



NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

VISION 2032 AND ROADMAP DOCUMENT PREPARED FOR ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE

16 - 21 DECEMBER 2022

“
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!
”

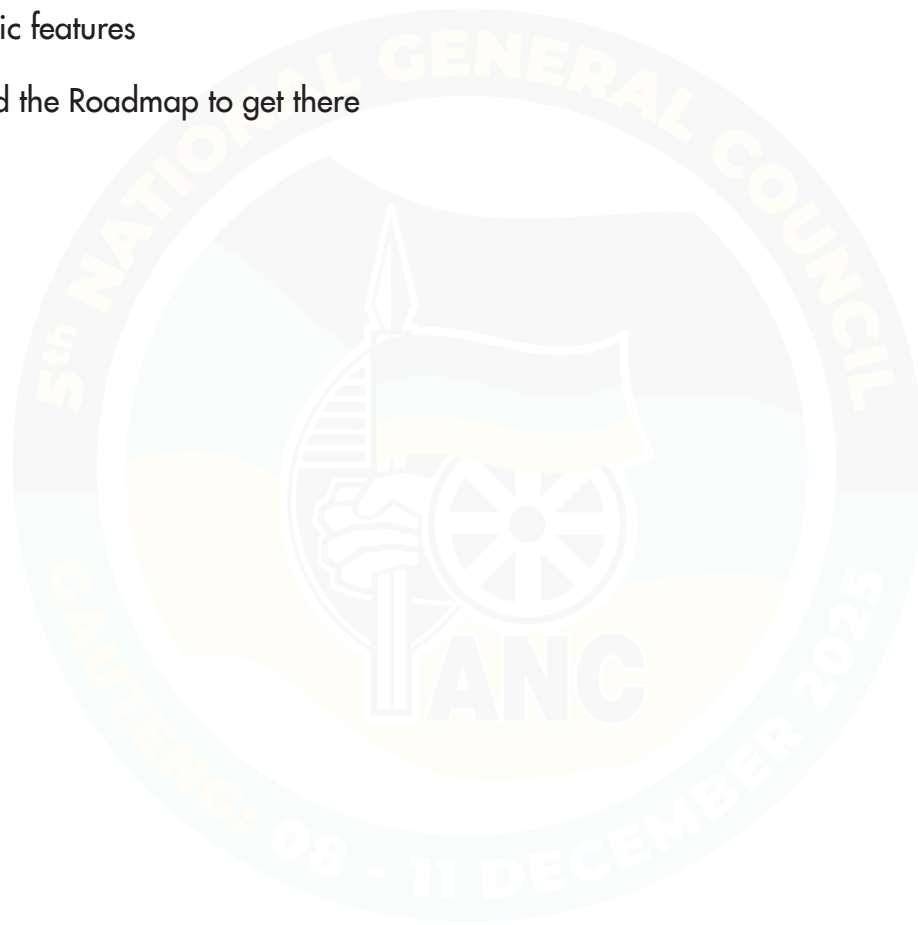


AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
113TH

70 YEARS OF THE
**FREEDOM
CHARTER**
1955 - 2025

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Foreword by ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa

Dear comrades,

This document is presented to you as an important milestone in a process started at the 54th National Conference.

That Conference correctly identified a number of challenges besetting our movement and called upon all ANC members to become more focused and systematic in working together for the unity and fundamental renewal of our movement.

Conference said that renewing the ANC is “principally about building the ANC’s resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capacity and its ability to adapt to changing situations so that it can continue to serve and lead the people.”

It is within this context, of working towards strengthening and rebuilding our movement, both as a dynamic force to address the challenges of the people and equipping our movement to adapt to the challenges of this time, that the NEC set up the Renewal Commission to develop a roadmap for our movement towards its 120th anniversary in 2032.

As we said in the 2022 January 8th Statement, the aim of the Renewal Commission was to develop:

- a Vision 2032, which describes the desired state of the country and the ANC in 10 years’ time.
- a roadmap towards Vision 2032 for adoption at the 55th National Conference in December 2022.

The Renewal Commission has concluded its work and presents both Vision 2032 and the roadmap for discussion and decision-making.

The recommendations of the Commission should serve as a guide as we intensify our efforts to rebuild the movement as a trusted agent of change.

We should call on this work to strengthen our strategies and programmes aimed at fundamentally transforming our branches to become more grounded in their communities.

We should call on this work to further inculcate progressive values amongst the people and strengthen political education across all our structures.

We should call on this work to transform the ANC into a more effective organ of service to the people and modernise our systems and methods of operating to respond to the demands of modern times more effectively.

The work of the Renewal Commission also represents a significant opportunity for ANC members and broader society to engage on the ideal South Africa, continent and world we must work towards.

There is tremendous contestation about the characteristics of the ideal type of society, both in our country and throughout the world.

With specific reference to our country, we need to ensure that we are in a position to advance the ideals of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society. This body of work contributes significantly towards debates and discussions about how best to create this ideal society under prevailing conditions.

The recommendations of the Renewal Commission will also contribute towards our drive to ensure South Africa enhances its role as a crucial global player, an unflinching champion of human rights, peace and stability. Renewal is a process, not an event. There will be setbacks and successes along the way.

Our task is to remain steadfast and unwavering in our commitment to placing our organisation and our country on the best possible footing to ensure that we succeed in building a better life for all.

I thank you.



STATEMENT BY CHAIR OF RENEWAL COMMISSION, CDE THOKO DIDIZA

Background

As we present this report to the 55th National Conference, we emphasise that organisational renewal in the ANC is not a new phenomenon. When confronted with internal and external challenges, the organisation has had to go through various processes of renewal that have enabled it to become resilient and continue pursuing its historical mission.

The need for renewal in the contemporary phase of the organisation has been articulated in previous ANC National Conferences, in particular the 54th National Conference. The urgency to renew the ANC was further expressed by the ANC President in the 2022 January 8 Statement, asserting that, “renewal is about building the ANC’s resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capacity, and its ability to adapt to changing situations so that it can continue to organise and lead the people.”

To this end, the National Executive Committee (NEC) in March 2022, established the Renewal Commission with the task to develop a roadmap for the movement towards 2032 to mark its 120th anniversary. The mandate of the Renewal Commission is to develop proposals that can be operationalised as a matter of urgency. The Commission is tasked to develop:

- Vision 2032, which describes the desired state of the country and the ANC in 10 years
- A roadmap towards Vision 2032 for adoption at the 55th National Conference in December 2022.

Approach and Methodology

Following its establishment, the ANC Renewal Commission deliberated on the appropriate approach and methodology to achieve its mandate. Accordingly, the Commission adopted scenario planning as its preferred approach.

The Commission interviewed activists, experts and individuals from diverse generations, sectors and geographic spread. These consultations informed the identification of variables and key driving forces that will shape the formulation of the Vision 2032 and the RoadMap to get there.

The Commission also established a reference group comprising activists, professionals and individuals who continuously assessed the work of the Commission and assisted in informing the thinking process of the Commission.

Literature Review

A significant amount of time was also spent analysing various organisational documents to understand how the ANC’s renewal has evolved. These included previous conference resolutions which affirmed that the organisation has always been able to respond to events and moments that have confronted it throughout history.

It is this ongoing capability to renew itself that has made the Renewal Commission appreciate that renewal is in the DNA of the ANC. At its 2007 National General Council, the ANC reflected on how to respond to the ever-changing realities of our time and become stronger in advancing the national democratic revolution,

taking into consideration the global and domestic balance of forces, and how these impact the character of the movement and its capacity to continue transforming society with the support and confidence of the masses and the broad social formations.

Also, at its 52nd National Conference, the ANC reflected on its history and evolution over the years, including how its mass character would contribute towards the achievement of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa. The 52nd Conference further noted that “there are a range of global factors and forces which impact on the organisation – its character, structures and membership - and the ANC needs to strengthen its ability to respond creatively to these factors and the new environment’

According to the Organisational Renewal Resolution of the ANC 53rd National Conference held at Mangaung, “The continuous renewal of the ANC over the century of its existence has been guided by the nature and content of the struggle against apartheid colonialism and its legacy as elaborated in its Strategy and Tactics. The ANC has always understood that to lead the national democratic revolution successfully, it has to renew itself so that it remains relevant to the changing conditions of the struggle both locally and internationally”.

Accordingly, at the 53rd National Conference, reflecting on the implementation of previous resolutions regarding organisational renewal, the ANC acknowledged that some work had been undertaken as it pertained to issues of membership recruitment, induction and political education. The aspiration of reaching a target of one million members was achieved together with the formation of the Veterans League. The conference also undertook a frank and candid assessment of the state of the organisation and the need to deepen efforts in the renewal of the organisation.

Consultation with Structures

To date, the Renewal Commission has engaged with the organisational structures and alliance partners, including the NEC, NWC, National Officials, Organising Subcommittee, Integrity Committee, Electoral Committee, Constitutional and Legal Affairs Subcommittee, National Disciplinary Committee, National Disciplinary Committee of Appeals, PECs, Veterans League, ANCYL NYTT, ANCWL NYTT, the OR Tambo School of Leadership, and Alliance partners. These discussions intended to gather feedback and support for organisational renewal and to gain an understanding of how various structures viewed the work of the Commission.

The Renewal Commission anticipates that consultations with civil society will be embarked upon once the 55th National Conference has formulated a resolution on the Draft Vision 2032.

Conclusion

In the Draft Vision 2032 and the Roadmap, we have considered the history, present realities and future scenarios that will have an impact on the organisation and the steps required to achieve a renewed ANC. We are also mindful that the implementation of Vision 2032 and the RoadMap will need to draw on various conference resolutions emanating from the 55th National Conference as part of its detailed implementation. On behalf of the Renewal Commission, I thank the National Officials, the NWC and the NEC for continuous guidance they have provided in the last six months. We believe it is now upon us to walk together as a movement and once again inspire confidence among the people of South Africa, Africa and the world, assuring them that the ANC can and remains the beacon of hope for our people for a better future.

What do we mean by renewal?

This is a moment for the renewing of our contract with the people, who look up to the ANC as a trusted vehicle for genuine transformation of society and effective provision of services. As we move to 2032, we need the kind of ANC that is enduring and 'built to last', a transformative movement that will remain a powerful force for progressive change.

We will draw inspiration from our forebears while at the same time acknowledging that some of the challenges we face are unique to our time and imposed by new and evolving circumstances. While the core task of the ANC during most of the past three decades has been to transform South African society by building a better life for all, the role of the branch as an agent of change has remained fundamental.

To sustain social change, the ANC needs relevant and effective instruments, fit for purpose in the form of totally transformed, modernised and accountable structures from the branch to national level. Each one of us has to be the renewal, every ANC member needs to play an active role in making the renewal a reality. There are five critical elements that underpin the renewal project:

A. Reflection, Introspection and Circumspection.

Throughout the renewal process organisations contend and must adapt to ever-changing conditions to avoid stagnation, political irrelevance and death. Organisations operate within a social milieu and are impacted by the local and global balances of forces that are a function of subjective circumstances and objective conditions.

During much of the past two decades, the ANC has been grappling with the impact on our structures and members due to being the party of government, including the phenomenon identified as sins of incumbency. The post-1994 period has seen major advances in improving people's conditions of life. Along with this – as both cause and effect – a corps of cadres has emerged, characterised by plodding industry to change South Africa for the better. Yet, at the same time, indiscretions and wrongs have been committed in the name of the ANC. The collective weakness, especially in recent years, has seen a declining resolve to deal with these weaknesses.

The reflection, introspection and circumspection that renewal demands means that the ANC should restore its ethical fibre and must never tolerate any conduct that undermines the cause of social transformation. Perpetrators of such conduct must never expect or enjoy the ANC's protection. We need honesty and accept that as members of the ANC we are simply custodians of a heritage of the people of South Africa.

An ANC capable of sustaining the mission of social change must be strong and principled. It must develop good strategies and plans for identifying, mobilising and harnessing the individual and collective talents all South African citizens for the purposes of enhancing state capacity and driving change for the benefit of all.

B. Refining our Values, Principles and Historical Mission

The renewal process must help us achieve objectives set out in the Freedom Charter as a statement of our core values and principles. All those that believe and adhere to the principles and values of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism, common prosperity and total emancipation must stand up firmly, and unapologetically uphold and extol the tried and tested makeup of the Congress Movement. To ensure that it remains at the head of the forces committed to fundamental change, the ANC must remain people-centred and people-driven in its core character and the way it operates. In this way, it will also serve as a force of example in the renewal of society and the RDP of the Soul that fundamental social change also has to entail.

C. Close the Space for Errant Behaviour And Conduct.

To win back the trust and confidence of the citizens, the ANC must earn their respect. We must be distinguishable from the untrustworthy and corrupt.

Errant behaviour and conduct that lands individuals into disrepute and draw in the organisation as collateral are avoidable and amenable to remedy unless an underlying deliberate destructive motive is at play or unless the worms of greed and self-aggrandisement have eaten into the ethical fibre of the organisation. Renewal means boldly confronting both these negative tendencies, as well as the defiant and recalcitrant behaviour and shamelessness, which accompany deviant unethical conduct.

D. Renewing our Contract with the People

To achieve the above and revert to the path of progress and prosperity for both the ANC and South Africa, there has to be a separation of the well-meaning and the malevolent. It is an imperative that our renewed and well-led structures reconnect with the grassroots and become once more relevant to the will, aspirations and needs of the people, especially the poor and marginalised.

At this critical juncture, a contract of individual vows and commitments to the real ANC, its ethos, culture and practices is an absolute necessity. A thorough process of membership renewal for all of us will be in the best interest of the organisation and progress. This should be underpinned by the understanding of the ANC's vision and mission, at the core of which is improvement of the human condition in all its dimensions.

E. A Fresh Beginning and New Vision

Organisational renewal is an absolute and urgent priority for the survival of the ANC. It is only a renewed and modernised ANC that will be best positioned to deal with the new material conditions and serve the nation better. This must be purposefully carried and driven by bolstered structures that are transparent, democratic and consistently accountable.

For us to succeed, the ANC leadership must be bold, rise to the historical moment, set itself free of anything that contradicts what the ANC is or stands for, set an example for all to emulate, roll out all the necessary instruments in the form of renewed and accountable organizational structures for ensuring a fundamental change and accelerate the renewal and modernisation pathway that will attend to both the immediate interventions and long-term vision. Our renewed structures must leave no room for wrong-doers and misfits, both in form and content.

It is this changing environment that the ANC must respond to so it can remain true to its ability and character of adapting to new conditions.

As the African National Congress, we have embarked on a path of renewal and rebuilding. This is not for its own sake; nor is it merely to sustain an organisation, whatever its name. Rather, it is fundamentally about changing South African for the better. It is about eradicating the social injustices that continue to define much of our society. It is about eliminating the social antagonisms that are the cause of much of our insecurity as a nation – antagonisms which constantly threaten to break out into even deeper social upheaval.

In this context, organisational renewal is an element of the much-needed renewal of society, including the renewal of the state, civil society, the private sector, families, communities and other platforms of social life.

Renewal is in the DNA of the ANC

“We did not tear ourselves apart because of lack of progress at times. We were always ready to accept our mistakes and to correct them. Above all we succeeded to foster and defend the unity of the ANC and the unity of our people in general. Even in bleak moments, we were never in doubt regarding the winning of freedom. We have never been in doubt that the people’s cause shall triumph.” President Oliver Reginald Oliver Tambo, (1969)

These words were cited by President Cyril Ramaphosa at the National Policy Conference, July 2022, connecting the current renewal process with the long history of the ANC’s capacity to rejuvenate and revitalise in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds.

Central to the ANC mission is the building of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa. In its efforts over the 110 years of its existence, the ANC has always sought to sustain organisational regeneration, in the interest of all who live in South Africa.

For the ANC to live up to its role as the leader of the process of social change, it has, continuously reviewed the state of the nation and developed policies that relate to the lived experience of the country’s people.

What are some of the key milestones in the ANC’s continuous journey of self-reflection, as part of the ongoing cycle of renewal.

Since its formation....

While 8 January 1912 is celebrated as the day of the founding of the South African Natives National Congress (SANNC), which was then renamed the African National Congress in 1925, that remarkable day had a long precedence of different provincial formations seeking to organise political activists and thinking. Dominated by the amakholwa, or those who had been schooled in formal education, and traditional leaders, the movement slowly shifted in character. While the major achievement at its founding was the propagation of unity among the African people, the organisation evolved from petitioning for the rights of a section of black people, particularly men, to a campaigning organisation for the rights of all across race, class and gender.

African Claims in South Africa, adopted by the ANC at its 16 December 1943 conference, proclaimed that ‘the African people in the Union of South Africa urgently demand the granting of full citizenship rights such as are enjoyed by all Europeans in South Africa’. This profoundly social humanism in the ANC’s approach found its way into the articulations contained in the Freedom Charter adopted in 1955 and subsequent policy documents.

The ANC Youth League (ANCYL), formed in 1944 under the leadership of Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo and others introduced a radical form of politics into the ANC. Its Manifesto saw the ANC as a ‘national unity front’ through ‘which the national liberation of Africans will be achieved by Africans themselves’. It saw South Africa as a country of ‘four chief nationalities, three of which are minorities and three of which suffer national oppression’. It also called for the ‘national organisations of the Africans, Indians and Coloureds co-operating on common interests’.

The ANC’s 1949 Programme of Action called on the ANC to embark on mass action, involving civil disobedience, strikes, boycotts and other forms of non-violent resistance. The Congress Alliance saw greater cooperation between the different racial groups in the country and the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 represents one of the most seminal moments in the history of the ANC.

Non-racialism was taking deeper root in the organisation with Chief Albert Luthuli commenting in 1957 as ANC president, that, black and white ‘peoples of the Union will work and live together in harmony for the common good of the fatherland’. In terms of the Freedom Charter, Luthuli’s successor, Oliver Tambo argued, ‘we fight for a South Africa in which there will be no racial discrimination, no inequalities based on colour, creed or race – a non-racial democracy which recognizes the essential equality between man and man’.

The clampdown of the early 1960s, in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre, resulted in resistance to apartheid going underground. Once again this saw the ANC rising to the challenges of the time, leading to the establishment of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961 and setting up of missions around the world.

Against the backdrop of the ANC’s 1967/8 MK military campaign with the armed wing of the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), ZIPRA in the then Rhodesia, the organisational disjuncture the developed led to the famous 1969 conference in Morogoro, Tanzania which adopted its strategy and tactics document, serving as a theoretical foundation for our revolution. “No one in the movement can be content with the present situation; all must be aware of the deepening malaise such as we have never known before’, said OR Tambo in his opening remarks to the conference.

The outcome of this conference saw to the evolution of the ANC’s approach to struggle, from an inclusive non-racial membership (and then leadership after the 1985 Kabwe Conference), to a systematic pursuit of four pillars of struggle – armed struggle, underground organisation, mass mobilisation and international work – which, by the 1980s had become the foundation of the movement’s tactics.

The 1969 and 1985 Conferences are important milestones because both of them were occasioned by a groundswell of impatience among the membership, particularly MK cadres, for new approaches as the situation in South Africa, the region and globally changed. They became moments at which a new course of renewal, appropriate for the existing reality, was mapped out.

...and more recently

In the late 1980s as the struggle increasingly made it difficult for the regime to govern the country, the ANC developed a roadmap to a negotiated settlement, while at the same time defining the constitutional principles that would frame the new democratic dispensation. With the unbanning of liberation organisations and progress in the negotiations process, the ANC had to develop concrete policies for democratic governance – captured in the 1992 Ready to Govern and the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). It also had to put in place all manner of mechanisms to deal with election campaigning and the transition to becoming a governing party.

In 2012, the year the organisation turned a 100, the ANC adopted a decade-long programme of action for the period 2012-2022, captured in the Organisational Renewal Discussion Document. It stated that “As a Centenary Conference, the Mangaung Conference should be a watershed that defines the strategic posture, political line and organisational tasks of the movement over the next two decades’. Ten priorities were captured in this programme, which included building the ANC’s capability to act as the strategic centre of power, capable of leading a wide range of progressive social movements in transformative struggles to change the legacy of apartheid colonialism and overcome the triple challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality.

This was described as the decade of the cadre, while the building of a developmental state was recognised as a critical priority. The programme also urged for steps to restore the core values of the organisation, stamp out factionalism and promote political discipline. The renewal of the ANC was to be achieved through the professionalisation and modernisation of its operations and drawing into its ranks new generations of young people as well as different sectors and social strata.

At the ANC's 54th National Conference, the ANC in its Organisational Renewal Resolution, resolved that the organisation focuses on its renewal to regain the confidence of the people. The conference resolved on the following two strategic priorities:

- Organisational renewal and unity: restore the relationship between the ANC and the people, its integrity and role as agent for change and leader in society; and
- Radical socio-economic transformation: speed up economic transformation; land and agrarian reforms; developmental, participatory, ethical and effective governance; quality and universal basic services, and a better life for all South Africans.

The Diagnostic Report presented by the ANC Secretary-General at the 2017 June/July National Policy Conference as well as the Strategy and Tactics document and the resolutions adopted at the National Conference in December 2017 go some way in identifying the reasons for lack of progress in correcting weaknesses identified in earlier conferences and implementing the programme of renewal. Fundamental to this is that the sins of incumbency had found deep roots in the organisation and the state, reflected in what is called 'state capture'.

It speaks to the stubbornness of the negative tendencies that had found root in the movement that minimal progress had been made some three years after the 2017 National Conference. The contestation around the very meaning of 'organisational renewal' and concrete steps that were being developed, demonstrated quite clearly that renewal is a protracted process; it is a contested terrain; and it requires dogged determination to resist detractors. Against the background of this experience, the National Executive Committee (NEC) decided in 2021 to set up the Renewal Commission, clearly to define the tasks that attach to this objective and to outline a desired state of the ANC by its 120th anniversary in 2032, referred to as the ANC Vision 2032. Renewal is not a unique South African political phenomenon. Political parties all over the world must evolve to meet new challenges that reflect the ways people interact and organise. This, the ANC recognises, is fundamental to the very survival of the organisation.

"Organisational renewal is an absolute and urgent priority, and we may go as far as to say, to the survival of our great movement." ANC 54th National Conference, December 2017

VARIABLES IMPACTING SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ANC

Based on feedback from interviews, written submissions, workshops of the Reference Group, brainstorming sessions, thematic workshops on BEE, land, education and youth, researchers and Renewal Commission members. All the inputs were addressing the key questions: what are the major trends and developments of the next decade which will be affecting the trajectory of South Africa and the ANC?

1. Ideological contestation is getting more and more intense

Populist authoritarianism that is characterised by nativism, racism and intolerance is on the rise with countries such as Hungary providing models for illiberal democracies around the world. Countries like the US are deeply divided between inward, protectionist and globalist camps.

2. The future role and nature of the state is being debated

It is once again appreciated that power is dispersed throughout society, allowing for civil society movements to wield power at local, national and global levels. Although the ANC sees SA being a developmental state, the concept is yet to be consolidated, while others are calling for a new Constitution and Republic

3. Development of women's socio-economic justice agenda

Global movements have successfully initiated the need to transform power relations. Gender is our Agenda towards Vision 2032 should take forward. Inside the ANC women are perceived to be spectators and pocket-knives for "big men politics."

4. Humanity continues facing existential threats

The Covid-19 experience has shown the potential of future global threats due to pandemics. This is also a reminder of the potential of nuclear war and natural disasters.

5. Future of democracy in SA

SA is already seeing steady decline in its score on the rule of law and transparency. Unless controlled, corruption and abuse of power in South Africa impacts the quality of our democracy. There is continued debate about the constituency-based system, with calls for reform to the electoral system

6. Climate change becomes part of political debate

Climate change concerns are dismissed as a 'middle class' concern. Extreme weather patterns have forced the issue to be on the political agenda shaping political choices. The debate also involves the impact of climate change communities - especially future infrastructure plans, rising food prices, the spread of diseases, exposure of rural areas, management of natural resources, and implications for childhood development. Destruction of infrastructure, shrinking land mass and rising sea levels impact population and lead to concentration in large cities.

7. Energy crisis and just economic transition

Energy crisis will impact negatively on all economic sectors, including agriculture. South Africa will struggle to resolve this crisis over the next few years, despite attempts at increasing the number of IPPs. The crisis will directly impact the rate of economic growth. Transition to renewables is picking up pace. SA can potentially become the leader in hydrogen economy and fuel cell technology. Green industrialisation is creating new economic opportunities. The potential of resultant job losses in the coal and electricity sectors could result in widespread protests to the transition.

8. Impact of AI and other technological developments

Adoption and application of new technologies leads to emergence of new industries and a skilled cohort but with little impact on the 'two economies' in South Africa as most of society remains excluded. There are opportunities for enhanced educational and economic development, and possibility of new forms of work and employment. ANC must transform policies, for example, promote new types of entrepreneurs, and the education sector should produce skills for the new challenges.

9. Future of SA economy

Social compact on economic growth strategy ERRP remains elusive. SA is continuing to face economic decline and is seen as unattractive as an investment destination. Immigration and loss of skills will accelerate simultaneously with economic decline. Fiscal and monetary policy frameworks are continuously challenged by Alliance partners, for being 'neoliberal', as well as calls for 'fiscal decentralisation' and reindustrialisation

10. Skills shortfall being addressed through partnerships

Skills development is focused on responding to just transition and 4IR requirements. State innovations system fosters commercialisation of creative solutions from SA. Private sector takes more initiatives to close skills gaps. Young activists in townships and villages enthusiastically adopt and adapt the new technologies resulting in the expansion of job-creation and self-employment. Aging workforce is rendered redundant with its skills used for different purposes.

11. Moribund quality of political leadership

Rise of populist tactics amongst all parties, including the ANC, which includes resorting to xenophobic tendencies and ethnic identities, etc. ANC uses rhetoric of 'national liberation movement' to tap into its history and legacy has popular appeal and serves as broad church. Civil society proving to be more morally committed, attractive to young activists, as ANC loses touch with grassroots. ANC continues town hall meetings to select local candidates.

12. State of opposition political parties

Political parties convince former ANC supporters to support plurality. Opposition exploits rising unemployment, especially through anti-immigrant statements. Future of coalitions, usually based on patronage, impact governance and service delivery. There is an emergence of two blocs in Kenya which is inspired by Unita challenging MPLA.

13. Violent social upheaval and fracture

Trauma from periods of apartheid persist as racism, resentment and resistance to transformation reduce possibilities of reconciliation. There are widespread revolts and civil strife due to poverty, unemployment, inequality and political instigation. ANC social distance from communities renders it ineffective in coping with upheavals. There is continued increase in crime, corruption and psychological despondency. The national question remains unresolved.

14. The global democratic recession continues

Right wing agendas achieving stranglehold in large parts of the world and there is less and less commitment to liberal and social democracies. Cost of election campaigns, non-transparent money in elections and lower rates of voter participation point to ill health of democracies.

15. ANC works more as a political party

'Getting Out The Vote' has become the central objective of the ANC. It emphasises ANC as a resilient brand. It streamlines its operations in responding to financial constraints, with better use of technology for consultations, and management of work. More coherent ideologically around 'centrist' policies. It is a respectful opposition when it loses power and abides by coalitions arrangements. Young people, joining the ANC, see politics as career choice. Changes to election of top officials persist, according to the Motlanthe Electoral Committee recommendations.

16. Youth issues enjoy greater focus

Today of the 60.6 mn people in SA., 22.12 mn are 19 years old ie 37% of the population. The average leadership age in Africa/South Africa is 64 years, average population age is 24 years. Young people not identifying with the politics of the day and giving up on the party-political system as a whole, which could mean failure of the democratic project. There is appreciation of the role elders can play, with International Youth Day (12 August 2022) was celebrated with the theme: "Intergenerational Solidarity: Creating a World for All Ages".

17. Poverty, unemployment, inequality remain unresolved

Economic hubs have higher per capita income and wealth vis-a-vis others. Overlays the racial nature of inequality. ANC-led government maintains social net but cannot expand it further. Rising household debts has immediate and psychological effects. Child malnourishment increases. NHI implemented falteringly is challenged by private sector.

18. SA and ANC remain a patriarchal society

There are corporate and political setbacks on gains made in women's rights. GBVF continues stalking the land. LGBTQI+ representation and issues are not prioritised.

19. Rethinking spatial development

Gauteng, Western Cape and economic hubs in KZN constitute South Africa's triple geographical centres of growth. Provincial and local state capture is embedded and are sites of criminal enterprises. ANC branch chairs aim to be Ward Councillors, regional chairs to be Mayors. Federal structure of ANC entrenches federal approach to SA development and creates internal power bases.

20. Party/state nexus handled better

Legislation for professionalising public service implemented. Civil servants ensured tenure for at least five years to protect them from 'political interference'. Findings of Zondo Commission enforced on reluctant ANC and state by civil society actions. Procurement on strictly commercial basis, with BEE featuring as important consideration.

21. ANC hybrid model emerges

Draws on traditions of MDM and ANC history, develop people's organs of power. Geographically based branches enjoy equal status with sector interest structures. ANC develops alliances with civil society bodies, political parties on specific issues. Political education is prized. ANC is characterised by intellectual debates. Revives ANC slick communications machinery. Return to selfless ANC cadres, placing people's needs first. Succession plans in place at all levels, through democratic centralism principles. Comfortable space for women, LGBTQI+ and youth generally.

22. Globalisation and its discontents

At times competing trends such as decoupling, recoupling, offshoring, reshoring, shortening of global supply chains, are seen globally. Decoupling requires intense debate about effect and change in economic policy would be required. Economic integration continues skewed power relations, still benefiting developed north. New regions in Asia and Africa becoming dispersed 'factory of the world', integrated into global value chains. SA also expands involvement in global value chains, absorbing unskilled and semi-skilled workers into industrial activity.

23. Africa and geo-economic alignments

The ongoing geopolitical realignment leaves many African countries unsure which competing power to align with and which economic blocs to follow. Economically, African countries are followers in the realignment and have different capacities to find their niche. There are increased movements, networks and new relations within the continent and its economic blocks. Agriculture, IT, services, and mining industry are the drivers of new form of economy and economic relations.

24. SA leadership on African continent

New signs of fierce contest and side-lining of South Africa in the African Union and regional bodies. South Africa can act as the bully, using its economic strength, to promote its interests or work in the interests of the continent as whole. South Africa's influence is challenged by foreign powers. South Africa pays more attention to making AfCFTA, SACU, SADC a success for all the citizens.

25. Domestic politics in Africa

Africa is experiencing decline in freedom, civil liberties, political rights due to bad governance, increased number of coups – eight since 2020. There are increasing levels of military despotism and undermining democratic practices. Escalations in civil strife and internal conflict. Migrants will continue coming to SA or going to Europe. Despite these challenges many consolidated democracies continue to thrive.

26. Big power rivalries impact

The world is seeing the strengthening of new centres of economic development and power. On purchasing-power parity GDP of China caught up with that of America in 2014. On current-dollar basis, US is economy still bigger, but the gap is projected to narrow. This year China's current-dollar GDP will be around 75% of America's, and 89% by 2026. Europe remains a significant military power through its collective defence mechanism, NATO. Is BRICS gaining greater importance or are contradictions weakening it?

27. Unresolved land question haunts ANC

ANC is not seen as treating land as a priority, yet land issue is one of the primary missions for its formation. Incorporation of trust lands into municipalities will impact traditional leadership. Our failure extends to both issues of ownership and utilization. NGOs as well as opposition parties have already overtaken the ANC in addressing the land question. The ANC needs to assess its policy as well review the delivery method of land reforms. Our policy fails to address the breadth of the issues which include the various forms of tenure and different ways in which people relate to land. In urban areas, land is about residential purposes for most and business space rights for other while in the rural outskirts, Bantustan arrangements are still in place with a completely different land tenure policy. The vast white owned commercial farming areas remain largely untransformed. There is a growing view that the best dispensation is for the land ownership to revert back to the State ownership. Extreme changes in climate and the failure of new land ownership arrangements, is partly responsible for the rush and scramble towards over-populated and under-resourced urban and peri-urban areas. Implementation of a reviewed policy will require the right type of bureaucracy to implement it.

28. Poor return on education budget

Despite education taking up almost 20% of the budget, a key question is why are we not producing the citizens and skilled people that our country needs. This speaks to the failure of getting beyond the apartheid system's objective of subjugating black people through denial of decent education. And with changes in technology and increasingly complex demands of a technology driven workplace, SA needs a revolution in the way education is conducted. Implementation of education policy needs to address challenges at a granular level where eg the needs of a far-flung, rural areas is different from one based in urban centre.

29. Addressing the limited success of Broad-based black economic empowerment

After almost three decades of a democratic, ANC-led government much has been achieved in ensuring economic empowerment of the black majority, especially seen in the rising size of the black middle class. But much more needs to be done. Part of the challenge has been that BBBEE policies have been grafted onto a superstructure inherited from the apartheid era. This has seen the continued existence of white owned monopoly capital, while some key individuals were able to deracialise big capital through share transfers to some degree. The deals made in the initial phase was for capital intensive sectors such as mining. Such empowered black bourgeoisie continue benefiting from BBBEE policies, stemming the development of a broader-based black share of the economy. BBBEE has been over focused on the R1tn worth state expenditure, without looking at the R7-8tn procurement spend of the private sector. Traditional sources of funding are very conservative, expecting a longer history of black entrepreneurs than is feasible.



THREE KEY DRIVING FORCES THAT WILL BE IMPACTING ON SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ANC

1. Uncertain times globally

The challenges the globe faces are many, multidimensional and unprecedented. This moment has been likened to other moments in history such as the end of World War II or the fall of the Berlin Wall. Amongst the variables we have to contend with under this KDF are the following:

- **Humanity continues facing existential threats:** The Covid-19 experience has shown the potential of future global threats due to pandemics, exacerbated by the increasing cases of natural disasters and the potential of nuclear war.
- **Globalisation and its discontents:** Competing trends such as decoupling, recoupling, offshoring, reshoring, shortening of global supply chains, are at play. Decoupling is already seeing actions such as sanctions against and denial of technologies to China by the US. New regions in Asia and Africa are becoming dispersed 'factories of the world', integrated into global value chains.
- **The global democratic recession:** The 2020 Global Satisfaction with Democracy Report has shown that 2005 represented the beginning of the 'global democratic recession'. In the mid-1990s global satisfaction with democracy was around 57.5% but a decade later it had dropped to 47.9%.
- **Ideological contestation is getting more and more intense:** Right wing agendas achieving stranglehold in large parts of the world and there is less and less commitment to liberal and social democracies. They are by populist authoritarianism, patriarchy, nativism, racism and intolerance of diversity.
- **Big power rivalries impact:** The post 1989 world saw US unilateral hegemony prevailing, which has come to be challenged by the rise of a multiple of forces. China's current-dollar GDP will be around 89% of the US by 2026. Europe remains a significant military power through its collective defence mechanism, NATO. Is BRICS gaining greater importance or are contradictions weakening it?
- **Rising inequality:** Wealth and income inequality in advanced and less developed countries has risen. This is placing the social contract under stress and making possible the emergence of extremist agendas. It has also seen the erosion of trust in public institutions and the very democratic orders which undergird them.
- **Africa and geo-economic alignments:** The global realignments impacts many African countries directly, especially with big power rivalries played out on the continent. Africa has the largest number of foreign countries carrying out military operations on its soil, impacting on its capacity to develop and pursue an independent, developmental agenda.
- **Domestic politics in Africa:** The democratic impulse is more deeply rooted in some countries than others. In just two years there had been eight attempted coups in Africa, five of them successfully removing leaders from power with UNSG António Guterres 'a sense of impunity is taking hold'. There will continue to be ongoing movements of migrants within the continent or to Europe.
- **Social issues:** Fertility rate in Latin America and Asia fell to 1.9 and 2.1 births per woman, respectively—below the replacement rate—in Africa its at 4.4. By the beginning of the 2020s, in sub-Saharan Africa 35 percent of people lived in extreme poverty; 35 percent of adults could not read and write; 59 percent lived rurally; and 54 percent did not have access to electricity. These rates had all improved throughout the era, but given population growth, absolute numbers remained high. Between 2000 and 2019 Botswana, Rwanda, and Uganda registered 20-year increases in years of life expectancy. While most of the world showed signs of 'peak child', Africa, will be the source of more than half of global population growth in the coming decades, thus having a major youth bulge. Africa is expected to gain 50 cities by 2035.

- **Climate change:** Extreme weather patterns have forced climate change on the political agenda shaping political choices. This is especially due to the impact on future infrastructure plans, rising food prices, the spread of diseases, exposure of rural areas, management of natural resources, and implications for childhood development.
- **SA leadership on African continent:** New signs discernible of fierce contestation and side-lining of South Africa in the African Union and regional bodies. South Africa's influence is challenged by foreign powers. South Africa pays more attention to making AfCFTA, SACU, SADC a success for all the citizens.

Low prospects of economic growth

The next ten years will see SA displaying low to no economic growth. In the context of a weakening global economy, this should focus the minds of all South Africans. A social compact based on the ERRP remains elusive. The following key variables will impact this KDF:

- **Concentration in the economy:** SA continues struggling to reduce concentration in most parts of its economy. Existing legislation is insufficiently applied and institutions established to address this weakened by insufficient technical capacity.
- **Investment:** SA's economic decline makes it unattractive as an investment destination. Immigration and loss of skills accelerates with economic decline. Fiscal and monetary policy frameworks are continuously challenged by Alliance partners, for being 'neoliberal', 'fiscal decentralisation'.
- **The energy crisis:** It is anticipated that South Africa will struggle to resolve this crisis over the next few years, despite attempts at increasing the number of IPPs. The crisis will directly impact the rate of economic growth.
- **Just transition to a low carbon future:** Transition to renewables is picking up pace and SA can potentially become the leader in hydrogen economy and fuel cell technology. Green industrialisation is creating new economic opportunities. However, the potential of resultant job losses in the coal and electricity sectors could result in widespread opposition to the transition.
- **Impact of AI and other technological developments:** Adoption and application of new technologies leads to emergence of new industries and a skilled cohort but with little impact on the 'two economies' in South Africa, as most of society remains excluded. There are opportunities for enhanced educational and economic development, and possibility of new forms of work and employment. ANC is pressured to transform policies, for example, promote new types of entrepreneurs, and the education sector should produce skills for the new challenges.
- **Skills shortfall being addressed through partnerships:** Private sector takes more initiatives to close skills gaps Skills development is focused on responding to just transition and 4IR requirements. The state innovations system fosters commercialisation of creative solutions from SA.
- **Poverty, unemployment, inequality remain unresolved:** ANC-led government maintains social net but cannot expand it further. Rising household debts has immediate and psychological effects. Child malnourishment increases. NHI implemented falteringly and is challenged by private sector.
- **Rethinking spatial development:** Gauteng, Western Cape and economic hubs in KZN constitute South Africa's triple geographical centres of growth, having higher per capita income and wealth vis-a-vis others. This overlays the racial nature of inequality. Provincial and local state capture is embedded and are sites of criminal enterprises.

Private sector impact on state

Political leadership

SA faces a crisis in leadership across all sectors be it the private sector, civil society, trade union movement, public sector and political parties. Bereft of a visionary outlook and focused on protecting self-interest or the narrow interest of their constituencies, SA is unable to have a patriotic leadership which coalesces around the promotion of the national interest. The following variables shape the nature of the current leadership:

- **Moribund quality of political leadership:** Rise of populist tactics amongst all parties, including the ANC, includes resorting to xenophobic tendencies and ethnic identities, etc. ANC uses rhetoric of 'national liberation movement' to tap into its history and legacy has popular appeal and serves as broad church. Civil society proving to be more morally committed, attractive to young activists, as ANC loses touch with grassroots.
- **Future of political parties:** Political parties have been associated with the advent of democracy. As a social institution they are seen in some countries and parts of societies as fossilised structures with outmoded ways of working, often out of touch of the needs of the people they seek to represent. This often leads to new social movements, who do not see themselves as part of any of the established political parties or even civil society. SA appears to be displaying this stage in the development of its polity.
- **ANC leadership:** The ANC manifests these problems but remains possessed of the greatest potential to rise beyond it. This is due to the number of measures it has put in place including town hall meetings to select local candidates; improving the quality of its membership having targeted recruitment of workers and professionals, and youth; insisting on police clearance certificates and lifestyle audits at least for leadership; having smaller but more effective branches. Also, it asserts a clear social democratic orientation including formal agreement with unions and SACP.
- **Electoral system:** Debates around the type of electoral system SA needs may be impacted by the way in which SA's political parties are seen. The system which was adopted for the ushering in of democracy has served the country well. However, with the increasing plurality of voices and the sense of alienation of the citizenry from their public reps, and with the next elections just over a year away, the debates have assumed a higher degree of immediacy.
- **State of opposition political parties:** Opposition parties have been inspired by the manner in which MPLA has been challenged in Angola, as well as the emergence of two equally strong blocs in Kenya. The opposition exploits rising unemployment, especially through anti-immigrant statements. Given mixed fortunes at local government level, the future of coalitions is being carefully considered. Usually based on patronage, coalitions impact governance and service delivery.
- **Violent social upheaval and fracture:** Trauma from periods of apartheid persist as racism, resentment and resistance to transformation reduce possibilities of reconciliation. There are widespread revolts and civil strife due to poverty, unemployment, inequality and political instigation. ANC social distance from communities and its own factionalism renders it ineffective in coping with upheavals. There is continued increase in crime, corruption and psychological despondency. The national question remains unresolved.
- **The future role and nature of the state is being debated:** Although the ANC sees SA being a developmental state, the concept is yet to be consolidated. Legislation for professionalising public service is implemented, with civil servants ensured tenure for at least five years to protect them from 'political interference'. Findings of Zondo Commission enforced on reluctant ANC and state by civil society actions. Procurement on strictly commercial basis, with BEE featuring as important consideration.

- **Debates within the ANC about its future:** The federal structure of ANC entrenches federal approach to SA development and creates internal power bases. ANC thinking about its future revolves around three key considerations: how does it build on its long history as a national liberation movement, how does it prioritise winning elections and how can the lessons and practises of the Mass Democratic Movement be incorporated into the ANC.
- **Unresolved land question haunts ANC:** ANC does not treat land as a priority, and the land issue is one of the primary missions for its formation. Incorporation of trust lands into municipalities will impact traditional leadership.



KEY DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

1. Working and middle classes

Some key demographic features we need to be mindful of when looking at the future of SA and the ANC are:

- The composition of the SA working class, in line with global trends has been going through rapid differentiation. In 1970, at the height of the apartheid period, the labour market was dominated by the manufacturing sector. Today, employment in the manufacturing sector is less than each of the services sectors. Most notably, employment in community, social and personal services has grown.
- There are no less than 24 union federations and about 225 trade unions registered in South Africa. Total union membership has fallen from 47% in 1990 to less than 25% in 2021 at 3.1 million. They all compete in the ever-shrinking pool of those fortunate to be employed (14 million) in a sea of unemployment (8 million). Changing employment contracts, including outsourcing, informalisation of jobs, and remote working, have led to diminishing membership numbers.
- Unemployment reached about 34%, a figure last seen in 2002. In 2007 unemployment had dropped to 22.4%.
- Blacks are now the majority in skilled and professional categories and their numbers are increasing at senior and top management. Since 1994, the number of students in tertiary education has doubled – and African students make up almost three-quarters compared to less than half in 1994. Along with this there has been a deepening of sectoral skills intensity across virtually all sectors of the economy with high income returns attached to tertiary qualifications
- In contrast, the ‘two economies’ paradigm is starkly reflected in the unemployment rate: it stands at about 38% for Africans, 30% for Coloureds, 22% for Indians and 9% for whites; and youth and women are the most severely affected.

2. Features of the youth

If we are to adopt current language, the youth are comprised of three generations – the Millennials, Gen Z and the alphas. The first (1980 to 1996) were born at a time when technology was taking true shape. The Generation Z birth years stretch between 1996 and 2009, also immersed deep in the world of internet and technology. They are committed to avoid past mistakes by earlier generations, such as climate change and in the SA context the errors of the first few decades of democracy. The alpha’s birth years are from 2010 to 2025, the true digital natives. They are expected to be the most transformative generation ever having born in a world saturated with tech gadgets and experiencing first-hand trends in technology such as artificial intelligence.

- **Decline in voter participation:** In 2019 the number of under 20s who had registered for the general election had dropped to the lowest level since 1999. A major reason for this is the frustration the youth feels about the inability of the state to meet its needs, especially dealing with student debt, and unemployment. The younger generations are losing patience with old unworkable ideologies and inappropriate solutions.
- **Youth programme:** A Ten Point plan to center young people within the ANC and its vision 2032 answering the question what is need to change in the ANC in favour of young people. In preparing and renewing the ANC toward 2032, it expected that today's current youth cohort is being developed and prepared to lead during this time frame. Youth aren't living up to their mandate or potential if they cannot be freed from the clutches of eldership

- **Issues confronting the young:** Youth are having to deal with drug abuse, all manners of trauma, alcohol, gangsterism – youth agency is required in a myriad of fields. Crime is attractive as a way of getting out of desperate situations, and gang leaders often providing the only role models in society.
- **Identities and sexual orientation:** Young people are using a different language as to how they self-identify. Pride in the SA nation is relatively high, as well as optimism about the future. LGBTQIA+ identities are an important component of young people’s identity, and forms of socialisation.
- **Implementing intergenerationality:** There needs to be a convergence of fresh ideas from young people and experience of older generation playing advisory roles, as they make way for younger people in positions.
- **AI and 41R:** Young activists in townships and villages are adopting and adapting new technologies resulting in the expansion of job-creation and self-employment. However, the education system remains untransformed in the face of the changing nature of work. An aging workforce is rendered increasingly redundant, except for those who can pick up new skills and repurposed to meet new challenges.
- **ANC seen as disconnected from and disinterested in youth:** It is not seen as articulating youth issues and absent from the struggles of the youth. The high level of graduate unemployment is seen as an example of that. Factional battles of the mother body are replicated in youth structures. YL should see the future of the country reimagined away from the current environment.
- **Ideological contestation:** Extremist language is being used by EFF to recruit, ANC should not succumb to theat. Should link up with trade union youth sections, common programmes.

2. Gender Agenda 2032

SA remains a patriarchal society, which the ANC manifests. There are corporate and political setbacks on gains made in women’s rights. GBVF continues stalking the land. LGBTQIA+ representation and issues are not prioritised.

- **Global movements eg #MeToo have successfully initiated the need to transform power relations.** Women in the ANC have a proud tradition to build upon. Women’s League (WL) and the ANC must regain the progressive voice in addressing the triple oppression of women. Inside the ANC, women are perceived to be spectators and pocket-knives for “big men politics”, while patriarchy rears its ugly head.
- **Progressive socio-economic justice agenda:** The Gender Agenda 2032 must realign women’s issues with the NDR. It must include rural and working class women. This must extend throughout the ANC from representation at leadership levels through to how branches take up women’s issues. It has resolved that for a branch to be considered in good standing requires the branch to be working on developmental issues – this should include a special focus on addressing obstacles to women’s development
- **ANC policies:** ANC resolutions and policies in relation to sexual harassment not being adhered to. Also, resolution that comrades committing GBV should step aside not being adhered to. Women’s League losing credibility amongst gender activists. ANC should lead an honest assessment of the policies agreed to.
- **Declaration of GBVF as an emergency:** While this was a laudable initiative, lack of action reduces the ANC’s, WL and governments credibility. Deliberate attacks on LGBTQIA+ must be part of our national response. Use existing bodies eg SAHRC more proactively to deal with discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. ‘Queer’ issues need to be mainstreamed and not subjected to a desk.
- **ANC not connecting with campaigns aimed at men:** Amplify progressive men’s actions eg Not in my name campaign should be openly endorsed by ANC. We must be willing to engage with extreme gender activists, some of whom are anti-men.
- **Enhance the role of the state:** ANC must provide guidance on how do we implement the Bill which has been passed esp looking at the role of the SAPS/JCPS, and economic cluster.

DRAFT Vision 2032 and the RoadMap

The African National Congress hereby sets out this 2032 Vision for South Africa and the ANC mindful of the tectonic changes that the world is going through, changes which reverberate through the length and breadth of this country as well through every level of our organisation.

Such a moment, fraught with uncertainties and perils, yet pregnant with immense potential to recraft our world and our country, requires a clear roadmap to guide us. It is incumbent upon the African National Congress, the natural leader of all South Africans, to set out the milestones to achieve a caring, secure and resilient country and society.

Having been in office at the national level for almost three decades, there is an urgent need for the ANC to review and refresh its outlook, its policies and its organisation so that it can remain relevant for the foreseeable future.

Our Vision 2032 and Roadmap for the World

Our Vision 2032 for the world is one where we are building on the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, which are no poverty, zero hunger, good health and well-being, quality education, gender equality, clean water and sanitation, affordable and clean energy, decent work and economic growth, industry, innovation and infrastructure, reduced inequality, sustainable cities and communities, responsible consumption and production, climate action, life below water, life on land, peace, justice, and strong institutions, partnerships for the goals.

Our vision is one where multipolarity prevails and multilateral institutions are strengthened. During the next decade we shall place at the centre of our international efforts the amelioration of the most vulnerable in the global south, in solidarity with the exploited and marginalised in the global north. This would especially include women, LGBTQIA+ individuals and communities, workers particularly in rural areas, the young and the elderly.

SA shall once again be the moral conscience of humanity. SA shall strive to negotiate with and on behalf of the global south generally, and Africa in particular, the required funding for a just economic transition so that its negative impact on workers is reduced and that the appropriate skills are acquired to ensure employment in the emerging green industries.

This will require South Africa being at the vanguard of efforts to ensure the establishment and protection of democracies. South Africa shall be at the forefront of ensuring greater transparency in governance of corporates and the public sector, so that all role players work in the interest of all of humanity.

South Africa shall continue working tirelessly to promote peaceful resolutions to conflicts, marshalling international resources as well as ensuring the involvement of civil society bodies in being the watchdogs for peace and of abuse of power.

Our Vision 2032 and Roadmap for Africa

Our Vision 2032 for Africa is a continent which is well on its way of achieving the goals and objectives set out in Agenda 2063. This will include all seven aspirations of a prosperous Africa, which is integrated, exemplifying good governance and democracy, peaceful and secure, with a strong cultural identity, people driven development, and is a strong and influential global player and partner.

It shall additionally work to mitigate the impact of climate change, facilitate a just energy transition, and continue strengthening its health systems which has withstood the assaults of numerous epidemics and the Covid 19 pandemic.

It shall achieve stronger, durable governance institutions for the continent which will relentlessly pursue these seven aspirations. We shall strive to ensure the independence and sovereignty of the entire continent, so that African can decide for itself by itself.

We shall put every effort into effecting the African Continental Free Trade Area so that Africa's ongoing economic development can be pursued. South Africa shall take the lead in the easing of movement of goods, services and people across Africa, so that the connections between different parts of Africa are further enhanced. South Africa shall contribute to increasing food security on the continent through the expansion of the agriculture sector as well as the network industries.

The youthful nature of the African population shall be a source of enhanced economic development in a variety of sectors such as IT, AI, business services, and the green economy, helping to realise Africa's economic potential.

Our Vision 2032 and Roadmap for South Africa

Our Vision 2032 for South Africa remains the vision set out in the Freedom Charter in 1955: 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people'. This foundational principle has been reaffirmed ever since and found expression in the democratic Constitution.

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The Freedom Charter and Constitutional principles found expression in the 2012 National Development Plan's six pillars: uniting all South Africans around a common programme to fight poverty and inequality and to foster a spirit of unity, active citizenry, a growing and inclusive economy, the urgent need to build capabilities, a capable and developmental state, and placing a special responsibility throughout society to work together to solve our problems.

We envisage continuing to build **a state which places people first**, and which is run by a technically **capable bureaucracy**. Renewal of the state will require a renewed commitment to service delivery. The professional public service shall endeavour to implement the policy directions set by elected officials, always putting the interests of South Africa first, displaying the highest degree of ethics and integrity. Trust between the citizenry and the state shall be restored through greater transparency and accountability by those in positions of power to the people of South Africa.

Inclusive economic growth shall be the focus of all South Africans for us to make a dent on poverty, unemployment and inequality. We acknowledge that there shall be tensions between the goals of the national democratic revolution and capital, but we need to ensure that such tensions are creatively resolved in the interest of the majority of South Africans. Inclusivity shall also extend to ensuring that disabled persons are integrated into society and their needs addressed in educational institutions, social settings, vocational training and workplaces.



Amongst the immediate economic steps which require implementing is the wielding of existing legislation **to tackle high levels of concentration** in most of the key sectors of the economy. We need to ensure that there are strict regulatory frameworks in place when the private sector is involved in the provisioning of basic services. At the same time, investments in the country should be safeguarded as a means to attract further investment.

Black economic empowerment needs to be recalibrated so that our policies reward contributions to society when operations are located in deprived areas, or when true empowerment through widening ownership is achieved. To achieve a paradigm shift we need to address some immediate issues while taking a long-term view. The former requires the state to play a more direct role through its procurement processes, identifying key areas which could involve cooperatives in hospital, school or prison feeding schemes.

As for the medium to long term the state can mobilise its innovation agencies towards the fostering of black talent into successful entrepreneurs in areas emerging as a result of 4IR/AI as well as the green economy. It will also require changing the state's funding models, since these are not as capital intensive, especially at the start-up phase. It will also require a rethink on the powers and functions of the BEE Commission and the sector codes it is focused on, looking more at outcomes and impact. New policy will need to address those businesses which are not connected to state procurement, so that they are part of the economic transformation agenda.

Government needs to once again **address the triple layers of the land question**: restitution which entails reversing apartheid dispossession and injustice, redistribution which commits to giving land to those that need it for residing, commercial and other purposes, and land tenure reform which must ensure security for urban dwellers and stopping evictions. There shall be support, guidance and monitoring of the new land acquisition beneficiaries so that newly acquired land is productively used meaningfully and uplifts the livelihood of families. Both land administration and reformed land tenure have to be addressed to ensure broadly uniform application. A deeper engagement, understanding and agreement regarding communal/rural/tribal land tenure under the Traditional Authorities is needed to clear out any areas of contradiction. This will address issues of security of tenure, the impact/effect of customary laws vs the constitution, appropriation of land and administration thereof. The support for the rural dwellers shall be highlighted on the back of adverse climate change, dwindling livestock and depleted means of subsistence farming.

Government's infrastructure programme, especially with its focus on upgrading SA's physical and digital networks, shall be pursued relentlessly. The private sector should be confronted to contribute more to this development, while playing an increasingly critical role in upgrading SA's skills base. Working with the country's innovation system it will assist SA becoming one of the innovation capitals of the continent. Infrastructure spend and the successful implementation of the district development model shall help us make a dent on spatial differences, helping overcome the persistent legacies of apartheid's 'separate development' strategies.

A commitment to **non-racialism and respect for diversity** shall guide our nation building efforts. Ethnic, linguistic and other communal creative expressions shall serve as the threads contributing to the rich tapestry of South African national identity. Migrants shall be welcomed to widen our pool of skills and intellectual capabilities, thus enriching our public culture.

The securing of our communities from the ravages of **crime and corruption** shall be a national effort involving all sectors and especially those who can inspire a higher sense of purpose amongst citizens. This would include faith based and traditional leaders, the media, leading lights of the entertainment and creative industries, and captains of industry.

The youth of South Africa should occupy a privileged place in our society. Their concerns and needs should be mainstreamed so that they can control the till of the South African ship. The state will invest in a creative and innovative youth leadership training program accredited by SAQA and encouraged by all youth formations such as COSAS/SASCO/SASPU/YCL/ANCYL. Focused on subjects such as the history of South Africa and development of our political economy, it will aim at preparing young people to take up the opportunities being created in public spaces.

The state needs to achieve **a revolution in education** which will focus on a few priority areas such as vastly improving ECD, infrastructure of schools and mother tongue instruction for numeracy and literacy. The education revolution will see increased investment in how education is delivered especially through digitising of textbooks, classes and better network connection at all schools especially in underserved areas. Teacher training programmes should be run concurrently with such shifts in investment so that the current cohort of educators are equipped for digital teaching, and all our youth are capable citizens of this digitized world.

Schools shall be the bastions of nation building and social cohesion through the involvement of communities, and sports, arts and cultural activities. District management of schools shall be strengthened, providing more quality support. Recruitment and appointment of school principals will be reviewed as part of improving the overall education system. Our education revolution requires a demystifying and reduction in the centrality of the matric certificate, facilitating the movement into TVETs and encouragement of skills-based outcomes of learning.

Student debt shall be especially addressed so that the creative enterprises of graduates can be unshackled. Young people must be at the vanguard of the fight against GBVF, as well as dealing with alcohol and drug abuse, and gangsterism. Alternative role models, as well as enlisting the houses of traditional leaders and initiation schools shall be critical. Addressing youth employment must be seen as one of the urgent actions to be taken immediately.

The ANC should lead **a digital turnaround in government** by setting out a programme to digitise all of its services and institutions. In doing so it should foster the development of young, IT-skilled entrepreneurs as well as community workers who can assist especially impoverished communities to access digital services. We shall strive for a country where our **people are healthy and well nourished**. This shall be achieved by achieving universal health coverage during the next decade. Nutritious food security shall be guaranteed by ensuring that the agricultural and manufacturing sector is supported by efficient network industries. Public campaigns shall assist citizens in making better consumption choices.

We shall ensure that SA is a **safe and secure place for women as well LGQBTIA+** individuals to work in, reside in and socialise in. This shall be done by running campaigns amongst men, especially the youth, as allies in the fight against all forms of gender-based violence and femicide. It will also require government to give urgent and immediate effect to the emergency declared around GBV and F. The state will be required to carry out a deep analysis of the various programmes addressing gender issues and understand why very little progress has been made in this regard.

South Africa shall address the existential crises of extreme weather patterns and the necessary just economic transition to address the energy crisis in a multilateral, sustainable manner. South Africa shall follow a **multidimensional, multilateral approach to solve the global challenges humanity faces.**

Vision 2032 and Roadmap for the ANC

From its December 2022 National Conference, the ANC shall put in place steps to ensure that it is deservedly recognised as the leader of society. Such a mantle places a certain responsibility on our leadership, membership and staff.

Organisationally the ANC shall draw upon **its history** as one of Africa's oldest political formations, its branding as a vehicle of progressive thinking, its deep roots amongst the people of South Africa and the mass democratic movement, and a successful political party. Having been a broach church which attracted a wide range of forces in the struggle to fight colonialism and apartheid, it shall now be requiring a higher level of ideological coherence and organisational discipline. The ANC will be a respectful opposition when it loses power and will set a constructive tone in politics abiding by coalitions arrangements. Young people, joining the ANC and wanting to serve the people, shall be inspired to see politics as a vehicle for public service. The ANC will implement and review changes to elective positions. Its operations shall be based on modern management techniques, including developing strategies to make it financially sustainable.

Like any modern political party, the ANC shall **elevate its communications** to a level which matches the best of the corporate sector while remaining rooted in the lives of the majority of South Africans. As the renewal project proceeds, it should be matched by improvement in the ANC's branding and disciplined use of various media platforms.

It is incumbent upon the ANC to provide **visionary leadership** so that the renewal and upliftment of the country becomes the joint project of all societal formations. This would require a vertical integration of **all branches and members marching in the same direction**. It would also require **horizontal alliances**, which can be seen in the form of concentric circles. At the **centre is the alliance** with the SACP and trade union movement, thus reaffirming the South African working class as the key motive force for change, by including all progressive trade union formations.

An outer layer or concentric circle shall be **patriotic parties and civil society** committed to the transformation of the country and the deepening of democracy. In exceptional cases these alliances can use their power to leverage the rest of society in addressing existential threats or other deeply serious challenges South Africa faces.

We shall recapture the spirit of the ANC which produced the Freedom Charter and which was rooted amongst the people. **Our political deliberations shall be participative and all encompassing** – no South African voice should be excluded in determining the policies impacting our country.

We shall ensure that the process of **renewal** shall result in an ANC which increasingly occupies the **moral high ground** in relation to all other leadership bodies of society, be they from the public or private sector, the judiciary or civil society, religious bodies or trade union movements. It shall do this in two ways: tirelessly emphasising the requirement of **moral rectitude** of all members and by strengthening its **integrity and**

disciplinary structures. The former will need the constant articulation of our values by national, provincial and branch leaders who themselves will be expected to set exemplary examples. Also, the various media of the ANC shall make moral uprightness a permanent theme of our communications. The integrity and disciplinary bodies will be headed by comrades who have proven to be beyond reproach and will be empowered to act speedily in holding hearings and imposing sanctions when required.

The ANC shall constantly address the calibre of its leadership and public representatives by providing **constant political education** as well equipping them with the skills required to manage a complex economy, state and society. At the core of this ongoing upgrading will be raising the quality of intellectual debates within the counsels of the ANC and a quest to ensure the best possible service delivery to all the citizens of South Africa. It would also imbue ANC cadres with a sense of selfless sacrifice and confidence in their interactions with stakeholders when consulting on policy, implementation or delivery matters.

Branches shall compete to outdo each other in displaying their developmental efforts, especially in relation to local government service delivery, skills development, addressing gender issues and encouraging SMMEs in their areas. All meetings of the ANC shall be comfortable spaces for women, LGBTQIA+ individuals and the youth to raise whatever issues they wish. The ANC needs to resolve to create branches of sectoral interests, professionals of different disciplines and so forth.

The ANC leadership will implement a **succession plan** to ensure that by its 2027 conference all the leadership structures and leagues of the ANC display the diversity which makes up the South African nation – in terms of race, gender, sexual orientation and generational representation.

While privileging the working class and the unemployed in our policies, the ANC will also ensure it is able to **represent the interests of the middle classes**, professionals, academics, and intellectuals which have grown as a result of the progressive policies pursued by the ANC-led government. These classes must be recognised for the creative and dynamic energy that can be brought into addressing the most difficult challenges of our time – growing the economy while reducing poverty, hunger, inequality and unemployment. The ANC shall develop a database of professional cadres with the various necessary skills so they can be mobilised in the interests of the country.

The ANC shall craft and **implement Gender Agenda 2032** as a central plank of the renewal programme, which shall strive to promote the redefinition of power relations within South African society and households. It shall have at its core a programme of socio-economic justice which seeks to empower rural and working women, as well as entrepreneurs, professional, public servants and public leaders. It will draw upon the illuminating examples of past generations of gender activists as well as global movements. The Gender Agenda 2032 shall be mainstreamed in all structures of the ANC. The Women's League shall be at the vanguard of gender struggle waged at the workplace, in community spaces and in households. It shall be especially focused on equipping women with skills to organise and lead. The Women's League shall set the national narrative by promoting Gender Agenda 2032 through all media possible.

The Youth League, inspired by the leadership example of the renewed ANC, shall work with the Progressive Youth Alliance in wielding a formidable patriotic youth front to promote and implement a **Youth Ten Point Plan**. This will include being an independent critical partner of the ANC and its allies as they strive to achieve



the required renewal and upliftment. Focused on the upliftment of the youth of this country, it shall act as the progressive lobbyist of youth issues, immunising itself from unsavoury political tendencies and internal political machinations. It shall counter the language of extremists as it lays the basis for a safer, resilient country. Intergenerational mix will be deliberately implemented, starting from a branch level and then moving upwards. Older comrades would be equipped to mentor and guide younger emerging members and leaders.

The ANC needs to provide political guidance on how South Africa is to manage the turbulent global situation. It should draw upon the vast experiences and networks accumulated by hundreds of cadres who have served to varying degrees in this field. This will require us to develop a clear understanding of the uncertainties in the coming decade and, based on our values as a movement and the national interest, decide how we can shape global dynamics. This would require reviewing our current international relations and then pursuing a **South African agenda which remains committed to a better Africa in a better world.**



ANC NEEDS TO DEVELOP PROGRAMME TO SET US ON THE ROAD TO VISION 2032

Achieving Vision 2032 requires a programme which sets out the most critical areas requiring urgent attention:

- ANC branch and leadership providing vision and direction for the renewal of the organisation and the country
- Measures to address social exclusion and marginalisation of the working people, especially unskilled and semi-skilled workers who constitute the majority of the poor.
- Gender Agenda 2032 which addresses the socio-economic injustices faced by women and LGBTQIA+ individuals and communities.
- Ten Point Youth Programme to ensure the youth are in the driving seat of the country and the ANC
- Revolution in Education enabled by ICT
- Review of the approach, policy and implementation around the Land Question
- Shift the paradigm on Black Economic Empowerment
- Build global institutions to achieve universal peace

DEVELOPING AN IMPLEMENTATION PLAN AFTER THE 2022 CONFERENCE

It is recommended that the term of the Renewal Commission be extended to the first meeting of the newly elected NEC. By that meeting the Renewal Commission would have incorporated the outcomes of the National Conference and detailed how the above programme should be implemented.

In doing so it shall continue drawing on the expertise of the various patriots it worked with in the Reference Group as well as the numerous experts who were consulted and made invaluable inputs into drafting this Vision 2032 and RoadMap. Amongst the areas the Renewal Commission will need to provide guidance on is organisational and policy implications to carry the renewal process forward. In doing so it will provide the bridge between conference resolutions addressing the current existential crisis and the long-term orientation of our organisation.

