

ANC 5th National General
Council Base Document

**ANC RENEWAL TO
ADVANCE THE FREEDOM
CHARTER**

**The Current Balance of
Forces—What is to be
Done?**

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The year of Renewal to make the ANC a more effective instrument of the people to achieve the vision of the Freedom Charter: The people shall govern!
The people shall share in the country's wealth!





This presentation is a summary of the NGC Discussion Document and 55th Conference Resolutions.

Please read the full document to get a deeper understanding.

NGC ROADMAP

- In August 2025, the NEC adopted the Base Document which frames the strategic questions the NGC should address in its Mid-Term Review.
- In September, the NEC convened PECs and Special Regional meetings to present the document. The Political Education Subcommittee trained facilitators for provincial, regional and branch workshops.
- NEC further directed Branches, Regions and Provinces to discuss and make submissions on their own mid-term assessment. This culminated in the convening of PGCs - between 29 November and 2 December – in which all provinces discussed and made submissions.

WHY IS THE NGC IMPORTANT?

- The **NGC** is “the largest political school” and “a festival of ideas” where matters are thoroughly, critically and rigorously debated, without focusing on who must be elected to leadership positions.
- The **NGC** assesses the state of the NDR, what we have done and how far we have come in implementation of policies and programmes, decided on by ANC National Conferences.
- The **NGC** reviews the progress we have made towards the strategic goal of building a National Democratic Society - progress towards a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic and more prosperous SA.



THE NGC IS A PLATFORM TO DEMONSTRATE RENEWAL

- To be an NGC delegate is a huge responsibility, solemn duty and privilege – show utmost discipline and commitment.
- Delegates should have thoroughly prepared – Foundation Course training, read Base Document and the 55th National Conference resolutions and attend Commissions and sessions.



ANC 5th National General Council Base Document

ANC RENEWAL TO ADVANCE THE FREEDOM CHARTER

The Current Balance of Forces—What is to be Done?



The year of Renewal to make the ANC a more effective instrument of the people to achieve the vision of the Freedom Charter: The people shall govern!
The people shall share in the country's wealth!



THE BASE DOCUMENT SEEKS TO ANSWER KEY QUESTIONS:

1. WHAT IS THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED SINCE 1994?
2. WHAT ARE THE MOTIVE OF FORCES OF THE NDR AND HOW ARE CONSTITUTED TODAY?
3. WHAT IS THE DOMESTIC BALANCE OF FORCES IN 2025?
4. WHAT IS THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF FORCES IN 2025?
5. WHAT ARE THE TASKS OF THE RENEWAL PROJECT AND WHAT IS TO BE DONE, GOING FORWARD?

Strategic context

- The document proceeds from the premise that the NDR is at a crossroads – a possibility of either renewal and reinvigoration, or a terminal decline and a total defeat.
- A call to action to all activists and cadres of the ANC, Alliance and broad democratic movement to rise to the occasion - focus on the future with honesty, courage and unwavering commitment to fundamental transformation of South Africa!

Understanding the strategic objectives of the NDR – our theory and programme for fundamental change

- The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is our **theory and programme of fundamental change** adopted by the ANC-led Alliance and democratic movement - to address apartheid-colonial injustices based on national and gender oppression and super-exploitation of Black workers.
- The strategic objective of the NDR is to create a **National Democratic Society** – non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic and prosperous society led by a capable developmental state that efficiently and effectively delivers basic services and drives social and economic transformation and improves the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the working class and the poor.
- The NDR promotes **nation-building and social cohesion** through addressing the National Question – a nation with a shared national identity, united in its diversity, where the injustices of apartheid and colonialism are redressed. The true test of progress is whether the daily lives of the majority of citizens are improving in ways that are visible, measurable, and sustainable.

The achievements and progress of the NDR

- The democratic breakthrough of 1994 delivered decisive long-term advances that have reshaped our country - a **transformative Constitution, a progressive Bill of Rights and democratic institutions** established to safeguard the rights and freedoms of citizens.
- Concrete gains in the quality of life of millions of South Africans who today have access to **basic services and infrastructure** - housing, healthcare, education, electricity, water, sanitation, social security, etc.
- There is a significant growth of Black professionals, Black-owned and Women-owned businesses in many sectors of the economy which were reserved for white males. Apartheid-colonial political economy remains stubbornly in tact – Black vs White; Rural vs Urban; Men vs Women.
- South Africa has held 13 peaceful and credible elections underpinned by a strong constitutional framework. **Democracy without state capacity to deliver on the social and economic aspirations of the majority is not sustainable** – significant decline in trust in democratic institutions - government, parliament and the judiciary.

The Challenges and Crisis of the NDR

- **The impact of neo-liberalism:** SA's democratic breakthrough coincided with global shift to neoliberal ideology and policies that state sought to limit the role of the state in driving a developmental agenda. Outsourcing and privatisation of state functions to the private sector has weakened state institutions.
- **The impact of a persistent apartheid-colonial structure of the economy:** the patterns of ownership and participation in the economy remains - Black vs White; Men vs Women; Rural vs Urban. In other words, the social and economic aspirations of liberation remain far from being achieved.
- **The impact of corruption, state capture and other shocks:** State capture and corruption hollowing out of key state institutions – SOEs, departments, municipalities and criminal justice system - thus undermining their ability to deliver socio-economic justice. Global shocks such as the 2008 financial crisis, the Covid-19 pandemic, and the unrest of July 2021 revealed the fragility of South Africa's economy and governance.
- **The impact of the ideological and organisational degeneration in the ANC and Alliance structures:** three decades of incumbency has led to accumulated “vices” or “sins” that have eroded public confidence and electoral decline – corruption, resource-inspired entrenched factionalism, crass materialism, social distance and outright service delivery failures. No structure spared.

The Challenges and Crisis of the NDR - Unemployment, Poverty and Inequality Remains High

- **Persistent inequalities:** South Africa remains one of the most unequal societies in the world, with a Gini coefficient of 0,67. Inequality deepens racial and class divisions and gender inequities, threatening our vision of a united, non-racial and democratic society.
- **Poverty and Hunger stubborn:** despite all the policy interventions and progress made over three decades, poverty and hunger continue to be the daily reality of several millions of our people across our country. Deep poverty undermines social cohesion and destroys hope; it fuels rising crime, violence, and political instability.
- **Rising unemployment:** high rate of unemployment erodes all other gains of the NDR and youth unemployment is at crisis level. Sluggish growth, de-industrialisation and the persistent apartheid-colonial structure of our political economy make it difficult to absorb young people and offer sustainable opportunities to Blacks and women.

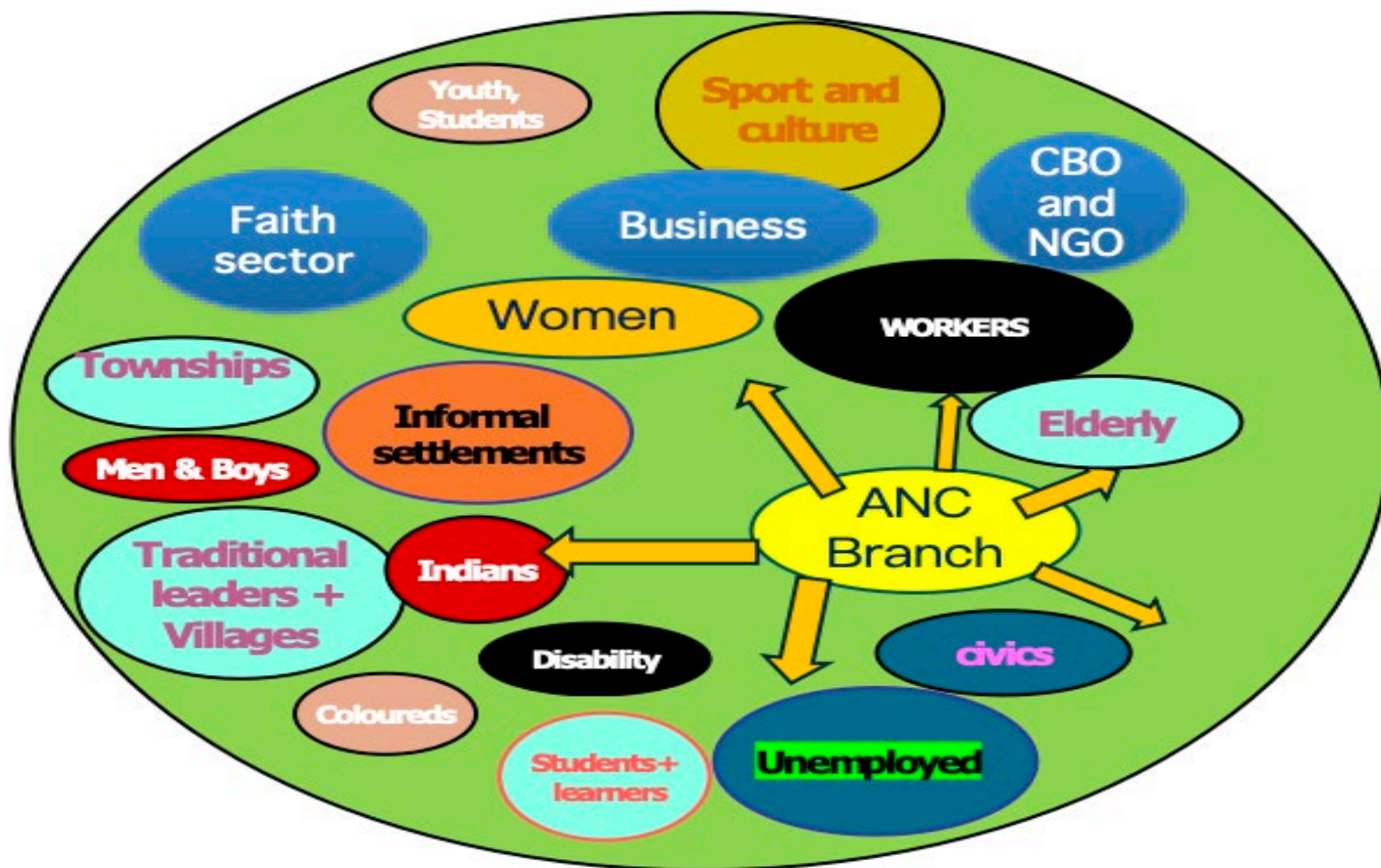
The Motive Forces of the NDR – the drivers and beneficiaries of change

- The motive forces of the NDR, are defined as the social classes and strata who stand to benefit (**objectively**) from change and are willing to fight (**subjectively**) for change – Africans in particular and Blacks in general. In class terms, the working class, the rural poor, the middle strata, women and youth, and white revolutionary democrats.
- But today these forces are fragmented and diverse, due to many factors. Situation of urban and rural communities, between employed and unemployed workers, and between the working poor and the emerging middle class have weakened unity in the struggle for change.
- Many young people are apathetic about formal electoral politics and do not see the ANC as fighting to make their lives better or representing them in government.

The Motive Forces of the NDR – the drivers and beneficiaries of change

- The trade union movement remains the backbone of the working class, but has been weakened by global neo-liberal restructuring - factories and industries shutting down, jobs becoming part-time and casual, and internal fights and breakaways in the union movement.
- Black women in particular remain a key motive force of the NDR because of the triple oppression they have suffered under apartheid and colonialism.
- Rural areas, extending basic services and infrastructure, but remain economically marginalised, making land reform, agricultural support and infrastructure that support local development, key to uniting them.
- NGC must develop new ways of engaging and representing the motive forces to restore its role as the leader of society.

MOTIVE FORCES – THEIR ORGANISATIONAL, SOCIAL, GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC DIVERSITY



The Domestic Balance of Forces in 2025

- Since 2009, the ANC national electoral support has been declining steadily. The ANC support in local government elections has also been declining since 2016. In 2024, the ANC support dropped to a calamitous level of 40%.
- More and more political parties are formed and funded to contest elections. This seems to be a deliberate strategy to fragment the motive forces and growing stay-away from formal electoral politics.
- On the other hand, the right-wing vote is consolidating behind only two parties. The forces opposed to transformation have become more emboldened and louder in opposing and distorting the NDR.
- Coalitions now are now a feature of local, provincial and national politics in our country.
- A growing trend activism of civil society, community groups, and social movements in protest action and social justice activism shows that people want meaningful involvement in governance and development initiatives, not government-convened public meetings that don't produce results.

The Domestic Balance of Forces in 2025

- At an ideological level, the ANC's moral authority and ideological hegemony being is challenged by a brand of leftwing populism and a combination of conservative and neo-liberal paradigms.
- Corruption and poor service delivery have contributed to the de-legitimisation of the liberation project and the ANC transformative policies such as economic transformation and economic empowerment.
- The Alliance is also getting more fragmented at the level of strategy and tactics, given the challenges faced by the individual components.
- At a domestic and global level, the National Democratic Revolution is facing a more vigorous and abrasive counter-revolution – counter-revolution is more confident that more than ever before, the ANC is about to be totally defeated and be consigned to the dustbin of history.
- The question is whether the ANC will surrender to counter-revolution, or we will fight our way back to profound renewal and recovery.

The Global Balance of Forces in 2025

Significant shifts in global balance of forces since the 55th National Conference:

- Rise of China, BRICS consolidation and assertiveness of Global South.
- Great leadership by South Africa's G20 Presidency demonstrating the power of multilateralism and multipolarity.
- On the other hand, the empire is fighting back ferociously, targeting BRICS countries and those who pursue independent foreign policy such as South Africa.
- Significant growth in inter-Africa trade (Africa Continental Free Trade Area boosting regional trade and jobs) and Africa's trade with Asia. Serious challenges and opportunities in Africa.
- The Foundation Course Module on International Relations comprehensively covers the current shifts in the global environment.

National Renewal and Organisational Renewal

- The NDR cannot advance without a deep process of reconstruction and renewal of a democratic, just and more equal society. This Societal Renewal cannot happen without the fundamental transformation of the political economy of our country and rejuvenation of a national culture and shared identity.
- Societal Renewal requires the raising the bar on the quality of leadership across all sectors of society, insisting on a people-centred development and values of solidarity and Ubuntu, and tackling inequality and poverty to restore dignity – are cornerstones of national renewal.
- On the other hand, Organisational Renewal focuses on the rebuilding and renewal of the ANC, the Alliance and the mass democratic movement – cultivating revolutionary discipline, restoring integrity and building governance capacity and new leadership capabilities within the movement as a whole.
- The revival of political education, cadre development and ideological work constitute a critical pillar of Renewal to combat corruption, careerism, and factionalism, while at the same time building new leadership capabilities.
- Organisational Renewal must restore a culture of accountability, loyal service to the people, and principled leadership across all levels of the movement.
- Organisational Renewal is not a slogan but a strategy on which the survival and success of the NDR depends.

State of the ANC and Organisational Renewal

- The programme of **Organisational Renewal** – which has been emphasized for at least a decade – is not just a slogan but a necessity for survival and its critical tasks are:
 - Building of activist branches
 - Reviving sectoral work and engaging with society
 - Strengthening the Alliance
 - Rolling out mass political education
 - Reasserting ANC integrity and values
- Some progress been made, but much more needs to be done to truly renew the movement and regain society's trust.
- Organisational Renewal must also include skilful management of leadership succession within our ranks – failure will put the ANC into even deeper crises.

The State of the Alliance and Organisational Renewal

- For over 30 years, after 1994, the Alliance managed to hold itself together and make some achievements and managed conflict. This includes the adoption of GEAR in 1996, major public sector strikes, and policy disagreements which tested unity.
- Each component of the Alliance has its **own weaknesses**. COSATU has lost membership and is now mostly made up of public service unions. The SACP's influence among the working class and poor is limited; and the ANC's issues listed above also involved members of both the SACP and COSATU.
- The SACP's decision in principle to contest elections outside the ANC-led alliance is a serious development. The ANC has expressed its perspective that it does not agree with any tactic will further divide the Alliance and fragment the motive forces.
- The Alliance needs to maintain the strategic unity of purpose, renew and reconfigure without contesting each other in the elections.

The NDR: is it still on track or totally defeated?

- Given **subjective (internal)** factors and **objective (external)** conditions like:
 - Volatile and conflictual global politics and economics,
 - Political and socio-economic setbacks,
 - Internal weaknesses of the ANC and its Alliance partners,
 - Stronger domestic and global forces opposed to transformations
- A central question arises: has the NDR been **derailed and defeated**, or has it **slowed down and is losing momentum**?
- Based on this analysis, we conclude that the NDR has suffered several strategic setbacks and slowed down, but these do not amount to defeat and derailment. The question is whether the ANC has the capability and will to renew itself, the execution of the NDR, and our society.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The NGC must agree on:

- **An Effective Development Path for Growth and Equality** to make progress in building the South Africa we want
- **Nation-Building**, to unite society behind the national cause of transformation and a better life for all.
- **Renewal of the ANC as Agent of Change** to rebuild our values, leadership, organising skills and political understanding to drive transformation.
- **Navigating a Complex Global Situation** to protect and advance our national interests and the African agenda amid global shifts.

UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND INEQUALITY: Economic Reconstruction and Transformation Plan

- **Massive infrastructure programme (energy, transport, water)**, funded with development finance, public–private partnerships, and more flexible policies
- **Boost industrialisation** - in the green economy, manufacturing infrastructure, agro-processing, digital industries. Financing, tariff protection where needed,
- **Local procurement to increase local production**, and create jobs.
- **Jobs at the centre**: Shift Reserve Bank focus on low inflation to also prioritise jobs and growth.
- **Balance joblessness crisis with debt crises** —run deficits if debt is sustainable
- **Social compact for inclusive growth**: with business, labour, government and communities, to unite on common goals. E.g businesses commit to investment, labour lowers wage demands in exchange for keeping jobs, and government reduces bureaucracy, while communities protect infrastructure.
- **Revamp empowerment**: BEE must benefit more than just an elite few. Promote worker ownership and cooperatives, and loan support for small, black businesses
- **Support to farmers**: Use laws and policies to speed up land reform and give better support to new farmers so that land becomes productive.

Economic reconstruction and transformation - continued

- **Strengthen social grants in a sustainable way:** look at a Basic Income Grant to help people living in poverty. Grants linked to a path out of poverty -like skills training
- **Education and skills:** fix education quality at all levels. Invest in early childhood development centres and train more ECD teachers. Improve teacher training, enforce accountability, modernise curricula, and include digital skills, coding, and robotics. Expand training that supplies labour for industry.
- **Public sector reform for better service delivery:** Professionalise the public service – with merit-based appointments (with technical posts removed from political deployment processes). Use strong performance management and capacity-building programmes. Use technology to improve service delivery, reduce queues and curb corruption. Ensure that developmental programmes (housing, healthcare, etc.) effectively reach people
- **Enhance the nation’s safety and security by strengthening crime-fighting and law-enforcement agencies and partnerships with communities and sectors.**
- Our new developmental path must be people-centred and state-led but pursued in partnership with all stakeholders. It must create jobs and reduce inequality.
- IMMEDIATE ACTION: The NGC should assess ANC economic policies in line with the above ideas, feeding into government’s budget.
- Government could establish a “War Room” to track implementation of economic policies.

Nation-Building, Social Cohesion, Empowerment of the Motive Forces

- Economic growth is not enough; also, build a more caring and progressive society. We must engage with people, provide hope, and empower and unite all who are committed to change:
- **Community development and participation:** create genuine structures for community participation in planning and monitoring development. Strengthen Community Development Forums, ward committees, and Community Policing Forums. Provide training for school governing bodies, civil society, and other relevant stakeholders.
- **Run mass campaigns to address social ills:** on pressing social issues that unite communities: for example, a Mass Literacy and Numeracy Campaign to help youth who dropped out of school catch up. We could mobilise volunteer tutors (such as older students or retired teachers).
- **An ANC-led campaign against crime, violence, and corruption:** Involve communities in reclaiming their neighbourhoods, march against gender-based violence, set up advice clinics and protect whistleblowers, patrol against crime, and protect infrastructure. Make public safety a community responsibility in the fight against corruption.
- **Health awareness:** access to TB and HIV testing, mental health, and substance abuse support
- **Youth and women's empowerment at scale:** more programs coordinated to target them
- **Grassroots sports, arts, and cultural activities:** Invest in community sports leagues and arts/cultural centres. They keep youth engaged, build local pride, and bridge cultural divides.
- **Celebrate history inclusively:** include the anti-apartheid struggle, maintain museums and heritage sites that deal with our history— understanding diverse history will bring cohesion.

Social cohesion - continued

- **Encourage civic education, involvement and patriotism:** Develop a charter of values and popularise it. Use national commemorations (like the December 16th Day of Reconciliation) or sporting events to promote unity. Show positive stories of ordinary people working together for change.
- **Strengthen civil society partnerships and activism:** Government and ANC should work with NGOs, CBOs, faith-based organisations and other community groups — for example, with running feeding schemes, cleaning up the environment, or providing youth skills training. Support for groups can also increase their impact. By working with civil society rather than alone, we help communities to build organisations and put power in their hands. ANC members must be active in their community.
- **The overall aim of these nation-building initiatives is to rebuild trust:** between citizens and government (by delivering, cleaning up corruption, and involving people in decisions). Build trust between different communities by working together, trust in the future by improving their lives.

Without winning back the hearts and minds of the masses — the workers, the unemployed, the rural poor, and the disillusioned middle class — even the best economic policies will fail due to a lack of buy-in or social upheaval. Nation-building is essential for building stability and progress.

The citizen-led **National Dialogue** process provides a platform for listening to the people, engaging and responding to their challenges and problems. We will have citizen-led discussions at every level of society (from local communities up to national forums). They will focus on the economy, education, values, and other relevant topics. This could result in a “People’s Accord” - a shared vision for the next 30 years. This Dialogue on the spirit of CODESA, or the process of formulating the Freedom Charter, aims to build consensus on social and economic change that will bring about the country we dream of.

Paying attention to the Leadership Question

- There is no transformation that will without the ANC paying comprehensive attention to the Leadership Question. For the ANC to play its role as the leader of society, we must raise the bar on the quality of leadership and membership in our ranks and in society generally.
- We must shine the spotlight on the positive qualities and attributes that ANC leaders must have and not allow factions to impose defective and corrupt leaders on the movement and society.
- Our leadership is not based on entitlement. It is anchored in our mission to liberate the oppressed, unite the motive forces behind the national democratic project, and build a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, and more equal society. We need leadership that genuinely understands and advances the objectives of the NDR —through their actions and decisions in government and the ANC.
- We require leaders who understand that each policy choice must contribute to our struggle to transform and develop our country. They must build unity and reject factionalism, conflict and corruption. They must listen to allies, but also to critics and communities.
- A true leader of the ANC today must pass through the “eye of the needle”. They must live their commitment to the people, the cause, and the ANC’s values. They must be able to explain the problems of society — and understand race, class, gender, and inequality. They must know what is to be done— not to impress, but as practical solutions to deal with the crises confronting us.
- They must reject the culture of greed and consumerism fed by corruption, which turned people against us. Corruption is the enemy of the people and must be fought with every arsenal we have. Leaders must serve the people. The ANC must lead by example - the positive values of service, sacrifice, and solidarity must defeat the negative values of self-interest and greed.

Renewal to Restore ANC as Agent for Change/Leader of Society

We need effective leaders in all sectors, including public service, trade unions, civil society, religious institutions, academia, the media, and the cultural and private sectors. All carry influence and must be held to the same ethical standards. Progress will not be driven by slogans or individual charisma. It will be driven by leaders who inspire trust, build unity, implement transformative programmes, and lead with integrity.

Without a revitalised ANC, any grand plans will fail. We must fix the engine that drives transformation. Organisational and ideological renewal of the ANC is an urgent task for all —it enables all other changes:

- **Eradicate factionalism and patronage:** NEC should act strongly against any grouping that functions as a faction, holds parallel meetings, or defies organisational decisions.
- **Deployment should be based on merit, not factions** —reform the Deployment Committee with clear criteria and even external vetting. Comrades involved in patronage networks must be removed.
- **Reassert political discipline and cadre accountability:** The ANC Code of Conduct provides for disciplinary action against bad behaviour. We must use this instrument to instil a culture where being an ANC member or leader is a privilege tied to performance. Those elected or deployed to positions must deliver or be recalled.
- **Modernise internal processes and use technology** for ANC management- secure digital platforms for membership, meetings, and even internal voting (where appropriate), to reduce manipulation
- **Strengthen training and skills:** all members do the Foundation Course and training for positions
- **Leadership renewal and inclusion:** Leadership succession planning must take place and identify quality individuals and avoid factional contests that could lead to the capture of structures and the purging of opponents.

Renewal to Restore ANC as Agent for Change/Leader of Society

- **Consider informal term limits** - at local levels, to prevent gatekeeping and stagnation. Empower more women and young people, and support their election to leadership and public office in greater numbers
- **Improve candidate lists:** candidates must be capable and accepted in communities. Community input and independent panels should be used to interview and vet candidates
- **Reinvigorate the Alliance:** create joint programmes and discussions for better alignment.
- **Grassroots mass work:** regular door-to-door engagement, people's forums, and izimbizo — not just before elections but continuously. The President, ministers and mayors should report back to communities regularly. ANC structures should actively work on community issues with the people
- **Renewed values and political culture:** Introduce meaningful initiatives to shift organisational culture. For example, an annual “**ANC Day of Community Service**” where members from the President down to the branch level spend a day volunteering in communities — cleaning, fixing schools, assisting the vulnerable, etc. This would send a message that we are servants of the people, not an elite above them. Build a culture of modesty and humility in leadership and discourage flashy lifestyles
- **Monitor renewal progress:** showing results will stop “renewal” being an empty slogan.
- **For local elections,** present credible, capable and honest candidates, take visible action against corrupt people, make real improvements in communities driven by ANC and ANC government — only then will public attitudes shift from cynicism to cautious optimism.
- **The prize is immense: a renewed ANC would be able to mobilise the whole of society behind tough decisions and ambitious programmes, because trust and credibility would be restored. The fate of the NDR hinges on the ANC's renewal**

Navigating the Complex Global Environment

Finally, our international relations must help meet our national goals:

- **Economic diplomacy:** to increase foreign investment and trade in SA goods
- **Encourage new partners** from BRICS, African, Asian, Latin American, Middle Eastern and EU to invest in our infrastructure or industries. Build good relations with the USA, as one of our biggest trading partners
- **Build energy and food security** – the Russia–Ukraine war caused food and fertiliser shortages, and we must diversify supplies – for example, get green energy technology from China
- **Work through the African Union to negotiate together**, on issues of trade or conflict
- **Strengthen the Global South (less developed countries)** to strengthen Africa’s role in global economic institutions like the IMF and World Bank.
- **Expand cooperation with progressive countries** through forums like G77
- **End domination by powerful countries (unilateralism):** Support working together (multilateralism) and the United Nations in resolving international disputes
- **Improve management of immigration** — control illegal migration that fuels division. Make legal migration easier, where it brings in needed skills. Use SADC and the AU to develop approaches on conflict and lack of development that drives illegal migration

Navigating the Complex Global Environment

- **Balance international solidarity with our own interests:** stand in solidarity with just causes worldwide but also be pragmatic about South Africa's interests. E.g. On the Russia-Ukraine conflict, stay non-aligned to either side, but push for peace talks. On the Israel–Palestine issue, support a two-state solution and provide humanitarian aid to Gaza, while engaging all sides diplomatically. We are a voice of reason and human rights, rather than being uncritically aligned with any particular bloc.
- **Strengthen “Brand South Africa”:** Actively market South Africa to the world as open for tourism, investment, and cultural exchange. The more **people-to-people** contacts and business ties we have, the more resilient we become against negative campaigns or perceptions. We should invite the world to witness our renewal
- **Continuous planning:** today's world is complex. The government needs the capacity to scan for global risks (such as pandemics, financial crises, and geopolitical conflicts) and to prepare contingency plans (including the supply of essential goods and cybersecurity defences). This will protect our population from external shocks.

South Africa needs a principled yet flexible approach on the international front — one that maximises opportunities (resources, support, markets) while minimising threats (isolation, conflicts)

CONCLUSION: ANOTHER HILL. ANOTHER PHASE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

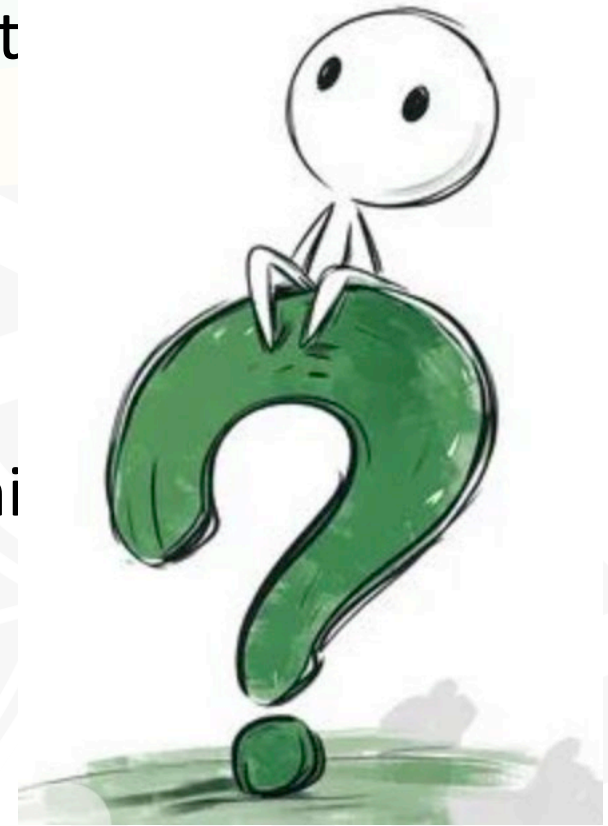
By executing effectively on these four fronts —revamped development strategy, revitalised nation-building, a renewed ANC, and a focused foreign policy —we can steer South Africa out of the current storm. The tasks are enormous, but not insurmountable.

- The **motive forces** of change – the workers, the poor, women, youth, patriotic black bourgeoisie, and middle classes – remain committed to positive and progressive change. If provided meaningful leadership and a credible plan, they will rally behind the ANC and the NDR. The people have not given up on the ideals of freedom, equality, and a better life. They long for the movement to correct its course and lead with integrity and vision.
- *Mandela said, “After climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb.”* We may have thought 1994 was the summit, but it was just the first great hill. Now we face new hills – eliminating poverty and inequality, renewing our organisation, uniting our people, and defending our democracy. With dedication, self-correction, and solidarity, we can climb these hills. The National Democratic Revolution lives on in the hearts of ordinary South Africans; it is our duty to give it fresh momentum through organisational and ideological renewal and decisive action.
- The NGC should also focus on a renewed ANC and Alliance. It must also be clear about the action that will be taken to build the calibre of leadership across different sectors of society and mobilise the activism and agency of citizens to advance national renewal and rejuvenation - let us raise the bar on the quality of leadership required.
- Let future generations look back and say this NGC was able to intensify reversing the losses and setbacks we have been suffering. Let South Africa’s liberation movement regain its ideological clarity and moral and intellectual leadership in society. Let us begin a new ascent to the summit of a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, and prosperous nation.

Guiding Questions for Discussions

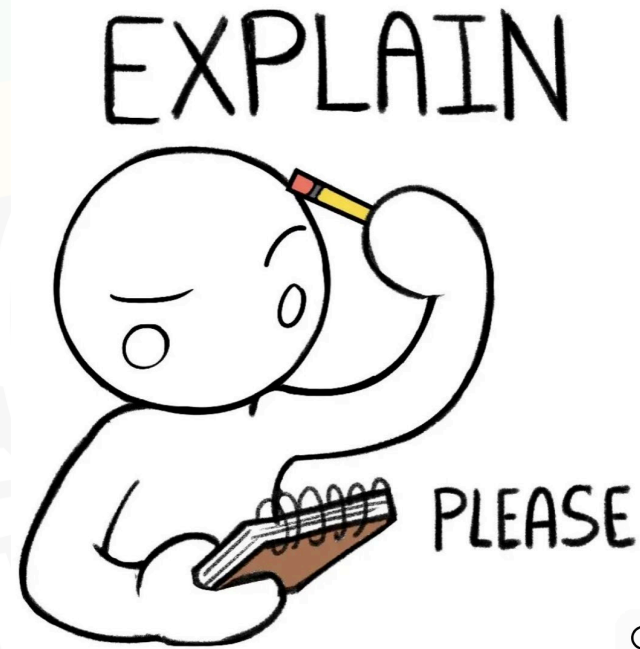
Renewal and the ANC

- Why must the ANC root out corrupt and factionalism to survive and continue leading society?
- How can our branch become an activist branch that solves community problems every day, and not only during elections?



National Democratic Revolution

- Why is the National Democratic Revolution the most direct path to a free, equal and just South Africa?
- How do we see apartheid's legacy in our community today, and how do we fight it through local struggles?



Motive Forces

- Why is it important to unite workers, the unemployed, women, youth and small businesses as the motive forces of change?
- How can the ANC Women's League do to mobilise different groups of women around a shared programme of action?



Balance of Forces

- Why must the ANC and its allies shift the balance of forces towards the poor and the working class, AND WOMEN?
- How can the ANCWL practically shift the balance of forces towards development and transformation in our area – in communities, workplaces, and local government?



The National Question

- Why is building one united, non-racial and non-sexist nation central to the ANC's mission?
- How can the ANCWL challenge race, class, and gender divisions in everyday life?



WOMEN
POWER

ANC and Governance

- How can the ANC use the GNU to advance transformation even when other parties resist it?
- How can branches ensure that the ANC leads within the GNU while protecting the interests of the poor and working class?



Women and Youth

- Why is empowering women and youth essential to the survival of the ANC and the success of the National Democratic Revolution?
- How can the ANCWL lead practical campaigns that place women and youth at the centre of local struggles?

empowered
women,
empower
women.

The Triple Challenges

- Why must the ANC make the fight against poverty, unemployment and inequality its top priority?
- How can the ANCWL lead or support local initiatives such as local development, improving services, setting up cooperatives, and improving land access, public works and small business support, to tackle these challenges?



ANC as the Leader of Society

- Why must the ANC regain its role as the leader of society and not only the leader of itself, especially on gender and women's issues?



The Global Situation

- How do global issues such as wars, BRICS, climate change, migration and global inequality affect the lives of ordinary South Africans?
- Why do we, as the ANC, choose to stand with the poor and oppressed of the world instead of siding with the powerful and exploiters?
- How can our struggles in South Africa be linked with global struggles for justice, equality and solidarity?

