and the specific instruments of achieving the perceived minimum level of well being. (Adesina 2007: 1-2).

The African National Congress has always placed issues of social transformation at the top of its priorities because it is central to building a democratic and prosperous society. The freedom charter, which remains the guiding policy document of the ANC, outlines the basic rights of citizens to free and equal education, preventative primary health care, safety and to bring up their families in comfort and security. This is done in an endeavor to build a social cohesive society where everyone can realize their full potential and live life to the fullest.

Since 1994, there have been three strands guiding the ANC’s approach to social transformation:

- Social transformation as a vehicle for developing human capital, with a special focus on marginalized groups: women, youth and the disabled;
- The production and equitable distribution of public goods and the creation of a safety net for the poor;
- A mobilizing force for community action to overcome dependency and promote social cohesion and building sustainable and stable communities.

The existence of three different guiding threads was confirmed by the Strategy and Tactics Document 2007 which says:

“The central objective of the ANC social policy should be to preserve and develop human resources and ensure social cohesion”.

6.2. Our strengths and weaknesses in social transformation.

In analyzing our successes and weaknesses in relation to the delivery of health care, education, social grants, housing, services sites we can say with confidence that over the past 17 years we have succeeded in increasing access to these services and we have increased equity on the budgetary provision for the public goods in the social sector. Ninety seven percent of the provinces children are

in school, and fifty percent of the schooling population is in no fee schools where learners receive a hot meal every day. Ninety five percent of its residents have access to water and sanitation. Over ninety five percent of the province's population lives within a 5km radius of the public health facility. Almost one third of the province's population receives a social income grant.

Despite these successes life expectancy in the province has decreased to 55 year of age and maternal and infant mortality is on the rise. The HIV.AIDS pandemic is largely responsible for the drop in human development indicators, but high rates of substance abuse, road fatalities and violent crime also play their part. While we have managed to increase access to government health facilities, quality health care remains an objective we have yet to realize.

Despite the fact that health and education jointly consume over 80% of the provincial budget, learner performance remains poor with less than half of all children attaining reading, writing and arithmetic skills by the time they leave primary school and almost 20% of youth leave school before reaching the matric exam. The consequence of this is that parallel with high unemployment rates there is also a serious skills shortage which poses one of the most serious fetters on economic growth and development in the province.

In addition, high rates of in-migration into the province puts a strain on the provision of social services, and mean that infrastructure programmes in housing, schooling, health care facilities, social amenities are continually outstripped by demand. Gauteng's population has grown by approximately 37% over the past ten years. Almost one third of the province's population lives in informal settlements and bulk provision of water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity is stretched to almost breaking point.

This phenomenon of urbanization of the peasantry is peculiar to Gauteng and answers will definitely be required from the African National Congress in Gauteng and all other strategic role players within the Province. This we should do whilst asking pertinent questions as to how Brazil, which link distribution of social grants to participation in education and skills development initiatives, is succeeding when we are not?

In conditions of overcrowding, poverty and inequality violent crime is widespread. More than 50% of the country's crime takes place in Gauteng. Crime patterns include organized crime against individuals, households, businesses and banks as well as widespread social crime including violent crimes against women and children.

6.3. Why are we not getting the outcomes we desire?

The question we need to ask is why is it after almost 17 years of substantial investment in social transformation are we not getting the outcomes we have planned for and desire? The answer lies in understanding that we are not a welfare but building a developmental state whose success will be intertwined with an active citizenry. At the current rate of building an over-reliant society to the social grants system, we are bound not to achieve what is articulated in various policy position of the ANC, translated into government programmes.

This paper wants to advance three reasons for this:

- The first reason lies in the managerial and political capacity of the state itself to deliver according to its own plans and targets.

- A culture of dependency on state delivery and social grants is undermining a spirit of self reliance and innovation in communities.
- There is a need for a greater understanding of the reciprocal relationship between our weaknesses in the delivery of social goods and our challenges in economic transformation and development.

Gauteng is an urban province with pockets of semi-rural communities and the current comprehensive social pacts offered by government do not address challenges of urbanization and urban poverty. As we advance in rooting the Global City Region as a model appreciated by all people living in Gauteng, we should concurrently respond to challenges faced by the urban poor and articulate a socially inclusive policy and programmes. This requires greater clarity on the complementary role to be played by the State, markets and civil society. We can not proceed from an understanding that these have interests that are violently opposed to each other.

6.5. Social mobilization for better communities.

The solutions to the first two bullet points are linked. Experience shows us that where communities are actively working to improve their own living conditions, and actively working with government departments, government delivery itself improves. There are many good examples of this:

- Schools with hard working and functional School Governing Bodies tend to have more committed principals and teachers and better educational outcomes;
- Communities with active crime controllers and effective community policing forums have lower crime statistics and better rates of law enforcement by the police themselves;
- Hospitals and clinics with functioning boards have better community health services;
- Townships with strong and effective local councillors and community development workers have better community services and happier communities.

This raises an important reason why the ANC needs to go back to focusing on significant provincial campaigns particularly around the three priorities of Health, Education and Safety.

6.6. Monitoring, Evaluation and Active support and guidance.

Consistent monitoring evaluation and above all else support and guidance from the ANC to the big service delivery departments is of crucial importance to enable these departments to more successfully fulfill their provincial mandates. In this regard the plan by the provincial Secretary's office will ensure that we make the transition from ad hoc support and interventions to this that occurs in a more programmatic way.

Positive examples of this over the last couple of years include:

- The Soweto Education summit and other political interventions to support President Zuma's non-negotiables
- Provincial interventions around the toll roads

6.7. The link between social transformation and economic transformation and development.

Just over percent of the labour force was unemployed at the end of 2009. Despite average economic growth of 5 percent throughout much on the 2000s, and 6,3 percent between 2005 and 2007 (the highest growth phase for the province in many years), the unemployment rate never fell below 20 percent. Nearly 3 million people in the province have no income. Additionally, more than a third of the population in the province has highest educational attainment grades between 0 and 9.

Inequality, measured though the Gini co-efficient is 0,65 and the HDI is 0,68. These factors highlight the very uneven distribution of income and opportunities in the province. Low labour absorption rates, low levels of education, high income poverty and persistent inequality all stem from apartheid. But it is fair to say that the nature of economic growth in South Africa over the last decade has not been able to address the legacy. These structural weaknesses have simply been exposed and exacerbated by the recent global economic crisis. (Gauteng's Growth and Development Strategy).

In this context of severe social and economic inequality, social transformation strategies are seen to have a significant role to play in fostering greater social justice.

The Gauteng Employment, Growth and Development Strategy (GEGDS) Notes the following: "The quality of health and wellbeing promotes a productive labour force allowing people to participate actively in the labour market. In South Africa, inequalities regarding access to primary and tertiary healthcare and to education diminish the capacity of the country to build a robust services sector, grow the knowledge economy, enhance skills and expertise and contribute consistently to GDP. "These inequalities, particularly the low participation rate in higher education (15 percent) (NACI, 2008, p.6) and post-graduate studies, creates a major barrier to the ability of the current and future generations to participate in the evolution of an innovative productive system with the potential to increase household income and per capita GDP."

The scenario planning process for Vision 3005 draws a clear link between successes or failures in human capital development and the economic and developmental success or failures of the Gauteng Global City Region as a whole.

The document argues that if we are able to create safer communities, ensure that our citizens are healthy and they have quality education that equips them with the knowledge and skills that the economy needs, then we have a better chance of success in economic development.

This requires us to develop a deeper understanding of the investment we need to make in both people and communities so that we can foster economic development. This will require us to approach social transformations and the delivery of public goods in a more strategic manner than we have in the past. It will require us to be more discerning and focused about the basket of social goods we select for prioritization.

This move towards greater prioritization was already clear in the ANC's 2009 Election Manifesto where Education, Health and Safety received prioritization.

Attached to this document are two annexures: Annexure A analyses the progress we have made on the implementation of the Polokwane and 11th provincial conference resolutions. Annexure B is the report from the PGC of 25/26 June and represents a further contribution to the debate:

The following are questions we need to address in the regional conference:

1. How do we understand the link between our economic and social transformation challenges?
2. How does this link impact in our understanding of vision 2055 and the creation of a successful Global City Region?
3. Is there a need to have greater focus and prioritization of social transformation issues and areas? If so, in what ways?

6.8. Conclusion.

These are initial thoughts we hope will assist in having a focused discussion on what challenges our structures needs to confront. As instructed by Adesina once more that: “Social Policy also denotes the specific and deliberate policies (enacted and pursued) that positively impact on social well being and security. Social Policy is redistributive in nature and character, tempers with unfettered industrialization. Redistributive policy includes programmes to transform and increase the skills of workers and the promotion of lifelong learning.

A comprehensive Social Transformation Agenda can not be viewed as a bi-product of economic and political progress but must be appreciated as a glue that brings the two together. It is for this reason that how we understand the centrality of an all inclusive Social Policy in a Province like Gauteng is critical.

It is against the above that we are confident that our structures, government and society generally will be mobilized to appreciate their time and space and make the required contribution for the collective success of Gauteng as a province and the country as a whole.

7. International Relations

7.1. Background

The realm of international relations in the ANC is as old as the movement itself. At the founding meeting of the ANC, other countries representatives formed part of the delegates; Queen Regent Labotsibeni of Swaziland, the Letsie's (Moshoeshoes) royalty in Lesotho, Queen Regent Lewanika of the Lozi in present day Zambia and the Khama Royal House of Botswana, Thus from day one, the ANC has been characterised by a strong infusion of interest in the well being of other peoples, united in struggle to defeat the ills of colonialism and its vestiges.

Most of the founding fathers of the ANC had been imbued with what they had learnt in other countries where they had studied. The incorporation of our country's royalty and those of other countries signified the strong lesson of the importance of unity and cohesion in the struggle for national freedom.

Going forward, the role that the ANC played in mobilising young men to join the Allied effort against Nazism, especially after Hitler attacked the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) - see Moses Kotane: The South African Revolutionary) in 1941, implied the extents to which the ANC called on our people to even commit to making the supreme sacrifice for the betterment of humanity, globally.

Another prior commitment of the ANC to International Solidarity is what the Movement crafted in 1943 (prior to the Summit of Heads of Governments of Britain, USA and the USSR in Malta) an august document, The African Claims, which, for the first time outlined expectations and demands of South Africa, notwithstanding those of all other colonised peoples in the World. The African Claims document remains a beacon that cements the internationalism of the ANC.

Our participation and role in the Bandung (Indonesia) Conference of 1955, further positioned the ANC in the circle of the World Progressive Movement in that, on the sidelines of that Conference, they met and cemented what was to be an embodiment of what was just then adopted in the then programme of the South African Revolution, the Freedom Charter; which embodies the principles of peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries.

The Bandung Conference adopted five key pillars for formerly colonised peoples, among others:

- Each nation's right to determine the path, form and content of its development
- The embracing of the Leninist principle of Peaceful Co-existence
- Non interference in the affairs of other countries
- The non proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and
- Non alignment in the Cold War

Even though internal policies form the basis of international ones, the dialectical relation denotes that for the movement to be able to implement its strategic objectives, those being; a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa, it must ensure that conditions of peace prevail in the World.

Through understanding the role of International Solidarity, the movement was able to mobilise the international community to support our struggle against apartheid rule and for a democratic majority dispensation.

This paper will further cover the following areas:

- The Context of the Paper as Derived from the National and Provincial Resolutions
- What needs to be done at Branch Level
- Internationalist activism

Given that the arena of international relations is a national competency, it is important that we understand that work at Provincial level will largely be supportive of the national framework and its programme of action. Much as, as a Province, we are having resolutions in this theatre, there is not much that we can unilaterally champion in terms of policy crafting outside of the national parameters, thus our interventions' strengths lie in a vigorous activist oriented POA that will nurture and build internationalist consciousness among our members, from Branch to the highest pedestals of leadership, in the tradition of our founding fathers.

The other dynamic is the relationship between ANC International Relations Committees and the State departments like DIRCO, SASS and Military Attaches Desks. The fact of the matter is that State institutions are compelled to work within the broad parametres of policies of the ruling party, with feedback from the former also impacting and effecting policy review and innovation in the ruling party's policy positions. The ANC remains the centre of policy formulation, development and articulation, and the state is a vehicle for implementation of those policies.

7.2. The Context of the Paper as Derived from the National and Provincial Resolutions

The context of this paper is, first and foremost, an elucidation of the last clause of the Freedom Charter; There Shall be Peace and Friendship, and also derived from resolutions on international relations as adopted in National, and our own Province's Conferences, with the spirit of involvement of members and the South African public captured in the National Resolution in 2007;

“ANC should engage its structures and the South African public in general to develop a better understanding of the agenda for Africa and the world. In guiding the discussions in our structures, in the movement and society in general ...” (ANC Limpopo Conference Resolution on International Relations)

The area of work of building the political consciousness of comrades and cadres (work that should encompass both theory and practice) has of late been neglected in the movement, the little work that occurs, is definitely not filtering through to the ANC member; a cog in our capacity to mobilise society and win it to our side of objective interpretations of national aspirations, thus, the need for the

Limpopo Resolution to have gone beyond “discussion”, and loudly call to mobilise our members and the public, come out in mass advocacy of progressive countries’ agendas, and prop up support for worthy and just causes; work that will produce the critical cadre for internationalist solidarity activism.

It was at the 10th ANC Gauteng Provincial Conference that resolutions that called on work in the following arenas of International Relations and Solidarity (underpinned by Head Office):

- The strengthening of Party to Party relations, especially with those parties that have traditionally been like-minded to the ANC in the Region, Continent and the World
- Solidarity Activities with just causes of Palestine, Swaziland, the Cuban 5, South Sudan, Western Sahara and others
- Peoples to Peoples relations, including the nagging problem of Xenophobia (read Afro-phobia)
- Multi-Lateral Institutions; the role that we have to play in them, starting from the regional, to the continental, the South and the World.
- Peace and Democracy Building in the Region, Continent and the World

The recent ANC Gauteng Provincial General Council of the 24th and 25th June 2011; *...reaffirmed the need for the ANC, as a disciplined force of the left, to work vigorously with other progressive forces in Africa and the world in order to safeguard peace, development, democracy and human rights... (committing)... As delegates, we will continue to strengthen our solidarity work with the people of Swaziland, Western Sahara, Palestine and Southern Sudan.*

7.3. What Needs to Be Done by Our Structures

Underpinning work that has to be done by our structures, especially at Branch level are the five strategic approaches that have been captured in the ANC Gauteng International Relations Committee’s Programme of Action, striving for:

- International peace; a prerequisite to nations’ socio-economic advancement
- The creation of a necessary international climate for South Africa to implement its own socio-economic policies to advance a better, if not best, life for our people
- A more democratic and better Africa
- Strengthened relations of South countries
- The democratisation of Multi-lateral institutions

Thus it becomes imperative that cadres and members of the ANC should play a pivotal role in International Relations work, through:

- Establishing active structures at all levels that ensure that they do not end up on paper but develop their own programmes of action that talk to those of higher structures, manning them with, at least, ten members of a structure

- Organise workshops and seminars that will serve at clarifying theory and issues that need to be acted upon
- Organise Alliance-wide, ANC led, mass demonstrations, marches, pickets and even festivities to articulate campaigns we are championing
- Mobilising resources for visits to other peoples' countries, and also, inviting others to our country and events
- Outside of concrete activism, the articulation in the recent PGC that; "... *the ANC, , as a disciplined force of the left, to work vigorously with other progressive forces in Africa and the world in order to safeguard peace, development, democracy and human rights*"; will remain on paper, with no relevance to struggles ensuing in the international arena.

7.4 Conclusion

Fact is, successes gained through short cuts have always, either been short-lived or not achieved at all. The ANC has to painstakingly imbue and steep itself in international solidarity work for it to better re-position itself as the conscience of the World.

The painstaking work of capacitating cadres' theoretical understanding and steeping them in activism that will ensure that the best of the ANC's traditions are kept and bettered should not be postponed. Revolutionary work is about, together with the people, mobilising and organising them to achieve what is best for humanity.

As the ANC, we have to constantly strive to build a caring culture about other peoples' lives and challenges such that in so doing, we grow our own awareness, consciousness and end up steeled in the struggles of our Region, Continent and the World.

7.5 Questions that will Guide Discussion

- Are the internal balance of forces assisting in us walking the talk in the international arena?
- The financial crises affecting the USA and EU countries; does that create space for, not only the articulation of our policy positions, the implementation thereof and the further mobilising of global progressive forces?
- Are we continuing to make an impact in the AU, if so what should be further done to bring cohesion of thought and unity of purpose into this august continental body?
- Should the ANC formulate the national interests of the country that will assist in articulating the national purpose of our foreign policy?
- Given that there are different categories of immigrants, some of whom are also now naturalised citizens of our country, should the ANC Branches open its doors to them, as the ANC Constitution talks to membership being open to SA citizens?

Peace is the cornerstone of building democracy!

Amandla! Maatla! Matimba!
All Power to the People!
Let's Talk Politics

