AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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To: All NEC Members
All Provincial Secretaries
All Regional Secretaries
All Branch Secretaries
All ANC Leagues
MKLWV

RE: NGC RESOLUTIONS, NEC LEKGOTLA OUTCOMES AND POA

The ANC convened the NGC in December 2025, the NEC Lekgotla in January 2026 and thereafter formulated a Programme of Action. These three documents are important as they must inform implementation work by all ANC structures, including the NEC Subcommittees on whose shoulders rest the primary mandate to oversee implementation of all National Conference resolutions and all the policy statements that flow from them as directed by the ANC structures.

Kindly find attached the three documents on:

1) NGC Resolutions
2) NEC Lekgotla Outcome
3) Programme of Action

For any more information kindly contact the NEC / NWC Coordinator Cde Phillip Musekwa on 082 903 1738.

Yours Comradely,

Fikile Mbalula
SECRETARY GENERAL
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Date: 28 February 2026

5th NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

ANC

GAUTENG: 08 - 11 DECEMBER 2025

Report of the

ANC 5th National General Council

BIRCHWOOD CONFERENCE CENTRE, EKURHULENI

Issued by the African National Congress, ANC Headquarters, 54 Ridley ka Isaka Seme Street, Johannesburg, 2001. www.anc1912.org.za

ANC

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Introduction



The 5th National General Council of the ANC gathered from 8-11 December 2025 in Ekurhuleni, a decade after the last NGC held in 2015. The gap was due to the global COVID-19 pandemic, which caused the NGC to be cancelled in 2020.

The 5th NGC received the Political Overview by President Cyril Ramaphosa, adopted the Credentials Report and the Midterm Report delivered by Secretary General Fikile Mbalula, on 8 December 2025.

NGC broke into Commissions over two days; in the first set of Commissions all Delegates discussed the NGC Base document on the *NDR, Balance of Forces, the Motive Forces and Whats to be Done*? on 9 December 2025. In the second set of Commissions held on 10 December 2025, Delegates discussed the Midterm Report and Implementation of 55th National Conference resolutions, across seventeen (17) thematic commissions.

The reports of Commissions were presented to Plenary on 10 and 11 December 2025, and after discussions, were adopted. All policy proposals, including possible constitutional amendments made will be further processes, whilst recommendations for strengthened implementation of 55th National Conference resolutions will be consolidated into an immediate Rejuvenation and Renewal Action Plan, all towards 56th National Conference in 2027. The NGC also considered plans towards ANC's 120th anniversary in 2032, based on the ANC Vision 2032, presented to 55th National Conference by the 1st Renewal Commission.

During the 5th NGC Closing Session on 11 December 2025, the NGC Declaration was adopted, followed by Closing Remarks by President Ramaphosa.

Secretary General Cde Fikile Mbalula

Credentials Report of the 5th NGC

presented by 1st Deputy Secretary General Cde Nomvula Mokonyane

Introduction

1. The NGC as a midterm review plays an important role for in-depth, organisation-wide discussions on the state of the NDR, the state of our movement's structures and programmes, and whether we are making progress with improving the lives of the motive forces.
2. NGC will also look at the challenges we face, domestic and global, and the often difficult decisions to defend our nation's sovereignty and advance the cause of the people.
3. The ANC Constitution guides the composition of the NGC as follows: "**Rule 10.7 The NEC shall, after consultation with Provinces, determine the composition of the National General Council.**"
4. Based on this rule in the Constitution, a NGC Credentials framework was adopted by the NEC in July 2025, after consultations in the Secretariat, which includes Provincial Secretaries. The NEC also set the cut-off date for NGC membership renewal as 30 September 2025.
5. The NEC determined that this NGC must reflect the Renewal of the ANC and decided on the following guidelines for NGC delegates from ANC structures:
    - Firstly, delegates must have attended the **ANC Foundation Course** (even if not completed all modules). This Course is compulsory for all ANC leaders, deployees and members, providing a common platform for understanding ANC mission, history, the country and world we live in, and the role and values of an ANC member.
    - Secondly, **branches represented must be in good standing** (unless in cases where exemptions have been granted), and must have completed the **Branch Functionality Barometer (BFB**). This functionality audit allows branches to report on the following matters: (a) whether they exist beyond just 100 members, (b) have a programme of action (c) develop ANC members in the branch, and (d) engage their communities and help solve service delivery issues.
6. Credentials for Provinces were therefore determined based on their Membership numbers, as well as the status of their Branches. We can no longer afford to just have inflated numbers before conferences, and delegations from non-functioning branches. The formula for provincial delegations therefore addresses two requirements - membership and functional branches.
7. Delegates from the basic unit of the organization, the branch, still constitutes the largest part of the NGC. NGC Credentials also include the various other parts of our movement: the NEC, PECs and RECs, the ANC Leagues, National Caucus, MK Liberation War Veterans, Deployees in Metros and Strategic Municipalities, the Alliance and MDM structures, as well as ANC Programme Staff from provinces and national, responsible for day-to day implementation of ANC programmes and work of NEC committees.
8. We have said before that our movement faces an existential threat, to Renew or to Perish! We can therefore no longer afford a lackluster approach to the Renewal decisions we take.

9. On all three the above indicators, we have provinces who did well:
    - The province with the **highest membership in good standing** by the cut-off date was **Limpopo**, followed by Gauteng and then KZN.
    - The province with the **highest number of branches in good standing** is**Eastern Cape**, followed by Limpopo and Gauteng.
    - The province that is leading with branches and members having done the **ANC Foundation course** is **Mpumalanga**, followed by Gauteng and shooting to third place, is the Northern Cape.
    - On the **Branch Functionality Barometer**, the leading province whose branches complied is again **Mpumalanga**, this time followed by Limpopo and the Northern Cape.
10. These must become the green-shoots of our renewal, so that by 56th National Conference in 2027, we can indeed report that since the NGC in 2025, our renewal has become not just a slogan, but reality.
11. Most provinces managed to do pre-registration at their PGCs last week, so we hope the process has not been too stressful. Provinces were allowed to make up to a certain percentage of replacements, if there were last minute apologies from branches or other structures. These have been factored into the Credentials.
12. The Credentials for the 5th National General Council are as follows:

ANC DELEGATES	**EXPECTED**	**PRESENT**
ANC NEC	113	107
EASTERN CAPE	171	160
FREE STATE	106	90
GAUTENG	141	134
KWAZULU NATAL	136	91
LIMPOPO	156	156
MPUMALANGA	132	32
NORTH WEST	101	99
NORTHERN CAPE	116	116
WESTERN CAPE	111	101
ANC COMMITTEES (RENEWAL, INTEGRITY, DC	37	12
ANC LEAGUES ANCVL = 30, ANCWL = 30, ANCYL = 30	90	90
TOTAL ANC DELEGATION	**1414**	**1287**

ALLIANCE AND OTHER SECTORS	Invited	Present
COSATU	18	15
SACP	10	10
SANCO	10	10
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS: FRELIMO, ZANU-PF, SWAPO	12	10
CONTRALESA	5	5
SALGA	5	5
COSAS	5	3
SASCO	5	0
YCLSA	5	0
YWD	5	5
OR TAMBO SCHOOL OF LEADERSHIP	3	3
MKLWV	10	10
SECTORAL OUTREACH	5	5
ANC CHAPLAINCY	3	3
SUB TOTAL	**101**	**84**

DEPLOYED CADRES	Invited	Present
MINISTERS AND DEPUTIES (NOT ON NEC)	15	10
ANC CAUCUS (CHAIRS AND WHIPS OF COMMITTEES)	30	36
PREMIERS NOT PROVINCIAL CHAIRS	3	3
DIRECTOR-GENERAL	30	11
SA AMBASSADORS ABROAD	12	1
STRATEGIC MUNICIPALITIES MAYORS	25	23
METRO MAYORS	8	8
SUB TOTAL	**123**	**92**

13. The total participants expected as the ANC NGC was **1704**. The total participants present in the NGC is **1521** at the time of the presentation of Credentials
14. The 5th NGC Credentials were presented and adopted on Monday, 8 December 2025. [Does not take in consideration late registrations.

Closing Address by President Cyril Ramaphosa

ANC 5TH NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL. 11 DECEMBER 2025. EKURHULENI

ANC National Chairperson, Cde Gwede Mantashe,
Deputy President, Cde Paul Mashatile,
Secretary General, Cde Fikile Mbalula,
Members of the National Executive Committee,
Former President Thabo Mbeki,
Former Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe,
Leadership of the ANC Veterans League, Women's League and Youth League,
Representatives of the MK Liberation War Veterans,
Representatives of the Alliance and democratic movement,
Members of Fraternal Organisations,
Delegates,
Comrades,

We have come to the end of the 5th National General Council of the ANC. In the finest traditions of our movement, this NGC has been an opportunity for *umrabulo*, an opportunity for thorough political debate.

Most importantly, it has been an opportunity to outline a clear path ahead to give effect to the decisions of the 55th National Conference and to advance the historic mission of our movement. In the commissions that I attended, I was impressed to hear how delegates had come to this NGC so well prepared.

I was impressed to hear them put forward views informed by deep knowledge and grounded in real research. The delegates reminded us that the ANC must always be led by evidence, principle and the real needs of our people – not by slogans, popularity or convenience. When we engage from a researched point of view as many delegates did in this NGC, our policy becomes realistic, implementable and focused on impact.

The high level of debate is underpinned by the culture which I recognised of reading, analysing, listening and thinking.

This thoroughgoing preparation by delegates is indicative of a resurgent ANC. The movement must continue to build on these green shoots of renewal.

When we read, research, analyse and think, we decide better. And when we decide better, our people live better.

Throughout the NGC, the commissions were packed to capacity and delegates debated in a calm and comradely atmosphere. The delegation breakdown between men and women, young and old has improved. Women and young people have participated in greater numbers than before.

Delegates have remained focused on the tasks at hand. They have refused to be distracted by issues outside of the purpose of the NGC. As a result, we leave this NGC with agreement on the

actions we need to take to make the ANC a more effective instrument of the people to achieve the vision of the Freedom Charter.

This mid-term evaluation has been characterised by honest and critical reflections. We evaluated the work being done by the ANC in communities, in government and our historic role in fundamental social and economic transformation of South African society.

Reflecting on the mood of the delegates present here over the past four days, we can say without a shadow of doubt that you, our delegates, came here to genuinely renew and rebuild our movement. Throughout the discussions and debates there was an emphasis on the urgency of implementing our policies and decisions.

We can summarise the central message of this NGC as: Disciplined implementation is the number one priority. We agreed that we must rid our movement and government of not implementing decisions that have been taken.

We agreed that since the 1994 democratic breakthrough, a lot has been done in changing South Africa's political and legal landscape. We have a transformative Constitution, a progressive Bill of Rights and democratic institutions that safeguard the rights and freedoms of our people and ensure that government is based on the democratic will of the people of South Africa.

Successive ANC-led administrations have quantitatively improved the lives of millions of South Africans though expanded access to basic services and infrastructure. They have expanded access to housing, healthcare, education, electricity, water, sanitation and a social security net to those who need state support.

We have witnessed a significant growth of the black middle class, black professionals, black-owned and women-owned businesses in many sectors of the economy.
The NGC supported the decision to form an inclusive ANC-led Government of National

Unity as a tactical intervention that doesn't change the ANC's long-term strategy for fundamental transformation.

While supporting the NEC intervention and decision fully, the NGC correctly noted that some parties have been using the GNU to try and undermine the transformation of our country as mandated by the Constitution, the supreme law of the land. Accordingly, the NEC has been mandated to strengthen the ANC's capacity to drive progressive policies in the GNU and ensure delivery of immediate results on jobs, inclusive growth, tackling poverty and inequality, and fighting crime and corruption. The NEC, as mandated by this NGC, should continue to monitor and assess the performance of the GNU and make necessary interventions to ensure that the GNU serves the interests of the people of South Africa.

The subjective organisational weaknesses of the ANC and the Alliance and the increasingly difficult objective economic conditions of the motive forces require a combination of both organizational renewal and the national renewal of our country.

We must therefore renew and rebuild both the ANC and the Alliance with a specific focus on inclusive economic growth and the safety and security of citizens.

We salute the more than 125,000 members of the ANC from 1,600 branches who have already completed the Foundation Course. Our aim is to ensure every ANC member and every ANC leader understands the core principles, values and policies of our movement. This will lay the basis for vibrant and renewed branches and upgrade the quality of our cadres.

We also take heart from the substantial progress we have made in developing our new membership system and the many branches and members who now have access to this important mechanism that confirms their identify as members of the ANC to ensure an effective membership system.

Vibrant active branches with consistent community outreach programmes are the foundation of a renewed ANC. Our process of branch functionality audits will ensure that we are monitoring the rebuilding of our structures and sharing good practice throughout the organisation. Every branch must conduct an audit of ward-based challenges and issues which will in turn inform the branch's programme of action to focus on the resolution of local issues. No ANC branch can claim to lead a community that is not rooted in the daily struggles of that community for a better life.

Rebuilding a culture of integrity and ethics is central to our renewal process. In this regard we want to salute the important work of the ANC Integrity Commission on guiding our approach to these difficult matters. We note that the step aside decision is now being implemented with greater consistency across our structures. Those members who are stepping aside voluntarily while the matters that could bring the ANC into disrepute are being processed are to be applauded. The issues that impact on the integrity of the ANC are being taken to heart by the membership. This is to be welcomed, because this is where we are seeing progress.

This NGC has raised deep concerns about the negative impact of the current state of the Alliance on the ability of the progressive forces to execute a revolutionary agenda, to defend and advance the NDR.

Accordingly, this NGC has supported the NEC's assessment that the SACP's resolution to field candidates in the 2026 local government elections, has not only tactical implications, but also strategic implications for the Alliance as a whole and the prosecution of the NDR. It has been agreed that the Alliance leadership must meet urgently and develop a common approach to the reconfiguration and renewal of the Alliance in a manner that safeguards unity and cohesion and avoids further confusion, division and conflict among the rank-and-file on the ground.

The ANC, as the leader of the Alliance and the NDR, should not give up on its historic responsibility and effort to unite the Alliance, including continuing to engage the SACP to ensure that we approach the elections the way we have always done, on a common platform. As we continue to persuade each other we need to ask the SACP to recuse itself from strategic election structures and not send official representatives to sit in those meetings.

The NGC observed that the country has made significant progress in addressing the network industry infrastructure shortcomings, with an emphasis on stabilising energy supply, which has enabled us to bring an end to load shedding and to now focus on grid expansion.

We are also seeing an improvement in the tonnage of goods that are transported on our rail network and exported and imported through our ports. We are seeing greater efficiencies and rising productivity in our network industries.

The NGC noted that economic growth and employment performance are beginning to show positive trends but remain significantly lower than the levels required to bring down unemployment. The ANC must focus its actions towards achieving a 3% growth rate in the medium term.

The NGC has re-affirmed the focus and priority areas of the 'Ten Point Plan' as the guiding framework for economic implementation and action to improve growth and employment rates. The Ten Point Plan is already demonstrating effectiveness in streamlining implementation of our Conference resolutions and Manifesto priorities in a measurable and time-bound manner.

In this regard, the NGC welcomed the progress made on energy security, as well as interventions on electricity tariffs in the ferrochrome sector, as well as port and rail network transformation. There are other industries that need attention, such as the steel and auto sectors. Our comrades in government will be giving attention to those sectors.

The NGC stressed the importance of enabling private sector investment in our national infrastructure revitalisation programme through a variety of finance mechanisms, while maintaining effective and strategic asset ownership and regulatory control as the state.

The NGC re-affirmed the importance of a social compact that enjoins government, labour, civil society and business around a coherent national investment strategy to increase the momentum of growth and development in our country.

The NGC emphasised the importance of Cabinet developing a coherent and transformative investment philosophy to guide public investment activities across all levels of government. The NGC places emphasis on strengthening the project and contract management capability of government to execute projects in line with public interest priorities.

Acknowledging the challenges confronting small enterprises in our townships, rural and village areas, the NGC mandates government to ensure access to finance and appropriate skills training. Recognising that there remains a challenge in the skills ecosystem, the NGC has mandated government to institute a review of the SETA system in relation to industry requirements. The NGC agreed that we must proceed to implement the dual skills acquisition system to foster a skills revolution.

The NGC reaffirms its commitment to a broad-based structural transformation and all socio-economic redress policies. The NGC affirms the ANC's position on broad based black economic empowerment. It mandates government to ensure local content targets are implemented to support re-industrialisation in the steel and other sectors.

Local government remains the level of government closest to the daily lives of citizens. Accordingly, the role of local government in both social and economic transformation is central to the developmental agenda of our country. Accordingly, the NGC has affirmed today that municipal administration must be ethical and capable, and that professional administration is insulated from

undue political interference. The NGC has agreed that as the process of the review of the White Paper on Local Government unfolds, our structures must ensure that the new document meets all the objectives of developmental local government. We reaffirm the important role traditional and Khoi-San leadership must play in local government to ensure joint planning between municipalities and Traditional Councils.

The NGC mandated government to ensure that the Department of Land Reform and Rural Development and the institution of Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership must resolve outstanding land reform matters.

Once again, we affirm that the District Development Model is the primary mechanism for integrated planning, budgeting and accountable service delivery across all spheres of government so our slogan must be: One Plan, One Budget, One Approach.

In less than a year we will contest the 2026 Local Government Elections. This will be an important test of the extent to which we have managed to renew the support and confidence of the electorate.

To win decisively the ANC must field our most dedicated, honest and competent candidates. We must work tirelessly in voting districts going door to door to explain why the ANC remains the only party that can meet the needs of all our country's people.

Crime and corruption remain a central concern of all communities.

The Madlanga Commission will assist us to establish facts and help us to reset the South African Police Service and the criminal justice system over the next decade. The classification of gender-based violence and femicide as a National Disaster signals a firm commitment to tackling this societal scourge through an all of government and all of society approach. The recent adoption of an integrated strategy to deal with gang violence in the Western Cape and Gauteng, together with the allocation of substantial financial resources must ensure we stamp out the endless cycle of killings and violence that terrorise communities and devastate families every day.

The resolutions of this NGC explicitly recognise the porous borders of our country as a threat to territorial integrity and link them to illegal mining, terrorism, narcotics trafficking and transnational organised crime. While the Border Management Authority has been established and initial deployments have begun, financial constraints remain a critical enforcement limitation. Accordingly, the NGC mandates government to look at ways to strengthen the Border Management Authority.

It is a matter of urgency that we move with speed to update our legislative environment to deal with new realities in our migration environment.

Health and Education

Universal health coverage is a key aspiration of the Freedom Charter. The NGC has agreed that we must proceed to implement NHI and strengthen all aspects of our health system towards the achievement of affordable, equal and quality health care for all our people.

Delegates welcomed the classification of gender-based violence and femicide as a national disaster, but highlighted poor police response, secondary victimisation and long case backlogs as amongst factors exacerbating gender-based violence and femicide in our society. The NGC agreed that the harmful practice of ukuthwala – the forced marriage of young girls – must be condemned without any form of ambiguity.

There was agreement the movement must urge its deployees in the state to strengthen and fast-track legislative and other measures aimed at enhancing the implementation of the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide.

Delegates emphasised mandatory training for SAPS on the National Strategic Plan, in particular.

Those in the criminal justice system must take care and be trained to prevent further harm to survivors and victims.

The NGC stressed that the ANC should continue to strive for a better Africa and a better world. The ANC should continue to revive and strengthen its ties with sister liberation movements and progressive parties across the world, including the anti-apartheid movement, and share lessons and experiences on successful party renewal.

We must continue to mobilise international solidarity campaigns with the people of Palestine, Western Sahara and Cuba. South Africa must continue to diversify economic ties and strengthen trade relations with countries in our own continent, the Middle East, Asia and Central and South America, in addition to the relations we have with Europe and North America.

The NGC has agreed that we must continue to anchor all our economic recovery and inclusive growth efforts in Africa. We must strengthen the Global South to strengthen Africa's role in global economic institutions like the IMF and World Bank. We must continue to promote multilateralism and insist that the United Nations remains at the centre of the resolution of international disputes.

Commissions called on the NEC to hold all Ministers, MPs, Premiers, MECs, Mayors and councillors accountable and ensure they address poor service delivery, the collapse of infrastructure and ensure our economy grows and creates work for especially for women and young people.

This NGC has resolved that we must prioritise nation-building, social cohesion and empowerment of the motive forces to unite society behind the cause of transformation and a better life for all. This informs our endorsement of an inclusive and citizen-led National Dialogue. We have agreed that our participation in the National Dialogue should be guided by four core principles: transparency, inclusivity, objectivity and action orientation. We need to ensure that all sectors have a voice in shaping the dialogue, and that the National Dialogue produces measurable outcomes.

From this NGC, we have a clear line of march.

The delegates to this NGC have acknowledged the great challenges that confront our movement and our country.

But we are not daunted by these challenges. We are not cynical. We can see how far we have come. This gives us hope. It inspires us to carry on, to work harder and to do better. While we have much further to travel, the renewal of our movement is gaining momentum. It is moving forward and will soon be unstoppable.

We are resolved to see the fundamental renewal of our movement through to its conclusion. We are resolved to hold our 56th National Conference as a transformed organisation, an organization that is united, that is cohesive, that has the confidence and the trust of the masses of our people. We are resolved to become an ever more effective agent for fundamental social and economic transformation.

Next year, we will celebrate the 30th anniversary of the adoption of our democratic Constitution.

The Constitution is a revolutionary framework that mandates and guides the fundamental transformation of our society into a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous nation. It affirms that the people shall govern, that all shall be equal before the law, and that dignity, work, shelter and security are not privileges, but rights. For three decades, this Constitution has empowered decisive action to dismantle the legacies of racial, gender and class oppression. Yet this anniversary takes place at a time of ever more strident attacks on constitutional values, the rule of law and a rules-based international order.
The task of the ANC and all progressive and patriotic South Africans is therefore twofold: to defend and deepen constitutional democracy, and to ensure it delivers more decisively for the poor and the marginalised.

This NGC has confirmed that central among the tasks of the moment – to give effect to those aims and objectives – is to drive inclusive economic growth, create jobs and tackle poverty.

We have embarked on a path of economic recovery and transformation.

Like the renewal of our movement, this recovery is gaining momentum.

The difficult years are beginning to yield to a new era of progress, confidence and hope.
We can see the effects of our efforts in important economic indicators.

Our task now is to ensure that South Africans see the effects of these changes in their lives.

They must feel the benefit of jobs being created, new businesses starting up, young people getting the skills they need, services being reliably delivered, social infrastructure being built.

People must feel safe in their homes and on the streets of their towns and on the paths of their villages. Public services must work. Officials must be honest and helpful. Public representatives must be accountable.

As we depart this NGC, as we go home to our communities, let us be more determined than ever to bring about the changes that our country needs.

I wish to extend thanks to the staff of the African National Congress, who despite the known

challenges, showed up and performed their duties for our organisation. Your hard work and dedication remain unparalleled. I also want to thank the SGO, TGO and the Presidency and the entire NGC Preparatory Team for organising an inspiring forum for debate and assessment.

Finally, I wish to thank all delegates and other participants for their constructive contributions and debates.

As our forebears did 70 years ago, let us pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes been achieved.

I wish everyone a peaceful and blessed festive season.

And safe travels as you head home.

Amandla!

Declaration of the 5th NGC

5TH NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 8-11 DECEMBER 2025.

» *Presented by the Secretary-General,* ***Cde Fikile Mbalula***

Introduction

We, the over 1500 delegates from structures of the ANC, together with our Alliance partners the South African Communist Party (SACP), Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu), and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), the Mass Democratic Movement, as well as sister organisations from across the region, gathered for the 5th National General Council in Ekurhuleni, as an embodiment of our intensified Renewal Mission!

The NGC convened under the theme: *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 hare in the country's wealth!*

The 5th NGC took place at a critical moment in the history of our young democracy, with notable progress to build a better life over the three decades of freedom, which includes: a Constitutional order committed to equality, redress, human and socio-economic rights and a comprehensive social wage which includes the millions now having access to basic services.

At the same time, the legacies of the past still find expression in the triple challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment. These challenges have been exacerbated by spatial under-development that remains stubbornly high, impacting negatively on millions of men and women, young and old, across the country.

The 5th NGC also convened as we celebrated 70 years of the Freedom Charter, 40 years since the launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and as we prepare for 30 years of the South African Constitution and the seventh local government elections in 2026.

We, the delegates to the 5th NGC, remain mindful that our movement and indeed the cause of social transformation continue to face an existential crisis, which has placed the very cause of national liberation at a crossroads. Consequently, we understand our struggle to be at a fork road, and thus:

We can either Renew or Perish.
We can Unite or Face Defeat.
We can Return to Serving the People or Betray the NDR.

Mindful of this pregnant moment in our history, the Plenary and Commission sessions lived up to the expectation of our NGC as "the largest political school" of our movement. Venues were consistently full, and delegates discussed topics from the Base Document, Political Overview, Mid-Term Report and various thematic areas.
The 5th NGC delegates displayed utmost discipline and determination to learn, participate,

and sharply raise matters of outmost concern to society, communities on the ground and the ANC membership. The work done on the ground through the ANC Foundation Course and the preparations by the Provinces and the Leagues towards the NGC, made a positive impact on the quality and depth of debates.

The 5th National General Council affirmed the ongoing relevance of the NDR as the shared theory, strategy and programme of the ANC-led Alliance and democratic movement. The NGC reaffirmed the thorough-going socio-economic transformation as a fundamental foundation for the South Africa We Want and the means of achieving it. NGC agreed that the strategic objectives of the NDR as articulated in the Strategy and Tactics document remain relevant. Attaining these objectives will lead to the fundamental transformation of South Africa into a National Democratic Society – a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous nation – based on the vision of the Freedom Charter.

The NGC acknowledged progress of the NDR in the empowerment of the motive forces. These gains can be seen in the significant growth of Black professionals and middle strata, and to an extent Black-owned and Women-owned businesses in many sectors of the economy reserved for white males under apartheid. Workers have also made enormous gains in terms of labour rights and the social wage, including the minimum wage. The youth are the primary beneficiaries of massive public investment in the expansion of basic education and higher education. South Africa women have also made gains regarding the social wage, political representation and economic empowerment – South Africa occupies the second place in the G20 countries on women empowerment.

At the same time, despite progress, the 5th NGC concluded that the **NDR stands at a crossroads,** because of the following:

- Incidents of corruption on the capacity, legitimacy and authority of the state.
- Tendencies of Ideological and organisational degeneration in the ANC and Alliance structures, especially the sins of incumbency, factionalism, crass materialism, social distance and outright service delivery failures.
- The Apartheid-colonial political economy remains largely intact: the unequal distribution of economic opportunities between Black and White, men and women, urban and rural and high levels of unemployment and economic exclusion remain a dominant pattern of South Africa's political economy and spatial landscape.
- The impact of neo-liberalism, an ideology and policies that seeks to limit the role of the state in driving a developmental agenda. Thus, outsourcing and "tenderisation" of state functions have weakened the democratic state's capacity and orientation to drive development.

The NGC admitted that the cumulative impact and toxic combination of these factors, and the deterioration in, inequality and unemployment rates as well as slow progress in reducing poverty, have led to the 2024 electoral setback and the crossroads of the National Democratic Revolution. These factors also contributed to the emboldening of counter-revolutionary forces at both domestic and global levels.

The 5th NGC therefore declared that for fundamental socio-economic transformation to be advanced and accelerated, organisational renewal must be sustained and must go hand in glove

with national rejuvenation and renewal, in the following four areas:
Firstly, **Renewal of the ANC as the leading Agent of Change** – to rebuild the leadership, organisational and ideological capacity to drive transformation. This renewal must be all-encompassing, and will require strict organisational management of the ANC, the adoption of a Renewal Charter Towards 2032, with performance targets and indicators across a range of issues identified by NGC, which should include the reconfiguration and renewal of the Revolutionary Alliance.

Secondly, national renewal and rejuvenation must be **anchored by an effective Developmental Path for Growth and Social Equity** – that re-industrialize the economy for mass employment creation, transform the racialized and gendered patterns of ownership and control, build productive rural areas advancing land and agrarian reforms, urban centres as drivers of economic growth and innovation; safe communities, quality basic services, climate-smart infrastructure and a state that is effective, trusted and ethical.

This must include strengthening the local sphere of governance through the Local Government Action Plan, to accelerate service delivery, infrastructure development and maintenance, and reconnecting with the people. This will require ward-based monitoring & evaluation systems and deploying the best amongst us in the 2026 Local Government Elections.

Local government is the sphere of government closest to the people, where the injunction of the Freedom Charter that "the people shall govern" must find most direct expression. This must also be reflected in the demarcation of local government structures. The NGC directed the NEC to work with communities negatively affected by recent decisions by the Local Government Demarcation Board to address their concerns.

Thirdly **Nation-Building, Social Cohesion and Empowerment of the People** – to unify society behind the cause of transformation manifested a better life for all.

Finally, **navigating a complex global situation** – to protect and advance our national interests and the African agenda amid global shifts.

The 5th NGC, in a range of Commissions reviewed implementation of 55th National Conference resolutions, challenges and new issues, with recommendations on accelerating implementation towards 2027 when 56th National Conference convenes and 2032, when the ANC will turn 120 years.

The 5th NGC instructs the NEC to strengthen the recommendations and immediately translate these recommendations into a **Renewal and Rejuvenation Action Plan**, with marching orders to ANC deployees in executive authorities, public representatives, NEC, PEC and RECs members, and above all in the basic unit of the movement, the ANC branches across the length and breadth of the country.

The 5th NGC calls on all ANC leaders, members and supporters to put shoulder to wheel to implement this Renewal and Rejuvenation Action Plan, as we take part in the National Dialogue, engage with communities, sectors and the Alliance, and advance service delivery, economic transformation in the ANC-led GNU, Provincial and Local governments, and from opposition

benches.
We approach the 30th anniversary of our Constitution in 2026, following closely on the 70th anniversary of the Freedom Charter. The Constitution is the supreme law of our republic. It is a democratic revolutionary framework that mandates and guides the fundamental transformation of our society into a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous nation. It affirms that the people shall govern, that all shall be equal before the law, and that dignity, work, asset ownership, shelter and security are not privileges, but rights.

For three decades, it has anchored democratic governance, built independent institutions, expanded access to justice, and enabled major social advances in housing, education, healthcare, water, electricity and social protection. It has empowered decisive action to dismantle the legacies of racial, gender and class oppression.

Yet this anniversary takes place at a time of ever more strident attacks on constitutional values, the rule of law, and a rules-based international order, globally and domestically, including a targeted campaign against the continuing process of liberating the majority of South African from the legacy of white patriarchal supremacy.

The task of the ANC and all progressive and patriotic South Africans is therefore twofold: to defend and deepen constitutional democracy, and to ensure it delivers more decisively for the poor and the marginalised. The movement must lead a year-long 30th Anniversary programme that ignites mass constitutional education, active citizenship, youth mobilisation, and cultural programmes, while confronting corruption, disinformation and democratic disengagement.

The ANC affirms, for all our country and the world to know, that the Constitution is the people's covenant, a powerful instrument of renewal, justice and shared prosperity.

The 5th NGC rises with the ANC and the border progressive movement re-energised, inspired and determined to translate the commitments and resolutions into practical action not only to inform the actions of our members and supporters; but to impact on the lives of South Africans in practical ways.
In this regard, we solemnly reaffirm the profound commitment enshrined in the Freedom Charter: **These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives until we have won our liberty.**

AMANDLA!

ANC Renewal to Advance the Freedom Charter: The State Of The NDR and Balance Of Forces

BACKGROUND

The 5th National General Council (NGC) received the Political Report delivered by the President, the Mid-Term Review presented by the Secretary General, and the Financial Report from the Treasurer General.

In the run-up to the NGC, the NEC released a discussion document, "The Base Document", which framed the key issues that the Mid-Term Review and Assessment should focus on: the state of the NDR, the domestic and global balance of forces, and what needs to be done.

Commissions noted that, although not all branches were able to discuss the NGC preparatory documents, Special Regional General Councils and PGCs were convened to discuss the NGC document, culminating in substantive submissions and recommendations.

Spirit and Mood of Commissions

The first day of Commissions lived up to the expectation that the NGC is "the largest political school" and "a festival of ideas" – venues were full to capacity and delegates engaged in robust discussions throughout the day, focusing on issues raised in the Base Document, the Political

Overview and the Mid-Term Report.

More chairs had to be brought in to accommodate delegates, who showed the utmost discipline and determination to participate and to sharply raise matters of concern to society, communities on the ground, and the ANC membership.
The debates took place in a serious, calm and comradely atmosphere characterised by disciplined, honest and critical reflection – a clear message that this 5th NGC was attended by delegates who are here to genuinely renew the movement.

There is a clear indication that the work being done on the ground through the Foundation Course, and the thorough preparations by the provinces and the Leagues, have made a positive impact on the quality of debates in the Commissions.
The 5th NGC Delegates Understood What is at Stake!

- **RENEWAL OR DEATH!**
- **UNITY OR DEFEAT!**
- **RENEW OR PERISH!**
- **SERVE THE PEOPLE OR LOSE STATE POWER!**

All Commissions focused on the following questions in their discussions and deliberations:

- What are the strategic objectives of the National Democratic Revolution, and what progress has been achieved since 1994?
- What are the motive forces of the NDR and how have they been impacted and constituted today?
- What is the domestic balance of forces in 2025?
- What is the global balance of forces in 2025?
- What are the tasks of the renewal project and what is to be done, going forward?

1. ON THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES OF THE NDR

1. The NGC reaffirmed the ongoing relevance of the NDR as the shared theory, strategy and programme of the ANC-led Alliance and democratic movement on the South Africa we want and how to achieve it.
2. The NGC agreed that the strategic objectives of the NDR, as articulated in Strategy and Tactics, remain relevant: the fundamental transformation of South Africa into a National Democratic Society – a truly united, non-racial, democratic and prosperous nation – based on the vision of the Freedom Charter.
3. The NGC noted and agreed that ideological distortions of the NDR need to be combatted. Some right-wing opponents of transformation deliberately misrepresent the NDR as a socialist conspiracy by the ANC. At times, some on the left also conflate the NDR with socialism. In the ANC, there is no confusion – the NDR is a multi-class radical democratic project with clear national, democratic and revolutionary tasks. Its strategic objectives are not the same as those of socialism. There is nothing wrong with those in our ranks who see the NDR as a direct route to socialism, as long as they uphold the discipline of the ANC.

2. ON THE BALANCE OF FORCES AND STATE OF THE NDR

On Achievements of the NDR since 1994

4. The NGC agreed with the Base Document that since the 1994 democratic breakthrough, a great deal has been done to change South Africa's political and legal landscape – including a transformative Constitution, a progressive Bill of Rights and democratic institutions that safeguard the rights and freedoms of citizens, ensuring that government is based on the democratic will of the people.
5. The NGC agreed that successive ANC-led administrations (not individuals) have qualitatively improved the lives of millions of South Africans, through expanding access to basic services and infrastructure – housing, healthcare, education, electricity, water, sanitation – and providing a social security net for those who need state support.
6. **Empowerment of the motive forces:** Significant growth of Black professionals, Black-owned and women-owned businesses in many sectors of the economy previously reserved for white males is due to the progress of the NDR. Workers have made enormous gains in labour laws and the social wage, including the minimum wage. Youth are the primary beneficiaries of massive public investment in the expansion of basic education and higher education. Huge gains have also been made by women in relation to the social wage, political representation and economic empowerment – South Africa ranks second among G20 countries on women's empowerment.
7. The NGC agreed that these gains of the NDR must be defended against an emboldened right wing that seeks to reverse transformation, driven by the racist narrative that things were better under apartheid.

On the Challenges/Crisis of the National Democratic Revolution

8. The 5th NGC agreed that despite significant achievements and progress, the NDR is at a crossroads:

- Ø **The impact of corruption and state capture on the capacity, legitimacy and authority of the state:** State capture and corruption have hollowed out the capacity, legitimacy and authority of the state – including SOEs, departments, municipalities and the criminal justice system – to deliver socio-economic justice and drive transformation.

- **The impact of ideological and organisational degeneration in the ANC and Alliance structures:** Three decades of incumbency have led to accumulated "vices" or "sins" that have eroded public confidence and contributed to electoral decline – corruption, resource-inspired entrenched factionalism, crass materialism, social distance and outright service delivery failures. No organisation is spared, including components of the Alliance and the PYA.
- **Apartheid-colonial political economy remains stubbornly intact:** The unequal distribution of economic opportunities between Black and white, men and women, and urban and rural remains a dominant pattern of South Africa's political economy and spatial landscape. Democracy without state capacity to deliver on the social and economic aspirations of the majority is not sustainable, as reflected in significant declines in trust in democratic institutions – government, Parliament and the judiciary.
- **The impact of neo-liberalism:** South Africa's democratic breakthrough coincided with a global shift to neoliberal ideology and policies that sought to limit the role of the state in driving a developmental agenda. Both outsourcing and "tenderisation" of state functions have weakened the democratic state's capacity and orientation to drive development.
- **The cumulative impact and toxic combination of these factors** is the devastating loss of an electoral majority in the 2024 elections, characterised as a strategic setback for the NDR.

9. The NGC noted that three indicators have been worsening:

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

On the Motive Forces of the NDR

10. The 5th NGC agreed that the motive forces of the NDR remain as defined in Strategy and Tactics – both in terms of national groups and gender, as well as in class terms.
11. The NGC agreed with the Base Document's analysis of fragmentation and demobilisation of the motive forces, and the increasing disconnect between the ANC and large sections of the social forces that are drivers and beneficiaries of transformation.
12. The NGC agreed that the impact of the subjective organisational weaknesses of the ANC and its Alliance partners, combined with increasingly difficult objective economic conditions facing the motive forces, requires a combination of organisational renewal and national renewal, with specific focus on inclusive economic growth and the safety and security of citizens.
13. The NGC believes that poor economic performance, poor service delivery, and the collapse of basic services and infrastructure in municipalities governed by the ANC contribute to the demobilisation and demoralisation of the motive forces, especially the working class and the poor who depend on public services.
14. The NGC called upon the NEC to be as deliberate in local government interventions to address poor service delivery and collapsing infrastructure as has been the case with load

shedding, rail and logistics. Serious consideration should be given to leadership deployment in municipalities to enhance capacity to deliver.

15. The NGC further agreed that rural areas must receive serious attention in the allocation of resources to expand access to basic services, infrastructure and economic opportunities, including land redistribution and support for farmers.
16. The NGC called for greater organising and political education efforts to unite the motive forces behind the Alliance as part of the internal renewal agenda, including exploring new and more effective ways of organising and mobilising workers, women, youth, the middle strata and progressive businesspeople behind the transformation agenda (which is in their objective interest).

On the Domestic Balance of Forces

17. The 5th NGC believes that poor economic performance, poor service delivery, and the collapse of basic services and infrastructure in municipalities governed by the ANC contribute to the demobilisation and demoralisation of the motive forces, especially the working class and the poor who depend on public services.
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21. The NGC raised deep concerns about the negative impact of the current state of the Alliance on the ability of progressive forces to prosecute a progressive agenda, and to defend and advance the NDR.
22. The NGC supports the NEC's assessment that the SACP's resolution has strategic implications, not only tactical implications, for the Alliance as a whole and the prosecution of the NDR.
23. The NGC urged the Alliance leadership to meet urgently and develop a common approach to the reconfiguration and renewal of the Alliance in a manner that safeguards unity and cohesion, and avoids sowing confusion, divisions and conflict among the rank-and-file on the ground.
24. The NGC adopted the firm view that, as the leader of the Alliance and the NDR, the ANC should never give up on its historic responsibility to unite the Alliance, including continuing to engage the SACP to ensure that we approach elections as we have always done, on a common platform. While engagement continues, all ANC members will be expected to campaign only for the ANC in any elections or by-elections, in line with organisational discipline.

On the Government of National Unity

25. The 5th NGC welcomed the report on the political rationale and circumstances that led to the formation of the Second Government of National Unity after the 2024 elections.
26. Having agreed that the election outcomes were indeed a major setback for the NDR, the NGC supported the decision to form an inclusive ANC-led GNU as a tactical intervention that does not change the ANC's long-term strategy for fundamental transformation.
27. While fully supporting the NEC intervention, the NGC expressed concern about how other parties have been conducting themselves within the GNU, including attempts to undermine transformation as mandated by the Constitution, the supreme law of the land.
28. The NGC noted President Ramaphosa's efforts to instil discipline and coherence in the GNU, and mandated the NEC to strengthen the ANC's capacity to drive a progressive agenda in the GNU and ensure delivery of immediate results on jobs, inclusive growth, tackling poverty and inequality, and fighting crime and corruption. The NEC should continue to monitor and assess GNU performance and make necessary interventions to ensure GNU stability and enhance its ability to serve the interests of the people of South Africa.

On Counter-Revolution

29. The 5th NGC defined counter-revolution as the conscious, organised and systematic effort to stop, resist or reverse revolutionary transformation of society. Counter-revolution exists side-by-side with any genuine revolution. Where there is no counter-revolution, there is no revolution.
30. The NGC noted that our movement has survived many organised attempts by opponents of the liberation struggle who worked tirelessly to block the transformation of South Africa into the country envisaged in the Freedom Charter. Unity of purpose, ideological clarity and vigilance among leadership and membership remain essential.
31. Even those in the ranks of the Revolutionary Alliance can be involved in actions, consciously or unconsciously, that undermine or impede the revolution. We must therefore ensure that our own actions enable, rather than impede, the forward movement of the NDR. Anyone in our ranks who consciously and knowingly engages in acts that undermine the NDR, seek to destroy the ANC and the Alliance, or erode public confidence – including corruption, factionalism, gatekeeping, careerism and flagrant violations of organisational discipline – is behaving in a counter-revolutionary manner. These corrosive practices hollow out the revolutionary character of the ANC and the Alliance, weakening its capacity to lead society, govern, deliver services and drive the transformation agenda.
32. Of course, we must resist the temptation to label anyone we disagree with as counter-revolutionary. We must distinguish between mistakes committed in good faith and those deliberately meant to destroy and undermine the NDR. Committing a mistake does not make one a counter-revolutionary. In the course of the long struggle for fundamental transformation, even the best revolutionaries will make mistakes. When mistakes are made, revolutionaries must show humility, self-correction and willingness to undergo rehabilitation. Only the most incorrigible deserve the harshest treatment.
33. The movement must remain vigilant. Vigilance is not the same as a witch-hunt or falsely labelling comrades as counter-revolutionaries. We must study and fully understand the strategy and tactics of counter-revolution.

34. The NGC noted that it is a serious mistake to think that strategic opponents of the liberation movement would abandon their mission after the 1994 democratic breakthrough:

- Today, we bear witness to social and political forces working to reverse the gains of freedom made over the last three decades. Their counter-revolutionary objective is to stop transformation and reverse the gains of democracy.
- The strategy of our opponents is to consolidate anti-transformation forces through coalitions or "pacts", while weakening and fragmenting the forces for change by promoting and funding the formation of splinter groups and small parties that contest the ANC and seek to remove it from levers of state power.
- One tactic is to keep the ANC locked in internecine struggles that destroy it from within. They actively encourage, in different ways, rebel break-away groupings to erode the ANC's support base. Often these groupings begin as factional gestations within the ANC, but when the movement pushes back, they mutate into opposition parties that become more opposed to the ANC than our historic opponents. Some present themselves as ideologically more radical than the ANC, but revolutionary-sounding rhetoric cannot hide the reality that these new parties often have common cause with forces opposing transformation.
- Another tactic is to use the ANC's internal weaknesses and failures to question the legitimacy and moral necessity of the transformation agenda. Anti-transformation forces have become emboldened – distorting the objective of the NDR and blaming transformation for ongoing structural problems of unemployment, poverty and inequality, as well as weaknesses in state capacity.

35. Only a renewed ANC and Alliance can mount an effective and convincing defence of the NDR.

On the Global Balance of Forces

36. The NGC was mindful that it took place at a time when the world faces serious risks and multiple crises – rising inequality and poverty, the rising cost of living, economic volatility, geo-political instability, trade wars, the climate crisis, risks posed by unregulated artificial intelligence, and multiple regional conflicts, including Sudan, Eastern DRC and the genocide in Palestine.
37. The NGC also noted that the rise of China, BRICS expansion, the increasing assertiveness of the Global South, and South Africa's successes at the G20 are positive developments that give hope to those who have been at the receiving end of imperialist domination. The shift from unipolarity to multipolarity is a welcome development for progressive forces across the world.
38. The NGC noted that, on the other hand, those who have enjoyed unipolar dominance are mounting a ferocious fight-back campaign against multilateralism, targeting BRICS countries and those pursuing an independent foreign policy such as South Africa. Concocted false accusations, including "white genocide" in South Africa, form part of the global right wing's strategy to push back against progressive agendas.
39. On the continent, there are both positive and negative developments. Significant growth in intra-African trade and collaboration between African development institutions contrasts with growing conflict and security challenges in key regions.
40. Implications of Domestic and Global Balance of Forces on the Renewal Agenda
41. The 53rd and 54th National Conferences reaffirmed the objective of renewal:

"Renewal 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."

42. The 5th NGC noted that only a renewed ANC, and a rejuvenated and resurgent South Africa, will be able to navigate shifts and the complex interplay between domestic and global balance of forces.
43. The NGC further asserted that organisational renewal (internal renewal) will be more sustainable if it goes hand-in-glove with efforts for the renewal and rejuvenation of the nation as a whole. Internal deficiencies of the ANC and Alliance have affected the quality and standard of leadership across sectors of society, and institutions of the democratic state also require renewal.
44. In terms of renewal progress, the NGC noted that pockets of renewal are beginning to emerge:

- Rebuilding branches to reconnect the ANC with communities.
- Cultivating revolutionary discipline, ethics and integrity; and building capacity to govern and develop leadership through the revival of political education, cadre development and ideological work.
- Taking firm action to combat corruption, careerism and factionalism, while building new leadership capabilities.
- Institutionalising accountability through monitoring, evaluation and consequence management, to cultivate a culture of accountability, outstanding performance and swift consequence management at every level of the organisation.

3. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

A. On Organisational Renewal

45. The 5th NGC directed the NEC to adopt an ANC Renewal Charter, with Key Performance Indicators and targets. The Renewal Charter must be a simple one-page document that spells out what a renewed ANC will look like:

a) Activist character and quality membership.
b) Mass character and connectedness to communities.
c) Non-racial character of the ANC.
d) Non-sexist character of the ANC.
e) Discipline, ethics and integrity in the ANC – demonstrating progress in eradicating corruption and restoring ethics and revolutionary morality.
f) Monitoring and evaluation of performance; incentivising outstanding performance and dis-incentivising poor performance and laziness in a renewed ANC – including review of Cadre Policy.
g) A differentiated system of compulsory political education, leadership and governance training for all ANC members: the OR Tambo School to provide compulsory basic, intermediate and advanced courses as part of the new culture of a renewed ANC.
h) Leadership renewal with higher standards of ethics and competence, and better management of leadership transitions in a renewed ANC.

B. On National Renewal and Rejuvenation

45. With regard to the renewal and rejuvenation of our nation, the 5th NGC directed that, wherever the ANC is in government, we should single-mindedly focus on:
    a) Build a growing, inclusive and industrialising economy: rapidly increase the quantity and quality of jobs; broaden ownership and productive sectors.
    b) Strengthen the capacity of the state to deliver and professionalise the public service by attracting and cultivating appropriate skills and ethics.
    c) Fix local government: ensure every municipality performs its basic constitutional function of providing basic services, maintaining and building infrastructure, and becoming tribunes of local democracy and sustainable livelihoods.
    d) Invest in national infrastructure networks: water, energy, roads, sanitation, public transport, ICT and digital, and social infrastructure in communities.
    e) Invest in our people: raise standards and improve capacity to deliver quality public education and public health to all South Africans as part of human development.
    f) Build safe communities and national security: elevate this to the 6th Pillar of S&T.
    g) A nation that can feed itself: promote food security and agriculture at community level.
    h) Build thriving township and village economies: local economies and sustainable livelihoods.
    i) Cultural renaissance and heritage: communities should celebrate their culture and heritage.

C. On Renewal of the ANC's Global Ties and Expanding Solidarity, Peace and Friendship

46. The NGC called on the ANC to revive and strengthen its ties with sister liberation movements and progressive parties across the world, and to share lessons and experiences on successful party renewal.
47. The NGC further called on the ANC, the Alliance and other progressive organisations to continue mobilising international solidarity campaigns with the people of Palestine, Western Sahara, Cuba and Venezuela.
48. The NGC called on the South African government to put pressure on AU and SADC institutions to address conflicts in different regions of the continent.
49. South Africa should continue to diversify its economic relations and establish trade relations with African countries, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, while maintaining strong relations with Europe and North America.
50. Anchor South Africa's economic recovery and inclusive growth efforts on Africa.
51. Strengthen economic ties with BRICS, countries in the Global South and the G77, and fight for Africa's role in global multilateral institutions, especially economic and developmental institutions.
52. Defend and advance multilateralism: support working together (multilateralism) and the United Nations in resolving international disputes.

D. On Alliance Reconfiguration and Renewal

53. The 5th NGC believes the renewal of the ANC will not be complete or sustainable unless it includes renewal of the Alliance and the Mass Democratic Movement. Resource-inspired factionalism, corruption and patronage are widespread tendencies across the Alliance,

including in the Progressive Youth Alliance. In addition, challenges in organising the motive forces affect all components.

54. Given the challenges faced by individual components and the Alliance collectively, the NGC calls on the Alliance to develop an Alliance Renewal Plan of Action, of which reconfiguration will be only one element. A joint Alliance political education campaign should be another element of the Renewal Plan of Action. Organising the motive forces should be another element. Policy development, monitoring, evaluation and consequence management could be additional areas of work. Without a comprehensive approach, components may take reactive and damaging decisions, such as the SACP's resolution to contest elections independently of the Alliance.

55. The NGC calls on the Alliance to also develop a Renewal Programme of Action for the broader democratic movement, through a systematic programme of ideological training, leadership development and organising skills, including for student and youth formations in schools and campuses.

Constitution and Legal

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction

The 5th NGC Commission on Constitutional and Legal Affairs expressed serious concern regarding the low levels of participation in its work at National Conferences and National General Councils. The perception that the Commission is meant for lawyers is fundamentally flawed. Its work has far-reaching social, economic, political, and organisational implications.

The 5th NGC reaffirmed the position of the 55th National Conference that the vision, values, and principles of the National Democratic Society we seek to build through the National Democratic Revolution are enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. This perspective is contained in both the Strategy & Tactics resolution as well as many other resolutions adopted by the 55th National Conference, emphasising that the Constitution of the Republic is:

- A foundational document for the National Democratic Revolution.
- A source of legitimacy for democratic institutions.
- A guide for public service ethics, state transformation, and participatory democracy.
- A document whose values must be defended against conservative or anti-transformational narratives.
- A blueprint for rights, equality, governance, anti-racism, and socio-economic transformation.

The NGC emphasised that the Constitution is a key victory of the NDR, and that any reversal of the current constitutional order would represent a serious setback for the NDR.

The NGC strongly supported a nationwide campaign to celebrate the 30th Anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution in 1996, as discussed below.

A. 55th National Conference resolutions on the Constitution

The 5th NGC noted and reaffirmed the following resolutions by the 55th National Conference:

On the Need to Defend and Advance the Constitutional Democratic Order

1. The Commission reaffirmed that South Africa's democratic gains include a transformative Constitution that guarantees political, socio-economic, and other human rights, and that these constitutional gains must be defended, consolidated, and advanced, particularly in the context of rising inequality, racism, and anti-transformational narratives.
2. The ANC must reject narratives claiming life was better under apartheid, and defend the legitimacy of the constitutional order against claims that it represents a "sell-out" imposed from outside.

On Strengthening Institutions Functioning in accordance with the Constitution

3. The NGC reaffirmed the directive by National Conference that the ANC-led government must ensure that state institutions uphold constitutional obligations and operate effectively.

On Combatting Racism, Sexism and Protecting Constitutional Rights

4. The NGC reaffirmed National Conference's condemnation of racism and sexism, and the call

for more effective instruments to combat racism as part of protecting constitutional rights and equality within the framework of South Africa's constitutional democracy.

On Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law in the Communications & Battle of Ideas Resolution

5. The NGC reaffirmed the resolution on the Battle of Ideas in which National Conference noted that conservative narratives cynically invoke the sanctity of the Constitution and the rule of law to oppose transformation. These narratives mask resistance to constitutional values of substantive equality. The ANC, Alliance, and MDM have a duty to defend and advance the revolutionary and transformative ideals of the Constitution, particularly in communication and public discourse.

On Participatory Democracy as Required by the Constitution

6. The NGC reaffirmed the resolutions on Renewal in which National Conference called for a renewal of governance that embraces participatory and people-centred democracy as set out in the Constitution of the Republic, as well as enhanced involvement of communities in Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), public hearings, and local decision-making.

On Accountability and Use of State Resources as Required by the Constitution

7. The NGC reaffirmed the resolution by National Conference that the ANC must ensure that state resources are used economically, efficiently, equitably, and impactfully as required by the Constitution, and that the highest constitutional standards for public administration must be maintained.

On State Funding of Democracy

8. The NGC reaffirmed the resolution by National Conference that the State must fund constitutional democracy.

On Coalition Governance and Defending Constitutional Principles

9. The NGC reaffirmed the resolution of National Conference that the ANC must only enter coalitions that uphold constitutional principles, improve service delivery, and safeguard socio-economic transformation, and should refuse coalitions that undermine the foundational values of the Constitution.

On the Constitution as a Guiding Document for Cadre Development, Renewal, and Governance

10. The Commission reaffirmed several resolutions by National Conference that the ANC must produce ethical, capable leaders who uphold constitutional governance, and that the professionalisation of public service must align with constitutional obligations.

B. 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Introduction

11. The 5th NGC noted and supported the Discussion Document on the 30th Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The discussion document:
    • Guides discussion on how the Constitution supported South Africa's democratic transition and how it continues to shape the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).
    • Identifies certain constitutional amendments that may now be necessary to strengthen a developmental, ethical, and capable state.
    • Sets out a national programme to celebrate the Constitution's 30th anniversary in 2026,

which coincides with an ongoing National Dialogue process and precedes the 2026 local government elections.

Historical and Political Context

12. The Constitution is the culmination of a long liberation movement tradition, building directly on the Freedom Charter and earlier documents. It is not a constraint on transformation, but a transformative and revolutionary instrument in itself.
13. The 30th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution takes place at a time of global turbulence, marked by weakened multilateral systems, rising conflicts, and growing pressure on democracy, the rule of law, and the very concept of a rules-based international order.

Key Achievements Since 1996

14. **Democratic Governance:** The Constitution has enabled three decades of regular, credible elections and supported the establishment of independent institutions such as the Constitutional Court and Chapter 9 bodies. It has also broadened access to justice and entrenched the rule of law.
15. **Social Transformation:** The expansion of the social wage, including social grants, subsidised housing, access to clean water and electricity, and improved health and education services, are major achievements enabled and mandated by the Constitution. These gains were driven by the justiciable socio-economic rights embedded in the Constitution.
16. **Advancement of Non-Racialism and Non-Sexism:** The constitutional commitment to equality has enabled policies such as affirmative action, broad-based black economic empowerment, workplace transformation measures, and labour protections that promote a more inclusive society.

Key Challenges

17. Despite notable achievements, persistent challenges remain, including high levels of inequality, unemployment, and poverty; a significant decline in public trust; growing corruption; and weaknesses in intergovernmental coordination, particularly at local government level.
18. While some attribute these difficulties to the Constitution itself, most problems stem from failures in implementation rather than constitutional design, although certain structural questions may now require reconsideration. This emphasises the importance of effective monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of our policies and resolutions.
19. While the Constitution provides for progressive rights, many poor and working-class people are unable to protect and advance their rights due to the high cost of legal representation. Justice must be made more accessible, including through increased resources for legal aid.

Areas Identified for Possible Constitutional Review

The NGC agreed that the following areas should be considered for review and discussion:

20. **Cooperative Governance:** There is a need to re-examine the distribution of powers and functions between national, provincial, and local spheres. The District Development Model must also be strengthened to ensure more coordinated planning, in particular regarding the allocation of functions between districts and provinces. More effective mechanisms are needed for national support and, where necessary, intervention in provinces and local government. Serious attention must also be paid to the role and powers of traditional leaders.
21. **The Developmental State and Public Administration:** Whether the Constitution should give clearer recognition to a developmental state and better protect senior public administrators from undue political interference, while still ensuring accountability.

22. **Land Reform:** Urgent attention must be given to accelerating land reform to promote social justice, economic growth, and transformation. Following the unsuccessful attempt to amend Section 25 of the Constitution and the recent adoption of the Expropriation Act, the NGC agreed that we need to explore creative options to accelerate land reform and consider whether further constitutional clarity is required.
23. **Electoral Reform:** The NGC emphasised the vital importance of the ANC playing an active role in debates on the review of the electoral system. Concern was expressed that proposals regarding electronic voting could have a seriously detrimental impact on the ANC. The requirement that voters vote where they are registered in national and provincial elections was also flagged. The NGC also identified the need to align ANC and government election cycles.
24. **Anti-Corruption Architecture:** There is debate about whether anti-corruption bodies should have stronger constitutional entrenchment to improve integrity and stability in the fight against corruption, including whether the NPA should be included as a Chapter 9 institution. These institutions must be consistent in the scope of their investigations and include all political parties and the private sector.
25. **Immigration and Citizenship:** The NGC felt strongly that the historical context and the meaning of the provision that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" must be clarified in relation to the rights of citizens and non-citizens in general, and illegal immigrants in particular.

30th Anniversary Programme (2026)

26. The NGC strongly endorsed the proposal for a programme of action by the ANC and government to celebrate the 30th Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution in 1996.
27. This is an opportunity to deepen public understanding of the Constitution and renew commitment to democratic values. The programme must be aimed at the whole of society, especially young people. It must strengthen active citizenship and civic participation at a time when misinformation and corruption pose real threats to constitutional democracy.
28. The celebration is also positioned as a way to showcase the Constitution as both an achievement of the liberation struggle and a living tool for ongoing transformation.

Programme Components

29. The NGC supported the proposal that the programme should include:
    a) National constitutional education campaigns in schools, communities, and public institutions.
    b) Civic engagement and volunteerism drives framed around "The People Shall Govern."
    c) Public events that encourage engagement with constitutional institutions and democratic processes.
    d) Creative and cultural projects such as theatre productions, exhibitions, films, and a travelling constitutional museum.
    e) National and sector-specific democracy summits.
    f) Including the Constitution in the school curriculum.
    g) Reciting the pre-amble to the Constitution in all schools, government institutions, Parliament and provincial legislatures, and at national events, as well as on the national broadcaster and other media.
    h) Campaigns to counter disinformation, extremism, and threats to democratic norms.

C. AMENDMENTS TO THE ANC CONSTITUTION

Proposed Amendments to the ANC Constitution Submitted to the 55th National Conference (December 2022)

30. Below is a summary of the major constitutional amendments proposed to the ANC's 55th National Conference. Taken together, these constitutional reforms were designed to clean up ANC membership, prevent criminal infiltration, strengthen internal discipline and ethical leadership, reduce manipulation of branches and internal elections, and rebuild public trust in the organisation.
31. Unfortunately, with the exception of amending the ANC Constitution to provide for an additional Deputy Secretary General, none of the other proposals could be considered due to time constraints and the absence of the required two-thirds majority to effect amendments to the ANC Constitution.

Stricter Membership Criteria and Vetting

32. The proposed amendments introduce a significantly stricter definition of who may qualify for membership of the ANC.
33. Any person found guilty of serious violent crimes such as murder, rape, or armed robbery, as well as sexual offences, organised crime, or serious corruption and financial crimes, will be automatically disqualified from membership. This includes crimes such as drug trafficking, money laundering, and racketeering.
34. In addition, individuals facing pending criminal charges for these serious offences may also be refused membership. The amendments further allow for exclusion based on serious unethical conduct, including abuse of women and children or gross moral misconduct.
35. Applicants rejected on these grounds may lodge a single appeal to the National Executive Committee (NEC). The decision of the NEC in this regard will be final.
36. Newly joining members should be subjected to vetting beyond criminal convictions to assess whether their character is in sync with ANC values and principles.

Compulsory Political Induction and Training

37. The amendments propose that all new members must undergo mandatory political education before becoming full members of the organisation. Two alternative models were put forward.
38. The first option requires every new member to complete a formal ANC induction course and receive a valid certificate as proof of completion. If the certificate is missing or proven to be fraudulent, a person's membership will be rendered invalid.
39. The second option links full membership directly to the OR Tambo School of Leadership. Under this model, a person would remain a provisional member for at least two years and would only become a full member after completing prescribed courses and assessments.

Measures to Prevent Membership Manipulation

40. To address vote-buying and manipulation of branches, the amendments introduce tighter control over membership subscriptions and cards.
41. Annual membership fees will be set and regulated by the NEC. Where another person pays a member's subscription on their behalf, this must be formally declared and properly recorded. No person may hold another member's membership card, and a membership card may not be used as collateral for any purpose.
42. Branches found to be abusing the membership system may lose their standing and their eligibility to participate in ANC conferences.

43. Provinces and Regions must account for declining membership.
44. Branches must be allowed to take charge of their own membership, including the ability to accept new members.

Leadership and Organisational Structure Reforms

45. One of the institutional amendments proposes an expansion of the top leadership structure.
46. A second Deputy Secretary-General position was introduced to strengthen organisational capacity. The Commission felt strongly that the position of the 2nd Deputy Secretary General must be full-time, as provided for in the ANC Constitution.
47. A major innovation is the establishment of a permanent Electoral Committee as a fully constitutional structure. This body will be responsible for managing all internal elections; regulating campaigning and the use of money in internal contests; conducting vetting and lifestyle audits of candidates; and overseeing all candidate selection processes across the organisation.

Compulsory Lifestyle Audits

48. The amendments make lifestyle audits mandatory for all ANC leaders and public representatives. Lifestyle audits are to be carried out by credible institutions. Members who fail to cooperate with lifestyle audits may face suspension, be required to step aside, or be expelled from the organisation after following due process. This provision is aimed at strengthening consequence management and combating corruption.

Introduction of "One Member, One Vote"

49. A major democratic reform proposed is the introduction of a system in which all ANC members would directly elect leadership at regional, provincial, and national levels. This system would only be implemented once the NEC has confirmed that the necessary systems and safeguards are in place to support it.

Expanded Powers for Branches and the Veterans League

50. The amendments strengthen the role of branches by giving them greater authority to raise matters of ethical misconduct, corruption, and failures in government service delivery directly within ANC structures.
51. The ANC Veterans League is similarly empowered to raise concerns about misconduct and government performance, and to engage formally with leadership on such issues.
52. Consideration must be given to whether the ANC VL should exist as a League, or whether it should rather function as a Council of Elders to provide advice and direction to the ANC.

Flexible Quorum Requirements and Virtual Meetings

53. To prevent organisational paralysis caused by repeated failure to reach quorums, the amendments introduce more flexible quorum rules. If a branch fails to achieve a quorum in two consecutive meetings, it may proceed with one-third of its membership present at a third attempt.
54. The amendments also formally allow for virtual and hybrid meetings at branch level, in accordance with rules determined by the NEC.

Constitutional Status of the Integrity Commission

55. The IC will have formal powers to investigate unethical conduct, summon members, and make binding recommendations. An Integrity Appeal Tribunal is also established to handle appeals against the Commission's findings.
56. The NGC proposed that the IC should have plenipotentiary powers to take binding decisions without referring them to the NEC for adoption.

Comprehensive Overhaul of the Disciplinary System

57. The disciplinary system is significantly restructured. The previous separation between appeals and reviews is replaced with a single, streamlined appeal process.
58. Importantly, NEC members accused of wrongdoing will no longer be judged by structures composed of fellow NEC members. Instead, their cases will be heard by independent disciplinary panels to improve impartiality. The ANC itself is also granted the right to appeal disciplinary decisions.

Expansion of Acts of Misconduct and Mandatory Expulsion

59. The definition of misconduct is expanded to explicitly include corruption, bribery, fraud, theft, racketeering, vote-buying, manipulation of internal ANC processes, and defiance of caucus instructions.
60. The amendments further provide that any member convicted of serious corruption, violent crime, organised crime, or sexual offences must be automatically expelled from the ANC.

Formalisation of the Step-Aside Rule

61. The step-aside principle is formally written into the Constitution as a compulsory rule, and not merely a policy guideline. Members may be required to step aside when they are charged with serious crimes, when they are convicted but appealing, or when the Integrity Commission makes such a recommendation. Members who step aside temporarily lose their leadership rights and may not stand for election during that period.

Strengthening of Disciplinary Procedures

62. Disciplinary hearings will no longer be automatically delayed because of related criminal court proceedings, unless specific approval is granted. All disciplinary processes must be properly recorded and transcribed. Charge sheets may be served through a wider range of methods, including email and legal representatives, in order to prevent deliberate evasion.

Strengthened Membership Oath and Duties

63. The oath taken by ANC members is strengthened to include explicit commitments to respect step-aside decisions, accept temporary suspensions when required, and comply fully with the organisation's system of consequence management.

WAY FORWARD

64. The NGC noted that the ANCVL has made further proposals regarding amendments to the ANC Constitution.
65. The NGC mandated the Constitutional Affairs and Legal Committee to embark on a consultative process with all the Leagues and provinces between now and the next National Conference to consolidate the proposed amendments.

Organisation Building and Renewal

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction

Political education is a critical aspect of the renewal of the African National Congress, and the OR Tambo School of Leadership has been hard at work facilitating broad political education across branches, the Leagues, and the national leadership.

In building a strong cadreship contingent, the School has developed a programme that goes beyond the mere induction of leadership structures, introducing a compulsory Foundation Course for all members of the ANC.

In the presentation on the Membership Management System, details were provided on the urgent task of cleaning up the new membership system as the ANC transitions through digital migration, and on restoring the constitutional functionality of organisational structures.

The 5th NGC noted that while we must conceptualise a long-term Renewal Mission, the 55th National Conference assigned the NEC a set of short-term tasks, namely: addressing the deterioration in the political quality of ANC membership; conducting branch functionality audits; building branches; and strengthening the Membership Management System.

Implementation of 55th National Conference Resolutions on Organisational Renewal and Steps to Strengthen Implementation (2026–2027)

A. On Improving the Quality of Membership and Leadership

5th NGC noted on the introduction of an ANC Foundation Course

1. The ANC Foundation Course was developed by a group of ANC veterans and political education facilitators working with the Department of Political Education and Training and the OR Tambo School of Leadership. The decision to launch the course was taken in December 2023, and the programme was formally launched by President Ramaphosa on 27 October 2024. Its aim is to ensure that every ANC member understands key fundamentals:
    - The ANC's mission and objectives, core values, principles, revolutionary morality, and ethics.
    - The history of South Africa and the ANC.
    - The country and the world we live in.
    - The Constitution and governance.
    - The role of the Branch.
    - The tasks of an ANC member.
2. Within one year, more than 125 000 ANC members (approximately 23% of current members in good standing) participated in the Foundation Course and are at various stages of completion across more than 1 600 branches nationwide. The National Caucus; the NECs of the ANC, ANCVL, and ANCWL; as well as PECs/PTTs and some RECs/RTTs, are also at various stages of completion.
3. The Foundation Course generated considerable enthusiasm in branches. Where implemented with commitment and honesty, it is already having a positive impact. However, some individuals, despite participating in this initiative, fail to demonstrate the character of cadres

who have undergone Foundation Course training, using it merely as compliance to attend the NGC, be elected into structures, or qualify for deployment. While implementation began with significant interest and one-third of branch membership completed the course in the first year, some structures continue to lag behind.

The 5th NGC therefore agreed on the following steps to strengthen the Foundation Course and the quality of ANC members:

4. Confirm the objective that all ANC members, including elected leaders and public representatives, must have completed the Foundation Course by 2026. Provisions must be made to enable members in deep rural areas to participate in the Foundation Course and other political education programmes.
5. To reinforce the Foundation Course rollout plan, continue enhancing modules, content, and delivery modes to ensure relevance to the material realities of our political journey. The role of experienced comrades, including those associated with veterans' structures, must be recognised in political education, including serving as facilitators, providing historical context, sharing experiences, and contributing to content development.
6. Take all reasonable steps to ensure that members living in far-flung rural and other marginalised settings are not excluded from political education, especially women and people with disabilities.
7. Adopt a segmented approach to organising among national groups, recognising that these groups are not homogenous and differ by class, region, religion, and other factors. At the same time, remain vigilant against ethnic mobilisation that opportunistically exploits genuine grievances to advance narrow political agendas.
8. The ANC must continue to uphold its traditions as a unifying and disciplined force of the Left.

On the Branch Functionality Audit

9. The 5th NGC noted that the role of ANC branches has been elaborated since the 1997 National Conference, including efforts to define the activist ANC branch, its community programme of action, the role of the BEC and branch sub-committees, community work, and community profiling.
10. In addition, the Policy Monitoring, Evaluation and Research (PMER) Department, together with the Organising and Membership Department, developed a Branch Functionality Audit as mandated by Conference resolutions. The audit was first piloted in 2023 as part of the Sol Plaatjie Award process to select the Best Performing ANC Branch, and again in 2025 in the Free State, before national rollout in July 2025 ahead of the NGC. Initial uptake was slow, but participation increased significantly once completion of the audit became a requirement for branch participation in the NGC.
11. By the time the NGC convened, more than 860 branches had complied, with strong participation from Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, and Limpopo, and weaker performance from Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal.

The 5th NGC agreed to the following to strengthen branch functionality and activist ANC branches and members:

12. Branch functionality audits must be conducted regularly to account for organisational life as prescribed by the Constitution. Branches that fail to respond for three consecutive cycles must be reconfigured.
13. ANC branches must be activist branches focused on community needs. ANC members must participate in NGOs, NPOs, and CBOs in their communities, and establish aMasupatsela to strengthen children's voices, protection, and empowerment.

On Building Quality ANC Membership, the Membership Management System, and Recruitment

14. The 5th NGC noted that the new Membership Management System is fully operational and has been widely used for regional conferences, with data migration from the previous service provider completed. The organisation is finalising a Service Level Agreement with Emperio, which will enable an online payment gateway and automated payment updates. Currently, the national Membership Team updates payments manually to correct data inconsistencies. Reported discrepancies are being resolved through spreadsheet submissions and proof-of-payment verification by the national team. MMS development is underway to improve accuracy and reduce manual processes.
15. The NGC noted that the ANC launched its smart membership card on 28 March 2025 during an NEC meeting. Nationwide rollout is underway, with members actively uploading their photos daily as part of the distribution process.
16. The NGC identified a number of challenges still experienced by branches and members regarding the Membership Management System (MMS), including data misalignment and membership fluctuations reflected in inconsistencies between post-August NEC reports and the Mid-Term Review presented to the NGC; challenges with delegating system functions to lower structures; tracking the removal of deceased members from the database; and delays in the issuing of membership cards.

The 5th NGC therefore agreed to the following to strengthen the ANC membership system and quality:

17. Grant system delegation to Regional Secretaries to upload corrections, subject to verification by provinces and approval by Head Office; require all branches to report and update deceased members; fast-track additional features and improvements to the MMS, including fingerprint biometric functionality and multiple subscription payment points; accelerate the rollout of smart membership cards; and ensure the Organising and Membership Department provides urgent MMS training for all branches.
18. Fast-track audit and verification processes for BGMs, BBGMs, conferences, meetings, events registration, and phase out manual processes. NEC, PEC, and REC members must conduct on-the-ground verification of membership at branch level.
19. Work with, and grant Leagues access to, develop their own membership portals. Develop a portal for international branches in line with existing proposals.
20. ANC meetings must be safe spaces for vulnerable groups, including women, the elderly, and people living with disabilities.
21. Develop clear guidelines for members who have defected to other political parties and wish to rejoin the organisation.

22. Conduct thorough assessments of members' conduct and standing in the community during the ANC probation period.
23. As part of the renewal programme and efforts to combat corruption, members must be willing to undergo lifestyle audits and verification of academic qualifications.

On Issues with Constitutional Implications

24. All comrades with full-time responsibilities as articulated in the Constitution must comply with those obligations.
25. Support the call for One Member, One Vote across all leadership structures.
    Introduce membership levels and categorisation, with assistance from ANC Veterans and independent progressive professionals, to assess members according to the following criteria and associated development programmes:
    - **0–2 years – Entry level:** probation and Foundation Course (learning the organisation; not eligible for leadership responsibilities).
    - **2–5 years – Full membership level:** limited participation based on progress from entry level.
    - **5–10 years – First cadreship level:** may qualify for certain responsibilities and leadership positions.
    - **10 or more years – Full cadreship level.**
26. Participation in the ANC Youth League and Women's League should be taken into consideration, and all ANC members must undergo regular assessments to progress to the next level.

Conclusion

27. The ANC membership system is undergoing rigorous technological advancement, and the Organising and Membership Department is optimistic that the system will be fully advanced before the next National Conference. Political education will remain the central pillar of cadre development and the building of a second layer of ANC leadership.
28. The renewal of the ANC is sacrosanct and remains the only viable option to prevent organisational extinction and to fulfil its revolutionary duty to lead our people towards a truly non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united, and prosperous society.

Integrity, Ethics, Discipline, War on Corruption and Malfeasance

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction – Historical Background

1. The NGC engaged with two key questions: **How do we deal with the challenges facing us?** and **How do we expect to work going forward?**
2. Confronting corruption, factionalism, careerism, ethics, and discipline must be embedded at all levels as part of our renewal journey. Ethics are the practical standards by which we determine the rightness and wrongness of human behaviour.
3. The NGC received a historical overview of the genesis of ethical, integrity, and moral principles that shaped the character of the African National Congress. The focus was on leaders of the past who were regarded as upholders of ethics, morality, and discipline.
4. The starting point was the understanding that ethics and morality are the DNA of cadre character formation. The character of leaders and their ethical grounding are shaped by principles that build ethical resilience. Such leaders strove to uphold high standards of personal behaviour. Founding leaders of the ANC were influenced by the values of ubuntu and religion. The need for moral renewal has been strongly expressed throughout many of the ANC's most significant meetings.

Challenges Post-1994

5. The ANC has always been driven by strong ethical principles. In 1998, it released a groundbreaking policy document titled *"A Statement on Ethical Transformation"* to guide the ethical grounding of leaders and members. The struggle and future trajectory of the ANC were rooted in moral principles and ethical foundations.
6. While the apartheid regime believed that personal profit justified the means, such a culture has unfortunately re-emerged in the democratic era.
7. Post-1994, various interventions sought to advance ethical conduct and shape a new trajectory. This ethical pursuit strengthened relations between the ANC and religious bodies. The document *Through the Eye of the Needle* (2001) sought to entrench principles of revolutionary morality and ethics. The challenges we face today testify to a deviation from these foundational principles that once defined the character of the ANC.
8. However, with incumbency, the ANC became afflicted by the "sins of incumbency", including corruption, substance abuse, poverty, unemployment, and violence against women and children.
9. Today, moral decay and degeneration have become normalised in society. Within the ANC, we appear to have lost our moral compass, with ill-discipline even observed at branch meetings. Discipline, or the lack thereof, begins at home as a micro-entity within our social structure.
10. The purpose of this discussion is to inform and drive corrective action. Moral regeneration was historically a standing agenda item of the ANC until the late 2000s. In the words of Madiba: *"This must be treated as a spiritual disease to attain what we refer to as the RDP of the Soul."* While the moral crisis became most visible around the 2007 Conference, its roots began much earlier and were exposed at that moment.
11. Corruption and perceptions of malfeasance constitute an existential threat to the ANC, rapidly eroding public trust. The Political Report and Mid-Term Review provide detailed analyses of the root causes of the ANC's electoral decline and loss of public confidence. If the NGC fails to resolve to act differently and urgently address the causes of public anger and disconnection

from the motive forces, the ANC risks further electoral decline in the 2026 local government elections and the 2029 provincial and national elections.

12. To reverse this trend, urgent measures must be taken. These must be underpinned by decisive leadership and a politically conscious membership to restore public trust and confidence in the ANC.
13. Protests by our people against corruption are not a rejection of the ANC or its mission, but rather a rejection of individuals who engage in corruption in its name. Popularity contests have been identified as drivers of misconduct. Discipline is a value learned at home and carried into society. The ANC must not be used for self-enrichment. Many leaders who rose through the platform of the revolution have created economic and social distance from the people.
14. The ANC Constitution increasingly emphasises rights over responsibilities. Historically, ANC membership was politically conscious and activist-oriented within communities, workplaces, and civil society. This balance has shifted, with responsibilities receiving less emphasis than rights.
15. The use of money in politics and electoral processes is becoming entrenched. Wealthy individuals and those with business influence sponsor candidates, shape leadership outcomes, and fund individuals and parties to advance narrow interests.
16. The ultimate objective is to restore the credibility of the ANC through ethical leadership by comrades entrusted with leadership responsibilities.

Implementation of 54th and 55th National Conference Resolutions

17. The 54th National Conference made strong calls to confront malfeasance, ill-discipline, and moral decay within the movement. It introduced intervention mechanisms, including the establishment of the Integrity Commission and the Step-Aside regulations. The 55th National Conference reaffirmed and intensified these interventions.
18. While some progress has been made, as the NGC convened, public trust and confidence in the ANC had declined, reflected in reduced electoral support.
19. The NGC reaffirmed the need to focus on the guiding approaches from these Conferences:
    - Address the root causes of corruption and establish guiding behavioural principles, including rehabilitation.
    - Ensure education on ethical values that every ANC member must aspire to.
    - Enforce discipline as set out in the Constitution, recognising that discipline should not always equate to dismissal from the movement.
    - Maintain rigorous vetting of candidates to prevent vote-buying.
    - Ensure candidates and public representatives understand, advocate for, and uphold ANC Manifestos rather than narrow self-interest. ANC Manifestos represent commitments to the people and must be honoured.
    - Uphold revolutionary moral conviction in both belief and practice.
    - Implement existing ethical frameworks rather than creating unnecessary new processes.

Recommendations of the 5th NGC

20. The NGC affirmed that, having characterised the current moment as a strategic setback, urgent action is required to change the trajectory of the movement. The recovery of the ANC depends on:
    a) **Decisive leadership:** Failure to act firmly on disciplinary and ethical matters reinforces

a culture of impunity. Leadership must lead by example and demonstrate transparency and accountability.

b) **Political consciousness among members:** Members must not allow themselves to be bought or used for factional or anti-ANC purposes. The movement must develop fit-for-purpose members capable of advancing ethical and value-based conduct.

Amend the ANC Membership Oath

21. The Membership Oath must include commitments to exemplary personal conduct, honesty and integrity, participation in ongoing political education programmes, service to the community, and adherence to the Constitution. The minimum expectation for retaining membership is political consciousness and active participation in ANC structures and programmes.

Approach to Leadership Elections

22. To discourage vote-buying, the ANC should explore a **One Member, One Vote** system, whereby members rather than delegates elect leadership. This must be linked to the development of high-quality ANC membership.

Strengthening Ethical Conduct through Step-Aside Provisions

23. The NEC has introduced lifestyle audits, Step-Aside provisions, and the Integrity Commission to address conduct that brings the organisation into disrepute. Failure to address unethical and immoral conduct will prevent the restoration of public confidence in the ANC.
24. If an ANC leader is criminally charged:
    (1) The individual must step aside from all ANC duties and resign as a public representative, where applicable. Clearance of charges does not negate resignation, as this is an occupational risk of public office and the ANC must not be brought into disrepute.
    (2) If convicted, the individual must cease to be an ANC member.
25. Where serious allegations of misconduct are supported by evidence from judicial or other commissions, forensic investigations, law enforcement agencies, or asset attachment by the SIU, and the member fails to voluntarily step aside or approach the Integrity Commission:
    - The Integrity Commission must immediately summon the member.
    - The National Presenter must prepare misconduct charges for approval by the National Officials.
26. Members under investigation by law enforcement agencies or commissions for serious allegations are encouraged to voluntarily step aside to protect the integrity of the ANC.
27. Discipline, including Step-Aside regulations, must be implemented consistently from national to branch level across all structures.
28. While the Integrity Commission is corrective in nature, the Step-Aside rule presumes neither guilt nor innocence. However, in the interest of protecting the integrity and brand of the ANC, individuals must vacate deployment positions while matters are under investigation. Consistency in the application of Step-Aside rules is essential to prevent factional abuse or perceptions of favouritism. Control measures with clear consequence management must be established, including addressing gross misconduct that may not be criminally prosecuted.

War on Corruption

29. Whistleblowers must be protected, including individuals who report alleged misconduct by ANC members that brings the organisation into disrepute.
30. The ANC must continue monitoring the implementation of recommendations of the Zondo Commission and act decisively to rebuild public trust. It must also maintain oversight of the

work of the Madlanga Commission and others, and develop a comprehensive strategy to advance the war on corruption.

Strengthening Discipline and Vetting

31. Matters of ill-discipline must be escalated for appropriate intervention, including failures by deployed cadres in positions of authority to meet basic service delivery obligations.
32. Discipline must be enforced across all spheres of government. Councillors who fail to consult or take mandates from the branches that supported their deployment must be engaged and held accountable.
33. The organisational design, processes, and culture of the ANC must align with its intended purpose.
34. As part of vetting, candidates must submit concise profiles to identify potential risks or character flaws. Such terms of reference must be made available to all organisational structures.

Conclusion

35. All NGC resolutions, recommendations, and inputs must be translated into a practical, coherent, and achievable programme of action.

Gender and Equity

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction

1. The 5th NGC took place during International Human Rights Day and at the close of the 16 Days of Activism, underscoring that the fight against Gender-Based Violence and Femicide (GBVF) is central to South Africa's human rights agenda. The NGC noted President Ramaphosa's declaration of GBVF as a national crisis, signalling the urgent need to move from acknowledgement to decisive action and measurable interventions.
2. The NGC further noted that gender equality, women's empowerment, youth inclusion, and disability rights are not "women's issues" but collective societal responsibilities. It was also noted with concern that male participation in the NGC Commission on this matter was very low, with fewer than five men present, including only one NEC member.
3. As the NGC formulated its declaration, a key question emerged: *What follows after declaring GBVF a crisis?* There must be clear intent to strengthen leadership, resourcing, accountability, and implementation across the movement and the state.
4. Gender inequality cuts across all areas of transformation, intersects with all sectors of the economy, and overlaps with race, class, age (children, youth, and the elderly), disability, geography, sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI), and, most critically, poverty and unemployment.
5. The ANC's 55th National Conference places gender and equity, including the eradication of GBVF, at the centre of South Africa's social transformation agenda. The resolutions emphasise that dismantling patriarchy; promoting women's empowerment; and advancing the participation of youth, people with disabilities, LGBTQIA+ persons, and other marginalised groups are essential to achieving a democratic, united, non-racial, and non-sexist society.

IMPLEMENTATION OF 55TH CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS ON GENDER AND EQUITY

Intersectionality & Equity

6. The 55th Conference located gender inequality within broader intersecting forms of oppression:
    - Gender inequality intersects with race, class, age (children, youth, elderly), disability, geography, LGBTQIA+, poverty, and unemployment.
    - Young Black women remain the most economically excluded group.
    - LGBTQIA+ persons face systemic violence, discrimination, and weak institutional protection.
    - Rural women face climate shocks, water scarcity, poor transport, land hunger, and weak service delivery.
    - Elderly women experience rising poverty and heavy caregiving burdens.
    - People with disabilities, particularly women and children, are further systemically excluded from the economy and other key sectors of society.
    - Equity requires targeted and differentiated interventions, not a one-size-fits-all approach.
    -

Poverty, Unemployment and Inequality

7. Women constitute the majority of the unemployed and dominate informal, precarious, and unpaid labour sectors. Structural barriers continue to block women from accessing high-value economic sectors. Youth unemployment remains high, disproportionately affecting young Black women. These trends directly undermine the ANC's economic transformation agenda.

Economic and Social Policy Inclusion

8. The 55th Conference emphasised that economic transformation is the primary lever for advancing gender and equity:

- **Industrial Policy:** Inclusion in key sectors remains low due to limited access to finance, markets, infrastructure, and procurement opportunities.
- **Finance & Productive Assets:** Preferential financing exists, but access to collateral, markets, and value chains remains inadequate.
- **Procurement:** Set-asides are undermined by slow payments, weak oversight, limited capacity-building, and exclusion from strategic supply chains.
- **Gender Pay Gap:** Persists at 23–35%, with limited enforcement mechanisms.
- **Digital, Science & Innovation:** Women, youth, people with disabilities (PWDs), and LGBTQIA+ persons remain underrepresented across AI, robotics, engineering, energy, and biotechnology; the digital divide persists.
- **Climate, Water & Environment:** Women, youth, PWDs, and LGBTQIA+ persons are most affected by climate shocks, underrepresented in governance, and least supported in resilience-building.
- **Care Economy:** Early Childhood Development (ECD) remains underfunded; home-based care is unpaid or underpaid; and skills development pathways are weak.
- **Education & ECD:** While enrolment has improved, high dropout rates among girls, safety concerns, low STEM participation, and poor ECD outcomes persist. Greater progress is required, including the integration of indigenous knowledge systems. Disability-inclusive ECD must be introduced as mandated by Conference, and education and health personnel must be trained on disability in line with ANC resolutions.
- **Health:** Limited progress has been made in addressing maternal health, mental health, and chronic disease burdens disproportionately affecting women.
- **GBVF:** Legislative gains exist, but enforcement remains weak, policing inadequate, and shelters and psycho-social support insufficient.
- **Governance & Representation:** Political parity has been achieved, but women remain underrepresented in senior public service positions, SOEs, traditional leadership structures, and economic infrastructure portfolios.

Challenges of Implementation

9. Implementation is constrained by weak interdepartmental coordination and siloed planning; lack of clear accountability frameworks for gender budgeting and GBVF expenditure; insufficient training and capacity in Gender-Responsive Budgeting across all spheres of government; lack of gender-disaggregated data; poor reporting by key departments; and failure to institutionalise gender equity targets in line with the National Development Plan.

10. Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) systems must be strengthened to assess the gendered impacts of all policies, budgets, programmes, and institutional reforms. Challenges include weak gender and equity budgeting (often excluding youth and people with disabilities), inconsistent indicators across departments, under-resourced gender focal points, limited accountability mechanisms, and weak integration of equity targets into Annual Performance Plans and departmental scorecards.

Programmatic Actions in 2026–2027 and Towards 2032

Mainstream Gender and Equity as a Cross-Cutting and Intersectional Priority

11. Gender and equity must be mainstreamed as cross-cutting priorities across all Committees and Clusters, intersecting with race, class, geography, age, disability, LGBTQIA+, poverty, and unemployment.
12. Every ANC branch must adopt and localise the Gender and Equity Programme through political education, community outreach, school dialogues, and local partnerships.
13. Encourage, strengthen, and facilitate collaboration between government, business, labour, and civil society on programmes targeting women, youth, people with disabilities, and LGBTQIA+ communities.
14. Track the implementation of gender-responsive and equity budgeting across all departments, spheres of government, state-owned enterprises, and agencies. Ensure that all policies include equity impact assessments, and track participation and outcomes using disaggregated data.
15. The ANC must strengthen consequence management mechanisms for deployees who fail to implement policies relating to women, youth, people with disabilities, and LGBTQIA+ persons.

Gender-Based Violence and Femicide as a National Crisis

16. **Funding of GBVF Programmes:** Prioritise funding for the security cluster, gender-responsive budgeting initiatives, the Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities (DWYPD), and the National Council on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide (NCGBVF). Ensure the NCGBVF is funded in the 2026 Budget. Funds recovered through anti-corruption and asset recovery processes should be allocated to support the work of the NCGBVF as part of the fight against GBVF.
17. **Enforcement of Legislation:** Government has enacted three key pieces of GBVF legislation. To accelerate implementation, comprehensive training must be provided to police, court officials, magistrates, health practitioners, and all actors across the value chain.
18. **Enforcement of ILO Convention 190:** Ensure full implementation of ILO Convention 190 on the elimination of violence and harassment in the workplace, adopted in 2019 and ratified by South Africa in 2021.
19. Strengthen GBVF prosecution systems, including bail processes, offender registers, case-tracking mechanisms, and addressing the problem of missing dockets.
20. The increase in teenage pregnancies, often linked to GBVF, requires urgent and firm intervention, including addressing statutory rape.

Economic Inclusion

21. **Public Procurement Policy:** Increase procurement from women-owned enterprises well beyond the current 14%, with strengthened accountability to achieve the 40% target for women.
22. **Financial Inclusion:** Expand access to finance, including exploring the establishment of a women's bank.
23. **Gender Pay Gap:** Launch an Alliance-led campaign for *Equal Pay for Equal Work*.
24. **Economic Inclusion:** Expand pathways into green industries, ICT, the care economy, and public employment programmes.
25. **Finalising Disability Legislation:** Table the Disability Rights Framework and the Disability Bill in Parliament.

26. **Implement the Boy Child Programme:** Since the launch of the Boy Child Programme by the President in 2023 in KwaZulu-Natal, limited progress has been recorded. Every ANC branch must formally adopt, champion, and localise this programme, integrating it into branch-level political education, community outreach, school dialogues, and partnerships with local stakeholders.

Conclusion

27. Slow progress on gender transformation disenfranchises the motive forces of the NDR and undermines the struggle for the complete liberation of women, youth, persons with disabilities, and LGBTQIA+ communities.
28. The struggle for gender transformation remains central to renewal. It is not a peripheral concern but a core pillar of national rejuvenation, with gender and equity essential to advancing a non-sexist, non-racial, democratic, and prosperous society.

Economic TransformationReport of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction

1. The National General Council (NGC) noted South Africa's challenging macro-economic context. This includes fragile but improving growth, stubborn unemployment, and the persistent challenges of triple oppression.
2. The country has made significant progress in addressing network industry infrastructure shortcomings, with an emphasis on stabilising energy supply, expanding the grid, and improving port efficiency.
3. Further recognising that strategic sectors of the economy are in distress, the ANC-led government acknowledges the urgency of economic restructuring anchored around re-industrialisation. This process must include transforming racialised ownership patterns and labour market inequalities. The NGC therefore reaffirmed support for BBBEE and all socio-economic redress policies. Responses to domestic economic challenges must also be linked to global political economy trends.

ACCELERATE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION – WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

4. The NGC took stock of the ANC's resolutions on economic transformation, identified areas where progress has been realised, and considered those areas where challenges remain.

Re-affirm focus and priority areas of the 'Ten Point Economic Action Plan' as the guiding framework for economic action:

5. The 5th NGC noted the adoption of the Ten-Point Economic Action Plan by the National Executive and undertook to: reassert the primacy of the Ten-Point Economic Action Plan, and resolve that the GAIN policy adopted by Cabinet must be subjected to ANC consultation processes. The NGC emphasised that policy alignment is crucial and that policy decisions must be subjected to discussion in ANC structures.
6. The 5th NGC appreciated the Ten-Point Plan and its progress on energy security, as well as interventions on chrome, energy, and port and rail reforms. The NGC asserted that the ANC must do the following –
    a) Finalise an MoU with ferrochrome foundries and review the Energy Pricing Policy (EPP) for energy-intensive industrial users. Further, explore the use of export controls on, and regulated pricing of, crucial feedstock materials to these industries.
    b) Use the experiences and learnings from chrome to extend input pricing support to other energy-intensive users such as ferromanganese foundries and steel mills (both integrated and electric).
    c) Welcome the IRP 2025 and the plan to diversify the energy mix and achieve competitiveness and sustainability in the long term. It is imperative that the IRP 2025 is funded through various modalities to ensure efficient and timely implementation.
    d) Ensure that capital investment in infrastructure rollout and energy-related investment in transmission and distribution leverages local industrial capability in component manufacture.
    e) Support the ongoing structural transformation of the electricity system to enable increased competition and achieve a lower pathway for electricity prices, benefiting households and other consumers, and driving South Africa's industrial development.

f) Reaffirm the suitability of land release for restitution, mixed-income housing, and economic activity.
g) Review input availability in key areas, including industrial gas supply and pricing.
h) Regarding the impending gas cliff, the Department of Energy and the Department of Mineral and Petroleum Resources must jointly coordinate an approach, both upstream and downstream, to ensure that industry and households do not suffer supply disruptions.

7. On the national crisis confronting the steel sector: recognising chronic overcapacity in the global steel market and the need to reduce emissions in steel production as a crucial intermediate input, the NGC asserted the following:
   a) Continue export control measures on scrap to secure feedstock for electric arc furnaces, crucial to green steel, and to mitigate the impact of CBAM.
   b) Initiate a process to reopen the mothballed Saldanha plant as a key asset in greening the steel sector.
   c) Explore public intellectual property and patents in specialised steel to commercialise new furnace technology.
   d) Harness steel demand within the infrastructure programme to provide demand stimulus to the steel sector.
   e) Consider strategic state involvement in the steel sector as a basis to intervene in the national crisis.
   f) Use trade remedies to address unfair trade and low-priced imports of steel competing with domestically produced steel.

Macro-Economic Coordination

8. The 5th NGC reaffirmed and reasserted the importance of macro-economic coordination and the alignment of fiscal and monetary policy with trade and industrial policy, as well as the crucial need for better coordination between macro-economic and micro-economic policy. The ANC mandated the state to:
   a) Coordinate public investment activities across different spheres of the state behind a coherent and transformative investment philosophy.
   b) Review the functioning of the Division of Revenue (DoRA) and its alignment to a spatially informed and differentiated industrial policy.
   c) Implement monetary policy in a manner that takes into account growth, employment, and exchange rate factors, further reaffirming the need to correct the historic anomaly regarding the ownership of the central bank.
   d) Expedite the acquisition by Postbank, as the state bank, of a full commercial (section 16) banking licence, and position the Bank as the preferred agent and intermediary for state payments and receipt points.
   e) Ensure the ETC engages the National Planning Commission's Financial Architecture document and considers alignment of its recommendations with the ANC's programme.
   f) Expedite a review of industrial incentives, and capacitate key industrial policy institutions.
   g) Review input availability in key areas, including industrial gas supply and pricing.
   h) Resuscitate "white elephant" industrial real estate (Dimbaza, Vulindlela, Isithebe, eZakheni, Babelegi, Ga-Rankuwa, Letlhabile) and reposition these for labour-intensive manufacturing activity.

i) Harmonise, under the national employment policy, youth and public employment programmes (in both the public and private sectors) to ensure rollout and alignment at scale to address widespread economic inactivity.

j) The ETC must initiate a monitoring, oversight, and enforcement mechanism for progress on resolutions, and where appropriate, pursue consequence management for poor progress against resolutions.

Harness demand conditions to expand industrial production, investment and employment:

9. Recognising the strategic role of the state, including its purchasing power and regulatory instruments, the ANC must ensure the following:
   a) Crowd in private sector investment into network industries while maintaining effective and strategic asset ownership and regulatory control by the state.
   b) Strengthen the project and contract management capability of the state to execute projects (in particular catalytic and NIP 2050 projects) and ensure harmonisation with public interest priorities (localisation, industrialisation, and employment).
   c) Monitor and enforce amendments to the Companies Act to require disclosure of the highest- and lowest-earning workers, and embed this focus in the work of the National Minimum Wage Commission. Increase compliance with and enforcement of the national minimum wage.
   d) Issue regulations focused on section 20 of the Procurement Act of 2024 to enable the designation of locally made goods and manage import reliance in key state procurement processes.
   e) Align mass programmes such as the National School Nutrition Scheme and road maintenance schemes with local sourcing of materials from domestic producers.

Enhance 'adaptiveness' of our industrial structure to turbulence in the global trade environment

10. Recognising the industrial and national security implications of a turbulent global trade environment, and the need for proactive responses, the NGC expected the following:
    a) Extend strategic trade protection (tariff amendments, anti-dumping, and anti-subsidy measures) in sectors subject to disruptive global overproduction, such as glass, steel, auto, tyres, clothing, footwear, and textiles.
    b) Where appropriate, raise Most-Favoured Nation (MFN) duties to bound rates to provide protection to distressed sectors, reversing—on the balance of evidence—duty-free access for injurious imports.
    c) Amend the passenger operating grant subsidy framework to incentivise adoption of electric passenger buses and investment in component manufacturing.
    d) Formalise artisanal and small-scale mining, and improve monitoring of social and labour plans in the context of rapidly rising commodity prices.
    e) Explore strategic state involvement and enabling regulation of existing and prospective critical minerals (including rare earths) mining, in line with the SIMS (State Intervention in the Mining Sector) document as adopted at the Mangaung Conference.
    f) Consider leveraging mineral endowments to influence production and price-setting, including the location of mineral exchanges (including a PGM exchange) in Southern Africa.
    g) Increase finance for mineral exploration and finalise the establishment of a renewed cadastral system.

h) Reverse trade liberalisation measures that have injured certain sectors, and increase tariffs to the bound rate or above, where necessary, in the interest of national security.

On Land Reform

11. Recognising the importance of ensuring that land is shared among those who work it and that productive land is equitably distributed, the NGC asserted the need to:
    a) Expedite the finalisation of outstanding restitution claims, especially those of labour tenants, working alongside the Special Master of the Court for Labour Tenants.
    b) In terms of relevant laws, use nil compensation to release well-located urban land for settlement and industrial use.
    c) Harness investment across the state to catalyse agro-processing investment and agri-industrial parks in rural provinces, and consider establishing rural development agencies across the country.
    d) Link agrarian reform to reducing household food insecurity.
    e) Pursue transit-oriented development by investing in accessible transport and mixed-income housing along well-located corridors to lower commuter costs.

Support and enhance SMME support

12. Acknowledging the challenges confronting small enterprises in townships, rural, and village areas, the NGC mandated the ETC to undertake:
    a) A comprehensive approach to develop a strategy to support these enterprises, with a particular bias towards South African-owned micro-enterprises.

13) Further, the 5th NGC urged government to:
    n) Improve access to finance by aligning DFI mandates and policy interventions.
    o) Train SMMEs that obtain access to finance.
    p) Implement market inquiry findings in key sectors.
    q) Encourage SMMEs to make use of the block exemption on competition to facilitate collective purchasing and selling, thereby improving associational power within value chains.
    r) Coordinate efforts across the state to support and “regularise” the informal sector.
    s) Diversify SMME participation to include youth-owned cultural and gig economy enterprises.
    t) Enable and finance fisheries and other collective enterprises in licensed sectors to access the equipment and machinery necessary to exercise their rights.
    u) Note the interventions to assist distressed sectors, and mandate the ETC to develop a comprehensive package of interventions for other energy-intensive sectors.

Skills systems reforms

14. Recognising that challenges remain in the skills ecosystem and its alignment to industry needs, the NGC mandated government to:
    a) Establish a dual system and an apprenticeship skills strategy.
    b) Link skills programmes with experiential learning.
    c) c) Institute a SETA review in relation to industry requirements.

On Economic Transformation and B-BBEE

15. Noting that the transformation imperative is under attack f rom certain quarters, the NGC reaffirmed its commitment to broad-based inclusion and structural transformation, and urged government to:

a) a) Link BBBEE with localisation and local content targets across the economy (with emphasis on transmission spend, Transnet freight and rail reform concessions).

b) Mandate the ETC to do further work to explore ways and means to achieve the economic empowerment of military veterans.

c) Support social ownership models in BBBEE implementation, such as cooperatives, community enterprises, ESOPs, and worker-owned companies (including support for finance, market access, and financial management capacity).

d) Integrate BBBEE implementation into spatial development policy reforms.

e) Implement the Transformation Fund to increase access to finance, build capabilities, and address non-financial barriers for black businesses.

f) Update the country's overarching BBBEE policy implementation strategy.

International Relations

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

"A successful foreign policy is not simply a matter of maintaining good bilateral relationships or choosing how to vote in the UN. A state can only achieve its long-term goals if it has a robust and inclusive domestic economy capable of supporting its diplomatic missions, its armed forces, and its economic statecraft.

It is therefore imperative that state institutions are not captured by sectional interests and that South Africa's economy is inclusive, equitable, and continues to grow. These issues are usually regarded as matters of domestic policy, but properly understood, they are the foundations of a state's grand strategy in the international arena."
– Caromba and Omar, 2022

Introduction

1. The 5th NGC affirmed that the ANC's international outlook must remain rooted in its historical experience and founding documents, including the African Claims of 1943 and the Freedom Charter, particularly the clause stating: *"There shall be peace and friendship."*
2. Since its establishment in 1912, the ANC has understood that shifts in global power relations directly affect domestic realities, and that South Africa's national interests are inseparable from the struggle for a Better Africa in a Better World—free from colonialism, apartheid, and imperialism.
3. Within this context, the ANC reaffirmed its historical guiding principles for progressive international relations, namely: **Pan-Africanism; anti-imperialism; human rights and international law; international solidarity; peaceful resolution of conflicts and multilateralism; and non-alignment.**

Major Achievements for the Period Under Review

The 5th National General Council noted and commended:

4. Government for its successful leadership of BRICS in 2023, its decision to take Israel to the International Court of Justice in 2023, and its strong G20 presidency in 2025.
5. The ANC for successfully hosting the BRICS Political Party Dialogue in 2023, the Sixth African Continental Conference on Solidarity with Cuba in 2024, and the Liberation Movement Summit in 2025.
6. The ANC for convening a successful Colloquium on Progressive Internationalism in 2025.
7. The inclusion of the African Union as a permanent member of the G20, as resolved by the 55th National Conference and actively championed by the South African government.
8. South Africa's leadership in championing the establishment of the African Credit Rating Agency (AfCRA), including its commitment to early market adoption to support continental cooperation, with AfCRA envisaged to launch in 2026.
9. The swift appointment of a National Office Bearer as the full-time NEC Head of International Relations, in line with the 55th National Conference resolution, firmly placing international relations at the centre of the ANC's agenda during a period of global fluidity and heightened

international attention on South Africa.

International Relations: What Must Be Done?

After considering the reports, commendations, and deliberations, the 5th NGC recommended strengthening and advancing the resolutions of the 55th National Conference as follows:

On Pillar I: A Better Africa and a Better World

10. The ANC must continue to pursue South Africa's national interests and the African Agenda as mutually reinforcing objectives, recognising that achieving these goals requires working with the masses of our people and progressive motive forces—domestically, on the continent, and globally—to confront the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment, and inequality.
11. Within this context, economic diplomacy must take centre stage. One key priority remains the promotion and ratification of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), alongside the advancement of deeper regional and continental economic integration.
12. It is therefore important to recognise that the Freedom Charter clause—whose 70th anniversary is celebrated this year—*"There shall be peace and friendship"* is inseparable from the preceding clauses, particularly the declaration that *"South Africa belongs to all who live in it."*
13. In this respect, while disinformation about South Africa—particularly in the international arena—must be firmly condemned, the ANC must continue engaging those sections of South African society that spread such disinformation, promote the National Dialogue, and ensure unity around the national interest.
14. The ANC and government must be clear that opposition to imperialism and unilateralism does not equate to opposition to any particular nation or people. South Africa will continue to work with progressive forces worldwide to strengthen multilateralism and progressive internationalism.
15. The ANC welcomed the establishment of the Committee for the Coordination of Economic Diplomacy (COMED) as a platform bringing government and business together to address constraints to doing business on the continent, unlock opportunities, and expand South Africa's economic footprint.
16. Government must ensure improved coordination, increased resourcing, proactive political initiatives, and the effective use of soft power to advance South Africa's economic interests.
17. In the face of onslaughts by major global powers, South Africa must urgently strengthen its state security and foreign intelligence capabilities.
18. While commending government for expanding export markets in Asia through recent engagements with Malaysia, Vietnam, and Indonesia—each importing over US$20 billion in agricultural and manufactured goods—South Africa must continue pursuing Africa-centred economic diplomacy while diversifying beyond traditional markets.
19. South Africa must continue championing progressive institutional reform within the African Union and ensure the election and appointment of capable candidates to continental leadership positions.
20. Government must intensify efforts to strengthen the African Union's capacity in conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding, including advancing the goal of silencing the guns on the continent.

21. South Africa should develop detailed post-intervention political and economic reconstruction plans in countries where it has played an active role through peace and security diplomacy.

On Pillar II: Continental and International Solidarity Campaigns

22. South Africa must continue supporting the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara in all bilateral and multilateral forums. The ANC supports government's consideration of appointing a special envoy on Western Sahara. As Morocco's influence within the African Union grows, South Africa must ensure a robust engagement across all AU structures to counterbalance this influence.
23. On Palestine, South Africa must continue supporting the struggle for freedom of the Palestinian people, strengthen efforts to promote Palestinian unity, and maintain the status quo of a downgraded embassy in Tel Aviv. While commending government for being a founding member of The Hague Group and providing humanitarian assistance to Gaza, South Africa must work with Palestinians to support post-war socio-economic reconstruction.
24. South Africa should continue its solidarity with Cuba, including calling for the lifting of the unilateral blockade and the removal of Cuba from the United States terror watchlist.

On Pillar III: Party-to-Party, Multi-Party and Intra-Party Relations

25. The ANC must continue engaging sister liberation movements to hold one another accountable, reaffirm commitments to democratic and progressive values, cooperate on security matters, and strengthen economic diplomacy.
26. The ANC should continue engaging progressive political parties on the continent and globally to deepen South–South cooperation and advance progressive internationalism and multilateralism.
27. While government leads peace efforts, the ANC must continue engaging non-state actors—particularly political parties and civil society—to complement and reinforce government initiatives.

On Pillar IV: Transformation of Global Governance Institutions

The 5th NGC proposed that:

28. In response to growing attacks on multilateralism, South Africa must consistently defend and strengthen multilateral institutions to promote global peace, stability, and development.
29. As South Africa continues advocating for United Nations reform through text-based negotiations and reviews of the Committee of Ten, it must also press for reform across other multilateral forums, including the AU, SADC, IORA, G20, NAM, and G77+China.
30. Having successfully placed Africa at the centre of the G20 agenda, the ANC must continue advancing Agenda 2063 and asserting African agency in global decision-making processes.
31. Following the G20 presidency, during which South Africa elevated the issue of sustainable debt, government must advocate for commitments to ease debt pressures and improve debt transparency for low- and middle-income countries.
32. Building on progress made during the G20 presidency, particularly in shifting debates on critical minerals towards beneficiation at source and equitable gains for African producers, this programme must be advanced and implemented.

33. The AI for Africa Initiative launched with the African Union must be supported to ensure that artificial intelligence advances African development and empowers African youth.

On Pillar V: Policy Development and Capacity-Building

34. National government must assert foreign policy as a national competency, implemented coherently across all three spheres of government, with consistent messaging and adherence to a single foreign policy framework.
35. International relations must be fully integrated into political education at all levels of ANC structures, enabling members to articulate foreign policy positions confidently. The ANC must develop mechanisms to communicate and explain foreign policy positions more effectively to its membership and society at large.
36. Government must pursue a coordinated and integrated foreign policy communications strategy, led by the Presidency and DIRCO, in collaboration with GCIS, Proudly South Africa, BrandSA, and other agencies.
37. The ANC must leverage opportunities presented by parliamentary diplomacy—including the Pan-African Parliament, SADC Parliamentary Forum, and Commonwealth Parliamentary Association—while ensuring that funding models reflect the unique demands of South Africa's current diplomatic posture.
38. The auditing and rationalisation of diplomatic missions, as resolved by the 55th National Conference, must continue to maximise strategic impact.
39. International work must be fully integrated into ANC renewal, including the establishment of international branches, strengthened Alliance coordination, and deeper involvement of youth and women in diplomacy.
40. The ANC must advance a people-centred, progressive internationalist outlook.

Conclusion

41. The overarching message of the 5th NGC is that the ANC must act with urgency, clarity, and confidence. South Africa must engage the world based on its own principles rather than external pressure, drawing on its liberation heritage, continental leadership, and progressive alliances to help shape a just, peaceful, and genuinely multipolar global order, in the spirit and letter of the Freedom Charter.

Social Transformation

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction

1. The 5th NGC discussions on Social Transformation reviewed progress on the implementation of ANC resolutions adopted at the 55th National Conference, assessed gaps in delivery, and identified key programmatic actions required within the context of the Government of National Unity (GNU).
2. The report on Social Transformation recognises that the movement and the nation are at a moment of profound political and social reflection. This year marked 70 years since the adoption of the Freedom Charter, compelling us to honestly assess whether the promise contained in it has been realised for the masses of our people.
3. The Political Report delivered by President Cyril Ramaphosa to the National General Council highlighted that the National Democratic Revolution faces its most complex test since 1994. The social conditions confronting our people—unemployment, poverty, gender-based violence, crime, migration pressures, collapsing municipal capacity, and moral decay—are not merely administrative weaknesses. They reflect a deeper crisis of social cohesion and state legitimacy that threatens to reverse the hard-won gains of our democracy.
4. Over the past 30 years, the ANC has registered substantial progress, with millions of people decently housed, enjoying access to education, healthcare, and basic services, and those in need receiving social assistance. However, youth unemployment has reached crisis proportions, deepening despair and hopelessness. Women and children continue to live under the constant threat of violence, with GBVF classified as a national crisis. Harmful cultural practices such as *ukuthwalwa*—the forced marriage of young girls—persist, violating constitutional rights and destroying young lives. Inequality continues to widen across race, gender, class, and geography. Basic services are collapsing in many municipalities, undermining human dignity. Crime syndicates, illegal mining networks, and construction mafias destabilise communities. Migration pressures fuel social tensions and misinformation. The rising cost of living continues to erode the livelihoods of poor and working-class households.
5. These conditions indicate that the social base of the National Democratic Society envisioned by the ANC is under severe strain. This NGC therefore presents an opportunity not only to assess delivery, but to renew the strategic leadership of the ANC as a leader of society.
6. The President's Political Report reminded us that the Freedom Charter remains the compass of the National Democratic Revolution. However, its vision cannot be realised without strengthening the social foundations that make transformation possible, including:
    - Restoring dignity where it has been lost.
    - Protecting women and children where the state and society have failed them.
    - Recognising that a country that fails to take care of its youth has no future; youth must be fully integrated or they will feel neglected and betrayed
    - Protecting families and communities as primary sites of socialisation. Building a state that delivers consistently and ethically.
7. This report on Social Transformation is anchored in the 17 resolutions adopted at the 55th National Conference and includes recommendations to strengthen implementation capacity. It reflects the voices of communities who look to the ANC not only for policy direction, but for leadership of society.

Challenges Highlighted and Areas Requiring Strengthening or Review

8. Poverty, inequality, and the cost of living; unemployment, particularly among youth; social cohesion; gender-based violence and femicide; teenage pregnancy; disability rights and inclusion; illegal migration; crime and community safety; and basic services and service delivery.
9. Policy and implementation discipline; review of accountability frameworks; community participation; political education and the battle of ideas; monitoring and evaluation; consequence management; organising and mobilisation of the motive forces in a shifting terrain; strengthening relations with traditional leaders, faith-based organisations, and other sectors; unblocking stalled projects; accelerating service delivery; implementing effective immigration policies; building a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society; and effectively managing the National Question.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO STRENGTHEN SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Poverty, Inequality and Cost of Living

10. Consider additional measures such as VAT relief on electricity and water to protect poor households. Strengthen the social wage, including aligning the SRD grant with the food poverty line. Correct billing systems, eliminate administrative fees for indigent households, and introduce smart metering. Expand local food production programmes, community gardens, and urban agriculture. Provide targeted support for women-headed and child-headed households. Strengthen partnerships with the private sector to stabilise prices of essential goods.

Unemployment and Youth Unemployment

11. Implement a comprehensive skills revolution, including coding, robotics, climate technology, green economy skills, and digital agriculture. Establish clear pathways from EPWP and CWP into permanent and semi-permanent employment. Accelerate the Presidential Employment Stimulus and youth entrepreneurship programmes. Expedite the implementation of Basic Income Support to include unemployed graduates, linked to job-seeking and training pathways. Expand state–industry partnerships to strengthen apprenticeships, learnerships, and TVET pathways. Promote localisation and community-based value chains for job creation.

On Social Cohesion

12. Rebuild ANC presence in churches, schools, traditional councils, and civic spaces. Strengthen moral regeneration programmes driven monthly by branches, not only during election periods. Establish community parenting programmes to support family rebuilding and childhood development. Expand psychosocial support for communities affected by trauma, substance abuse, and youth delinquency. Promote intergenerational programmes connecting youth, elders, traditional institutions, and civic groups.

Gender-Based Violence and Femicide (GBVF)

13. Fully fund the National Strategic Plan (NSP) on GBVF, especially shelters and Pillars 1, 2, 5, and 6. Establish specialised GBVF courts to fast-track cases. Provide mandatory SAPS training on GBVF protocols and victim support. Convert unused DPWI buildings into safe houses in every district. Criminalise and intensify policing against *ukuthwalwa* and all forms of forced marriage. Ensure accountability from SAPS, the NPA, Health, and Social Development departments in responding to GBVF and sexual offences.

Teenage Pregnancy

14. Strengthen accountability mechanisms for statutory rape cases involving minors. Expand school-based sexual and reproductive health programmes. Partner with traditional leaders, churches, and parents to promote responsible behaviour and youth development. Improve access to contraception, counselling, and psychosocial support for learners.
15. Integrate teenage pregnancy interventions into the GBVF framework, recognising the overlap with abuse and coercion.

Disability Rights and Inclusion

16. Review disability grant means tests to reflect the real cost of disability and avoid excluding deserving applicants. Enforce the 3% employment target in both public and private sectors. Conduct national audits of infrastructure accessibility, including schools, clinics, courts, and municipal buildings. Provide transport subsidies for persons with disabilities. Expand community-based programmes addressing autism, schizophrenia, and other developmental disabilities.

Illegal Migration and Community Stability

17. Strengthen border control, biometric systems, and modern monitoring technologies. Conduct national public education campaigns on migration laws, SADC labour mobility, and rights and responsibilities. Decisively confront illegal activities involving undocumented migrants, including illegal mining and organised crime networks. Strengthen Home Affairs modernisation, border management systems, and verification capacity for RDP allocation, social assistance, and service provision. Improve intergovernmental collaboration in migration hotspots. Conduct community awareness campaigns on SADC migration laws and integration.

Crime and Community Safety

18. Strengthen Community Policing Forums (CPFs), neighbourhood watches, and street committees. Introduce smart policing technologies, including analytics, CCTV networks, drones, and surveillance systems. Intensify policing against illegal mining, construction mafias, extortion networks, and drug syndicates. Enforce anti-corruption measures within SAPS and municipal HR departments. Improve protection of critical infrastructure such as water treatment plants and electricity substations. Implement community-based rehabilitation programmes for youth in conflict with the law.

Basic Services and Service Delivery

19. Urgently implement the National Water Emergency Intervention in failing municipalities. Modernise infrastructure by fixing leaks, replacing ageing pipes, reducing non-revenue water, and eliminating tanker mafias. Introduce smart metering and correct historical billing errors. Provide boreholes and water security interventions for rural areas and mining towns. Strengthen municipal capacity through technical skills deployment and targeted secondments. Conduct annual audits of all stalled and incomplete housing and infrastructure projects. Enforce clean administration, financial controls, and credible billing systems. Strengthen intergovernmental coordination, particularly in relation to basic services and infrastructure delivery.

Performance and Consequence Management

20. To restore organisational integrity and public confidence, the ANC must introduce a recall system for non-performing public representatives and cadres serving in executive authorities, including boards. There must be zero tolerance for corruption, sexual exploitation, abuse of power, manipulation of EPWP and municipal jobs, and moral misconduct. ANC structures must regularly monitor service delivery and infrastructure maintenance, and act decisively against structures that consistently fail to deliver on their mandates, including disbandment where necessary. Strict adherence to annual performance plans, targets, and turnaround times must be enforced. Managers who fail to meet performance standards must not be incentivised, and disciplinary cases related to maladministration, tender irregularities, and human resource corruption must be expedited.
21. Build community involvement in service delivery solutions through public hotlines and transparent reporting on service delivery issues, project progress, and community engagements. Strengthen whistle-blower protections and introduce community scorecards to monitor councillor and municipal performance. Service delivery must be placed at the centre of political and organisational renewal.

Local Government

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction

The NGC discussed the Mid-Term Review of work on Local Government, assessing progress made on the 55th National Conference resolutions. It served as a unique platform for members to reflect on evolving conditions in the local government sphere and to propose practical measures to strengthen the ANC's role in municipalities, particularly in the context of preparations for the 2026 Local Government elections.

Members engaged on issues affecting local government, including the state of service delivery, the legislative and policy programme, the functioning of coalitions, intergovernmental support and interventions, demarcation, governance, professionalisation, and local economic development.

The 5th NGC reaffirmed the Pillars of the Local Government Action Plan

1. Address Core Service Delivery Commitments to Citizens - Water, Sanitation, Refuse Removal, Potholes, Water Leaks, Electricity, Indigent Registers, Housing and Title Deeds
2. Effective and sustainable infrastructure development and provision - Maintenance and Maintenance Budgets, Prevent Vandalism, Planning, New Infrastructure Development, Skills, Water and Energy Storage Capacity
3. Capable Local Government and Institutional Capacity - Financial Management, Debt, Billing Systems, By-law Enforcement, Incentivise Innovation, Illegal Connections, Corruption, Capacity and Skills, Services Debt Relief Management
4. Reconnect with the people & restore trust and accountability - public meetings, door-to-door work, problem-solving, ANC-led community campaigns, National Dialogue and rapid response, strengthen accountability, collaboration with organised community-based formations and traditional authorities, open direct two-way communication and engagement, feedback.

A. On Service Delivery

Noting..

- The current distress in the provision of basic services to all communities, including rural towns and villages.
- Resultant lack of trust and confidence in ANC-led councils to deliver on "a better life for all"
- The current lack of funding, which inhibits municipalities from delivering the basic services required and expected.

Reaffirms the ANC position

- That the provision of reliable, affordable, and quality basic services to communities is a cornerstone of developmental local government.
- That service delivery is integral to achieving socio-economic equality, employment, and the eradication of poverty.
- That the provisions of the Freedom Charter demand that the ANC must be the primary motive force in the provision of basic services to all citizens to achieve the objectives of the NDR.

Resolved that

1. The provision of reliable, affordable, and quality basic services to communities be prioritised.
2. Municipalities should establish Rapid Response Teams/Units (where they do not yet exist) to enable responsiveness to citizen service delivery complaints and to provide early warning and feedback to empower ward councillors.
3. Regional and Provincial War Rooms be established to monitor response to service delivery.
4. We expand and increase the Free Basic Services Package, including alternative energy sources for poor and unemployed households.
5. Steps be taken to reduce over-reliance on the outsourcing of core municipal functions.
6. Measures be implemented to allocate a minimum of 8% of the municipal operational budget for repairs and maintenance.
7. Municipalities adopt climate change action plans linked to an employment strategy.
8. Plans be developed for some municipal services to be implemented through the CWP and EPWP instead of outsourcing.
9. The instrument that will allow National Treasury to settle outstanding state organ debt to municipalities be operationalised.
10. The current fiscal framework be reviewed to enable municipalities to deliver basic services.
11. Municipalities be encouraged to mobilise all available technical capacity and expertise to improve service delivery (CoGTA and National Treasury).

B. On Coalitions Management

Noting that..

- Lack of legal instruments and guiding principles to regulate coalitions weakens governance and service delivery.
- Smaller parties obtain seats through the remainder method, at the expense of larger parties.

Reaffirming the ANC Position

- That an electoral threshold be determined, based on total valid votes, to qualify for a seat in council.
- That an executive threshold be determined for the allocation of municipal office-bearer positions—Speaker, Mayor, and Chief Whip.

Resolved that

1. An electoral threshold of a minimum of 1% of total valid votes to qualify for a seat in council be determined.
2. An electoral threshold of a minimum of 5% be determined for the allocation of municipal office-bearer positions—Speaker, Mayor, and Chief Whip.
3. Where the ANC is not in the majority, allowance be made for both a collective executive system and a mayoral executive system.
4. The current strategic framework for coalition establishment and management must form the basis of all ANC coalition agreements.
5. [There must be a moratorium, with a time limit of one year, on motions of no confidence following the establishment of an Executive Committee or the election of an Executive Mayor.]
6. Review the current allocation formula to allow for the separation of proportional and ward votes in the determination of seat allocations.

C. On Intergovernmental Monitoring, Support, and Interventions

Noting that

- There is no national legislation regulating the process of monitoring, support, and interventions in provincial and local government.

Reaffirming the ANC Position That

- In all support and intervention measures, the principles of cooperative governance and coordination must be adhered to and respected.
- When municipal support and intervention is activated, it must be implemented in an integrated and consultative manner with both municipal political and administrative leadership.

Resolved that

1. The ANC make submissions on the provisions of the Bill to guide and improve monitoring, support, and interventions in municipalities.
2. Parliament must expeditiously process the Bill for passage in the second term of 2026.
3. When support and interventions are activated, competent, experienced, and knowledgeable technical people must be deployed.

D. On Municipal Demarcation

Noting

- Too-frequent boundary (inner and outer) changes result in instability.
- Current prescribed consultation with communities is sub-optimal, with limited recourse for dispute resolution.
- Lack of proper consultation and implementation of community and political recommendations by the MDB results in poor socio-economic alignment and municipal sustainability.
- The current system has resulted in jurisdictional disputes and conflicts, as well as dislocation and displacement of communities within traditional authority areas.

Reaffirming the ANC Position that

- Community participation and citizen engagement must be deepened.
- Major outer boundary changes should be considered after 10 years.
- Establishment of the Demarcation Appeals Authority.

Resolved that

1. The current ward delimitation boundaries must be revised.
2. Strategic municipal boundary delimitation, informed by wall-to-wall sustainability, must be revised.
3. Traditional councils must be incorporated in the demarcation process.
4. Regular and uniform capacity assessment planning, monitoring, and implementation be ensured.
5. Capacity assessments must be conducted for ALL municipalities at least twice during a term of local government.
6. The term of the Board be aligned to the term of local government.
7. Demarcation must form the geographical basis for developmental and socio-economic communities.

8. Regular, uniform, fair, and transparent outer and inner ward delimitation must be ensured, without political interference.
9. Ward delimitation must be evidence-based and informed.
10. Strengthen executive oversight of the MDB.

E. On Review of Local Government White Paper

Noting

- That local government is confronted with a deepening, multidimensional crisis characterised by chronic governance instability, erosion of institutional capacity, entrenched financial distress, and widening disparities in service delivery outcomes.

- **Reaffirming the ANC Position**
- That developmental local government must drive socio-economic transformation and spatial justice.
- That ethical, capable, and professional administration must be insulated from undue political interference.
- The need for people-centred governance, deepening participatory democracy, and strengthening the relationship between citizens and the state.

Resolved that

11. The ANC ensure that submissions are made on all drafts to ensure the White Paper meets the objectives of developmental local government.
12. All policies, legislation, and regulations must be amended to implement the provisions of the White Paper.
13. Short-, medium-, and long-term plans must be developed and implemented for a seamless transition to restore trust in local government before the 2026 local government elections (short-term), post the 2026 elections (medium-term), and before 2031 (long-term).

F. On Traditional Leadership

Noting that

- There is poor collaboration, alignment, and continued conflict between local government and the institution of Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership.

Reaffirming the ANC Position

- The role of Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership in local government must be reaffirmed and reflected in policy and legislation.
- Where required, policy, legislation, and regulations must be amended to ensure that Traditional and Khoi-San Leaders form part of local government.
- That there should be a reconfiguration of the Department of Traditional Affairs to incorporate areas of Culture and Land Reform to strengthen its capacity.

Resolved that

14. Joint planning between municipalities and Traditional Councils be institutionalised.
15. The ANC must ensure meaningful participation of Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership in Municipal Councils.

16. The Department of Land Reform and Rural Development and the institution of Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership must resolve outstanding land reform matters.
17. The framework to address the non-uniform provision of benefits, by developing a national set of norms and standards for Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership, be fast-tracked.

G. On the District Development Model

Noting that

- Continued fragmented planning and implementation across the three spheres of government undermines coordinated municipal service delivery and local economic development.
- Weak intergovernmental relations (IGR) result in project duplication, misaligned budgets, and delayed infrastructure roll-out.
- Community needs are not always adequately integrated into district and municipal development plans.

Reaffirming the ANC Position

- The DDM is the primary vehicle for integrated planning, budgeting, and accountable service delivery across all spheres of government (One Plan, One Budget, One Approach).

Resolved that

1. National, provincial, district, and local intergovernmental coordination be strengthened to implement the DDM (Community-Centred Planning and Social Compacts).
2. There should be integrated infrastructure and service delivery acceleration.
3. There must be improved monitoring, evaluation, and consequence management.
4. A set of targets and outputs aligned to the One Plan, One Budget approach be developed and enforced for DDM Champions.

H. On Fiscal and Financial Management

Noting that

- The existing municipal fiscal and financial framework is not responsive to current realities and does not sufficiently enable a developmental local government sphere.

Reaffirming the ANC Position

- The current intergovernmental financial allocation formula must be reviewed to reflect current socio-economic realities in urban and rural areas and promote equality, poverty eradication, and employment.
- A differentiated local government fiscal framework is required to ensure rural local councils can provide affordable and reliable basic services.

Resolved that

1. The review of the existing local government fiscal framework be fast-tracked.
2. The ANC must ensure that reviews and evaluations are multidisciplinary, participatory,

inclusive, and representative, and promote the well-being of poor rural and urban households.
3. The revision of the current equitable share formula be expedited.
4. The ANC must fast-track the increase of the free basic services package to cushion poor households in the 2026 budgets, in line with the MTDP.

I. On Governance

Noting

- Poor governance and unclear delineation of the political-administrative interface have contributed to dysfunctional municipalities.
- AGSA has raised issues such as poor oversight, perennial negative audit outcomes, non-submission of AFS, and the adoption of unfunded budgets.
- Where an ANC Caucus is functional and cohesive, the municipal council is better positioned to achieve its developmental mandate.

Reaffirming ANC Position

- Focused support must be given to municipalities classified as most distressed.

Resolved

1. Regular evaluation of political leadership in ANC-controlled municipalities to ensure weaknesses are addressed proactively.
2. Develop and implement a clear framework for executive interaction and management oversight.
3. Develop and implement a management performance framework linked to improved audit outcomes.
4. Implement court decisions prohibiting section 56 and section 57 officials from holding political office (a Municipal Manager or a Manager directly accountable to a Municipal Manager may not hold political office).
5. Strengthen the provision of management support and capacity to ANC-led Troikas.
6. ANC structures must ensure stability and coherence in all ANC caucuses.
7. The ANC must develop and implement a comprehensive and meaningful induction programme for 2026 councillors.

J. On Professionalising Local Government

Noting that

- Current local government political and administrative capacity is not conducive to ensuring a developmental, ethical, and transparent local government sphere.

Reaffirming the ANC Position

- To build a capable and professional municipal political and administrative human resource system.
- Establish a coherent human resource governance framework with checks and balances, and consequence management in local government.
- Create a development-oriented local government governance and administration system.

Resolved that

1. The ANC must develop and engender a culture of municipal administrative enterprise resource planning, funding, and implementation.
2. Fair and transparent recruitment, selection, and appointment of elected officials and administrators.
3. Human resource (career and succession) planning and performance management must be strengthened.
4. Officials must undergo continuous learning and professional development.
5. Skills, qualifications, and experience for councillors be prescribed.
6. Skills, qualifications, and experience for senior and middle management be prescribed and enforced.
7. All funded vacancies must be filled within 90 days after the NGC.
8. The applicable SETAs be engaged for skills and technical capacity development.
9. The OR Tambo Political School must develop credit points for councillor development towards CPD points.

K. On ANC in Opposition

Noting

- The lack of a comprehensive strategy, tactics, and plan to undertake the role of effective opposition.

Reaffirming ANC Position

- The ANC confirms the principle of participation in the democratic process, including serving as an opposition.
- The need for provincial and regional analysis, strategy, and plans for all municipalities where the ANC is in opposition.

Resolved that

1. The development of a short-, medium-, and long-term plan for the term of office while in opposition be fast-tracked.
2. A strategic alignment plan for deployment to ensure organisational coherence post-election be implemented.
3. The ANC must continue to exercise its strategic leadership of society, focused on building coalitions with community-based organisations and allied motive forces by renewing the People's Contract.

L. On Local Economic Development

Noting that

- There is a need to re-engineer Local Economic Development into a coherent, systemic framework that aligns local priorities with national imperatives and global goals, creating sustainable municipalities.

Reaffirming the ANC Position that

- Despite nearly two decades of policy evolution, local economic development strategies remain poorly integrated into municipal planning.

Resolved

1. Collaborate to expedite the implementation of developmental by-laws.
2. Spatial design and planning for business use, especially in townships—business hubs and township high street development.
3. The strategy should identify specific industries based on the competitive advantages and natural resources of each area.
4. Ensure LEDs focus on concrete, sustainable support for MSMEs, including both financial and non-financial support.
5. Municipalities should be empowered to implement incentive packages to attract investment.
6. Within the context of the DDM Forum, establish Economic District Advisory modalities to monitor LED targets and outputs.
7. Expedite the approval and allocation of digital way-leaves in lieu of economic incentives, and promote inclusion through specific set-asides.
8. Fast-track implementation of an intergovernmental plan to develop, regulate, and grow the MSME sector, including measures to address unregulated and illegal businesses.
9. The finalisation of the Business Licensing Bill must be fast-tracked for approval in 2026.

M. On Inclusion

Noting that

- Local government is integral to socio-economic transformation, empowerment, and inclusivity, with specific reference to Black people, and in particular women, youth, and persons with disabilities.
- Progress made in achieving gender parity, youth participation, and representation of persons with disabilities in local government is being undermined by coalition arrangements.

Reaffirming the ANC Position

- The ANC confirms the principle of broadening participation in the economy to eradicate poverty, inequality, and unemployment.
- On gender and youth representation.

Resolved that

- The ANC should fully implement the provisions of all transformative legislation as an integral part of the developmental local government agenda.

N. Communication Points

1. Strengthen and reform the municipal demarcation system by revising ward and boundary delimitations and institutionalising meaningful community participation. Incorporate Traditional Councils in the process and establish fair, transparent, and evidence-based mechanisms to prevent instability and ensure sustainable, well-aligned municipal areas.
2. Focus on the six pillars of the ANC Local Government Action Plan Accelerated Service Plan from the September 2025 NEC meeting and Roll-Call, with special attention on the delivery of water, sanitation, energy, waste collection, and road maintenance.
3. Expand and increase the Free Basic Services Package, including alternative energy sources for poor and unemployed households.
4. Ensure meaningful participation of Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership in Municipal Councils. Resolve outstanding land reform matters. Fast-track the framework to address the non-uniform provision of benefits by developing a national set of norms and standards for

Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership.

5. The Minister of CoGTA and the Minister of Finance must fast-track the joint directive instructing state organs to settle outstanding debt to municipalities, or have all amounts due and payable to municipalities deducted from any transfers due to them.

Elections and By-elections

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction

- The National Democratic Revolution (NDR) provides the ideological and strategic blueprint for transforming South Africa by dismantling the structural legacies of apartheid and colonial capitalism. Its ultimate goal is a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, and prosperous society. State power is a vital element of this strategy.
- Local municipalities are critical to this revolution, acting as the state's primary delivery engines for essential services (housing, infrastructure) and policies that directly affect citizens.
- The ANC's governance of local municipal councils must be transformative, not merely administrative. This governance is essential because it enables the ANC to strategically direct state resources and planning at the local level to dismantle the systemic legacies of colonialism, thereby advancing the goals of the NDR.
- The ANC's ability to implement its transformative agenda and uplift the working class and the poor is severely constrained by weakening or losing control of the local government sphere. Consequently, the 2026 local government elections are viewed as a critical counter-offensive necessary to restore ANC hegemony, reverse political fragmentation, and defeat opposing "counter-revolutionary" forces.
- A successful election campaign for the ANC hinges on restoring the integrity of its councillors and clearly demonstrating verifiable progress in local governance.
- Regaining momentum is crucial for advancing the NDR and preventing opposing forces from reversing the movement's transformative goals.

The Electoral Terrain in 2026

- To contest wall-to-wall, we must field approximately 10 000 candidates across all 257 municipalities (8 metros, 205 local councils, 44 district councils).
- Voting will occur at over 23 000 voting districts, which form the decisive battleground that will determine whether outcomes result in clear victories, hung councils, or fragile coalitions
- The movement enters this election cycle from a position of electoral decline, having dropped to 46% and approximately 5.5 million votes in the 2021 local government elections
- The NGC noted that election strategies have been developed and workshops held in all provinces. Concerns, however, remain about slow progress in implementing these strategies
- Despite winning a majority of recent by-elections, the ANC is on a clear downward trend in both voter turnout and vote share, with the decline extending even into historical strongholds
- The electoral terrain nonetheless presents significant but time-bound opportunities:
    - Over 6 million people voted for the ANC in 2024. An estimated 4–5 million weak ANC voters stayed away between 2019 and 2024.
    - Research indicates roughly 4 million ANC-leaning youth under 40 who are not registered to vote
    - Urgent interventions are needed to stabilise current coalition governments, act decisively against corrupt and non-performing leaders, and prioritise visible, on-the-ground delivery of services.
- Noting the decision by the SACP to contest elections, the ANC must recuse the SACP from all its electoral structures and electoral strategising and planning platforms.

- Legislatively, the election date will be between November 2026 and January 2027, so the campaign must intensify immediately following the NGC.
  • Voter Registration Weekends will be in June and July 2026.

Key Challenges

- **Declining Voter Turnout:** This shrinks the ANC's core electoral base, making decisive majorities harder to secure.
- **Public Mistrust:** High levels of mistrust, fuelled by corruption, service delivery failures, and leadership lapses, erode credibility and drive voter apathy or protest voting.
- **Political Fragmentation:** Smaller parties and independents capitalise on local grievances, reducing ANC majorities even in strongholds.
- **Coalition Instability:** This undermines governance, hampers service delivery, and prevents the ANC from demonstrating visible improvements that can positively influence voters
- **Organisational Weaknesses:** Weaknesses in some ANC branches and election structures reduce the movement's capacity to mobilise communities, run campaigns, register voters, and meaningfully address local priorities.

Opportunities

- **Reliable Base:** The 6 million ANC voters in 2024 form a strong base that must be effectively engaged and retained.
- **Abstaining Voters:** The 4–5 million potential ANC voters who abstained represent a significant opportunity for targeted persuasion and community-responsive mobilisation through improved service delivery.
- **Unregistered Youth:** Approximately 4 million unregistered, ANC-leaning youth present a major growth pathway, provided branches, the Youth League, and the PYA prioritise their registration and engagement to shift electoral outcomes.
- **Visible Improvements:** Demonstrating improvements in water supply, electricity reliability, economic stabilisation, and local service delivery can rebuild public trust in the organisation's governance capacity.
- **By-election Momentum:** Recent by-election results confirm the ANC is capable of regaining lost support against opponents (including MK, DA, and PA).

5TH NGC Recommendations on Key Action Areas

A. Strengthen Service Delivery

1. Restore public confidence through visible, reliable service delivery. Municipalities must operate with clear action plans, deadlines, and fully functional war rooms. We must reduce unnecessary outsourcing, strengthen municipal capacity, and prioritise local employment. Councillors must be monitored against commitments, and where there is neglect, consequences must follow. Councillors must consistently convene community meetings to provide feedback on service delivery.

B. Build Campaigning Capacity

2. Election structures must never be disbanded; we must professionalise and institutionalise our elections machinery. Immediately use the branch functionality audit to strengthen linkages with people on the ground and improve canvassing. Invest resources in building a credible, reliable, and experienced VCM base, operating with clear canvassing targets and resource allocation. Allocate more resources to groundwork and reduce spending on rallies and mass activities where we end up engaging ourselves rather than the electorate.

3. Deliberately invest resources in a versatile and consistent elections training programme. LET and RET Coordinators must be full-time on elections from February. Costing of elections from LET to NET level must be concluded. Ring-fence elections funding and establish a dedicated team for election funding mobilisation.

C. Canvassing and Mobilisation

4. Leverage technology to build an ANC voter database that is live and responsive. Set voter registration targets at branch, regional, and provincial levels, with weekly monitoring of registration progress and secure data storage for recruited voters. Sectoral work and engagement must be driven from branch level, not only through sporadic event-based models. Create a tracking mechanism for commitments made by ward councillors to communities and monitor progress against these commitments.
5. Establish specialised units at LET level to focus on improving voter turnout in specific localities. Coordinators who fail to perform must be replaced swiftly by committed cadres who uphold organisational discipline and integrity, to prevent the campaign from losing momentum.

D. Selecting the Best Candidates to Win Elections and Lead Transformation

6. Pre-election mayoral announcements must be subject to case-by-case evaluation, contingent on a thorough assessment of the prevailing material conditions in the specific area of focus. Campaign performance must be a key factor in final candidate selection, ensuring that individuals who effectively mobilise communities are appropriately recognised.
7. The adopted candidate selection process must be adhered to, as it is most likely to produce candidates who resonate with communities. Political patronage in candidate selection and deployments must attract firm corrective action to prevent erosion of discipline and trust.

E. Other Campaign Drivers

8. Our campaigns and approach to elections must be driven and guided by research; we must never ignore research. We must maintain consistent and vigorous opposition assessment tools.

“If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles,”

Legislature and Governance

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction

- The work of Legislatures & Governance is located within our Constitution and grounded in the principles of the Freedom Charter. It helps to develop the architecture that enables the NDR, as well as economic and social transformation.
- South Africa's legislative framework is built on the Constitution (1996), the supreme law, establishing a constitutional democracy with Parliament (National Assembly and NCOP) as the law-making body, supported by Provincial Legislatures and Municipal Councils.
- It promotes good governance and human rights, and provides for three spheres of government (national, provincial, local) based on cooperative governance principles, guided by laws across sectors such as justice, finance, and elections, all aimed at advancing dignity, equality, and non-racialism.
- The organisation has made significant progress in state transformation since 1994 and in advancing our objective of building a developmental state. Together with the masses of our people, we must accelerate service delivery and development. To do this, we must transform the state into a stronger, more cohesive developmental state.
- Our objective of building a developmental state is being progressively realised. To deepen and advance the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), we must transform the state into a stronger, more cohesive institution.

Current Context: Progress and Challenges

- By-election results show a steady decline in the ANC's performance in municipal by-elections, from 55% in 2022 to 48% in 2025.
- Regarding the Ready to Govern intents, there have been major achievements, including: adoption and implementation of the democratic Constitution; establishment of democratic and effective institutional frameworks; expansion of the social wage, particularly social grants, free healthcare, housing delivery, etc.; and international reintegration.
- There have also been partial successes in relation to: community mobilisation and communicating victories; economic transformation; land reform; education quality; energy security; and municipal governance.
- However, there are marked and persistent failures in: rooting out systemic corruption; reducing inequality; tackling unemployment; and strengthening state capacity.

Thematic Area	Grade	Comments
Legislatures & oversight capacity	**Good**	The annual report of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa for 2023/24 shows progress: an Oversight Priority Model was developed and approved. Reports show committees held many meetings and some oversight visits were done. Also the ANC welcomed improvements in audit outcomes: for the legislative sector, 100% unqualified audits, 90% "clean" audit status. However, several so called civil society watchdogs have described overall Parliament oversight as "lamentable". The L&G itself has noted the disconnect between the ANC and Parliamentary processes, especially with regards to the ANC positions on legislation in various spheres. Consequently, while there is upward movement, fundamental challenges remain.

Service delivery / local government reform	**Mixed**	The resolution had ambitious reforms (differentiated municipal model, ward boundary stability, single tier by 2026) but evidence of full implementation remains thin or delayed. For example, the municipal classification/grading and support programmes are yet to be widely publicised. Also the position on the role of the traditional leaders continues to be murky. In summary the interface between ANC internal accountability, deployee performance and actual municipal service delivery remains weak and ANC policy positions remain unclear or not communicated..
Demarcation / boundary alignment	**Poor to Mixed**	The resolution emphasised stabilising ward boundaries, aligning service-delivery units to municipal boundaries by end-2023. There is little publicly available evidence that this has been rolled out comprehensively. Demarcation remains contentious and frequent boundary changes still disrupt planning.
Anti-corruption / State Capture responses	**Good**	Good progress on the broader state capture response: the Presidency reports 48% of actions complete, 23% on track, 29% delayed. (Polity.org.za) Parliament reports its own implementation plan for the Zondo Commission recommendations was tabled (Jan 2023) with quarterly oversight. While not solely the L&G sub-committee's work, this aligns with its mandate.
Gender / youth representation in governance	**Poor**	The resolution commits to gender mainstreaming, co-chairs in ward committees, dedicated youth capacity. However, the resolution itself notes the proportion of women councillors and senior administrators is declining. The available data does not yet show a turning of the tide. Implementation appears slow with no tracking mechanisms in the ANC.
Public administration professionalisation / human resources	**Mixed**	Commitments included skills audit, professionalisation, e-government. Some progress (e.g., committees are managing frameworks for oversight) but large scale HR reforms at municipal level which are critical are lagging. Capacity constraints remain a key obstacle.
Financial management & municipal equitability	**Mixed to Poor**	The resolutions call for a modified equitable share formula for under-capacitated municipalities; debt relief; funded budgets. While there are improvements in audit outcomes (good) the deeper reform of municipal financing and infrastructure maintenance remains slow and uneven.

Progress on Key Legislation and Policies

1. The Traditional and Khoisan Leadership Act

- The NGC noted progress on the new draft TKLA Bill published in November 2024 for public comment. The TKLA was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court in May 2023. This legislation is important to advance the historic mission of ensuring that Khoi-San leaders and communities are recognised. Cabinet has approved the revised Bill for tabling in Parliament in 2026, within the Constitutional Court timeline of 2027.
- Despite the progress, there are pertinent issues that may require guidelines and regulations, in line with the Deputy President-led IMTT recommendations on remuneration of traditional leaders, staffing and tools of trade, and the land question—particularly concerning the Khoi-San—drawing on lessons from Botswana, Ghana, and Uganda as referenced by the IMTT.

2. Electoral Reform

- The NGC noted the work undertaken by the organisation towards reviewing the Electoral Act as directed by the Constitutional Court. This follows the June 2020 ruling that declared the Electoral Act 73 of 1998 unconstitutional, requiring amendments to allow independent candidates to contest national and provincial elections. Parliament was given 24 months from the order to remedy the defect giving rise to the unconstitutionality.
- The NGC noted that L&G achieved this through collaboration among various NEC Subcommittees, provincial consultations, and the Home Affairs Study Group.

3. Developmental State and Professional Public Service

- The NGC welcomed implementation of organisational policies aimed at building an equal society by ending poverty, unemployment, and inequality, with a focus on basic needs such as water, housing, education, and healthcare, particularly for vulnerable groups (women, youth, and persons with disabilities).
- This includes building state capacity, promoting economic growth, expanding infrastructure, advancing human resource development, and strengthening social protection. However, persistent weaknesses remain, including corruption and limited state capacity. The ANC must act decisively in addressing these challenges while safeguarding the gains of democracy.
- Parliament recently approved the Public Service Amendment Bill, a significant reform intended to strengthen a professional, impartial public service by separating political authority from administrative functions.
- The approach to state power is informed by the Freedom Charter and the principle that *"The People Shall Govern"*, through strengthening community participation and mobilisation.
- Building a capable and developmental state across all three spheres of government must be advanced through the following measures:
  - Strengthening public institutions to deliver on their mandates.
  - Ensuring the state plays an important role in driving the economy and society.
  - Building effective, integrated planning and service delivery systems.
  - Ensuring the ANC works with communities and civil society in achieving these goals
  - Strengthening and professionalising the public administration, particularly top management, technical, and delivery sectors. Building the education and skills feeder system to produce developmental, technical, and professional personnel.

4. Challenges of the Government of National Unity

- The NGC noted that the ANC's majority was reduced in the 2024 national and provincial elections. It noted diverse views that the ANC had to make a strategic and tactical decision to put the interests and well-being of South Africans first—driven by the necessity to advance the government's transformative agenda, prevent political instability, rebuild its base, and reconnect with communities.
- To improve governmental accountability, formal coalition agreements should be considered a standard feature of coalition governance.
- The ANC proposed a Statement of Intent (SOI) for the GNU and invited all parties with seats in the 7th Democratic Parliament to engage on founding principles, the minimum programme of government, and the modalities of the GNU.

- At national level, the DA has used the GNU to position itself in campaign mode, often claiming government achievements as DA achievements. The DA's communications machinery appears to be in overdrive, with DA Ministers at times contradicting government decisions. Although a minimum programme exists for the GNU, closer monitoring is required of GNU partners whose conduct appears aimed at repositioning themselves at the expense of the congress movement.
- There needs to be a tactical review and evaluation of the GNU and PNUs. At the same time, we must undertake actions that will return the ANC to the top through delivery, legislation, and effective communication and propaganda.
- The NGC noted the unusual proliferation of private members' bills which, in spirit, counter the objectives of the NDR. A mechanism to strategically manage this trend must therefore be explored.

Key Governance Risks

The following key risks were identified:

- Incapacity of deployed cadres to implement conference resolutions, Makgotla decisions, and organisational pronouncements to realise a capable, ethical, strong, and developmental state.
- Failure to resolve an appropriate funding model for local government may erode the third sphere of government, resulting in fragmented and disjointed communities.
- Insufficient action to deal with the scourge of corruption may lead to dwindling public confidence in the ANC as a leader of society. The integrity of the ANC is sacrosanct to its relevance and its ability to advance the objectives of the NDR.
- Inability to manage contradictions associated with the GNU/GPU may cause instability in state functionality and derail NDR objectives.
- Declining ANC voter support requires urgent NEC attention prior to next year's local government elections.

PROGRAMME AREAS TO STRENGTHEN TOWARDS 2027 AND 2032

Capable Developmental State and Single and Professional Public Service

1. Affirm the ANC 52nd Conference resolutions, including the move towards a single public service. The NGC welcomed the Public Service Commission Amendment Bill 2023 (B30-2023), which proposes that the Public Service Commission should exercise oversight at national and provincial levels, and extend its authority to municipalities and public entities.
2. Building a capable and developmental state remains a central pillar of professionalising the state and ensuring that public servants drive economic growth and service delivery.
3. Fast-track the 34 Bills and regulations, and strengthen institutions of delivery and oversight.

Local Government, Infrastructure and Service Delivery

4. Enforce by-laws to build safe and clean cities, discourage land grabs, and combat lawlessness. Review and strengthen policies and legislation to tackle land invasions and address informal settlements. Improve and maintain infrastructure for water, roads, and electricity load reduction. Strengthen the DDM and ensure it is institutionalised in law through the Intergovernmental Relations Framework. Enhance legislation to protect vital state economic infrastructure and address vandalism. Monitor and track water and electricity reliability through the war-room mechanism in preparation for the next local government elections.
5. The NGC reaffirmed previous resolutions on the need to review fiscal policy and financial management systems in local government, with an emphasis on DoRA.

6. Develop a ward-based, real-time monitoring dashboard to track progress over the next 11 months, particularly regarding water reliability and load reduction. Deployees must rebuild a culture of activism in communities, workplaces, and civil society organisations to build public confidence. Deal decisively with GBVF at all levels.
7. Review how the work of district municipalities can be strengthened to ensure they fulfil their role as envisaged in the District Development Model.

Pan African Parliament

8. Strengthening the Pan African Parliament (PAP) is crucial for deeper African integration, democracy, and self-determination. It must be transformed and strengthened to serve as a strong voice for Africa's interests globally, contributing to continental goals such as Agenda 2063.

Traditional Leadership

9. Ensure coordination around issues raised by traditional leadership through a reinforced "Ten-aside Task Team" chaired by the Deputy President. Finalise the Traditional and Khoisan Bill already approved by Cabinet. Align land governance in rural areas as envisaged in the Land Summit, including communal land matters. Maintain and refurbish the palaces of kings and queens. Engage in consultations with CONTRALESA to align on issues affecting traditional leaders.

Parliament and Legislatures

10. Prioritise the 40 Bills before Parliament while ensuring stronger oversight by NEC and PEC Subcommittees. Use organisational mechanisms to process Bills through relevant NEC Subcommittees for consultation prior to tabling in legislatures. Expedite finalisation of the Coalition and Infrastructure Bills.
11. Finalise the priority legislative programme to avoid a stampede in processing legislation before elections.

Capacity, Ethics, Accountability and Performance, Consequence Management

12. The Commission reaffirmed the 55th Conference resolutions on lifestyle audits for deployees. This includes vetting deployees nominated to serve as public representatives at all levels and enforcing the consequence management framework. ANC deployees and ward councillors must sign performance contracts with the ANC, including a requirement to reside in the areas they represent. Strengthen leadership capacity at all levels, ensuring all members undertake the Foundation Course. The NGC emphasised the functionality of L&G Committees in provinces and regions to improve organisational work in communities.
13. The NGC affirmed previous conference resolutions to ensure policies address poor delivery of basic services by government, maladministration, and misuse of state funds.
14. Decisively enforce the consequence management framework and ensure monitoring and evaluation of implementation, with the PMER Subcommittee playing a leading role. Ensure enforcement of ANC resolutions, guidelines, and internal disciplinary codes that promote accountability among members and deployees in government. ANC policy documents and conference resolutions emphasise the need for a culture of accountability and "zero tolerance" for corruption and misconduct.

Immigration and Citizenship

15. The NGC supported ongoing work by the ANC-led government to address illegal migration and

reaffirmed that government must comprehensively overhaul the Citizenship Act, Refugees Act, and Immigration Act to meet new challenges facing South Africa, as resolved at the 55th Conference.

Funding Democracy

16. The NGC proposed that a separate funding model for the legislative sector be accelerated to strengthen oversight capacity and ensure executive accountability. This should include top-slicing from national and provincial budgets. Enable legislatures to significantly improve public participation in law-making.

Deployment of Cadres in Parliament and Legislatures

17. The 5th NGC reaffirmed the 55th Conference resolution that there must be specific requirements for those deployed as public representatives, including academic qualifications and experience, as is the case in local government. In addition, sector-specific training must be implemented to better prepare legislators to articulate organisational policy and to understand complex legislation, budgets, and governance issues.

Legal Framework for Coalitions / ANC in Opposition

18. The NGC proposed collaboration among relevant NEC Subcommittees, the Coalition Task Team, and the CoGTA Study Group to drive the finalisation of legislation dealing with coalitions, including the possible introduction of thresholds.
19. Reiterated previous resolutions on executing a proactive opposition strategy in provinces or spheres where the ANC is not leading.

Conclusion

The NGC affirmed that professionalisation of the public service is pivotal to realising a capable, ethical, strong, and developmental state, and this must extend to all state institutions. Acting decisively against corruption and malfeasance within the ranks of the ANC is sacrosanct to restoring integrity in communities. Accelerating service delivery—especially water, electricity, and other basic services—is necessary for the ANC to achieve better outcomes in the next local government elections. One Member, One Vote is critical for electing credible leadership at all levels. Close and strict monitoring of GNU/GPU and coalition arrangements, where applicable, is necessary for the ANC to remain relevant and to avert any threat to its legitimacy as the leader of society. Improve the ANC communication machinery on the programme of transformation and the gains of government.

Education, Health, Science and Technology

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

Introduction

- Education, Health and Science, Technology and Innovation include the cross-cutting sectors of Basic Education (BE), Higher Education and Training (HET), Health, and Science, Technology and Innovation (STI). The 5th NGC Commission discussed the status of implementation of Conference Resolutions and Manifestos (LGE2021 and NPE2024); progress, challenges and opportunities. The NGC reaffirmed the resolutions of the 55th National Conference and identified major issues as slowed delivery, resource allocation constraints, and uneven policy execution.
- Persistent challenges across sectors include: public institutions are under severe pressure as rising demand outpaces available capacity. Over time, this threatens the quality of public services. Shrinking budgets and underfunding—especially for infrastructure—have delayed projects and created service delivery backlogs. Coordination and data on the impact of migration on schools, universities, health facilities and service planning remain weak. Resolutions requiring policy-making and legislative changes have progressed slowly due to capacity constraints and procedural delays.

A. On Basic Education

The Basic Education sector delivered progress in the following areas:

- The BELA Act has been passed, improving governance, admissions and language policy alignment. Continued expansion of Mother Tongue-Based Bilingual Education is strengthening early grade learning. School sport systems have been strengthened, including resolving the long-standing ASA–SASA conflict. HPV vaccination has been expanded and school-based health and sexuality education programmes strengthened. The National School Nutrition Programme continues to support 9.9 million learners daily. Digital transformation initiatives—e-Cadres deployment, digital pilots and blended learning—are expanding in rural and township schools. Major infrastructure progress includes 5 052 maintenance projects completed and 3 305 pit latrines removed. Government is focusing on early learning, including funding for ECD. These interventions are improving learning outcomes and throughput.

Major challenges in the Basic Education sector:

- Severe budget constraints have slowed infrastructure development, especially interventions to address overcrowding. Limited progress has been made with NEET youth programmes and post-school pathways. Concerns remain about learners who are not in school due to lack of documentation (especially in rural areas). Reporting from provincial structures on oversight and monitoring responsibilities is weak. ECD integration plans are incomplete, and rollout of a unified delivery model has been slow. Persistent rural–urban inequalities remain in infrastructure, teacher supply and access to digital tools. Implementation of multilingual policy slowed significantly following COVID-19 disruptions. Outdated condition assessments hinder long-term infrastructure planning. Home schooling regulations remain incomplete, limiting effective oversight. School-based research, innovation and indigenous knowledge programmes are not expanding consistently. Boarding school infrastructure remains significantly underfunded. Reporting on school transport, health screening and psychosocial support is inconsistent across provinces.

5th NGC Recommendations on Interventions in Basic Education

1. Full funding and fast-tracking of the Special Intervention Programme on overcrowding in schools.
2. Finalising home schooling regulations and ensuring strong legal and governance frameworks.
3. Investing more in digital infrastructure, particularly for rural and township schools.
4. Expanding psychosocial support programmes and learning materials for multi-grade teaching.
5. Prioritising ECD workforce training, professionalisation and integrated service delivery.
6. Finalising legislation for the single national examination board.
7. Strengthening school governance oversight to reduce SGB corruption risks.
8. Reinvigorating implementation of the three-language policy.
9. Collaboration between Health, Home Affairs and Education to ensure learners have proper documentation and are registered for learning.
10. Stronger integration between DBE, Health and Social Development on learner pregnancy support.
11. Better implementation of the Quality Management System (QMS) for teachers.
12. Improved learner safety programmes such as anti-bullying campaigns, social media safety and scholar patrols.
13. Progress towards a single national Examination Board to standardise assessments.
14. Improved textbook distribution, availability and retrieval systems nationwide.
15. Introduction of programmes of the Moral Regeneration Movement in schools to instil moral values from foundation level.
16. Construction of strategic boarding facilities to accommodate learners from rural and farm areas in particular.

B. Higher Education and Training Sector/Post School Education and Training Sector

The Higher Education and Training, Post School sector delivered progress in the following areas:

- Significant progress towards establishing a Central Applications Service (CAS) to simplify admissions. The transformation agenda across universities and colleges has been strengthened. Work-Integrated Learning (WIL) has been recognised as a key mechanism for skills development. The university system produces over 200 000 graduates annually. Progress has been made on curriculum decolonisation across universities. Governance debates around institutional autonomy have been strengthened. Expansion of student housing infrastructure is underway in partnership with various stakeholders. Review of the NCV (Health) Programme is underway to improve quality and relevance.
- TVET college curriculum alignment with industry is under active consideration. Thousands of artisans have been produced, and many more have benefited from learnerships and skills programmes supported by SETAs. Accumulation of Funds Policy developments continue, strengthening the Community Education and Training sector. There is ongoing conceptualisation of specialised colleges, including veterinary, policing and innovation colleges. Staff profiles have changed, with increased representation of Black people in senior management and lecturing staff. NSFAS funding enables millions of students from poor and working-class families to enrol in universities and TVET colleges.

Major challenges in the Higher Education and Training/Post School sector:

- Persistent delays in NSFAS payments and administrative blockages affect students. This negatively impacts the PYA and ANC electoral outcomes. Reporting on lecturer skills, competencies and capacity development is limited. Underfunded infrastructure for TVET and CET colleges continues to hinder expansion. Alignment between the Basic Education Three-Stream Model and PSET pathways remains weak. Redesign of the higher education funding formula is behind schedule. Implementation of WIL programmes is inconsistent. The fee regulation framework has been delayed. Psychosocial support services are limited across institutions. Tensions persist around institutional autonomy and transformation imperatives. University infrastructure is ageing and deteriorating.
  • A growing number of graduates are unemployed (12%) or underemployed due to slow economic growth. Graduate unemployment remains high due to weak industry partnerships.

5th NGC Recommendations on Interventions in Higher Education & Training

1. A pragmatic review of NSFAS administration to guarantee timely payments, including: insourcing of services; building internal capacity to administer the fund; revising the student funding model using diverse sources of funding.
2. Expanded partnerships with SETAs, SOEs and industry to strengthen Work-Integrated Learning (WIL) opportunities.
3. Implementation of the new Post School Education & Training (PSET) funding model with dedicated budget protection.
4. Accelerated lecturer upskilling in TVET colleges to modernise curriculum delivery.
5. Integrated student accommodation strategies in partnership with Human Settlements.
6. A national framework to improve graduate employability.
7. Strong oversight mechanisms for institutional transformation and governance stability.
8. Unleash a skills revolution in line with economic and societal needs.

C. Health

The Health sector delivered progress in the following areas:

- The NHI Bill has been passed, laying the foundation for universal health coverage. Work on adolescent and youth health has been strengthened, including HPV vaccination and teen pregnancy prevention. School health services are being implemented in partnership with DBE. Collaboration with Cuba on medical training continues, and steps are being taken to transfer the NMFCHC programmes to Higher Education for better coordination. Progress has been made in eliminating vaccine-preventable diseases. Reviews are underway to modernise nursing education. The process of permanently appointing community health workers into the formal health system has begun.
- Three new programmes aim to end HIV and AIDS as a public health threat by 2030–2035: (i) 6MMD (Multi-Month Dispensing), where stable patients collect medication every six months (launched in November in the Free State). (ii) The 1.1 Million Close the Gap Campaign—tracing and returning to treatment 1.1 million HIV-positive people who are not on treatment (launched 25 February 2025). (iii) Lenacapever—a six-monthly injection for people who are HIV-negative, to protect them from acquiring the virus (to be launched in the first quarter of 2026).
- A campaign to test five million people for TB and place those who test positive on treatment was launched on 24 March 2025. A programme to eliminate cervical cancer—the second biggest killer of women after breast cancer—will be launched early next year.

Major challenges in the Health sector

- Sector capacity has been overtaken by population growth, especially regarding infrastructure and staffing. Severe delays persist in infrastructure delivery across provinces. Chronic shortages of funds, due to budget cuts linked to austerity measures over about a decade, have contributed to shortages of doctors, nurses, specialists and other health professionals. Ambulance shortages across provinces—also driven by austerity—remain severe.
- Slow progress has been made in decentralising budgets to hospital level. Medico-legal claims are extremely high and are draining provincial budgets. Corruption in procurement remains a serious challenge, as illustrated by issues such as those at Tembisa Hospital.

5th NGC Recommendations on Interventions in Health

1. More funds must be allocated for health infrastructure by Treasury.
2. Urgent review of procurement processes to improve quality of service.
3. Expand the intake of health professionals: nurses, doctors, pharmacists and allied workers.
4. Strengthen primary healthcare and community-based services.
5. Develop an intervention mechanism to protect and assist provinces from crippling medico-legal claims.

D. Science, Technology and Innovation (STI)

The Science, Technology and Innovation sector delivered progress in the following areas:

- Continued consolidation of the National System of Innovation (NSI). Transformation of human resources for science, technology and innovation is progressing (honours, master's and doctoral students, and researchers). Construction of the Square Kilometre Array (SKA) is on track for completion by 2030. Nuclear Medicine Research Infrastructure (NuMeRi) was launched in May 2024 at Steve Biko Academic Hospital. Drafting of the innovation and manufacturing vaccine strategy has been finalised.
- Initial progress has been made with township and rural science literacy programmes and Wi-Fi pilots. Promotion of STEAM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts and Mathematics) continues across the education system.

Major challenges in the STI sector

- Research and development investment remains inadequate, with R&D intensity stagnant at 0.61% of expenditure on research and development—well below the ANC resolution target of 1.5%. Uptake of locally developed technologies across government remains low. Public awareness and engagement in science and innovation are weak. Reporting on rural and township innovation programmes is inconsistent. Women remain underrepresented in STI, with only 37% at professorial level being women. Procurement processes are slowing progress and implementation of critical programmes.

5th NGC on Interventions in Science, Technology and Innovation

1. Increase R&D investment and enforce department-level budget ring-fencing.
2. Legislate mandatory procurement of locally developed technologies to strengthen innovation.
3. Expand community-based innovation hubs, township incubators and rural Wi-Fi access programmes.
4. Establish a central STI coordination mechanism in government.
5. Strengthen partnerships with Defence, industry and universities to drive innovation.

Cross-cutting recommendations across the 3 sectors

1. The NEC should ensure that government supports policy decisions by adequately funding critical sectors and related programmes.
2. Strengthen multi-sector planning through the District Development Model.
3. Accelerate investment in infrastructure across schools, clinics, hospitals, colleges and research facilities.
4. Ensure strict compliance with quarterly reporting frameworks.
5. Expand investment in digital transformation across education, health and STI environments.
6. Strengthen NEC oversight through standardised templates and accountability systems.
7. Address administrative failures that lead to Section 100 interventions.
8. Enhance anti-corruption monitoring across all institutions.
9. Build stronger research and data analysis capacity to support evidence-based planning.

Conclusion

The NGC Commission was characterised by robust discussion contributing to the Mid-Term Review and strengthening the path towards a more equitable, capable and future-ready South Africa. The NGC emphasised the need to be service-oriented in order to accelerate implementation and advance transformation for all communities.

Peace and Stability

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

A. South African Police Services

Integrated Crime and Violence Prevention Strategy

- In addressing resolutions relating to policing matters, the following progress has been reported. The South African Police Service (SAPS) is implementing the Integrated Crime and Violence Prevention Strategy (ICVPS), which was approved by Cabinet in 2022. It focuses on the prevention of crime and violence in communities, and advocates for a "whole of government" and "whole of society" approach, acknowledging that safety is the responsibility of all, and not only that of the police. The Civilian Secretariat for Police Service (CSPS) leads coordination across all spheres of government, providing technical guidance and support. The District Development Model (DDM) is a key mechanism for the effective implementation and coordination of the ICVPS across the three spheres of government.
- Provincial Secretariats are implementing safety interventions with support from the CSPS. A National Working Committee, led by the CSPS, oversees implementation and quarterly reporting.

Empowering CPFs and Strengthening Police–Community Relations

- A Community Policing Policy has been adopted to build trust, partnerships, and local problem-solving between communities and police.
- Training and capacity-building initiatives for Community Policing Forums (CPFs) are ongoing.
- The CSPS is facilitating the establishment and functionality assessment of Community Safety Forums (CSFs) across provinces.
- The SAPS budget now includes dedicated funding for CPFs, with guidelines for proper utilisation and monitoring.
- These collaborations have enhanced trust and accountability, fostering a sense of shared responsibility for safety.
- The SAPS Amendment Bill further enables provinces to define mechanisms for CPF resourcing.

Towards a Single, Integrated Police Service

- The CSPS has developed a Policy Framework on an Integrated Model of Policing to advance the goal of a single police service, integrating SAPS, municipal police, and traffic policing. The framework promotes uniformity, efficiency, and collaboration across law enforcement agencies. An action plan is being implemented through joint operations involving multiple departments and metro police structures.
- Cooperation Agreements have been signed with six metropolitan municipalities (Cape Town, Nelson Mandela Bay, eThekwini, Johannesburg, Tshwane, and Ekurhuleni). Provincial Secretariats are implementing safety interventions with support from the CSPS. A National Working Committee, led by the CSPS, oversees implementation and quarterly reporting.

B. Defence Matters

Resourcing and Capacitation of the South African National Defence Force

- The 55th National Conference resolutions confirmed that defence spending has declined to approximately 0.7 percent of GDP, rendering the 2015 Defence Review financially unimplementable.
- Despite this fiscal contraction, the SANDF is assigned expanded roles in border protection, crime prevention support and continental peace support operations. This constitutes structural overextension under conditions of material degradation. Continued domestic deployment for the protection of strategic installations has become institutionalised without sunset clauses, time limits or enhanced parliamentary force employment thresholds, thereby creating unbounded internal force utilisation under Section 201 of the Constitution.
- Government has made significant progress in strengthening the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). High-level engagements between the Minister of Defence, National Treasury, Parliament, and the National Security Council have resulted in a commitment to increase defence spending to 1.5% of GDP, as announced by the President.
- The Department of Defence has completed the review of the 2015 Defence Review, submitting updated policy documents to the Presidency. This work positions the SANDF for long-term restructuring through the Fiscal Framework Strategy, which outlines immediate funding needs while driving the broader Defence of the Future – Journey to Greatness blueprint.
- This reflects government's renewed emphasis on sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the modernisation of national security capabilities, aligning with ANC resolutions on a capable developmental state.

Deployment of SANDF members to Peace Missions and to Protect South Africa's Interests

- The SANDF continues to operate in line with South Africa's national interests—both in peacekeeping and domestic support functions. This includes border security, protecting Eskom infrastructure, anti-crime operations with SAPS, and combating illegal mining through Operation Val'umgodi.
- Regionally, Operation Vikela in Mozambique demonstrates South Africa's commitment to preventing terrorism and insurgency from destabilising SADC. These deployments reinforce South Africa's leadership role in regional peace and security and align with ANC foreign policy values of African solidarity.

Rebuilding the Domestic Defence Industry

- The objective is to resuscitate the domestic defence industry to bolster the country's defence, security and manufacturing capabilities.
- The transfer of Denel to the Defence portfolio in 2025/26 has improved governance and increased international orders. The state has provided guarantees to support Denel's turnaround. Collaboration with Armscor and the defence industry under the AMD is strengthening national defence manufacturing. South Africa will showcase its capabilities at the 2026 African Aerospace and Defence Exhibition.
- Reviving Denel and the industry protects sovereign manufacturing capacity, supports skilled jobs, and strengthens industrialisation.

Amendments to the Military Veterans Act

- The Presidential Task Team (PTT), led by the Deputy President, has been addressing Department of Military Veterans challenges. Eight workstreams were created, including a legislative review of the Military Veterans Act of 2011.
- The DMV has also issued new regulations to streamline benefits such as pensions and education support. This reaffirms government's commitment to restoring dignity to military veterans.

Unifying Ex-Combatants of MK

- The Department of Military Veterans has failed to uphold the resolution of the East London Conference. The DMV recognises MKMVA despite the formation of MK Liberation War Veterans (MKLWV) following the unification process of the East London Conference officiated by the former Deputy President and the President.
- A faction from MKMVA has resisted the unity process and is blocking progress through SANMVA.
- There is still a strong push from government and the ANC towards unity, renewal, and proper inclusion of all ex-combatants.

C. Migration Issues

Review of South Africa's Accession to the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 Protocol on Refugees

- The Minister of Home Affairs received legal advice concluding that withdrawing from the Convention and Protocol, with the intention to re-enter with reservations, would be futile. Constitutional guarantees—especially access to healthcare and education—apply to all persons, including foreign nationals, limiting potential benefits of withdrawal. The Department will not pursue the process.

Overhaul of Citizenship, Refugees, and Immigration Acts

- These matters are addressed in the White Paper on Citizenship, Immigration and Refugee Protection. Public consultations have concluded, and stakeholder engagement continues. Updates are expected by the end of the 2025/26 financial year. Immigration Courts remain under the mandate of the Department of Justice.
- An Immigration Advisory Board (IAB) was established on 1 April 2025 under Section 4 of the Immigration Act. It includes government entities, organised labour, business, and independent experts.
- The 5th NGC noted that the GNU has reversed progress made on the White Paper on Citizenship, Immigration and Refugee Protection (the matter of withdrawing signature to the UN 1951 Convention remains contentious).

Border Management Authority (BMA)

- The BMA was launched in October 2023 in Musina, Limpopo Province. It aims to improve efficiency, enhance national security and combat organised crime and illegal immigration.
- To date, the BMA has advanced its operational capabilities through the deployment of high-tech drones with long-range zoom, AI-driven tracking, and heat-detection functions. Piloted during the 2024/25 festive season, the drones significantly improved prevention of illegal border crossings. A broader rollout began in April 2025, with further expansion planned. Additionally, the Border Management and Immigration Anti-Corruption Forum was launched in March 2025, comprising the SIU, BMA, NPA, DPCI, and Home Affairs, to strengthen anti-corruption efforts.

• Notes the delays in the integration of border police into the Border Management Authority to implement border law enforcement.

Border Security and Illegal Migration as Strategic Threats

- The resolutions explicitly recognise porous borders as a threat to territorial integrity and link them to illegal mining, terrorism, narcotics trafficking and transnational organised crime.
- While the Border Management Authority has been established and initial deployments have begun, financial constraints remain a critical enforcement limitation.
- Refugee reception facilities remain concentrated away from borders, sustaining an inward-displaced immigration processing model that weakens early interception and counter-infiltration capacity. The call to rationalise citizenship, refugee and immigration legislation confirms policy recognition of security loopholes.

D. Criminal Justice System

Correctional Services

- **Addressing Prison Overcrowding:** DCS implements the Overcrowding Reduction Strategy with JCPS Cluster partners; however, rising inmate numbers demonstrate the need for a stronger interdepartmental strategy. In 2024, an Overcrowding Task Team was established by JCPS DGs.
- **Key Drivers of Overcrowding:** High Remand Detainee (RD) population; inability to redistribute RDs until sentencing; declining approved bedspace (118 572 in 2019/20 to 107 067 in 2024/25); mental health system shortages resulting in 382 state patients housed in correctional centres; and a large population of foreign nationals.
- **Prison and Correctional Statistics (Sept 2025):** Sentenced offenders: 107 310. Remand detainees: 60 381. Approved bedspace: 107 067. Overcrowding level: 57%. Sentenced foreign nationals: 14 609 (costing R6.7 million/day).
- South Africa lacks domestic legislation to enable transfer of sentenced foreign offenders or SA citizens imprisoned abroad. A Draft Policy Position was prepared but requires further input from the South African Law Reform Commission (SALRC). International treaties permit bilateral transfer agreements, but implementation remains stalled.
- **Capacitating Correctional Services:** Budget allocations increased by R1.806 billion (2024) and R745.645 million (2025), but deep cuts across multiple MTEFs continue to undermine the Department's mandate. Overspending in 2023/24 was R614.257 million, with payables of R820.165 million by March 2024, highlighting financial strain.
- **Progress in Self-Sufficiency:** Since 2021, the Strategic Framework on Self-Sufficiency and Sustainability (SFSSS) has strengthened internal production: 27 822 uniforms produced (highest output to date); 11 fully functional bakeries, with 95.52% bakery self-sufficiency (saving R27.19 million). Furniture sales: R486 280.95. Arts and crafts revenue: R58 650; new KZN gallery opened.
- **Key Challenges in DCS:** Persistent overcrowding driven by remand detainees. Absence of a legislative framework for transfer of foreign offenders. Increased number of undocumented foreign nationals. Rising operational pressures amid shrinking budgets. Health system gaps requiring DCS to house psychiatric patients. Weak cluster-level coordination.

Justice and Constitutional Development

- **War on Corruption:** The Investigating Directorate Against Corruption (IDAC) was established as a permanent entity within the NPA with investigative and prosecutorial powers. The National Anti-Corruption Advisory Council (NACAC) was appointed by the President to advise on strengthening the anti-corruption architecture of South Africa, among others. The NACAC has submitted its final report to the President, and the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development will advise the Executive. The NPA enjoys independence in prosecutorial decision-making and prosecutors must make decisions without fear, favour or prejudice. This is a critical safeguard in our constitutional democracy.
- **State capacity to pursue those who fled, recover stolen money and address illicit financial flows:** The Asset Forfeiture Unit and the SIU have made significant recoveries and cancelled several unlawful contracts, with recoveries amounting to billions of rands. The Asset Forfeiture Unit (AFU) of the NPA successfully recovered over R3.9 billion in ill-gotten gains through implementation of the Corporate Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanism, ensuring that persons and entities do not benefit from unlawful activities and corruption. Since 2020, the Special Investigating Unit (SIU) has successfully recovered more than R10.6 billion, significantly aided by its efforts in handling COVID-19-related corruption cases. South Africa is also a member of the STAR (Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative) of the World Bank, which focuses on recovery of money earned through corruption.
- **Implementation of the Cybercrimes Act:** All regulations are in place except for the finalisation of regulations relating to search warrants, which require specific expertise in drafting and consultation with SAPS. The draft regulations have been finalised and will be promulgated and finalised by early 2026.
- **Modernising the Criminal Justice System:** The work of the IJS has been ongoing. Eleven departments are now connected to the IJS Hub. A centralised IJS Transversal Hub for data integration and interoperability has been established. The IJS has supported the development and implementation of electronic case management and workflow systems tailored to departmental business processes.
- **Counter-corruption and national security exposure:** Institutional anti-corruption responses through the Hawks, SIU, NPA and the Investigating Directorate are acknowledged. However, the resolutions do not integrate corruption, illicit financial flows and foreign financial penetration into a unified national security risk framework. This preserves a structural disconnect between economic crime and counter-intelligence, despite South Africa's acknowledged exposure to transnational financial networks linked to organised crime and foreign influence. Coordination of law enforcement efforts ensured that South Africa was removed from FATF greylisting. Work is underway to finalise the Anti-Illicit Economy Strategy.
- **Towards speedy prosecution of GBV+F cases:** The Thuthuzela Care Centre (TCC) model has been introduced to, among others, reduce secondary trauma and prepare victims for court by providing a comprehensive triad of services for victims of gender-based violence—psychosocial, medical, and prosecutorial legal services—under one roof. These multidisciplinary one-stop care centres streamline the process of reporting, caregiving, investigation and prosecution. Over the 2024/25 period, the NPA recorded 3 697 convictions in relation to sexual offences, with over 79% convicted with direct imprisonment, while 44 147 victims were supported at the

66 Thuthuzela Care Centres (TCCs) across the country. Ongoing efforts continue to strengthen TCCs. The national footprint of Sexual Offences Courts has increased, particularly in rural communities, with an additional 16 Sexual Offences Courts to be assigned in this financial year. These courts will assist in addressing alarming levels of sexual violence and offer support services tailored for survivors. The courts have been capacitated to manage applications for interdicts, particularly through implementation of the Domestic Violence Amendment Act, 2021.

Intelligence

- **Core governance weakness acknowledged:** The 55th National Conference resolutions explicitly concede the slow pace of security sector reform and the failure to build resilient security institutions. This is a formal political admission that institutional decay, capacity erosion and governance weaknesses persist within the national security sector despite multiple policy interventions since 2009.
- Since then, the President of the ANC-led government signed the General Intelligence Laws Amendment Bill into law on 28 March 2025. This paves the way for the disestablishment of the SSA and the creation of independent intelligence services with a distinct focus on foreign and domestic intelligence, in line with the recommendations of the High Level Review Panel. The National Intelligence Coordinating Committee (NICOC) has been strengthened. GILAA directs that the budget of NICOC be appropriated by Parliament. Regulations on the Coordination of Intelligence were issued by the ANC deployee in the intelligence domain.
- **National security strategy and coordination:** The resolutions confirm that the National Security Strategy was finalised by the National Security Council but was still awaiting Cabinet approval, while simultaneously calling for its urgent review. The National Security Strategy was approved by Cabinet in March 2024.
- **Crime intelligence, private security and the monopoly of force:** The 55th ANC resolutions acknowledge the proliferation of private security companies, the use of automatic weapons and imitation law enforcement uniforms as a direct threat to state authority. This represents a formal admission that the state monopoly of legitimate force is being progressively diluted. The continued failure to integrate metropolitan police into SAPS further entrenches a fragmented internal security command structure. GILAA has been signed into law, and PSIRA is now expected to be guided by the National Intelligence Security Structures.
- **Cybersecurity and information warfare:** The resolutions correctly identify cyber threats, disinformation and digital attacks on state institutions as national security risks. However, the slow pace in finalising the cybersecurity legislative framework, as well as securing requisite financial resources, confirms that South Africa's cybersecurity posture remains legally and institutionally underdeveloped. While international treaty engagement is referenced, domestic cyber command consolidation remains unaddressed. By the time of the 5th NGC, the draft Cybersecurity Bill had undergone public comment and currently awaits processing through the parliamentary process.
- **Challenges:** Manipulation of loopholes within the PSRIA Act. Revelations of an infiltrated criminal justice system have further raised serious concerns about the ability of an ANC-led government to fight corruption. This is more pronounced given allegations of involvement of senior ANC members in corruption and other criminal activities.

5th NGC Recommended the following priority action areas to strengthen Peace and Stability

1. Cybersecurity must be coordinated with the SANDF and state security.
2. National key points must be protected by the SANDF.
3. Expedite the long-standing Integrated Criminal Justice System (ICJS).
4. Amend the Critical Infrastructure Act to remove Public Works as the owner of critical infrastructure belonging to the SANDF.
5. Support the MKLWV and East London Conference resolutions.
6. Disaster management must be led and coordinated by the SANDF rather than COGTA.
7. Strengthen whistle-blower protection and witness protection.
8. The JCPS budget must be increased; this is essential for national sovereignty.
9. Revive the ANC communication strategy to effectively communicate successes.
10. Reaffirm the need to pay stipends to CPFs.
11. Expedite amendments to firearms control legislation.
12. Prioritise alleviation of the plight of military veterans.
13. Stabilise administration and management in the Department of Military Veterans.
14. Expedite amendment of the military veterans legislative framework.
15. Expedite DCS taking over ownership of private correctional facilities.
16. Capacitate DCS to strengthen integrated security measures in correctional facilities.
17. Capacitate and strengthen SAPS Detective Services.
18. Demilitarisation of SAPS ranking.
19. Ensure finalisation of the organised crime strategy.
20. Regular rotation of SAPS deployments in crime fighting.
21. MKLWV representatives be invited to NEC meetings in line with Rule 12.13 of the ANC Constitution.
22. Initiate an NGO Funding Act—modelled on the Political Funding Act.
23. Implement s21(3) and s22 (citizen-centric sections) of the Constitution to address migration-related matters.
24. Review the parole system and strengthen rehabilitation and social reintegration.
25. Expedite the review of the Immigration Act (review of the White Paper on Citizenship, Immigration and Refugee Protection).

National Dialogue and Sectoral Work

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

A. On the National Dialogue

The 5th National General Council noted

- Since its formation, the ANC has, in its DNA, been a people-centred organisation, and has at all material times engaged with the people. It was formed as the parliament of the people following the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, which excluded Africans in particular and black people in general.
- The call by the President of the Republic to embark on a National Dialogue process as part of defending and advancing the gains of democracy and freedom.
- That the National Dialogue takes place after 30 years of freedom and democracy, characterised by achievements of ANC-led governments.
- That the National Dialogue process takes place while the nation is celebrating the 70th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, a seminal document that remains a guide to the kind of society we seek to create, as articulated in the Freedom Charter and the Constitution.
- That the National Dialogue will provide an opportunity to assess implementation of the NDP2030 and focus on a new vision towards the centenary of the Freedom Charter by 2055.

Also noted;

- That the National Dialogue comes at a time when the ANC suffered a strategic setback in the outcomes of the 2024 General Elections.
- That while there are achievements, the ANC cannot afford to be paternalistic in how it addresses the structural challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.
- That the Eminent Persons Group, as well as the Inter-Ministerial Committee led by the Deputy President, was appointed by the Convenor of the National Dialogue, as Head of State, as per the Constitution.
- That a diverse range of over 30 sectors have convened and nominated representatives to the Steering Committee, and that the President is seized with the process of finalising the appointment of its Steering Committee.

Historical Background to National Dialogues

- The 5th NGC noted that the concept of national dialogue has its roots in various historical and philosophical contexts.
- **Ancient Greece and Rome:** The concept of dialogue as a means of resolving conflicts and seeking truth dates back to ancient Greece and Rome, where philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero employed dialogue as a tool for exploring complex issues.
- **Enlightenment and Modernity:** Enlightenment thinkers, such as Immanuel Kant and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, emphasised the importance of reason, tolerance, and open discussion in resolving conflicts and promoting social progress.
- **Conflict Resolution and Peace Building:** The modern concept of national dialogue as a tool for conflict resolution and peace building emerged in the mid-20th century, particularly in the context of post-colonial and post-conflict societies.
- **United Nations and International Organisations:** The United Nations and other international organisations have played a significant role in promoting national dialogue as a means of conflict prevention, peace building, and democratic governance.

- **Arab Spring and African Experiences:** The Arab Spring uprisings and various African experiences with national dialogue processes have contributed to the evolution of the concept, highlighting its potential for promoting democratic transitions, social justice, and inclusive governance.
- The NGC further noted other notable examples of national dialogue processes in South Africa and beyond:
- **South Africa's CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa):** Following the intense struggle against apartheid, a multi-party negotiation process that resulted in the country's transition to democracy in the 1990s.
- **Kenya's National Dialogue and Reconciliation:** The process established in 2008 to address post-election violence and promote national cohesion.
- **Tunisia's National Dialogue Quartet:** In this instance, a coalition of civil society organisations facilitated a national dialogue process. The outcome contributed to the country's democratic transition in 2013.

ANC Approach to National Dialogue

1. The NGC noted critical themes in the NGC base document that provide a framework for the ANC's inputs into the substantive themes and issues, including the urgent transformation and renewal programme premised on the following pillars and the detailed proposals therein: (i) Defining an Effective Developmental Path for Growth and Social Equity – for better outcomes and impact toward the South Africa we want. (ii) Nation-Building, Social Cohesion and Empowerment of the Motive Forces – to unify society behind the agenda of transformation, "a better life for all". (iii) Renewal of the ANC as an Agent of Change – to rebuild the leadership, organisational and ideological capacity needed to drive transformation; and (iv) Navigating a Complex Global Situation – to advance and defend our national interests and the African agenda amid global shifts.
2. The NGC also noted that the National Dialogue process will take place at a time when the country is preparing for the local government elections. It appreciates that the movement must navigate this complex period, ensuring the people-centred and inclusive nature of the National Dialogue, while focusing on clawing back and regaining the trust of the people.
3. Guided by our broad front approaches, the ANC's participation in the National Dialogue should include: (a) forming partnerships with various sectors to co-host National Dialogue events (at local, provincial and national level); (b) participating in various sectoral dialogues; and participating in ward-based dialogues to advance progressive national interests.
4. The NGC supports this process to engage sectors in society advocating for progressive transformation and takes note of the diversity of sectors that convened (over 34) as part of the National Dialogue process, indicating a vibrant, pro-transformation and active civil society.
5. The NGC supports the overarching themes for the National Dialogue, and also agreed that there is a need for a rapid response in addressing the identified areas:
   - A dynamic, inclusive economy, jobs and livelihoods
   - Crime and corruption (alcohol and drug abuse)
   - Winning the future through education and a healthy nation
   - Fixing the state and making the Constitution work (including dealing with porous borders, amongst others)
   - Building on South African values, culture and strengthening the social fabric, as well as moral regeneration
   - Gender and GBVF

- Dealing with intergenerational trauma and healing
- Land restitution, environmental justice and mineral rights, as well as climate change
- Poverty and inequality

6. The NGC further proposed a theme on Building a Better Africa and World in light of current global instabilities, our ongoing commitment to the African Agenda and the successful hosting of the G20.
7. The African National Congress (ANC), its Alliance and MDM formations should continue to play a constructive and credible role in South Africa's National Dialogue process, which aims to address pressing socio-economic challenges and foster national unity.
8. The NGC proposes that the process of the National Dialogue should form part of the ongoing engagement in the Alliance Political Council.
9. The Commission proposes that there must be continuous training and preparation of branches and all ANC structures to participate meaningfully in the National Dialogue process.
10. The ANC's participation in the National Dialogue must be guided by the following core principles: **Transparency, Inclusivity, Objectivity, People-Centredness and Action Orientation.**
    - **Transparency** involves publishing budgets, timelines, and progress reports to maintain accountability, including ensuring that the process remains citizen-led.
    - **Inclusivity** ensures that all sectors—civil society, business, labour, youth, women and men, and marginalised communities, as well as government—have a voice and play their part in facilitating and shaping the dialogue.
    - **Objectivity** requires that the ANC avoid dominating processes and instead empower independent facilitation.
    - **Action Orientation** focuses on translating dialogue outcomes into measurable policy changes and development programmes.
    - **People-Centred** means the National Dialogue must involve as many citizens as possible, from all walks of life, across sectors, generations, rural and urban, men and women.
11. These principles will help the ANC navigate political sensitivities, counter perceptions of hijacking, and foster genuine collaboration across diverse stakeholders.
12. In ensuring political management of the National Dialogue process, the NGC proposes a policy framework which provides a structured approach for ANC participation, ensuring transparency, inclusivity, and measurable outcomes with five phases: **Preparation & Positioning, Stakeholder Engagement, Dialogue Facilitation, Consensus Building & Roadmap Development, and Implementation & Oversight.** Each phase should have clear objectives, key performance indicators (KPIs), and timelines to guide execution. The framework emphasises neutrality, collaboration with civil society and opposition parties, and adherence to constitutional values.
13. Phase 1 spans the first three months and focuses on establishing credibility and laying the groundwork for inclusive engagement. Objectives include forming an ANC Dialogue Task Team with clear terms of reference, publicly committing to non-dominance, and developing a communication strategy that emphasises unity and transparency. KPIs for this phase include successful formation of the task team, publication of the communication strategy, and public statements affirming neutrality. These actions will set the tone for the entire process, signalling the ANC's willingness to share power and prioritise national interests over partisan gains.

14. Phase 2 occurs between months three and six and aims to build trust and broaden participation. Objectives include convening consultative forums with civil society, opposition parties, business, labour, and community organisations, as well as launching public awareness campaigns through media and town halls. KPIs include the number of forums held, publication of a draft agenda for feedback, and achievement of regional representation across provinces. This phase is critical for ensuring that the dialogue reflects diverse perspectives and is not perceived as an ANC-controlled initiative.
15. Phase 3 spans months six to twelve and focuses on enabling structured, inclusive discussions on priority issues such as economic recovery, governance, and social justice. Objectives include hosting national and provincial dialogue sessions moderated by independent facilitators and leveraging digital platforms for public input. KPIs include the number of sessions conducted, the volume of public contributions collected online, and publication of weekly summaries for transparency. This phase ensures that the dialogue moves beyond symbolic gestures and engages substantively with South Africa's most pressing challenges.
16. Phase 4, covering months twelve to eighteen, aims to translate dialogue outcomes into actionable plans and secure stakeholder buy-in. Objectives include drafting a National Dialogue Roadmap with measurable targets and establishing a multi-stakeholder monitoring body to oversee implementation. KPIs include completion of the roadmap document, formation of the monitoring body, and scheduling of annual progress reviews. This phase is pivotal for converting dialogue into tangible policy commitments and ensuring accountability through shared oversight mechanisms. Phase 5 begins after eighteen months and focuses on delivering results and maintaining momentum beyond the dialogue. Objectives include integrating the roadmap into government planning and budgeting processes, publishing annual progress reports, and sustaining public engagement through continuous communication. KPIs include successful integration of roadmap priorities into official policy frameworks, timely release of progress reports, and ongoing stakeholder consultations. This phase ensures that the dialogue does not end as a once-off event but evolves into a long-term mechanism for inclusive dialogue to enhance governance, and social and economic transformation.
17. By following this roadmap, the ANC can demonstrate leadership that prioritises the collective good over partisan interests, rebuild public trust, and contribute to a progressive and sustainable social compact for the next 30 years.

Arts, Culture, Heritage, Sports and Archives

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

A. On Social Cohesion, Patriotism and Moral Regeneration

- As part of cadre development, deepening the understanding of the National Question and the National Democratic Revolution, and creating a cohesive organisation that is deeply rooted in society, the ANC developed compulsory foundational political education modules to be undertaken by all members of the organisation.
- The step-aside posture adopted by the organisation assists in moral regeneration.

5th NGC therefore recommended:

1. As part of political education, the political school must develop focused modules on social cohesion, patriotism and moral regeneration.
2. The organisation needs to take the issue of lifestyle audits into consideration as part of developing a cohesive and moral organisation.
3. Related to the structure of the Committee, the structure of the Arts, Culture, Sport, Heritage and Archives sector must be cascaded down to the provinces, regions and branches.
4. Use heritage sites such as Freedom Park to communicate the morality, values, philosophy and history of the liberation struggle.
5. The ANC must develop infrastructure to communicate its achievements; for example, Radio Freedom during the exile period was a strong communication tool to link with internal structures and the population in conveying the message of the ANC.
6. Use historical schools as a base for community development through sport, arts and culture. Former prominent students who are ANC stalwarts should be at the forefront of leading social cohesion, patriotism and moral regeneration projects. For example, Adams College produced ANC Presidents, and St Johns in Umtata had a number of MK combatants and many prominent former students.

B. On Arts and Culture in the ANC

5th NGC noted:

- The ANC held a dialogue with the creative sector in April 2024. The major concern of creative industry practitioners was the Copyright Amendment Bill and the Performers' Protection Amendment Bill.
- The ANC NEC Arts, Culture and Sport Sub-Committee held a workshop with the Copyright Coalition of South Africa on 7 June 2025 at Luthuli House.
- As a result of the intervention of the ANC, the President referred both Bills to the Constitutional Court.
  • The ANC held a dialogue with the creative sector in April 2024. The major concern of creative industry practitioners was the Copyright Amendment Bill and the Performers' Protection Amendment Bill.

On arts and culture, the NGC recommended that the ANC must:

1. Continue to monitor the case at the Constitutional Court on the Copyright Amendment Bill and the Performers' Protection Amendment Bill.
2. Promote cultural exchange programmes with international artists.
3. Use digital technology to promote arts, culture and heritage, such as podcasts, to counter right-wing propaganda against the ANC.

4. Use arts, culture and heritage as a vehicle for mobilisation.
5. Campaign for Lotto funding to be used to fund arts, culture and heritage.
6. Revive the Cultural Desks and Medu Arts Ensemble, and engage in memorial lectures as a form of mobilisation from branch level.
7. Use arts, culture and heritage to foster national identity, mental well-being, creativity and economic development.

C. Arts and Culture in Government

5th NGC notes that the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture (DSAC) in government:

- Funds art centres in the country which are based in communities
- Is building libraries in communities and stocking them with books.
- Has reprinted classic African Series literature to make it accessible to schools and libraries.
- Promotes art festivals where indigenous cuisines are promoted, together with contemporary choreography and dance, presenting work ranging from community-based dance troupes to international companies.
- Supports theatres in all provinces to promote indigenous dramas, music, dance, cabaret, etc.

Further recommends:

1. Funding of community art centres that the DSAC has built in communities must also include budgets to employ staff in the centres, to prevent them from becoming white elephants.
2. The building of libraries must be extended to include new and emerging communities with large populations where there are no resources.
3. The SABC must be used as a vehicle to promote local indigenous content across all mediums, and to promote South African history and heritage through storytelling.

D. On Heritage

5th NGC recommendations:

1. At the next January 8 celebration, the ANC commemorates 40 years since the 1986 state of emergency, during which thousands were detained, as well as 65 years since the formation of MK.
2. The ANC formulates a definition of heritage that is rooted in African experiences and values. This can be a nationwide campaign to locate heritage at a local level.
3. The ANC subcommittee must strategically engage relevant provincial departments and municipalities to ensure that heritage management is implemented in accordance with legislation.
4. The ANC must make available to researchers, as part of the liberation heritage route, writings of ANC history and biographies of comrades written when they went into exile.
5. The Resistance and Liberation Heritage Route was declared by UNESCO as part of the World Heritage Sites. The sites were recognised as part of the serial nomination. The next phase should now include sites that were not incorporated in the first phase.
6. The Department of Sport, Arts and Culture, in partnership with the Department of Military Veterans and the Department of Justice Missing Persons Task Team, repatriated the remains of fallen comrades from Zambia and Zimbabwe in September 2024. Work is being done on the repatriation of human remains from Angola and the construction of a monument and memorial in Vianna Transit Camp outside Luanda.

7. The National Geographical Names Council is charged with the renaming of geographical names. As part of this, the ANC must urge government to rethink the naming of national days to reflect the historical events that took place on those identified days; e.g., Reconciliation Day to be changed to Heroes' Day.
8. The DMV and DSAC must collaborate on military history. Furthermore, it is recommended that the DMV establish a unit or branch that focuses on the heritage of the liberation movements' military wings.
9. In some provinces, the heroes' acres are full; local government must identify land for the reburial of heroes.

E. On Archives

1. The archives of the ANC are at the University of Fort Hare, and part of them has been digitised. President Cyril Ramaphosa signed an addendum to the original Memorandum of Agreement in 2022, which was signed by President Nelson Mandela in 1991. The addendum relates to the digital archives. The Committee is engaging the University of Fort Hare to resolve challenges relating to the ANC archives, especially the digital archive.
2. Government maintains provincial and national archives. Public universities have established archives which are well managed. Plans are underway to digitise the National Archives for the preservation of authentic documents and information.
3. At a local level, libraries must be used as spaces where community archives are kept and preserved.
4. Digitisation efforts must be sped up.

F. On Sports

- The Department of Sport, Arts and Culture is championing gender parity, which continues to be a matter of national interest. Access to facilities, employment, and full participation in the economy of sport by women and persons with disabilities are major priorities for government, as we implement the mandate of enabling equal opportunities for women and men, young boys and young girls.
- Government is also committed to ensuring that all women's national teams are paid the same as men's national teams when they represent the country. It cannot be that in 2025 and beyond women represent South Africa in various sporting codes, yet their quality of life is not improved through sport, while the quality of life of men in sport who represent the country has improved.
- Sport has been successfully utilised as a catalyst for social cohesion.

Recommendations

- Intensify efforts, in collaboration with the private sector, to close gender inequality in all areas of sport, including the full participation of women in the economy of sport.
- Strict monitoring of governance in federations to ensure that funds assist athletes and are not used by officials for lavish lifestyles.
- The DSAC and the Department of Basic Education must work together to bring sport back to previously disadvantaged schools.
- SALGA Games must be revived and linked to school sport.

Cross-cutting Issues

- Budgets in support of arts, culture and heritage.
- Arts, culture, heritage, sport, and indigenous knowledge systems should be utilised by the ANC as a means to conscientise various sectors of society on South Africa's history and heritage, and to galvanise support for the ANC.
- We must define the culture we are referring to.
- Start writing the history of the ANC by the ANC itself. The ANC must start collecting oral histories before those with first-hand knowledge pass on.

Programmatic Actions Required 2026–2027 and towards 2032

1. The sector must develop a budget for sport facilities in communities.
2. A summit/indaba on arts, culture, heritage, archives and sport must be organised nationally, with clear national priorities and an action plan.
3. Resources must be made available and supported for different sporting codes, including those started by communities; for example, pitsa ya kgale.
4. Revival of the art centres by municipalities.
5. Schools must prioritise the use of sport as a mechanism for youth development, to foster a culture of participation from grassroots level. Additionally, sports infrastructure must be constructed through sports academies to address various social ills.
6. Legislation must be pioneered for equal pay in sport.
7. On indigenous knowledge and archives, the DSAC and Science and Technology must collaborate on IKS and archives.
8. Focus on campaigns targeting young people, who are the majority of the population and, by implication, the majority of voters, using arts, culture and heritage.
9. The ANC must use indigenous knowledge to engage with society.
10. Government must make archives accessible to youth through social media and communication platforms.
11. Use AI and indigenous knowledge systems to address digital capacity for cooperation, taking note of changing dynamics in the international relations sphere.
12. Arts, Culture, Sport, Heritage and Archives must be part of the agenda of the National Dialogue and be full participants in these processes.
13. Partnerships with bodies such as NaLHISA, which focus on mobilising the return of liberation archives to South Africa, must be supported and strengthened.
14. Develop a route from Kongwa to Freedom Park; this must also be linked with other liberation movements, making it a regional programme.

Risks

1. The setback and the GNU resulted in the portfolio being under the leadership of the opposition, both within the state and in the portfolio committee in Parliament, creating an environment where ANC policy resolutions may not be implemented.
2. The ANC therefore needs to design strategies for using arts, culture, heritage and IKS to mobilise support for ANC policies within communities, with a particular emphasis on youth.

Communications, Battle of Ideas and ICT

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

A. Battle of Ideas and ANC Communications

- The aims of the battle of ideas in the current period are to reclaim ideological leadership and rebuild narrative power within the new communications epoch of a Government of National Unity. Narrative power = political power.
- The communications landscape in 2025 is characterised by: society interpreting reality through contested media ecosystems; hostile forces distorting the ANC's record; social distress being politicised – "Freedom means recognition of necessity"; fragmentation weakening our credibility; lack of message discipline undermining our efforts; and a narrowing progressive media space.
- Various measures are being implemented to recalibrate and strengthen the ANC's communication machinery.

Assessment of Implementation of 55th Conference Resolutions on Communication and the Battle of Ideas

- Communication and the battle of ideas remain a strategic pillar of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR);
- Implementation of the communication policy and strategy for uniform application, consistent with organisational protocols;
- Establishment of the Provincial Communicators Forum to improve coordination and effectiveness;
- Enhancing the role of the DCIP in popularising all ANC policies, programmes and positions is well under way;
- Establishment of a well-coordinated communication machinery – [e.g. daily media monitoring and rapid response];
- Successful transition from the DIP to DCIP – streamlining the ICT component within the work of the department;
- Development of communications material and effective support for the 2024 campaign and subsequent by-elections;
- Convening of Communications Assemblies in two provinces, in addition to the National Communications Assembly;
- Strategic alignment of ANC work and improved coordination between the ANC, the ANC Parliamentary Caucus and government communicators;
- Establishment of modernised digital tools (videos, ANC Podcast, ANC TV) alongside existing digital media platforms;
- Ideological content revival: Justice to Memory and Freedom Charter @ 70 campaigns;
- The Foundation Course has been instrumental in political education, which is a central pillar of the battle of ideas.

Challenges of Implementation

- Lack of resources affects the implementation of effective communications solutions, e.g. AI;
- The cost of communication has increased, and no budget has been assigned to communications work in the ANC;
- Poor messaging: many messages, many voices = contradictory statements;
- Lack of engagement and coordination in the appointment of communicators to support ANC deployees;
- Elevation of communication as a KPI for all deployees of the ANC;
- Poorly coordinated ANC-government communication, especially within the GNU;
- Leveraging Parliament in the battle of ideas through questions, statements and PCO work, etc.;
- Uneven capacity across provinces and regions;
- Dilution and undermining of messaging coherence through factional and narrow political interests detrimental to the organisation;
- Failure to consistently engage in the battle of ideas on key platforms such as talk radio and social media through coordinated content plans from branch to national.

Key Programmatic Actions Required: Strengthening or Review in 2026–2027 and towards 2032

1. Building internal capacity of the organisation and securing the necessary resources;
2. Establishment of one centre of communication in line with organisational protocols;
3. Effective implementation of the organisational strategy and policies – effective consequence management!!!
4. Engage the media as an ideologically contested stakeholder;
5. Capacity-building and ideological training for membership and leadership—not only communications practitioners;
6. Capacitate and enable sub-committee chairs to communicate ANC-aligned messages more effectively;
7. Without losing the importance of political education (which is a core contemporary component), our messaging must become more contemporary and appealing to the targeted audience;
8. Integrate political and ideological training of ANC members across all spheres and strengthen the work of the DCIP;
9. Alignment of the GCIS and the DCIP to better communicate the work of the ANC-led government;
10. Reaffirm our resolve to regain public trust and rebuild Brand ANC—avoiding conduct that brings the brand into disrepute;
11. Research-based communications through the establishment of a Research Centre to support evidence-based communications;
12. Secondary specialised content support through third-party endorsers (e.g. economy, law, agriculture, finance, tourism and conservation…).

ANC Communications Risks and Mitigation

- On the ANC's failure to invest in and accelerate media relationship management: all spokespersons must meet all key media houses at least once a month and respond immediately to unfair media coverage; counter the culture of conservative narrative messaging; strengthen communication protocols; and enable leadership to interact with the motive forces;
- On hostile disinformation networks: enhance our own unmediated communication platforms and networks;
- Relations with community media: prioritise community media as a communication platform of choice;
- On service delivery: no amount of communication can outperform people's lived experiences—service delivery must be accelerated. Capacity gaps in provinces require harmonising and standardising communications capacity in provinces and regions/municipalities. Communication is not a silver bullet.

B. On ICT and Digital Transformation

Context

- The 5th NGC noted that the digital economy remains central to the advancement of the NDR;
- The need for sovereign, inclusive digital technology and infrastructure (threat of digital colonialism—we must own our own technologies) – "Transforming SA from consumer to producer"; global platform dominance e.g. X, Netflix, TikTok, etc.;
- State-led development vs neoliberal dependency – the state must lead rollout in under-serviced and rural communities;
- The 4IR is reshaping economic structures—the world of work is changing;
- Fragmentation, duplication and weak state capacity to lead digital transformation; local innovation not scaled; low domestic intellectual property generation; outdated legislation (e.g. the Broadcasting Act was promulgated in 2005 before online media streaming services).

IMPLEMENTATION OF 55TH CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS ON ICT AND DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION AND INCLUSION

- Spectrum auction concluded in March 2022, raising over R14 billion; regulatory framework for the Wireless Open Access Network established;
- Connectivity at 74.7% (2024); mobile penetration > 90% in 2024;
- SA Post Office Business Rescue Plan adopted; digital hub model developed; partial integration with government services;
- ICT SOE review underway; partial integration achieved in shared infrastructure projects;
- Youth digital literacy initiatives launched by Nemisa to drive digital skills development; 150k young people trained;
- Digital skills and coding introduced in schools; partnerships with SETAs and universities;
- E-government portal under development; some services digitised.

ICT AND DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION: AREAS TO STRENGTHEN OR REVIEW

A. On Universal Access and Digital Transformation

1. The ANC must champion a paradigm shift that recognises broadband internet access as essential infrastructure, on par with electricity, water and roads. Government must invest in fibre-optic backbone infrastructure, particularly in underserved areas where private-sector investment is not forthcoming;
2. To eliminate duplication, improve efficiencies and increase investment impact, government must develop an Integrated Digital Infrastructure Plan to drive state-led digital infrastructure development and ensure coordinated deployment of digital resources;
3. Government investment towards technology development and connectivity—including implementation of the PC4IR Report, the Digital Master Plan and the Digital Transformation Roadmap—should be coordinated by national government and across the three spheres of government to ensure alignment and reduce fragmentation;
4. Technological and telecommunications capabilities held by state-owned companies must be coordinated, consolidated and leveraged for greater impact and faster digital services for government and the public. Eskom, Sentech, Transnet, BBI and Telkom capabilities should be streamlined to enable effective digitisation.

B. On Broadcasting

5. Urgent recapitalisation of the SABC and review of the funding model to ensure fiscal support to finance the public mandate;
6. Expedite the passing of the SABC Bill to address the long-term sustainability of the national broadcaster;
7. Monitor the implementation of recommendations of the Competition Commission Media and Digital Platforms Market Inquiry on how digital platforms and social media affect news media, advertising revenue, and the rise of AI;
8. Enforce the 30% set-aside by all government departments and entities for community media and the SABC;
9. Fast-track digital migration;
10. Strengthen policy to direct all government departments to use media bulk buying through GCIS.

C. On Postal Services

11. Reaffirm and fast-track implementation of the conference resolution to reposition the South African Post Office as a digital services, e-commerce and financial inclusion hub;
12. Fast-track the process of establishing the State Bank through the Postbank. Direct government support towards the Bank.

D. On Deepening Transformation and Policy Reform:

13. Ensure spectrum allocation is used to drive economic empowerment and transformation in the sector, and expedite the establishment of the Wireless Open Access Network (WOAN);
14. Review the current licensing regime and the effectiveness of universal service obligations ahead of the upcoming renewal of licences by mobile network operators;
15. Fast-track the regulation of over-the-top services and online media (including podcasts);
16. Assess and strengthen legislation and regulations in respect of online gambling;
17. Urgent modernisation of laws to govern emerging technologies like AI, cloud computing, MVNOs and fintech. Government must also provide support to the gaming and content creator economy;

18. Develop policy, legal and regulatory safeguards against misinformation and disinformation;
19. Enable investment through clear, predictable regulatory frameworks and embed transformation and inclusivity in the digital economy;
20. Convert the Universal Service Access Fund into a digital development fund and expand investment in research to encourage innovation, local manufacturing, and the development of sovereign, inclusive digital infrastructure and technology.

E. Towards an inclusive digital economy: human capabilities in the digital age:

21. Expand connectivity to rural and township communities through implementation of the SA Connect programme;
22. Monitor the implementation of the recommendations of the Competition Commission Data Services Market Inquiry to reduce the high costs of data;
23. Reaffirm and fast-track implementation of the conference resolution to reposition the South African Post Office as a digital services, e-commerce and financial inclusion hub;
24. Fast-track the schools connectivity programme and expand digital skills training to develop the human capabilities required for the digital age.

CONCLUSION

- Fast-track the transformation of the advertising sector, printing and digital media, as well as data collection and data sovereignty;
- Fast-track ownership of ICT infrastructure and services by historically disadvantaged individuals;
- The NEC must adopt a consequence management framework to encourage deployees to be responsive to the implementation of determined communication interventions;
- Adopt communication as a central pillar of renewal.

Finance, Resource Mobilisation & Operations

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8–11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

A. Introduction

1. The 5th National General Council affirmed its unwavering commitment to the financial health and organisational renewal of the movement. The Finance Commission was attended by 67 delegates from the National Finance Committee (NFC), Leagues, and Provincial, Regional and Branch Treasurers, as well as PBF and PCF directors, supported by the assigned scribes. The NGC received and deliberated upon a detailed Financial Report, with a focus on additional details to the report presented to plenary by the Treasurer General.
2. The NGC acknowledged and supported the report presented by the Treasurer General to the National General Council (NGC) plenary on the first day of the NGC. Additional details were presented, including a comprehensive statement of finances comprising Annual Financial Statements for the years 2022/2023, 2023/2024 and 2024/2025; the Balance Sheet; increased capacity for raising revenue; and new income streams being explored. This progress was made possible due to the contributions of many at national, provincial, regional and branch levels, including the role of the National Finance Committee, the National Treasurers Forum, and the various entities of the ANC.
3. The presentation further outlined both the domestic and global geopolitical environment, including subjective and objective factors that enable and/or impede the ANC's ability to achieve financial sustainability. Amongst others, the strategic recovery and sustainable funding plan is centred on three key priorities: 1.) improving brand equity; 2.) providing credible and impactful leadership; and 3.) attaining a healthy balance sheet and clean audit.
4. The NGC noted that internal financial stabilisation was achieved in the first eighteen months leading to the May 2024 National and Provincial Elections (2024 NPE), evidenced by the successful resolution of obligations related to employees and an improved balance sheet. Areas of high impact included consistent monthly payment of employee salaries, medical aid, pension fund contributions, SARS obligations, and establishing capacity towards achieving the Conference mandate of financial sustainability.
5. The NGC also noted that a major area of work-in-progress is the consolidation of financial reports towards the next Conference, to reflect a more comprehensive report that includes provinces, regions, caucuses, as well as the various entities of the ANC. Caucuses should be engaged to align programmes and activities with the adopted ANC Programme of Action.
6. The NGC further noted that the ANC suffered an electoral setback in the 2024 NPE, marking the first time since 1994 that the party's support in the National Assembly fell below the 50% threshold necessary to govern without a coalition. This strategic setback presents systemic and substantial financial implications, primarily through the direct erosion of revenue from levies on deployed personnel; a systemic reduction in allocated Caucus Funds; a proportional decrease in IEC grant allocations from both the state and the Multi-Party Fund; as well as a significant decline in donor support.
7. Recovery in electoral performance and regaining the support of society, especially the motive forces, remains crucial not only for the financial sustainability of the ANC, but also for the ANC to continue advancing the strategic objective of the NDR in South Africa and to contribute significantly towards a Better Africa and World.
8. The Finance Commission was appraised of measures instituted by the organisation to mitigate this altered financial position towards recovery and sustainability, including operational efficiencies; limiting salary increases to lower-paid staff; ANC caucuses aligning their work

with the ANC Programme of Action in areas of constituency work, communication, research and monitoring, as well as elections. Furthermore, member-based contributions towards self-sustainability include levies, membership fees, loyalty programmes, #MyANCPledge, PCF/PBF subscriptions and commercial activities such as hosting events.

B. Implementation of 55th Conference Resolutions on Financial Sustainability and Renewal

9. Despite the strategic setback post the 2024 NPE, the Commission acknowledges and applauds progress in financial sustainability, governance and revenue generation:
• **Financial Health & Debt Management:** Improved solvency and liquidity. Significant reduction of historical debt. Payment arrangements with major creditors.
• **Historical Debt and Liabilities:** Historical SARS liability settled; Provident Fund brought to good standing; and bank overdraft settled.
• **Governance and Controls:** Enhanced governance systems and controls. Establishment of the National Finance Committee, National Treasurers Forum, Internal Audit System, Audit & Risk Committee, and Procurement Committee. The National Finance Committee receives quarterly and annual financial statements and engages with auditors. Measures are in place to strengthen internal controls and compliance with the Political Party Funding Act (PPFA).
• **Executive Efficiency:** Currently, there are 3 full-time officials (SG, 1st DSG, and TG) and six other NEC members with specific tasks (Head of DCIP/ Spokesperson, Head of Organising, Head of Elections, Head of Political Education/ School, Head of Policy, Research and Monitoring, Head of the Presidency).
• **Audit Results:** For the IEC Audit, the organisation received an unqualified audit outcome for its Income Report for the 2022/23, 2023/24 and 2024/25 financial years. For the donation report, the movement attained an unqualified audit with an emphasis of matter for the 2022/23, 2023/24 and 2024/25 financial years. The emphasis of matter is centred around challenges in disclosing donations at all levels of the ANC.
• **Revenue Diversification and Fundraising Capacity:** Diversification of revenue streams remains work in progress. Establishment of the National Finance Committee fulfils the dedicated fundraising team resolution. Efforts to explore new investment opportunities are ongoing. The Progressive Business Forum (PBF) has successfully increased revenue sources through events and engagements, hosting over 100 fundraising events.
• **Property and Asset Management:** The resolution to consolidate properties under a Trust is underway. Physical inspection and verification of 11 properties have been completed, with ongoing efforts to verify, inspect and evaluate properties both domestically and internationally. The plan to utilise property assets for revenue generation is underway (e.g., market analyses, lease renegotiations and trading from the farm).

C. Challenges

10. Despite this progress, implementation faces significant challenges. Financial sustainability is threatened by high operational costs and the risk of reversing progress due to reduced revenue post-2024 NPE. There is a lack of a coherent, standardised, organisation-wide asset management system, and a policy alignment deficit between Treasurers and Secretariats regarding budgetary and procurement functions related to organisational programmes.
11. The unintended consequences of the Political Party Funding Act (PPFA) have severely constrained traditional revenue streams and increased the weaponisation of financial information by hostile forces, compounded by the disproportionate funding of opposition parties. The organisation also faces emerging contribution fatigue among donors and concerns about funds raised in the ANC's name not reaching official accounts.

12. State funding quantum remains far from fully covering the cost of managing a political party with democratic participation and elections every two and a half years.
13. High operational costs (staff, travel, meetings, events, elections) and the management of historical and legal creditor debts.

D. Financial Management & Systems

14. Weak and inconsistent Supply Chain Management (SCM) practices, not always resulting in value for money.
15. A challenging process of repatriating ANC properties registered under individuals' estates.

E. Standardisation, Capacity of organisation structures

16. The SGO and the TGO have developed a standard organogram, which is pending consultation and costing.
17. The devolution of the provincial salary bill requires careful management and transitional funding to prevent it from resulting in layoffs. As salaries and levies are devolved to provinces, caucuses must absorb employees through a phased-in approach, in consultation with Chief Whips and Provincial Treasurers, within the legislative provisions.
18. Campaign volunteers, particularly the unemployed, often develop expectations of employment or reward after elections. The movement must manage expectations and ensure they are not left behind or targeted by others.
19. Deployed comrades are often not sufficiently capacitated for their roles.
20. Concerns were raised over unnecessary outsourcing of professional work (e.g., lawyers, engineers) when internal capacity exists. We must aim to develop internal capacity.
21. Opportunities include leveraging the ANC's strong brand affinity across national, regional and international footprints; the full value chain of Trusts and Entities; the business sector's keenness to fund sustainability and democracy (including through the IEC Multi-Party Fund); and a positive regional and global trade and investment climate.

F. 5th NGC Recommended the following priority Action areas to strengthen Financial Sustainability and Operations

1. The NGC observed that the material conditions informing the 55th National Conference resolutions have profoundly shifted, both domestically and globally, necessitating urgent adaptation. The most significant domestic impact stems from the 2024 strategic setback, while the global environment is marked by a hostile geopolitical context involving external pressures and disproportionate funding of opposition parties. Adaptation requires taking up new strategic initiatives, including fostering greater South-to-South cooperation and actively leveraging platforms like the Liberation Movement, AfCFTA and the BRICS Plus Bloc.
2. Implement the new standardised HR and Salary Policy and strategically manage the staff migration process to provinces with transitional funding.
3. Fundraising should be led by Treasurers and comrades duly appointed to do so. Mandate all ANC entities to submit audited annual financial statements by the end of August.
4. Complete implementation of the standardised, binding financial, asset management and SCM systems.
5. **Training & Capacity:** Develop treasurers' guidelines and protocols supported by training and capacity development. Roll out the curriculum for branch treasurers developed through the OR Tambo School. Conduct the proposed international training for Provincial Treasurers and bookkeepers in 2026, focusing on financial management.
6. The PBF will establish chapters at provincial, regional and sub-regional levels. They will

conduct roadshows to implement this programme.

7. The PCF will target ANC members to subscribe for monthly contributions, starting with staff in ANC offices, caucuses and political offices of deployed comrades across all three spheres, including diplomatic missions.
8. **Membership Fee Increase:** The Commission agreed that the increase must be incremental at a low rate, and therefore agreed that it must be R50.00 as opposed to the R100.00 proposal by the NEC. The Commission further recommends that part of the membership fee must remain at branch level to fund branch activities, and to motivate branches to renew membership.
9. The NGC further recommends that a branch bank account should be included as part of the criteria for a branch in good standing.
10. The NGC further recommends that the PPFA donation limits should be doubled.
11. **Ring-fencing of Election Funds:** A dedicated and intensified programme on resource mobilisation and fundraising.
12. **2026 Election Material Audit:** Each structure must audit its election material before the announcement of candidates.
13. There must be a call to government to implement the transformation agenda on the economy, to ensure that 40% of state procurement is allocated for women, and that payments for services rendered to government departments are made within 30 days, to protect the growth of SMMEs.

G. Risks for Motive Forces: How to Mitigate

- The movement's recovery and renewal from declining electoral performance depends on closing the social distance through vibrant, strong and viable branches and programmes that inspire the electorate, especially the motive forces. The renewal programme must therefore have clear goals and objectives supported by organisational resilience to ensure financial recovery and sustainability.
- Despite the challenges of funding our liberation movement, it is imperative to stabilise and achieve the 55th National Conference resolution to become self-sustainable.
- This is not for the sake of the ANC, but for the sake of the South African people whose liberation hopes and dreams lie with the ANC. These are the motive forces of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). For them, we must adapt to the new realities confronting the struggle.

Consequence Management

a) **Mandatory Training:** Implement a mandatory training programme for Treasurers and establish compulsory Treasurer Forums from branch level upwards to ensure policies are consistently followed. Non-compliance with training should result in removal from financial management roles.

b) **Fiscal Discipline:** Enforce clearly set out rules for which expenditures are managed by National, Provincial, Regional and Branch accounts to ensure fiscal discipline and proper delegation of authority. Non-adherence to these expenditure rules must trigger a review by the oversight structure.

c) **Brand Integrity as a Priority:** The NEC has made "Improve Brand Equity" a priority for financial sustainability. Non-performance by members and deployees that damages the brand, or conduct associated with brand damage, must be addressed decisively, as it cripples fundraising.

d) **Brand Integrity is Financial Integrity:** The ANC must stabilise its brand and reclaim its political integrity.

e) **Every Member is a Brand Ambassador:** Every member must act as a brand ambassador and commit to the hard work necessary to tangibly and permanently disassociate the organisation from negative tendencies that impact the brand.

f) **Active Deployment:** Mandate deployees and structures to proactively and consistently pronounce on achievements and gains in government to counteract negative narratives.

g) **Inter-Sphere Collaboration:** Implement a requirement for regular meetings between PCOs and local government councillors to ensure political and development efforts are coordinated at grassroots level. Deployees are expected to unify and activate Parliamentary Constituency Offices (PCOs) to be effective in their service and political work.

h) **Capacity Building:** Deployees who are not sufficiently capacitated for their roles must be supported by a dedicated training programme.

Policy Monitoring Evaluation and Research

Report of the 5th ANC NGC, 8-11 December 2025. Ekurhuleni

"Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children." **Amilcar Cabral, 1965**

Introduction

- **Why Policy Monitoring and Evaluation, Research (PMER): POLICY**: to turn our aspirations into reality, through strategies, programmes, laws, and campaigns, so that they impact on the motive forces and the development of the country; To reflect our goals of redress, equality, and social justice, as well as take account of reality, the link between outcomes and strategy (theory of change). **M&E:** To provide evidence-based insights and reports to ensure we achieve our goals, we pick up problems early, adjust and foster continuous learning. **RESEARCH**: expands knowledge, problem-solving, innovation, and helps us understand the world, also building critical thinking, credibility, and informing better decision-making. Our approach should combine monitoring research with site visits and build a cadre of community researchers in ANC branches and Leagues
- **For the ANC, PMER necessary because:** Transformation, and particularly the all-encompassing and multi-facetted, thorough-going NDR project is complex and there are no quick fixes. We have many resolutions, but we always complained about implementation in all conferences. To build a culture of accountability for our decisions and performance**.** Our Policy Planning Cycle is not always in sync, and there are discontinuities, in the ANC and in Government.
- The 5th National General Council reaffirmed the correctness of the resolution of the 55th National Conference to elevate monitoring, evaluation as a key function of the organization. It notes that the 2nd DSG heading Policy, Monitoring, Evaluation, Research (PMER) in ANC and Government; Provincial Deputy Secretaries and/or PEC members assigned to head respective PMER functions. PMER was established as one of the HQ Programme Departments, with a the 2ND DSG appointed as Head and a full-time NEC member.
- The NEC Policy Committee in 2023 adopted the PMER framework, and since then, specific Frameworks and tools have been developed and implemented, arising from this overarching Framework: Institutionalise ANC Annual reports, based on January 8 tasks of each year, Midterm report; Development and Monitoring of Manifestos: 2019 Review, lessons; 2024 Manifesto Outcomes-based approach and Results Framework, Election research, including a by-election tracker; ANC Accountability and the Leadership Framework: NEC, PECS and RECs, first conducted in 2024 and work in progress at the time of 5th NGC to review work of MPs and MPLs and ANC Councilors.

54th CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

ON POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION

Noting

- Our reliance on government and outside experts to develop and refine polices, especially in complex areas such as economic and social development. Our analysis that not all policies are implemented and that many are lost along the way.
- The fact that we do not have an effective system, to allow comrades in the executive to account to the organization for progress and delays in implementation.
- Our inability to effectively monitor and account for progress, as well as the impact of our policies.

RESOLVES

1. That the Policy Institute be set up as a matter of urgency as in previous conference resolutions.
2. That the Policy Institute is given the capacity and the resources needed to drive research, policy development, coordination of NEC Policy sub-committees, and monitoring and evaluation.
3. That the PI works closely with political education to school our deployees and our structures in ANC policy to strengthen implementation, our ability to communicate and monitoring capacity at all levels.
4. That we explore legislation in Parliament for publicly funded political party institutes or foundations that enable parties to play an improved role in issues of governance.

55th CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

On Accountability and Performance management, Conference resolved:

58) The ANC must strengthen accountability for Government interventions as instructed by the SGO. An ANC Policy, Monitoring and Evaluation Department must be established and fortified with appropriate mechanisms that should manage accountability and monitoring and evaluation of policy positions, including the implementation and progress thereof. All public representatives, including the Executive must report periodically against key performance areas

59) At national level the MPs and Caucus report to the NEC and are held accountable by the chief whip and the SGO. The president and cabinet also report to the NEC through the policy unit.

60) At provincial level the PEC should set up a similar policy monitoring structure under the Provincial Secretary's office to hold MPLs to account together with the chief whip and the caucus. The premier and executive committee or cabinet also report to the PEC through then policy unit. At district level the councillors and mayors and chief whips report to the PEC and ANC caucus.

At local municipal level there is no adequate reporting mechanism and it is proposed that the sub-regional structures and the leadership of the ANC in council meet regularly to discuss ward issues, problems and municipal programmes.

At a ward level the ward councillor sits ex-officio in the BEC and reports every three months to the members in branch meetings and to the voters in public meetings.

To provide proper political management of polices and local government. The National Local Government Forum must be revived with all MECs, relevant ministers, Treasury, COGTA, SGO, Provincial Secretaries, Political Education, Policy, Monitoring and Evaluation and Elections committies. The structure must be replicated at provincial level to ensure accountability, speedy and coherent intervention where needed.

Long term policy imperatives must not be overshadowed by short term interventions. NEC members should participate but not lead in sub-committees in their respective area of deployment in Government. The NEC must, periodically, review the functionality and performance of sub-committees. Technical experts should moderate progress made on key performance areas/indicators.

Further notes progress with the Branch Functionality Barometer, the concept developed after the 54th Conference and eventually piloted and implemented after the 55th National Conference, with roll-out since July 2025. The creation of Service Delivery War Room with Elections and Local Government Intervention Team; ANC Policy Coordination and Submissions; Elections Research support; and that ANC Manifesto Priorities are addressed within the Medium-Term Development Plan (MTDP) 2024-29, a plan of the 7th Administration.

5th NGC Notes on the 2030 National Development Plan

- The NDP is broad in scope as it addresses all facets of society. Assumptions informing the NDP adoption in 2012 have shifted. Assessment of progress, therefore, accounts for a range of nuances, demographic changes, economic performance and disruptions such as Covid-19 and global shifts.
- It further notes that none of the high-level targets are currently on track to meet the 2030 goals: **Poverty (to** Reduce lower-bound poverty rate from 36.4% (2012) to zero). **Inequality (to** Lower the Gini coefficient from 0.60). **Unemployment (to** Reduce from 24.9% to 6%). These goals assumed sustained **economic growth** of 5.4% annually from 2012. Of the 85 assessed in the government's Development Indicators 2024 Report: 13 (15%) are on track to meet their targets by 2030; 31 (36%) show promising progress; and 41 (48%) are unlikely to meet their 2030 targets.

On Strengths and Weakness of evolving ANC M&E architecture

- **Strengths :** Coordination between DPME, PMER and Caucus Research. Existence of research capacity in provincial Caucuses and cadres with sector specialist experience. Existence of accountability tools and OR Tambo School of Leadership, ETU and ANC links with various think tanks and universities. ANC continues to have a significant presence in various representative structures, serving as a base to advance. Reoriented outcomes-based approach of our PMER Frameworks, and by the government. Organisational presence across provinces. Leveraging efforts of government and non-government institutions to monitor and create coordinated data in government through various institutions such as DPME, Stats SA, HSRC, CSIR, etc. and independent research and think-tanks.
- **Challenges:** The NGC reasserted that, though policy changes will always occur as conditions change, weaknesses of policy implementation remain a major problem Insufficient utilisation of Parliamentary Constituency Offices to increase public engagement, weakened by a lack of availability of Public Representatives due to misalignment of deployments by the organisation and in government. Lack of clearly defined performance agreement and performance indicators that are linked to the policy implementation of deployed cadres – public representatives and executive authorities. Weaknesses in the implementation of the DDM are impacting an all-of-government approach in policy implementation. The political–administrative interface remains poorly managed, often resulting in instability, misaligned priorities, and a breakdown in service delivery. Several provinces have weak municipal implementation capacity and do not receive sufficient support from provincial departments. ANC Policy cycle, continuity and capacity for long-term planning
- **Changing Policy Implementation Environment**: Strategic setback of 2024: we no longer have a majority in Parliament, and in the Executive co-governs in a GNU, with not all ministries led by the ANC. 30 years, persistent poverty, inequality, unemployment - NDR at a crossroads? Complex challenges for deployees and ANC leaders
- **Towards 2032**: While long-term analysis over 30 years indicates areas of progress, momentum was lost in several areas. Acceleration towards the 2030 NDP and ANC2032 must be achieved with limited resources and greater focus. Adopt a longer-term view on design and delivery of political education, including constitutional and economic literacy across the board and a youth focus.

5th NGC Recommended the following priority Action areas to strengthen PMER

1. Capacity of provinces and regions to execute M&E functions
2. Strengthen the coordination of the PMER and other subcommittees to be mutually reinforcing
3. M&E at a provincial and regional level should be context-based. Focus M&E on thematic areas relevant to provinces and regions. Examples include monitoring of mining rights allocation and empowerment of communities, priority development corridors, and rural development
4. Increase focus on developing community-based dashboards and focus on community research - work with ETU and others to support the development of capacity
5. All deployed cadres should have a context-based performance agreement, and assessment should be done annually, linked to capacity development and consequences management
6. The leadership accountability mechanism must be strengthened, drawing lessons from international systems such as the Chinese *Nomenklatura* model, which monitors cadres' performance, discipline, and deploys and redeploys.
7. Provinces and Regions to develop research links with think tanks and institutions of higher education that are based in their location to leverage research focused on localities and to support evidence-based decision-making.
8. Strengthen data systems and data sharing – leverage mandates of departments, universities and research institutions – e.g. the National Data Policy Observatory (NPDO); National Strategic Hub on the DDM, which are publicly accessible.
9. Monitoring delivery at the coalface in communities and sectors.
10. Communication of ANC war room successes
11. Enhance the Intergovernmental Act to support the DDM and develop a Planning Bill to ascertain the legislative mandate of the DPME
12. Utilise existing evaluation evidence and research to inform review and acceleration of implementation, e.g. Food and Nutrition Security Plan, Land Restitution Evaluation Study, Mineral Policy and Impact on Mining Communities, and Spatial Development Framework, .
13. Implement a comprehensive organisational accountability framework for cadres. Learn from practices elsewhere, e.g. Vietnamese and Chinese Party's Department of Organisation, European social democratic parties, Rwanda M&E systems, etc.
14. Initiate structured ward-based needs assessments and feed these into district and municipal plans. This must help tailor M&E to district contexts and help localise the 2021 Local government Manifesto.
15. Enhance alignment of Plans and the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework
16. Strengthen M&E of basic services and socio-economic outcomes. Prioritise systematic tracking of water, electricity, roads, and housing, with quarterly performance barometers/ Dashboards across all provinces.
17. Evaluate DDM implementation and impact. Undertake an independent review of DDM delivery successes and failures, clarify roles of spheres, and redesign coordination mechanisms where impact is limited.
18. Address policy gaps in obvious areas of violations. Examples include farm evictions and unfair blockage imposed in the ocean economy in coastal regions; concerns of traditional leaders about growing crime in rural areas.
19. Get youth to assist with data collection in their localities, and equip them with relevant digital gadgets (e.g. tablets).
20. Ensure all public support programmes requiring applications have turnaround time indicators, e.g. to improve efficiency in processing of funding applications, timely provision of required support, etc.

21. Systematic monitoring of APP targets and performance indicators of organs of State to ensure an outcome-based focus
22. Presidency to ensure all performance agreements are finalised with Ministers, made public and monitored.
23. PMER system and frameworks needs to be institutionalised as a national system, from national, to provinces, regions and branches, and across ANC structures, Leagues, Caucuses and government deployees.

On Consequence Management

24. Consequences must be certain, timely, and consistently enforced. The Accountability framework should be linked to consequence management
25. Ethical breaches, corruption, non-performance, and neglect of deployment responsibilities must lead to decisive action. The ANC must ensure that councillors, deployees, and administrators who fail to perform are disciplined, recalled or replaced.
26. Deal with lack of reporting by deployed cadres, monitoring of policy implementation by subcommittees, and submission of accountability framework reports.
27. The Integrity Committee should have expanded powers, supported by strengthened M&E evidence, to act swiftly where wrongdoing is verified.
28. Consequence management must also address failures in public administration - including unspent funds, poor service delivery, and administrative delays – to ensure accountability at all levels.



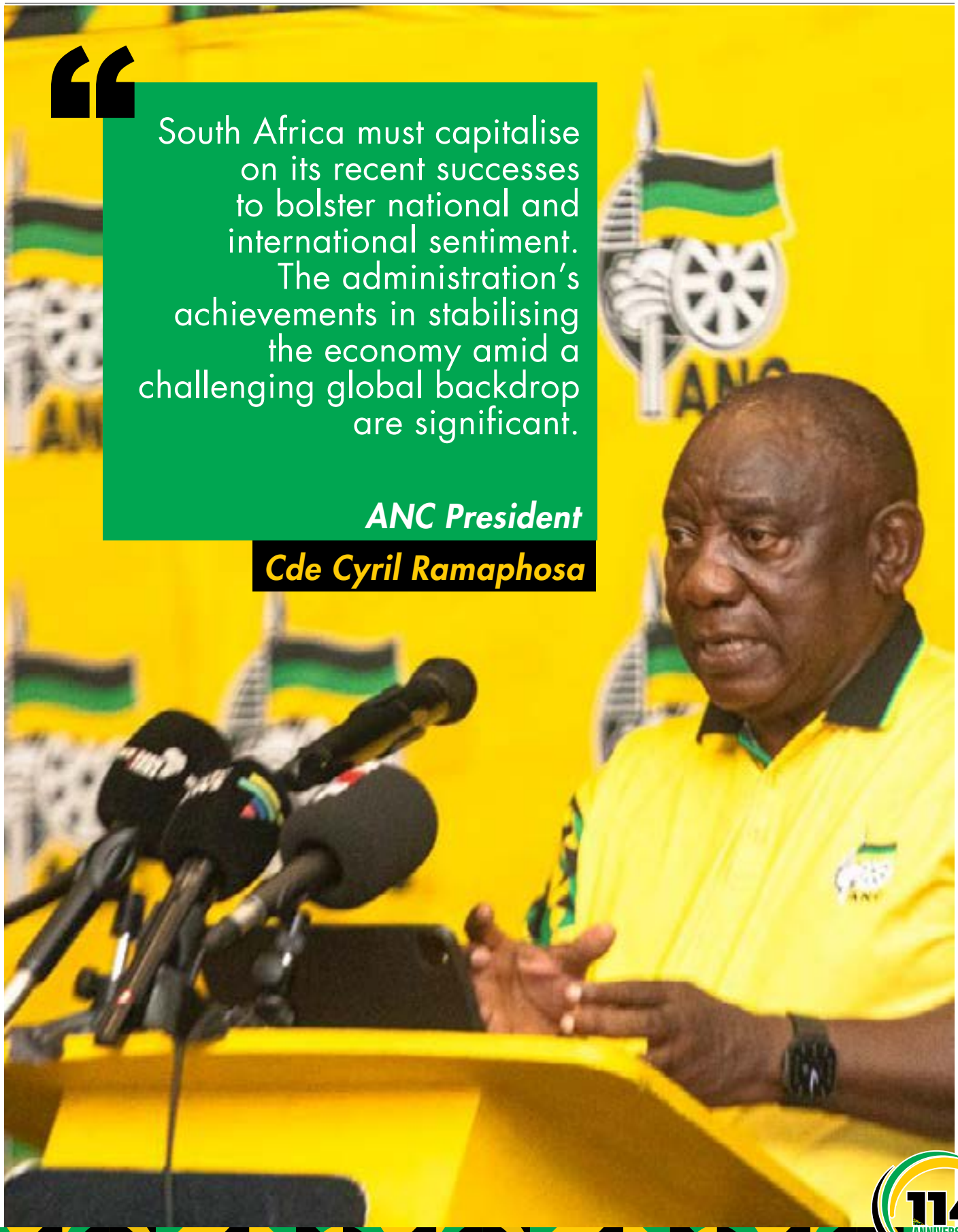


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NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
NEC BULLETIN

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> South Africa must capitalise on its recent successes to bolster national and international sentiment. The administration's achievements in stabilising the economy amid a challenging global backdrop are significant.
>
> ***ANC President***
> ***Cde Cyril Ramaphosa***

114TH ANNIVERSARY

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I believe that here in South Africa, with all our diversities of colour and race; we will show the world a new pattern for democracy.

There is a challenge for us to set a new example for all. Let us not side step this task.

CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI

POLITICAL OVERVIEW

Political Overview by ANC President Cyril Ramaphosa to the ANC NEC Meeting

National Chairperson, comrade Gwede Mantashe,
Officials of the African National Congress,
Comrade Thabo Mbeki,
Comrade Kgalema Motlanthe,
Members of the NEC,
Leadership of the SACP, COSATU and SANCO,
Leadership of the ANC Women's League, ANC Youth League and ANC Veterans' League,
Leadership of the MK Liberation War Veterans,
Leadership of SASCO, COSAS, CONTRALESA,
Deployed Comrades,

Welcome to the first ANC NEC Lekgotla of 2026.

Makgotla present us with the opportunity to assess the progress our movement has made in pursuing the National Democratic Revolution (NDR), recalibrate and present programmes and proposals to enhance our work. This lekgotla, however, must have a slightly different focus. The focus must be on implementation.

South Africa's most persistent development constraint is not a lack of vision, but a gap between policy ambition and implementation. Over the past decade, the country has produced detailed strategies on industrialisation, energy transition, infrastructure and SOE reform, yet delivery has been undermined by fragmented authority, uneven capabilities across spheres of government, and limited



capacity to coordinate and adapt in the face of complexity.

Addressing this gap requires strengthening state capacity in a way that goes beyond organisational restructuring or compliance reforms. It requires building dynamic capabilities: the routines, skills and institutional arrangements that allow the state to learn, adapt and act effectively in conditions of uncertainty and complexity.

The ANC recently concluded our very successful 5th National General Council (NGC), where the movement undertook a thoroughgoing assessment of the efficacy of its policies and programmes.

Empowered by the contributions from branch delegates, the Leagues of the ANC, our Allies and a range of stakeholders, and buttressed by our commitment to scientific and evidence-based decision-making, the NGC adopted a range of actions and programmes to enhance the lives of South Africans.

The ANC's 2026 January 8th Statement builds on the NGC outcomes and sets out the movement's understanding of the prevailing circumstances under which we seek to achieve our national objectives.

We acknowledge that 2026 will be a challenging year, wherein our country and the world will be confronted with both challenges and opportunities.

The people of South Africa will celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Constitution during 2026.

We celebrate the Constitution as key to South Africa's national identity and a living embodiment of our nation's transformation into a united, democratic state founded on the values of human dignity, and striving for the achievement of equality and advancement of human rights and freedoms.

At various notable and important points throughout our history, South Africans have turned to dialogue and engagement to solve complex and vexing issues.

South Africans will participate in the National Dialogue and, through this process, have a say in the direction of our country, like they did in the drafting of the Freedom Charter in the 1950s and the Constitution in the 1990s.

2026 is also the year of Local Government Elections and the structures of our movement, must be prepared for what is likely to be a challenging contest.

The forces of rightwing imperialism, both global and domestic forces, are seemingly

on the offensive and we need to ensure that our movement and government take appropriate action to protect our nation and its people.

At the same time, we must remain laser-focused on addressing the immediate socio-economic concerns of the South African people.

Intensifying this focus and moving with greater urgency to build on recent improvements, we must still work to address poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Rebuilding trust in democracy and governance, which has been squandered through years of mismanagement, waste and corruption – especially at local government level and state owned enterprises– must be a central tenet of our programme.

These are some of the most important reasons why the ANC NEC decided that 2026 will be the year of Decisive Action to Fix Local Government and Transform the Economy.

In defence of our constitution, our democracy and to build a better life for all, the ANC NEC says we must:

- Fix local government and improve basic services
- Speed up economic transformation, inclusive growth and job creation
- Wage war on crime and corruption and tackle GBVF as a National Disaster
- Build a South Africa that belongs to all through the National Dialogue and the 30th anniversary of the Constitution
- Make organisational renewal visible and irreversible
- Build a better Africa and a better world.
- Therefore, based on the assessments and proposals emanating from the 5th NGC, and refined

through the January 8th Statement and tasks, this Lekgotla must develop clear and implementable tasks, with measurable timelines and reporting timeframes.

Developing future programmes must acknowledge the clear improvements and positive developments over the recent past.

Some of these include real improvements in ports and rail, a small but encouraging decrease in unemployment in the third quarter of 2025, removal from the FATF greylist and experienced a year almost free from loadshedding.

South Africa experienced notable economic improvements throughout 2025, marked by four consecutive quarters of growth (although the rate of growth remained low). Statistics South Africa reported declining levels of poverty and inequality and there was a modest decrease in the unemployment rate (which remains unacceptably high).

Furthermore, the country was removed from the Financial Action Task Force Grey List, received a
sovereign credit ratings upgrade for the first time in 20 years, and experienced a year almost free of loadshedding.

Efforts to stabilise public finances are yielding positive outcomes. Recovering from the uncertainties and disagreements around the Government of National Unity's 2025/26 budget, government's November Medium Term Budget Statement was well received and borrowing costs have been falling– a trend which is likely to be reinforced by the accouchement of a lower inflation target.

South Africa must capitalise on its recent successes to bolster national and international sentiment. The administration's achievements in stabilising the economy amid a challenging global backdrop are significant. While peer countries and many developed economies continue to grapple with debt stabilisation and political consensus for reforms, South Africa's progress stands out.



Financial markets have responded positively to South Africa's improving fundamentals. The Rand appreciated by 12.6% against the US dollar this year, ranking among the top-performing world currencies in the last quarter. Rand strength is attributed to increased flows into domestic financial markets and rising commodity prices.

The JSE All Share index rose by over 30% in 2025, and government bond yields fell by approximately 200 basis points to levels last seen in 2017. Foreign investor confidence was reflected in the purchase of over R100 billion in South African government bonds during the course of 2025.

Despite signs of improvement, South Africa still faces substantial challenges. Economic growth, though increasing, remains modest, and unemployment levels are persistently high.

The security cluster is in crisis, questions persist regarding the structure of social support, and societal consensus around transformation is weakening.

It is essential to maintain momentum in implementing structural changes across critical network sectors such as electricity, rail, and water. These efforts are aimed at enhancing competitiveness, efficiency, and stimulating growth and investment.

Expanding infrastructure spending, both through budget allocations and development finance institutions, is identified as a priority.

Clear infrastructure spending targets should be set, supported by expanded project planning facilities and more active private sector involvement.

Fix local government and improve basic services

Successive auditor general's and other reports have held that much of the issues at local government level are attributable to political interference, and to how the tendering system work. The ANC must therefore be unrelenting in ensuring professional administration is insulated from political interference.

Municipal governance on the whole must be capable and ethical. It is critical that municipal administration is also developmental and works with communities to meet their needs. We must therefore continue to mobilise for the full



implementation of the District Development Model (DDM) throughout the country.

The progress registered in Ethekwini, through the work of the Presidential Ethekwini Working Group and utilising methods and instruments available in terms of DDM, provides a clear roadmap for other local governments.

Indicators of success in Ethekwini include significant infrastructure development especially in public transport infrastructure, reducing the number of derelict buildings, and easing the financial burdens for citizens who meet certain debt repayment criteria.

The city has also begun to restore public confidence as evidenced by increased tourism numbers over the festive season.

Like elsewhere in the country, Ethekwini still experiences significant challenges in the area of water and sanitation. The ANC remains adamant that ensuring water security requires an effort similar to what was expended to address loadshedding.

On the other hand, there has been slower than expected progress in the City of Johannesburg where officials and stakeholders must improve and accelerate their cooperation to make meaningful progress in addressing citizens' concerns.

ANC structures, members as well as progressive formations must heighten their participation in the review of the White Paper on Local Government. Its outcomes must strengthen intergovernmental integration and cooperation as well as the ability of municipalities to meet developmental objectives.

The ANC Action Plan for Local Government reinforces our constitutional imperative that the movement must be grounded amongst the people. It sets out clear requirements for community engagement, door-to-door work and consistent and dynamic communication with constituents.

These tasks, which are also confirmed in our January 8th Statement, of reconnecting with constituents, become even more important when considering the massive effort that will be required to rebuild trust between the ANC and the people before the forthcoming local government elections.

As a movement, we will have to ensure that the ANC fields candidates with the requisite skills and of the highest integrity during the local government elections. All candidates will have to undergo mandatory

political education, including completing the compulsory ethics course.

Speed up economic transformation, inclusive growth and job creation As the ANC-led government, we have made important progress in rebuilding our economy in the wake of state capture, the COVID-19 pandemic and persistent load shedding.

We have embarked on the structural transformation of those parts of our economy that enable economic activity, including the electricity, logistics, water and telecommunications sectors.

Through legislative and regulatory changes, we have enabled massive new investment in these sectors, starting with electricity generation and telecommunications and now moving into logistics and then ports.

We have created conditions for more competitive and efficient industries, while ensuring that strategic assets remain publicly owned and regulated.

In the year ahead, we need to consolidate and accelerate these transformative actions.

We have built up the capacity of the state to plan, finance and implement infrastructure



projects at scale, and have directed substantial public funding towards infrastructure. The R1 trillion that has been committed to infrastructure over the next three years is unprecedented in our history.

We have also made changes to enable greater private investment in infrastructure and to simplify the process for establishing public-private partnerships.

We have agreed as the ANC that we need to use this massive investment in infrastructure to support local suppliers, to grow our construction and related industries, to provide opportunities for black-

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women- and youth-owned enterprises and to create sustainable jobs.

In the year ahead, we need to give greater attention to building small, medium and micro enterprises and the informal sector. This means freeing these businesses from onerous regulatory requirements, providing incentives for them to grow and hire, and to better direct financial support to where it can be most productively used.

Through the work we have done over the last few years, led by the ANC, we have built up significant momentum. We have seen real signs of an economy that is turning around.



The programme that emerges from this legkotla must not only sustain that momentum but ensure that progress is faster and more meaningful.
This must be the year in which all South Africans feel the benefits of the progress that has been made.

Wage war on crime and corruption; tackle GBVF as a National Disaster

Our efforts to turn the economy around and to improve the quality of life of all South Africans is undermined by persistently high levels of crime, violence and corruption.

We can point to many achievements in this area. We have done much to rebuild the capabilities, integrity and credibility of our law enforcement agencies in the wake of state capture. We have established bodies like the NPA Investigating Directorate against Corruption and the SIU Special Tribunal. We are seeing the results of their work in cases brought to court and stolen assets recovered.

We have established specialised multi-disciplinary teams to tackle infrastructure crime, illegal mining, gangsterism and other types of crime. There are areas where we have seen some success.

But most South Africans have yet to feel the effects of this work. Their confidence is further undermined by evidence before the Madlanga Commission of Inquiry and the Ad-Hoc Committee hearing allegations of the infiltration of the police by criminal syndicates.

In 2026, this needs to change. South Africans need to see action being taken to prevent crime and to bring those responsible to book. Communities need to be mobilised, through CPFs and other means, to work with the police to fight crime in their areas.

CPFs must be resourced and empowered, as where they are resourced and supported, they do good work.

We must use the findings and recommendations of the Madlanga Commission and Ad-Hoc Committee to decisively tackle areas the rot in areas of our criminal justice system.

Similarly, the progress we have made in implementing the pillars of the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide has not yet had



an impact on levels of violence against women and children.

The decision to classify GBVF as a national disaster gives us an opportunity to better focus and coordinate these efforts. As the ANC, we need to mobilise across society to make a real difference.
We must follow the leadership of the ANC Women's League, which has been at the forefront of this fight.

Build a South Africa that belongs to all through the National Dialogue and the 30th anniversary
of the Constitution The Freedom Charter, which President OR Tambo characterised as setting out the sum total of our aspirations and the road towards a new life, remains the ANC's lodestar.

The Freedom Charter laid out a vision for a non-racial, democratic, and just South Africa. It became a moral and ideological foundation for the anti-apartheid struggle and later influenced the country's Constitution.

The process of drafting Freedom Charter became the inspiration and the guide for the most extensive exercise of popular engagement in the history of our democracy: the involvement of millions of citizens in the drafting of our new democratic Constitution.

Across the length and breadth of the country public, participatory workshops, seminars and hearings were held. There were talk shows on radio and TV and newsletters were distributed at taxi ranks and other public places.
Around 250,000 submissions from the public were received on the Refined Working Draft of the Constitution alone.

Ordinary South Africans contributed to and felt that the Constitution belongs to them and the Constitution remains intrinsic to national identity.

As acknowledged in the January 8th Statement, the Constitution is both revolutionary and transformative and advances the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution:

- First, to build a South African nation, united in its diversity.
- Second, to build a democratic and developmental state that meets the needs of the people.
- Third, to build a transformed, inclusive and thriving economy that works for all South Africans.
- Finally, to build a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society based on the best of human values.

Therefore, as we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Constitution, we must use this opportunity to link the promotion of constitutional democracy to the defence of values such as adherence to rule of law, and promotion of social and national cohesion.

The National Dialogue seeks to bring all South Africans together to discuss the challenges our country faces and to define a common vision of a shared future.

We recently addressed the induction of the National Steering Committee of the National Dialogue and look forward to participating in the National Dialogue as a citizen-led process, whose outcomes aim to inform future development priorities and plans.

As mandated by the NGC, ANC structures must participate fully in the National Dialogue.

Participation encompasses both taking part in activities organised by external structures as well as organising inclusive community and sectoral events on pertinent topics.

There should not be any be gatekeeping and activities/ events organised should give voice to as broad a spectrum of participants and opinions as possible. Everybody should be given the opportunity to give input on the challenges our country faces.

Make organisational renewal visible and irreversible The ANC's January 8th Statement is correct when it says renewal must be both personal and organisational.

As individual members, we have both rights and duties and chief amongst those is to always represent the best values of the movement. This requires each and every member to show in their daily lives and in interacting with society, that they live according to the principles of the ANC.

Organisational renewal is an ongoing process that continues to show variable progress. Unless we deepen and accelerate this progress across the ANC and the Alliance, our organisation will perish.

The ANC must continue work to deepen political education across the organisation, as this builds and enhances leadership and governance capacity at all levels.

Holding elected leaders, public representatives and deployees accountable must become even more entrenched. This is why continued adherence to and enforcement of the Accountability Framework (2025) is so important.

Crucially, we must enforce principled and predictable consequence-management for non-performance and misconduct.

As re-iterated by the 2022 National Conference and reinforced by our recent NGC, the ANC must once again become rooted amongst the people. We must specifically eradicate the social distance between ANC leaders and the people we are meant to serve.

To do so, the January 8th Statement sets us the task of rolling out a nation-wide campaign to rebuild every branch into an activist branch. Part of this campaign involves widespread community engagement to solve community problems and promote community development and safety.

Being engaged in these community-wide campaigns also allows greater opportunity to spread the message and progressive ideals of the ANC.

Renewal also speaks to renewal of the Alliance, including bringing the discussion on reconfiguration of the Alliance to finality.

The ANC will, as mandated by the NGC, continue to seek to unite the Alliance and develop a common approach to the renewal and reconfiguration programme.

All ANC members will be required, as per the Constitution, to campaign for ANC victory in forthcoming local government elections. There must be no confusion.

All our energies must be geared towards defending, consolidating and advancing the NDR both domestically and globally. This naturally includes winning the local government elections decisively to lead the people in building truly non-racial, non-

sexist, democratic, united and prosperous local communities.

Build a better Africa and a better world.

The African continent faces numerous challenges. Not only are conflicts continuing, but humanitarian crises are also getting worse - in Sudan due to war, in Mozambique due to floods. Internal threats to the safety of people in Northern Mozambique, Mali, Nigeria, all remain. Our disputes amongst ourselves continue - whether it be DRC and Rwanda or Egypt and Ethiopia over the Nile, internal Somalian long standing tensions or South Sudan instability.

External interference is fuelling these conflicts, not resolving them. All motivated by a scramble for resources beneath African soil.

Military capacity on the continent is constrained and this negatively affects our ability to find African solutions to African problems. It is critical that we engage with our partners regularly, participate in the AU, SADC, and attend when invited to COMESA, EAC meetings.

We must be present in fora where African problems are discussed so we can influence the outcomes.

We can and should push for negotiated solutions to all these conflicts. This is in the interest of South Africa, and of Africa as a whole. Stability will see our economies grow. Silencing the guns an intrinsic remains part of our agenda.

Our commitment to the international rules-based order, multilateralism, and negotiated settlement of disputes, is reflected on our engagements beyond our own continent. This includes our position on the genocide in Gaza, the war in Ukraine, the attack on Venezuela's sovereignty, the continued colonization of Western Sahara, the future of Cuba.

Increasingly, the world is converging that the current multilateral system is inadequate, and very likely incapable of dealing with global power shifts and complex crises.

Our country and organisation must ensure that global re-alignments and re-organisation of the multilateral system is representative, effective and inclusive. This requires cooperation and coordination, with especially like-minded countries, for the protection and advancing of the interests of the global South.

Comrades, it bears repeating that this will be a challenging year but there are also opportunities before us.

We have the opportunity to strengthen social cohesion in celebrating the 30th anniversary of our Constitution. The overwhelming majority of South Africans see our constitutional democracy as key to being South African.

We must build on this and link the promotion of constitutional democracy to the defence of sovereignty and promotion of national interests.

We have the opportunity to strengthen social cohesion through the National Dialogue. This process also provides an opportunity for civic education and deepening participatory democracy.

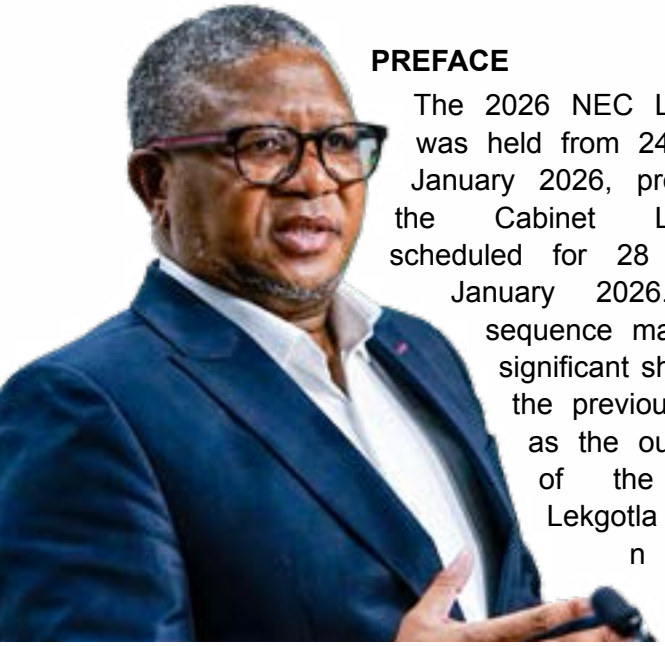
There are also opportunities for building new and deepening existing economic, social and cultural partnerships in the alignments and realignments taking place across the world.

In all of this, we must remain steadfast and principled.

The ANC must be clear that our main tasks for this year is to fix local government and to fundamentally transform the economy and create jobs. All our actions must be geared towards this.

I thank you.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
NEC LEKGOTLA
OUTCOMES DOCUMENT
24 - 26 January 2026, Ekurhuleni



PREFACE

The 2026 NEC Lekgotla was held from 24 to 25 January 2026, preceding the Cabinet Lekgotla scheduled for 28 to 29 January 2026. This sequence marked a significant shift from the previous year, as the outcomes of the NEC Lekgotla could now directly inform the deliberations at the Cabinet Lekgotla and influence the Programme of Action (POA) that would be adopted. This development underscores the party's assertion of its governing role, even within the context of the GNU.

The 2026 NEC Lekgotla followed the December 2025 National General Council (NGC) meeting, which served as a midterm policy review platform in accordance with the ANC's Constitution. The NGC primarily focused on policy implementation, a theme that the NEC Lekgotla continued to emphasize. Both forums aimed to address urgent tasks necessary for the effective and efficient implementation of resolutions from the last National Conference held in 2022.

Furthermore, the implementation schedule outlined in the NEC Lekgotla resolutions considers previous election manifesto commitments, which serve as a political mandate from the electorate. These commitments are periodically refined and articulated through the January 8th Statement, the ANC President's Councillors Roll Call message, and the Economic Action Plan, ensuring alignment with the party's strategic priorities.

The outcomes of the NEC Lekgotla are crucial because they inform both the Cabinet's Programme of Action and the organizational Programme of Action. As such, these outcomes are publicly communicated as a demonstration of the ANC's commitment to fulfilling its electoral promises and mandate, implementing National Conference resolutions, and advancing policy positions that reinforce those resolutions.

The NEC Lekgotla outcomes guide provincial and other organizational structures within the movement. All provinces, regions, and branches are expected to implement these outcomes, adapting them to local conditions and developmental needs. This includes the conceptualization and execution of local Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), which are vital for localized development and service delivery. The ultimate beneficiaries of these efforts are the masses of our people in every village, township, suburban, towns and cities. The intended result is improved livelihoods through the establishment of efficient governance systems that ensure quality service delivery, foster entrepreneurial opportunities, and promote higher economic growth and employment creation.

Fikile Mbalula
Secretary General

1. INTRODUCTION

The African National Congress held its first National Executive Committee (NEC) Lekgotla for 2026 from 24 to 26 January - to set out priorities and plan for the year ahead. The Lekgotla took place after the successful 5th National General Council in December 2025, and 2026 January 8 marking the 114th anniversary of the ANC - which declared 2026 as the ***Year of Decisive Action to Fix Local Government and Transform the Economy.***

This Lekgotla was convened at a decisive moment for the people, building an ethical developmental state, local government and the future trajectory of the economy and democratic governance in South Africa.

The declaration marks a recognition that municipalities' functionality, credibility, and developmental orientation are the central determinants of whether the state succeeds or fails in improving people's lived realities.

The Lekgotla was attended by NEC members, PEC members, representatives of the ANC Veterans League, ANC Women's League and ANC Youth League as well as Alliance partners and fraternal organizations.

The Lekgotla's focus was on the implementation of existing ANC policies and priorities, through the development of executable plans with clear timeframes, responsibilities and consequence management for poor performance and service delivery.

Delivering the Political Overview, President Cyril Ramaphosa reiterated that South Africa's biggest constraint is not lack of vision, but the gap between policy and execution. While detailed strategies had been developed in critical areas, delivery had been weakened by fragmented authority, uneven capabilities and limited capacity to coordinate and adapt in the face of complexity.

Messages of support from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) emphasized the importance of strengthening the Alliance in common pursuit of national development goals and improving the quality of life of the people of South Africa, with an emphasis on fixing local government and building an inclusive economy.

The Lekgotla reaffirmed the centrality of fixing local government as a top priority for 2026.

Local government is the sphere closest to communities, the primary site of service delivery and basic services infrastructure maintenance, and the frontline of public trust in democratic institutions. Its persistent dysfunction, characterized by governance failures, financial instability and a widening distance between leadership and the people, constitutes both a profound governance crisis and a significant political risk.

A performance report on the implementation of the 2024-2029 Medium-Term Development Plan (MTDP) was presented, pointing to areas of progress as well as areas of under-performance requiring corrective action.

The Lekgotla further considered the macro-economic and fiscal outlook for the country, as well as measures to drive stability and inclusive growth.

Formal Rephrased Version:

Seven commissions were convened to formulate concrete actions for the 2026 Programme of Action, aimed at advancing the January 8 theme and tasks, incorporating the outcomes of the 5th NGC, addressing gaps in the implementation of the MTDP and strengthening both organizational and political objectives. These commissions were structured in accordance with the priority areas outlined in the January 8 Statement for 2026, as follows:

- Fix local government and improve basic services
- Local government elections 2026
- Speed up economic transformation, inclusive growth and job creation
- Wage war on crime and corruption, GBVF as a national disaster
- Build a South Africa that belongs to all through the National Dialogue and the 30th anniversary of the Constitution
- Make organizational renewal visible and irreversible
- Build a better Africa and a better Wrld.

2. PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE LEKGOTLA

The purpose of the Lekgotla was to bring together the key leadership of the ANC as well as the Alliance partners, progressive sectors and other key stakeholders to reflect on strategic issues facing the country, the organization and government as a whole.

The main objectives of the Lekgotla were the following:

- Provide a framework for the ANC 2026 Programme of Action, based on the theme and priorities outlined in the January 8 Statement and the outcomes of the 5th NGC.
- Ensure that the framework addresses implementation roles, accountability of organizational structures, leaders and members, and government deployees at all levels to ensure it provides for coordination and reporting.

3. POLITICAL STRATEGIC CONTEXT OVERVIEW

The President's Political Overview celebrated significant successes achieved through the movement's leadership, providing a foundation of hope for the tasks ahead.

Key achievements identified include:

Energy Security: Achieving over 175 days without loadshedding by late 2025, a critical milestone in stabilizing the economy.

Global Standing: South Africa's removal from the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) *"grey list"* and a sovereign credit rating upgrade by S&P Global, signaling renewed investor confidence which will enhance our fiscal position.

Institutional Recovery: Progress in rebuilding state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and required measures to strengthen the security cluster

Geo-political: The successful hosting of international engagements such as the G20 have advanced the interests of the Global South and the Continent.

Despite these gains, the President located the ongoing crisis of local government within a persistent "implementation gap". The hollowing out of municipal capacity through improper deployment and the erosion of technical skills have directly led to the collapse of basic services.

Rebuilding trust is now inseparable from professionalising municipal administration and ensuring the movement fields candidates of the highest integrity and requisite skills for the 2026 Local Government Elections.

Critically, South Africa is facing an offensive from rightwing imperialism by global and domestic forces, while conflict in different regions and Africa continues, and the weakening of multilateralism is evident through unilateral actions and trade volatility.

4. PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING THE 2024 MANIFESTO AND MTDP

The Cabinet of the 7th Administration adopted the Medium-Term Development Plan (MTDP) 2024–2029 on 25 February 2025, which guided planning across all spheres of government. The plan gives expression to the six priorities of the ANC Manifesto. The 2nd Deputy Secretary General Report provided an exhaustive progress review of the MTDP, emphasizing its purpose as an instrument through which the ANC's 2024 Manifesto is translated into measurable targets. The progress review was based on Department of Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) Bi-Annual Report for the period April - September 2025, and reflected on government performance in the first year of the GNU.

- **Economic growth**: Real GDP increased by 0.8% in the second quarter of 2025, followed by 0.5% growth in the third quarter. These growth rates remain below the policy targets and are insufficient to meaningfully reduce unemployment. However, economic sentiment is improving, with leading institutions such as [the International Monetary Fund (IMF), National Treasury, South African Reserve Bank (SARB) and Bureau for Economic Research (BER)] revising South Africa's growth forecasts upwards.
- **Employment**: Total employment reached 17.1 million, but remains short of the 18 million targeted for 2029. Youth unemployment remains a structural crisis at 58.5%.
- **Industrialization and Infrastructure**: Government allocated R1.03 trillion for public infrastructure over the MTEF. The Infrastructure Fund has approved 26 blended finance projects worth R101.6 billion. The Budget Facility for Infrastructure (BFI) approved 10 major projects worth R37.1 billion for implementation.
- **Poverty and the Social Wage**: While 19.2 million people receive grants, 63.4% of the population still live below the upper-middle-income poverty line. Food insecurity has risen to 22.2% of households.

- **State Capability**: The report identified municipalities as the "weakest link" in the delivery chain. While national targets like 96% HIV viral suppression and 10,000 ECD centres are on track, school infrastructure (e.g., pit toilets) and water quality remain critical failures at the local level.
- **The District Development Model (DDM):** The DDM was affirmed as the core implementation tool for the MTDP, designed to ensure that national, provincial and local budgets are aligned through a **"One District, One Plan"** approach.

Areas showing progress present strategic opportunities to build on and accelerate development outcomes in the next phase of MTDP implementation, particularly those aligned with the 10 Point Plan.
These include:

- Budget strategy and macroeconomic policy coordination and measures to achieve fiscal sustainability and adequate Financing
- Energy Security – to continue with Energy Action Plan implementation which has been crucial in cross-sectoral coordination to end load-shedding.
- Implementation of infrastructure development project pipeline
- Public employment programmes
- "Butterfly Strategy" for international positioning – aimed at exploiting opportunities in Africa, while opening new markets in the East and fending off impacts of USA decisions
- Fixing viability of local economies
- Freight and logistics recovery – which includes strengthening Transnet and harness private participation
- Tourism sector performance and recovery

The ANC reassert its role as the strategic centre of governance, strengthening oversight, accountability, consequence management, and aligning planning and budgeting with delivery outcomes. Through decisive political leadership, the movement must reaffirm its historic responsibility to advance the interests of workers, the poor, women, youth and all historically marginalized communities.

Over the next 12 months, targeted actions to resolve the following areas of major concern will be implemented:

- Accelerate digitalization transformation in the public sector – which will among others resolve payment systems of the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) payment systems, and introduce improvement in health records, digital identity, data governance reforms, cybersecurity capability, and case management systems for SAPS and NPA (or the value chain of criminal justice system) and increase for public sector innovation to support public service provision.
- Industrialization – enhance the government implementation plan to coordinate masterplans and other initiatives, remove duplications and strengthen implementation and accountability.
- Strengthen monitoring of food poverty hotspots to target interventions.
- Accelerate refurbishment of Primary Health Care (PHC) infrastructure and staffing in under-resourced provinces.
- On Education - expand teacher training and resourcing for mathematics and science and increase number of learners choosing the subject, and scale up subsidized ECD access and increase maintenance funding for provinces
- Local Government LED and Infrastructure - deploy rapid response technical teams for failing municipalities, including capacity to implement recovery interventions following natural disasters.

5. MACRO-ECONOMIC AND FISCAL OUTLOOK

The Macroeconomic and Fiscal Outlook shows several positive developments while also facing emerging threats. With a stagnating economy that experienced an average economic growth rate of 0.7%, and the current contractionary fiscal trajectory, conditions to tackle poverty and reduce inequality are constrained.

Improving commodity prices such as Golds, Platinum Group Metals will bode well for the economy, while binding constraints and global trade volatility will continue to shape trade policy. Binding constraint in the network industry are impacting key industrial sectors whilst the various government reforms will contribute to enhancing productively.

The macro-economic outlook pointed to the following factors weakening local government and aspects aiming at catalyzing economic growth:

Growth vs. Population: The economy has grown at a "pedestrian" average of 0.7% (2014–2024) while the population grew at 1.1%. This imbalance poses a potential threat to social stability.

Systemic Financial Distress: 207 municipalities (81%) are in financial distress, with 88 (34%) adopting unfunded budgets.

Revenue and Infrastructure Leakage: Metropolitan municipalities reported water losses of R8.7 billion and electricity losses of R14.5 billion due to ageing infrastructure and illegal connections.

Grant Management: The failure to spend R17.6 billion in municipal conditional grants over five years represents a significant lost opportunity for community development.

Infrastructure Pipeline: The government has committed to a R1 trillion infrastructure investment over the current MTEF, focusing on water, roads, and rail to crowd in private investment.

The Lekgotla provided an opportunity to reaffirm unity of purpose and credibility in advancing reforms that unlock inclusive growth, mobilize investment and enable better service delivery.

Addressing these areas will be critical to unlock economic growth and create jobs.

ANC 2026 PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The primary focus of the Lekgotla was the development of a focused, action-oriented and timebound **Programme of Action for 2026**. Detailed and exhaustive work was undertaken by seven thematic commissions, which were mandated to move beyond broad diagnosis to develop a concrete, time-bound action plan to translate policies into tangible results.

Each commission was tasked with integrating the macroeconomic realities and focus on key aspects from the NGC to enhance policy implementation. The focus shifted to identifying clear delivery mechanisms, assigning responsible structures, and defining measurable indicators for monitoring. This approach ensures that the deliberations are not merely theoretical but serve as a practical blueprint for the movement and the state.

The detailed outcomes and strategic thrusts developed by the commissions are outlined below. These constitute the movement's collective roadmap for rebuilding municipalities as effective instruments of development, inclusive growth and social transformation.

Furthermore, a programme of action has been developed as well.

TASK 1: FIX LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND IMPROVE BASIC SERVICES

The January 8 Statement focuses on "*fixing-local-government*" reaffirms and reinforces the *Roll Call Action Plan* that identified the six key areas that the ANC must implement immediately based on practical experience and understanding. The Lekgotla adopted a service delivery acceleration plan anchored on an objective to stabilize and improve visible service delivery in priority areas - water, roads, energy, cleanliness, human settlements, climate resilience, jobs - through coordinated War Rooms and District Development Model (DDM) execution, with clear timelines, accountability and weekly monitoring.

Firstly, this will require measures to enhance governance and coordination, and secondly, execute priority workstreams, with measurable targets & milestones focusing on:

Work Stream 1: Water (Reticulation First)
Work Stream 2: Roads & Potholes ("Tuseme/Thusa on the Road" Fridays)
Work Stream 3: Energy (Load Reduction & Network Stability)
Work Stream 4: Clean Cities & Towns (Link to Fridays)
Work Stream 5: Human Settlements (Rapid Fixes & Incremental Upgrades)
Work Stream 6: Climate Resilience & Bridges (Welisizwe)
Work Stream 7: Traditional Leaders Engagement
Work Stream 8: Professionalization & Operating Model
Work Stream 9: Jobs (CWP & EPWP Ramp-up)
Work Stream 10: Funding Discipline (End Unfunded Budgets)

The Lekgotla further prioritized key actions for 2026:

Service Delivery And Infrastructure

- Prioritise reliable delivery of water, sanitation, electricity, refuse removal, cleaning cemeteries and road maintenance

- Increase implementation of alternative service delivery models (e.g. BOT/ SPV etc)
- Establish rapid response units and service delivery war rooms at municipal, provincial and national levels
- Increase smart metering and correct historical billing errors
- Focus on commercial, industrial and state institutions to improve income generation
- Allocate a minimum percentage of municipal operational budgets to repairs and maintenance
- Audit all stalled, incomplete or abandoned infrastructure and housing projects and enforce service level agreements consequence management
- Strengthen measures to reduce vandalism and infrastructure theft
- Expand free basic services, including alternative energy solutions and manage indigent register

Municipal Financial Management

- Strengthen clean administration, financial controls and credible billing systems
- Settle outstanding debt owed to municipalities by organs of state through Treasury instruments
- Review and reform the local government fiscal framework, including alternative financing models
- Improve revenue collection
- Prevent adoption of unfunded budgets and address recurring negative audit outcomes

Governance, Accountability and Ethics

- Implement recall mechanisms for non-performing public representatives and deployees, MM's and reconfiguration of Troikas' which are not performing
- Implement strict consequence management for corruption, mal-administration and misconduct
- Fast-track disciplinary processes related to tender irregularities and human resource abuse
- Strengthen oversight by councils, ANC caucuses and legislatures
- Improve the political administrative interface - stop inappropriate political interference and micro-management

Professionalisation and Institutional Capacity

- Professionalise municipal political and administrative leadership
- Undertake skills audit of technical professionals
- Prescribe minimum skills, qualifications and experience for councillors and senior officials
- Fill all funded vacancies within defined timeframes
- Implement continuous training and development programmes for councillors and officials

Intergovernmental Coordination and Support

- Strengthen intergovernmental relations and coordination across spheres
- Mobilisation of technical and financial resources to struggling municipalities
- Deploy competent technical support teams during interventions
- Strengthen **DDM structures and role of champions** with improved spatialisation of planning across spheres of government and development of One Budgets to improve integrated planning and implementation.
- DDM Champions provide monthly reports and processed by War Rooms
- Align planning and budgeting through the District Development Model
- Improve monitoring, evaluation and reporting on municipal performance including strengthening performance indicators

Demarcation and Traditional Leadership

- Reform municipal demarcation processes to ensure stability and sustainability
- Deepen meaningful community participation in demarcation decisions
- Institutionalise joint planning between municipalities and Traditional Councils
- Establish appeals mechanisms and evidence-based ward delimitation processes
- Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership participate in DDM
- Nationwide engagement roadshow with Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership
- Collaboration to improve safety of initiation programme

Community Engagement and Political Renewal

- Reconnect with communities through door-to-door work and public meetings
- Introduce community scorecards and service delivery reporting platforms
- Strengthen whistle-blower protection mechanisms
- Restore trust in ANC-led municipalities through visible improvement in delivery
- Use local government performance as a pillar of electoral renewal

Climate Change Resilience and Disaster Management

- Enhance early warning systems
- Disaster Preparedness and response
- Post-Disaster Reconstruction and Financing
- Strengthen Disaster Management System
- Implement Weather-Based insurance (parametric)
- Improve climate resilient infrastructure (build back better)
- Utilization of capacity in SANDF and DMV

TASK 2: SPEED UP ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION, INCLUSIVE GROWTH AND JOB CREATION

The Lekgotla reaffirmed the 10-Point Plan to accelerate interventions to address binding constraints and support critical economic sector.

The priorities for the year focus on various sectors to:

- Fix local government and restoring reliable water and electricity services as the foundation for economic recovery;
- Accelerate economic transformation, inclusive growth and job creation through industrialization and infrastructure-led growth;
- Drive re-industrialization and localization in strategic sectors, including steel, automotive, agro-processing, energy-intensive industries and critical minerals;
- Implement energy pricing and network industry reforms to reduce administered prices for households and producers;
- Restore freight rail and ports as strategic enablers of growth through corridor-based recovery;
- Strengthen macro-economic coordination to align fiscal, monetary, trade and industrial policy behind growth and employment;
- Scale support for SMMEs, township and rural economies, with a bias towards South African-owned enterprises and informal sector integration;
- Advance youth and women's economic inclusion, integrating skills, employment, enterprise and care economy interventions;
- Protect domestic industries and expand exports through AfCFTA, BRICS-plus, Global South and our traditional trade markets.

Key Actions will focus on:

- *Freight Rail And Ports:* recover logistics capacity to unlock growth- Support Transnet reform and growth plans
- *Passenger Rail*: scale PRASA restoration and remove signaling constraint
- Aviation: restore compliance capacity, unlock passenger and airfreight growth
- *Road Safety*: legislate, enforce, and professionalize scholar transport
- Roads Maintenance: MIG/conditional grants, and municipal/provincial delivery – and enhance the quality of expenditure
- *Energy*: pricing reform, municipal surcharges, free basic electricity, and transmission build
- Distressed and strategic industries: steel/ ferroalloys, autos, and localization enforcement
- Development finance institutions and mobilization of external finance
- Trade, investment, and external economic relations
- Transformation: accelerate implementation, defend the agenda, and use procurement power
- Mining rights access and local beneficiation participation (especially rural/traditional areas)
- Water and sanitation: targeted delivery now, R&D pipeline for the medium term
- Agriculture and food systems: revive industrial parks, market access, and inputs
- Enhance Coordination and Execution

TASK 3: WAGE WAR ON CRIME AND CORRUPTION, GBVF AS A NATIONAL DISASTER, IMMIGRATION

The Lekgotla resolved to wage a coordinated, whole-of-state and whole-of-society campaign against crime, corruption and gender-based violence and femicide, anchored on intelligence-led policing, effective prosecution, secure borders and active community mobilization under ANC political leadership.

Priorities of 2026 will focus on achieving:

Safer Communities and Reduced Violence

- Measurable reduction in priority crimes, organized crime, gang violence and GBVF;
- Reduced repeat offending, including sexual offences and parole violations;
- Improved safety in schools, universities, townships and GBVF hotspot districts.

Stronger Criminal Justice System
- Increased conviction rates for corruption, organized crime and GBVF;
- Professional, ethical and better-coordinated JCPS Cluster;
- Reduced criminal command-and-control from correctional facilities;
- Improved forensic turnaround times and case resolution.

Restored State Authority and Public Confidence
- Visible, intelligence-led policing and effective border control.
- Stabilized immigration regime and cleaned Population Register.
- Improved asset recovery and disruption of criminal networks.
- Clear political and administrative consequences for corruption and non-performance.

Coordinated Whole-of-State and Whole-of-Society Response
- Integrated operations across SAPS, NPA, IDAC, DHA, BMA, DCS and intelligence structures.
- Active community mobilization through ANC branches, CPFs and mass formations.
- Safety embedded as a shared national responsibility.

2026 PRIORITIES - KEY ACTIONS

A. Crime, Corruption & Policing
- Intensify intelligence-led and visible policing; dismantle organized crime networks.
- Capacitate Detectives, Crime Intelligence, IPID and DPCI in line with NACAC proposals.
- Establish Anti-Organized Crime Advisory Council.
- Implement AI and technology to combat cybercrime and violent crime.
- Strengthen forensic services and fully implement the Firearm Control Act.
- Deploy permanent police presence at institutions of higher learning.

B. GBVF as a National Disaster
- Fully implement the GBVF National Strategic Plan and fund the GBVF Response Fund.
- Establish National Council on GBVF and GBVF Courts/specialised desks.
- Roll out GBVF rapid response teams in hotspot districts.
- Prevent withdrawal of GBVF cases and improve victim support.
- Advance women's economic empowerment and address the drivers of violence.

C. Borders, Immigration & Identity Integrity
- Finalize and legislate the White Paper on International Migration.
- Prevent abuse of the asylum system and relocate Refugee Reception Centres to ports of entry.
- Roll out EMCS 2.0 and Electronic Traveler Authorization
- Capacitate the Border Management Authority and resolve border policing duplication.
- Audit and digitize the Population Register.

D. Correctional Services & Recidivism
- Disrupt illegal communications (signal jamming) in correctional facilities.
- Expand parolee monitoring devices.
- Reduce overcrowding through deportation reforms and SADC offender exchange.
- Improve correctional centre self-sufficiency and infrastructure.
- Reallocate Criminal Assets Recovery Account (CARA) funding to strengthen correctional facilities.

E. Community Mobilization & Political Accountability
- Implement the Integrated Crime & Violence Prevention Strategy through ANC branches.
- Strengthen CPFs, Community Safety Forums and street committees.
- Enforce police clearance and vetting for leadership positions.
- Screen ANC membership to ensure cadre integrity.
- Develop targeted public communication on crime and corruption.

TASK 4: BUILD A SOUTH AFRICA THAT BELONGS TO ALL THROUGH THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND CONSTITUTION 30TH ANNIVERSARY

The Lekgotla acknowledged the national question which is at the heart of advancing the strategic objectives of the NDR i.e. the critical task of building a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South African nation.

It noted the rising tendencies of identification with racial or ethnic groups, as opposed to an inclusive South African national identity. This is manifested through, amongst others, voting patterns, the assertion of identity based politics, the formation of ethnic and regionally based parties, as well as calls for territorial secession.

Feeding off, and actively encouraging, these tendencies - is the project of domestic and international counter-revolution to maintain the status quo and frustrate fundamental socio-economic transformation by dividing our nation, the motive forces in particular, and to turn national minorities against the liberation movement.
Both the National Dialogue as well as the celebration of the 30th Anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution provide us with the opportunity to address these matters.

The 30 Years Anniversary of the Constitution should reassert this aspect as a living social contract, advancing socio-economic rights, equality, dignity, participatory democracy and development at all levels, leaving no one behind. This is a *call to action* for every member of the ANC to play their role to make South Africa into a country that truly belongs to all, united in our diversity.
The Lekgotla further noted that the NGC endorsed an "inclusive and citizen-led" National Dialogue guided by four core principles: transparency, inclusivity, objectivity and action orientation. The Commission believes that the National Dialogue can help rebuild trust and confront disunity in our nation.

The ANC's role must be one of supporting progress through organizing diverse sectors to contribute to the National Dialogue, ensuring inclusive participation, truth-telling, consensus-building and shared responsibility and accountability.

Key Actions To Be Undertaken In 2026

- Preparing structures for the National Launch of the 30 Years Anniversary of the Constitution- a yearlong programme.
- Constitutional review which highlights areas in the Constitution critical to advancing the NDR and defeating anti-transformation narratives. This should include a briefing document that has clear messaging on the value of the Constitution, informs our inputs into the National Dialogue, highlighting our successes and including proposals for a referendum on the Constitution.
- ANC engagement on the Battle of Ideas, in the context of the Constitution on transformation, Pan Africanism and foreign policy, land reform, etc.
- Establish focal points for both the 30 Year Anniversary of the Constitution and the National Dialogue
- Branch Dialogues and Branch Assemblies
- Constitutional Builders Youth Forums
- Civic Empowerment Assemblies to promote knowledge of the Constitution, national unity and patriotism by honouring national symbols such as the flag, singing the National Anthem and reciting the Preamble to the Constitution
- Multimedia impactful campaigns, inclusive of national days, Battle of Ideas on – Immigration; Pan Africanism and Service Delivery; National Question. The importance of building an inclusive and diverse ANC and society that reflects the demographics of South Africa
- Ward by Ward listening Campaigns and Service delivery troubleshooting
- Mass mobilisation for Nation Dialogue participation
- Establish service delivery hotlines at national, provincial and local level
- Sectoral Outreach and Multi Sectoral Dialogues - ANC engagement with alliance partners, legacy foundations, civil society, pressure groups and Community Based Organisations (CBO's)
- Extensive House Meetings

Task 5: Make Organizational renewal visible and irreversible

"The renewal of the ANC and the Alliance is the most pressing organizational task of this generation. Renewal must be both personal and organizational. As individual members of the ANC, we must show in our daily conduct and interaction with society that we represent the best values of our movement." 2026 January 8 Statement.

The NGC resolved for fundamental renewal of the ANC and to become an ever more effective agent for fundamental social and economic transformation. One of the key priorities and tasks for 2026, as articulated by the President in the January 8

statement is making organizational renewal visible and irreversible.

The Lekgotla identified some of the fundamental challenges and the need for the ANC to return to being a people centred organization, with a leadership that is humble, selfless and dedicated to prosperity.

Organizational Renewal Framework - Renewal Charter

- Activist character and quality membership.
- Mass character and connectedness to communities.
- Non-racial character of the ANC.
- Non-sexist character of the ANC.
- Discipline, ethics and integrity in the ANC – showing progress in eradicating corruption and in restoring ethics and revolutionary morality.
- Monitoring and Evaluation of the performance and incentivizing outstanding performance and dis-incentivizing poor performance and laziness in a renewed ANC – review Cadre Policy.
- Differentiated system of compulsory political education, leadership and governance training for all ANC Members. OR Tambo School to do compulsory basic, intermediate and advanced courses as part of the new culture of a renewed ANC.
- Leadership renewal through with a higher standard - ethics and competency and managing leadership transitions better in a renewed ANC.

The Lekgotla has impressed on a litany of challenges and proposed remedial action especially in the following areas:

- Training of new members
- Training of all structures
- Adoption of the Renewal Charter
- Collaboration between Political Education & Organising and Membership
- Strengthen Monitoring, Evaluation & Consequence Management
- Vigorous implementation of ANC Constitution and resolutions

The ANC has a revolutionary obligation to renew itself or perish, therefore, expeditious implementation of all these resolutions will make organisational renewal visible and irreversible.

TASK 6: BUILD A BETTER AFRICA AND A BETTER WORLD

The Lekgotla was convened against the backdrop of a rapidly deteriorating global order marked by heightened unilateralism, the erosion of national sovereignty, persistent violations of international law, and growing disregard for multilateral institutions and human rights norms. This crisis culminated in 2025 with unprecedented actions by the United States government, including the illegal arrest of a sitting President, withdrawal from numerous international agreements and more than 66 international organizations, and the announcement of a so-called "*Peace Board*" positioned as an alternative to the United Nations system.

This rupture has been accompanied by the global rise of right-wing authoritarianism, narrow nationalism, racism, sexism, xenophobia and violent extremism. These dynamics have intensified global and regional conflicts while further marginalizing the global development agenda.

As a result, the international system is characterized by volatility, uncertainty, and geopolitical fragmentation across Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, Asia, and Europe. The current material conditions will fundamentally reshape how states, regions and movements begin relate to one another. In this complex and fluid environment, the role of the ANC and the Alliance is to advance and defend South Africa's national interests. This requires enhanced unity, cohesion, clarity of purpose, and effective coordination across government, party and civil-society actors engaged in international work.

The ANC's international relations programme remains firmly grounded in progressive internationalism, anchored in:

- Pan-Africanism and African political and economic integration
- Anti-Imperialism
- Human Rights, Equality, Dignity, Justice, and Self-Determination
- International Law
- Peaceful Resolution Of Conflict
- Multilateralism
- Sovereignty
- Non-alignment
- International solidarity

Noting the above, the ANC has identified the following key priorities for 2026:

- Affirm and capacitate DIRCO to enhance the implementation of economic diplomacy.
- Strategic deployments to strategic missions to pursue and defend our national interests and meet our political, economic and security objectives. (Different missions require different skills sets, political seniority, trade, security, managerial etc.)
- Strategic deployment of South Africans to multilateral organizations at all levels filling our quotas.
- Regional and continental political and economic integration in the region and the continent through Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)
- Government must review, reorganize, realign and consolidate its missions for impactful, coherent and effective outcomes based on the current and future geo-political and geo-economic landscape.
- Strengthen our sports, cultural and people to people diplomacy globally, in order
- to defend and advance our progressive internationalist agenda, whilst deepening links with historical allies and building new progressive ones.
- Build international solidarity by initiating a broad global non state (civil society, political parties etc.) engagement to unite the progressive Left in South Africa, regionally, continentally and globally using issues such as but not limited to defending international law, human rights, sovereignty and the multilateralism,
- Capacitate and strengthen our state intelligence capacity and better co-ordination of defense in the implementation of our foreign policy.

Building a Better Africa and Better World

- Reviving the principle of anchor and strategic partner states to inform how South Africa engages diplomatically in the African Continent by both the ANC and Government.
- Continuation of party-to-party engagements for conflict resolution and the silencing of the guns on the African continent in pursuit of our Pan Africanist principles by identifying and engaging key partners in Sudan, Egypt/Ethiopia, DRC/ Rwanda, Somalia/Somaliland and Western Sahara/Morocco
- Continue to participate in mediation and conflict resolutions process in South Sudan, DRC , Madagascar, etc.
- As SADC Chair for 2026/27, focus on strengthening political and economic integration, cohesion and stability. Government should have a strategic and implementation plan for 2026 and 2027 which sets out what we want to achieve as Chair in our national interests
- Lobby for the finalization for the SADC critical and rare earth mineral strategy, and establishment of a Progressive Forum for SADC Countries.
- Continue to participate in and implement the SADC regional economic integration strategy and the Africa Continental Free Trade Area to ensure harmonization of labour, economic and trade laws for effective and efficient movement of goods, services and people
- Strengthen parliamentary diplomacy, and strengthen provincial and local government diplomacy to ensure harmonization between parliament and other parliamentary structures such as the PAP, Common Wealth Parliamentary Association, the ANC etc. as well as functional coherence amongst the three spheres of government
- Finalize host country agreements with African and multilateral institutions
- Government must identify which countries we can rebuild alliances with in the North using the issue of defense of multilateralism, international law and sovereignty as the basis
- Both government and the ANC to prioritize Africa Day programme
- Party to Party and Intra Party Relations
- Continue to engage and strengthening party-to-party relations, especially Liberation Movements by implementing Resolutions of the Liberation movement Summit to ensure the unity and cohesion of the liberation movements
- International Solidarity
- Acceleration of solidarity efforts in support of Western Sahara by increasing community-based campaigns. ANC together with the Leagues, Alliance structures and progressive civil society structures should lead formation of

an international solidarity movement in support of Palestine, Western Sahara and Cuba

- Update our modalities and participation policy in progressive internationalist organizations such as Socialist International, Sau Paulo Forum and, inter alia, Forum of Supporters of the Struggle Against Modern Practices
- Government must finalize application of the new Cuba Economic Assistance Package and continue to enhance the Cuban Exchange Program
- Government must appoint special envoys for Western Sahara and Palestine - and the ANC should initiate new unity talks of the Palestinian political parties and progressive role players
- Multilateralism - Transformation of Global Governance
- Government and the ANC must finalise a reflection of the Ezulwini Consensus
- Government must continue to defend multilateralism, international law and human rights, sovereignty and the peaceful resolution of conflict in all fora. It must continue to strengthen the Hague group and build an alliance with the North
- Both government and the ANC must do a detailed reflection on Trumps one year in power and its impact on the global politically and economic landscape as well as a reflection of BRICS given its consistent expansion
- Work with SADC to strengthen responses to disaster management and implementing climate change arrangements
- Capacity Building
- Continue to strengthen coordination between ANC HQ and Provinces on IR matters and establish a fully-fledged and well-resourced ANC IR department. Addressing funding limitation within ANC IR to ensure adequate resourcing for party-to-party engagements in the region, continent and the world
- Implement an international relations training program for all RECs'
- Finalize strategic deployments for foreign missions and updating our government deployment policy to regional, continental multilateral institutions, international organizations and specialized committees /or bodies etc.

CONCLUSION

The true measure of the Lekgotla's programme of action's success will be reflected in the outcomes it delivers and their tangible impact on improving the living conditions of South Africans. Achieving this, demands that all ANC structures and deployed cadres remain fully committed to the implementation of the prioritized tasks, underpinned by strong coordination and strict accountability.

The NEC will adopt the 2026 Programme of Action arising from the Lekgotla. In this year of the Local Government Elections (LGE), we must intensify our efforts to resolve persistent challenges and work with communities to build the South Africa envisioned in our Constitution.

END.

CLOSING ADDRESS

BY ANC PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA *to the* ANC NEC LEKGOTLA

25 January 2026



National Chairperson, Comrade Gwede Mantashe,
Deputy President Paul Mashatile,
Officials of the African National Congress,
Comrade Thabo Mbeki,
Comrade Kgalema Motlanthe,
Members of the NEC,
Leadership of the SACP, COSATU and SANCO,
Leadership of the ANC Women's League, ANC Youth League and ANC Veterans' League,
Leadership of the MK Liberation War Veterans,
Leadership of SASCO, COSAS, CONTRALESA and other formations of the broad democratic movement,
Deployed Comrades,

This has been a very productive and focused NEC lekgotla, attended by NEC members, PEC members, representatives of our leagues as well as Alliance partners and fraternal organisations.

We also welcomed the delegation from the Umkhonto we Sizwe Liberation War Veterans, who just held their successful national conference a few days ago.

It is encouraging that the commissions that were constituted as part of this lekgotla paid heed to the call to focus their attention and discussions on clear implementation plans with responsibilities, timeframes and targets.

The organisation will use these markers to hold all public representatives and deployees accountable.

This is not negotiable. This must be done.

This lekgotla has been about getting things done. It has been about execution.

It focused on the actions we will and must take this year to implement the priorities of the January 8th Statement as well as the NGC decisions.

Therefore, in this ***Year of Decisive Action to Fix Local Government and Transform the Economy***, we will be unrelenting in delivering on our commitments, making sure we do what we say and address our peoples' concerns.

The lekgotla outlined specific tasks in the six priority areas identified by the NGC:

Firstly, to fix local government and improve basic services
Secondly, to speed up economic transformation and to engender inclusive growth and job creation
Thirdly, to wage war on crime and corruption and tackle GBVF as a National Disaster
Fourthly, to build a South Africa that belongs to all through the National Dialogue and through commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Constitution

Fifthly, to make organisational renewal visible and irreversible Sixthly, to build a better Africa and a better world.

Crucially, to further the NDR, we are working to regain peoples' trust and speed up the achievement of a better life for all.

We remain convinced that the ANC-led Alliance is the best agent for progressive change in our country. The forthcoming local government elections will therefore be a litmus test of our determination.

As we bring this Lekgotla to a close, we know that the people of South Africa want the ANC to move beyond pronouncements and plans.

The people want action. They want to see progress and an improvement in their quality of life, which they know the ANC has a great task to institute

The people will judge us not so much by what we say but by the impact that our programmes have on their daily lived experiences.

They will ask whether the water flows in their taps.

They will ask whether the electricity is reliable. They will want to feel that the streets and pathways they walk along are safe. They will want to know whether refuse is collected, and whether municipalities are run honestly and with competence.

The people will judge us by whether they have jobs, whether the economy works for the majority of citizens or just a few.

This lekgotla has acknowledged the progress that has been made over the last few years across a number of areas that affect people's lives. It has recognised that the momentum of meaningful changes is gathering pace and momentum. We see this in the renewal and rebuilding of our movement and in the recovery of our economy and the transformation of our society.

This lekgotla has adopted a Programme of Action for 2026 that not only sustains this momentum but will accelerate the pace of change that all South Africans want to see.

The actions that we have agreed on here must have an immediate and transformative impact on people's lives.

By increasing investment, building and maintaining infrastructure and growing an inclusive economy, we will be able to create jobs that transform lives. We will raise revenue to improve the provision of education, health care and social support. We will lift more and more people out of poverty.

By fixing local government, by improving financial management, by reducing corruption and wastage, we will enable our municipalities to respond more effectively to people's needs.

Our ability to do this will make our towns and villages attractive to investors. Through their investments we will create more jobs and provide skills to our people.

By strengthening our law enforcement agencies, by mobilising communities against crime, by taking a holistic approach to safety and security, we will be able to reduce levels of crime and make our homes and streets safer.

All of these actions are directed towards realising the promise of our Constitution and the Freedom Charter.

As we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the adoption of our Constitution, we must focus greater effort on advancing the social and economic rights of all our people. No person and no community must be left behind.

The lekgotla resolved that we must see the National Dialogue as an opportunity to mobilise society around a common programme to transform our country.

We should therefore not fear to participate in the work of the National Dialogue.

The actions we have outlined for our Programme of Action are doable and achievable.

We have shown throughout our history that we are capable of as a movement and as an Alliance to live up to the expectations of our people.

We have shown the great progress we can make when we are united, when our objectives are clear, when we are focused on implementation and when we hold each other accountable that we can improve the lives of our people.

To achieve what we have set out, we need a strong, cohesive organisation that is committed to improving the lives of South Africans above all else. We need an organisation free of patronage,

free of factionalism and free of corruption.

We need cadres who live the values of our organisation and who apply themselves wholeheartedly to address the needs of the people of South Africa. We need cadres who are skilled, capable and dedicated to serve the people of South Africa.

We need to have the wisdom and the resolve to deploy the best among us to the areas of work that will have the greatest impact, whether that is to lead a municipality, to build the organisation or to build a united front for progressive change.

This lekgotla has stated that we cannot compromise on accountability.

We cannot and must refuse to accept poor performance. We cannot accept people who abuse the trust of our people and waste public resources.

We must have the courage to replace deployees who are not performing the tasks they are given. We must deploy cadres that can fulfil the responsibility of the position that they occupy.

We will implement mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation and accountability so that our decisions in this regard are based on evidence and are not driven by factional or personal interests.

We have received the reports from the commissions. These reports will be consolidated into the Lekgotla Outcomes Document and the ANC Programme of Action for 2026.



Our focus will now be on implementation. Our focus must be on getting things done and making a real and lasting difference in the lives of our people.

This had been the focus of this lekgotla. As I looked at the reports from the commission, I was pleased that all the reports set out the tasks to be done. This lekgotla is different from the others we have had. It shows we are more intent on actions. This is what our membership and the people of South Africa want to see from the ANC.

The people of South Africa want to see us taking action to change their lives, and this is what we must do without fail.

We thank the SGO, the ANC staff and volunteers who made this lekgotla possible and so successful. We also thank the Alliance partners who have come in numbers, as well as the NEC members, cde Thabo Mbeki and cde Kgalema Motlanthe. We want to thank the provincial leadership. All of you have lifted the intellectual content of this lekgotla and we have come out with clear decisions.

The decisions of this lekgotla must guide public representatives, deployees and our structures in communities in giving effect to our programme of fundamental social and economic change.

This has been a most productive and successful lekgotla. Let us now return to our branches, our municipalities, our communities, our provinces and deployments and do the work that our people expect of us.

More importantly, let us all go out to fix local government and transform our economy.

I thank you.

Gallery...





















Gallery...
















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ANC 2026 PROGRAMME OF ACTION



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Introduction to the 2026 Program of Action



This year takes place in the context of global and domestic uncertainty and upheaval, but with opportunities amidst crises.

South Africa is experiencing both challenges and opportunities: while global difficulties persist, there are promising signs of institutional strength and economic recovery. However, unemployment, poverty, and inequality are still at their highest levels since the country's democratic transition. These trends are compounded by distrust amongst populations in public and other institutions, misinformation and di sinformation, as citizens increasingly doubt whether the lives of their children and next generations will be better than theirs.

The 2026 Local Government Elections at the end of this year therefore looms large – whether citizens will feel that their movement, the ANC has heard their cries to turn the economy, unemployment and service delivery challenges around. 2026 is also the milestone of 30 years since the adoption of our Constitution, which guar antees all a Better Life for All its citizens.

Accordingly, the theme for 2026 has been designated as: ***THE YEAR OF DECISIVE ACTION TO FIX LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND TRANSFORM THE ECONOMY*** in response to these challenges. The theme on its own will not bring about change, the purpose of this Programme of Action is to translate the yearning for deci sive action into tasks for all structures, members, leaders, and deployees and public representatives, at all levels.

The January 8 Statement therefore spelled out the 6 tasks for the year:

1) **Fix local government and improve basic services.**
2) **Speed up economic transformation, inclusive growth and job creation.**
3) **Wage war on crime and corruption; GBVF as a National Disaster.**
4) **Build a South Africa that belongs to all through the National Dialogue and the 30th anniversary of the Constitution.**
5) **Make organisational renewal visible and irreversible.**
6) **Build a better Africa and a better world.**

And, as we are facing LGE2026, ensure we defend and improve our electoral performance, in the context of increased registration and turnout. The ANC Annual Programme of Action have remained consistent, premised on the overall strategic priorities of the NDR in this phase. These twin priorities have been articulated by the 5th National General Council as (a) National renewal and rejuvenation **anchored by an effective Developmental Path for Growth and Social Equity;** and (b) the **Renewal of the ANC as the leading Agent of Change** - to rebuild its leadership, organisational and ideological capacity to drive transformation.

Secretary General Cde Fikile Mbalula

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ANC 2026 PROGRAMMATIC TASKS

The Year of Decisive Action to Fix Local Government and Transform the Economy



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Key success factors to reach objectives in 2026 include:

(a) Clear communication and understanding of POA, phases and tasks, achievements and challenges.
(b) Assigning accountability for initiatives, and flexibility to adjust to changes in the environment.
(c) Engagement and communications with communities, members and sectors.
(d) Alignment of resources: support to branches and municipalities, as well as human and financial resources, time and effort.
(e) Disciplined reporting, monitoring and fostering a learning, responsive and adaptive culture.
(f) Leadership collectives at all levels focused, united and consistent, and not distracted by leadership contests or self-interest.

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Programme Implementation Strategy







PLANNING AND DIFFUSION: Makgotla, Provincial and Regional Action Plans, Action Plans by NEC, PEC, REC committees, Leagues, MKLWV

IMPLEMENTATION COORDINATION: month by month implementation and coordination; assign responsibilities for tasks

REPORTING AND MONITORING: monthly on 6 POA tasks of POA by NEC, PEC Subcommittees, Provinces. POA Report on Agenda of all Constitutional meetings. Intervene where lags.

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ANC 2026 PROGRAM OF ACTION IMPLEMENTATION AND MONITORING

WHAT	WHO	STATUS
Planning & Diffusion of POA		
January 8 Statement: NEC Lekgotla and Consolidated POA: Tasks for year outlined, translated into POA at Makgotla	NEC SGO	January DONE
SONA and SOPAs, and Budget Speech • Account on progress and plans, in line with strategic priorities of 7th administration, EAP and LGAP • Battle of ideas around Narrative	Presidency Premiers	February 2026
Provincial Makgotla	PSO, PMERS PECs	February 2026 KZN, GP, FS, NW, NC, LP, EC done
HQ Action Plans and Budgets, Resource planning	HQ Departments, with Provinces	February 2026
NEC Committee Action Plans	NEC Committees with Provinces	February 2026
League Action Plans	League SGs with Provinces	February 2026
ANC Branch POA	PMER, POLEDU, O&M	February 2026
Alliance POA	SGO	February 2026
Concept Notes for all Major Programs and close-out reports	Ongoing	Ongoing
ANC Monthly POA Activity and Message Sheet	PMER, SGO DCIP	Start March 2026
Implementation of POA		
Coordination of X-cutting Organisational campaigns/ programmes	SGO	
Coordination of ANC Departmental Programmes	Dept and Unit Heads	
Provincial Coordination of Implementation	PSO	
Regional Coordination	RSO	
Branch Implementation	BEC	
Coordination and Implementation of Governance Programmes	Deployees through NEC, PEC Committees and ANC	

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ANC 2026 PROGRAM OF ACTION IMPLEMENTATION AND MONITORING		
WHAT	**WHO**	**STATUS**
	Caucuses (National, Provincial, Local)	
MONITORING POA		
Monthly reports	PSO, NEC Committees PEC Committees	
Bi-weekly reports	Depts/Units to HQPMC PSO	
Consolidated reports on POA - 6 priorities, including LGAP and EAP, POA	PMER and SGO through SG Report to NWC Bi-monthly to NEC	
ANC Annual Report 2026	Year-end to NEC	

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Task 1A. Fix Local Government and Service Delivery

What: Objectives and Activities	Who	Output/Outcome Indicator by 2026
LGAP Pillar 1. Accelerate Basic Service Delivery		
1) Local turnaround and Action plans on Service Delivery: • **Water and Sanitation:** Fix leaks, restore water supply, wastewater compliance, sanitation in informal settlements. • **Electricity:** Stabilise networks, prevent vandalism and theft, plan to end load reduction • **Refuse and roads:** Clear refuse backlogs, repair potholes, fix street lighting, clean and green campaign • **Housing & Informal settlements upgrades:** complete housing projects with bulk infrastructures, title deed backlogs, land release for housing.	ANC Mayoral Committee, Caucus RECs and PECs LGI to supervise and monitor COGTA, working with service depts	
2) **Disaster management**: Enhance early warning systems, disaster preparedness and response; post-disaster reconstruction and financing; strengthen Disaster Management System • Implement Weather-Based insurance (parametric) • Improve climate resilient infrastructure (build back better); Utilise capacity in SANDF and DMV	COGTA, Local municipalities, NT LGI monitors	
3) **Rapid response capacities in Municipalities**, to inform and respond to service delivery issues and citizens complaints, with effective communication and citizen engagements	ANC Mayors, MMCS HQ, PEC, REC LGI monitors	
4) Establish **ANC War-rooms to monitor community SD issues and report**	LGI/PMER/Presidency with PSO	
• Functional ANC War-rooms with effective response and tracking systems on service delivery issues	LGI PMER ANC Provinces and Regions	Monthly reports

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Task 1A. Fix Local Government and Service Delivery

What: Objectives and Activities	Who	Output/Outcome Indicator by 2026
• Responsive government and public representative to issues of citizens	All levels PCOs, Mayors Ward Clrs ANC Caucuses DDM Champions	Resolved/Unresolved matters Communications on SD issues
• ANC structures activated to respond to community and people's issues.	BEC	SD on regular agendas
• Ward profile updated and Service Delivery Plan	BEC	Ward Councilors Community meetings ANC Branch visibility in community
• By-elections, LGE2026 Outcomes	PMER/LGI	Track selected number of municipalities with SD issues
LGAP Pillar 2. Effective and Sustainable Infrastructure		
5) Prioritise **water infrastructure** projects; fix dysfunctional wastewater plants, sewage and water pipes and reduce water losses; expand water access through boreholes.	Local and District municipalities DWS	
6) WS5: **Welisizwe Bridges** program		
7) Effective **infrastructure planning and budgeting,** short, medium and long-term plans and budgets, incl District Development Model (DDM) catalytic projects and land for production and housing.	District Municipality with Local Municipalities DDM Champions	
8) Optimise **spending and delivery on infrastructure grants (100%)**	DM and LM ANC Mayoral Committees ANC Caucuses	
9) Effective reactive, preventative, proactive **maintenance plans and budgets**, minimum standards for repairs and turnaround times; adequate maintenance capacity	Local and District municipalities Provincial COGTAs	

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Task 1A. Fix Local Government and Service Delivery

What: Objectives and Activities	Who	Output/Outcome Indicator by 2026
	Line service depts	
10) Audit all stalled, incomplete or abandoned infrastructure and housing projects and enforce service delivery agreements consequences	Provincial COGTA, Local Municipalities	
LGAP Pillar 3. Capable local govt & institutional capacity		
Governance and Administration 11) Interventions to ensure **political stability** including on coalitions with smooth political and political-administrative interfaces.	COGTA LGI	
12) Escalate interventions to correct **dysfunctional** municipalities.	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA LGI	
13) Speedy and visible action against **corruption** allegations at all levels and consequence management.	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA	
14) Strengthen **DDM structures and role of Champions** with improved spatialisation of planning across spheres of government and development of One Budgets to improve integrated planning and implementation.	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA	
15) Stop inappropriate political interference and micro-management	LGI	
16) Improve monitoring, evaluation and reporting on municipal performance including strengthening performance indicators. DDM Champions provide monthly reports and processed by War Rooms		
Robust Institutional Capacity & Professionalisation 17) Improve quality and accountability of senior management and implement professionalization f r a m e w o r k	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA LGI	

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Task 1A. Fix Local Government and Service Delivery

What: Objectives and Activities	Who	Output/Outcome Indicator by 2026
18) Ensure filling of critical vacancies and improve recruitment of technical skills, including engineers, skills audit of technical professionals	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA	
19) Develop inhouse capacity including through skills development and reduce spending on consultants	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA	
20) Advance e-government and digital services to make government services accessible, interoperable and efficient	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA	
21) Prescribe minimum skills, qualifications and experience for councilors and senior officials		
22) Strengthen intergovernmental relations and coordination across spheres. Mobilisation of technical and financial resources to struggling municipalities. Deploy competent technical support teams during interventions		
Financial management & accountability 23) End unfunded municipal budget being approved	COGTA LGI	
24) **Implement Revenue Collection** Plans to improve collection rates, incl. bulk purchases (water and sanitation) and fix billing systems, increase smart metering and correct historical billing errors	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA LGI	
25) Reduce **government debt** owed to municipalities and municipal debt owed to Eskom, Water Boards etc.	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA	
26) Settle outstanding debt owed to municipalities by organs of state through Treasury instruments		
27) Implement **audit action plans** to address audit findings	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA	
28) Review **Local Government fiscal framework,** equitable share policy and alternative financing models.	Mayoral coms, Caucus COGTA	

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Task 1A. Fix Local Government and Service Delivery

What: Objectives and Activities	Who	Output/Outcome Indicator by 2026
29) Improve and address recurring negative **Audit outcomes**		
LGAP Pillar 4. Reconnect, restore trust & accountability		
30) Introduce community scorecards and service delivery reporting platforms		
31) Implement Delivery Scorecards, including community scorecards and performance reviews at all levels, including for councilors, mayors, speakers and Chief Whips and improve accountability	PMER national and provinces	
32) **Councillors:** Monthly public meetings/ community feedback forums in every ward to report progress to citizens on local service delivery, hotline resolution and other strategic issues, revive, strengthen Ward Committees	Ward Councillors ANC BECs	
33) 3. Revival of weekly Letsema and visible **community campaigns** incl. Day of Community Service, cleaning etc.	ANC BEC RECs, PECs, HQ	
34) 4. Implement **Consequence Management** Framework at all levels	SGO, PSO	
35) 5. Involve communities in **participatory planning and monitoring** and address service delivery challenges linked to protests	Ward Councillors ANC LM Caucuses	
LGAP Pillar 5. LED, Jobs and Industrialisation		
36) Strengthen and implement **Local Economic Development** plans in consultation with key stakeholders, including through DDM, comparative and strategic advantages per locality and partnerships with private sector	Mayoral committees DDM, DTIC, Small Business Dept, SALGA	
37) Revitalise infrastructure, industrial parks and SEZs to attract investment, incl. manufacturing and create jobs in communities	DTIC, Small Business Dept with LM	

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Task 1A. Fix Local Government and Service Delivery		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output/Outcome Indicator by 2026**
38) Improve the **ease of doing business**, reduce red tape, especially for SMMEs and informal businesses, speed up approvals and reduce licensing costs.	Presidency Operation Vulindlela LGI, ETC	
39) Optimise **public employment programmes**, including EPWP, CWP and PES linked to municipal priorities (public, SMMEs and social sectors)	Presidency, ETC with LM	
40) Implement **preferential procurement** to affirm local businesses, esp township and village-based enterprises	Mayoral committees	
LGAP Pillar 6. Strategic Developmental Communications		
41) Improve direct **communication** with citizenry on service delivery issues, incl. through councillors and publicize visible progress	All spheres of govt; councillors	
42) Expand **civic education**, including on payment of services, debt relief, free basic services, call to action by citizenry, reporting bribery, service delivery hotline, safety etc.	Local govt; councillors	
43) Hold regular **media briefings, incl community radio, papers** on progress in implementing the Action Plan, challenges experienced, the status of local government and interventions etc.	DCIP, provinces, municipalities, DCOG, LGI	
44) Improve proactive communications on action taken against **corruption**, money recovered, consequence management etc.	DCIP and all spheres of govt	
45) Publicise review of local government performance and interventions to ensure accelerated service delivery	DCIP and all spheres of govt	

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TASK 1B. DEFEND, CONSOLIDATE & ADVANCE IN LGE2026		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator by end 2026**
A. Campaign Management, Coordination		
Strengthen the National election machinery at the Head office and in Provinces, regions and LET level, including offices, resources and human capacity to drive the campaign. Appoint coordinators everywhere	NET/PETs RETs and LETs NEC, PECs and RECs	
Resources to kick-start the. campaign	NEC, PECs and RECs	
Strengthen and support election structures, at LET and BET Level	PETs and RETs	
Establish and capacitate VD structures: volunteers from elected structures and members	PETs, RETs and LETs	
Approach for Metros and strategic municipalities	NET/PETs RETs	
B. **Service delivery (war-rooms), monitoring and rapid response**		
Establish service delivery war-rooms in all Municipalities and wards	Service delivery War-room team (Presidency /PMER, LGI)	
Services delivery Rapid Response Teams in all Municipalities	PMER	
Do branch profiles, understand service delivery mechanisms	PMER & Provinces	
Proactive communications on Municipality/ Metro interventions and challenges	Troikas	
C. Resource Mobilization,		
Finalise budgets and expenditure monitoring	TGO/PT/RT with Election Management	

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TASK 1B. DEFEND, CONSOLIDATE & ADVANCE IN LGE2026		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator by end 2026**
Implement resource mobilisation strategy and ensure distribution to all levels, especially VD and BETs	NEC, PECs and RECs	
D. Training and Capacity Building		
Provide Training of all Election Structures, Campaign Managers, Training of Trainers, Volunteer Training, RET, LET Training & BET training	ETU/Political Education	
Provide Training and workshops for all MDM Structures	ETU/Political Education	
Training of branch and screening list and List committees	Edu/Political Education	
Training of BET (including norms and rules)		
E. Communication and Media Distribution		
Develop and train relevant people on the communication protocol	Communication and training task team	
Establish social media and radio armies	Communication task team	
Build communication capacity at all levels.	Communication task team HQ	
Develop a comprehensive election propaganda strategy with clear targets and drivers.	NET	
Create community-based communication platforms such as street sheets, ward bulletins, and localised WhatsApp groups to distribute real information about service delivery, governance and elections logistics.	Communication task team	

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TASK 1B. DEFEND, CONSOLIDATE & ADVANCE IN LGE2026		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator by end 2026**
F. Mobilisation, Canvassing and Sectoral Work		
Establish and capacitate mobilisation teams at LET and BET levels	Mobilisation, canvassing and sectoral task team	
Establish and capacitate sectoral teams at the LET and BET levels	Mobilisation, canvassing and sectoral task team	
ID and voter registration campaign starts now; DHA, mobiles – Youth plus all campaign structures	Mobilisation, canvassing and sectoral task teams at LET, BET and VD Levels	
Mobilise and ensure training of volunteers (at least 20 volunteers per VD)	RETs, LETS and BETs	
Establish persuasion teams in all municipalities	LETs and BETs	
Working with training and communication task teams – develop standardised volunteer training material as well as messaging and canvassing scripts and guidelines	Mobilisation, communications and training	
Establish sectoral teams and roll out sectoral programmes	LETs and BETs	
Develop a strategic approach for the middle class and young professionals	NET and PYA	
Develop a canvassing and mobilisation strategy that will talk to the different environments and demographics	NET	
Develop a comprehensive voter mobilisation, canvasing and registration strategy targeting	NET	

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TASK 1B. DEFEND, CONSOLIDATE & ADVANCE IN LGE2026		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator by end 2026**
different sectors of society, especially youth, unregistered voters and migrant workers (1 million target)		
G. Research and Messaging		
Strengthen data monitoring and evaluation system (reactivate ANC cloud)	PMER	
Re-establish the election call centre to track the campaign	EMT	
Conduct detailed voter segmentation research through the ANC Baseline Survey	PMER	
Opinion Polling	PMER/DCIP	
Track national mood indicators and localised sentiment drivers (service delivery, corruption, cost of living, unemployment, crime, and dignity politics) to guide messaging and canvassing scripts.	PMER	
Conduct metro-focused research on middle strata	PMER	
Deepen youth research on the 18–39 cohort	PMER and SGO	
Map opposition terrain ward by ward to develop specific responses, anti-ANC narratives and vote switching drivers, and general opposition research	EMT	
Integrate research findings into training modules and communications	ETU/Pol Ed.	
Create a tracking mechanism of commitments made by ward councillors to communities, and track progress in these commitments	PMER and Service Delivery War-room	

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TASK 1B. DEFEND, CONSOLIDATE & ADVANCE IN LGE2026		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator by end 2026**
H. Manifesto Process		
LGE2021 Manifesto Review	PMER & LGI	
LGE2026 Manifesto development team	Policy, M&ER Committee	
Work with Provinces, metros & LM on localising Manifesto	PMER, LGI, Provinces	
Elections Manifesto Launch	EMT	
I. Legal, Monitoring and Security		
Ensure consistent ANC participation in PLCs at all levels and report issues to Elections Management structures	Legal and Monitoring teams	
Monitor and report on IEC elections preparations, regulations and legal framework	Legal and Monitoring Teams	
Implement criminal and ethics verification (police certificate, court records, municipal disciplinary history) to eliminate candidates associated with corruption, crime, or predation.	Legal and Monitoring Teams	
Early preparations for Party agent training	Legal and Monitoring Teams, Training Teams	
Risk analysis: threats to free and fair elections	Legal and Monitoring Teams, working with Peace and Security committees	
J. List process and Candidate selection, registration		
Nomination booklet, printing and distribution	Electoral Committee & SGO	
Select the best candidates to win the election to lead the transformation agenda	Wards	

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TASK 1B. DEFEND, CONSOLIDATE & ADVANCE IN LGE2026		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator by end 2026**
Introduce metro-specific candidate standards that emphasise professional competence, coalition navigation, governance literacy, and public communication capacity.	SGO	
PLC vetting & screening	PLC	
RIVP Interviews of PR Candidates & Capturing & PR List compilation	RIVP	
Approval of PR list by PECs	PLC & PEC-Extended	
Submission of PR List to SGO	Electoral Committee	
Approval of the final Lists	SGO & Extended NEC	
Submission of lists for registration to the IEC	SGO, PSO & Electoral Committee	
Enforce candidate selection guidelines strictly to prevent factional manipulation, patronage, or sympathy politics that elevate popularity over competence and integrity.	SGO, PSO & Electoral Committee	
Messaging around ANC Candidates	DCIP	
K. Election Day Preparations		
Framework for Getting Out the Vote		
Framework for monitoring - Special Votes and Voting days - Counting, tallying, complaints and results		
Results Analysis and Messaging		

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LGE 2026: KEY INDICATORS TO MONITOR

Activity/Action	Key Indicators for Monitoring
Voter Growth and Registration	• Target of unregistered 1000 youth reached per branch per month. • Social media space occupation • Weekly monitoring of voter registration progress and data storage.
Service Delivery Intervention	• Tracking mechanism for ward councillor commitments. • Completion of a clear plan of action with Mayco for major service delivery problems.
Candidate Selection and List Compilation	• Completion of vetting and screening by the PLC in May 2026. • Final approval of lists by the NEC Extended by June 25, 2026.
By-election performance	Performance monitoring in ward by-elections
Strategic Communication and Narrative Leadership	• Consistent and unified messaging across all platforms. • Digital infrastructure budget alignment to political priorities.

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs

What	Who	When	Output Indicator
Freight rail and ports: recover logistics capacity to unlock growth			
1) Lock in 250 mt freight target by 2029, target 170 - 174 million ton freight on Transnet network in 2026.	DoT / Transnet / Presidency / Operation Vulindlela	2026 Report Quarterly	Transnet to move 170 – 174 mt of freight in 2026.
2) Sustain and strengthen the "Transnet War Room" as the operational engine for weekly problem-solving, performance tracking, and escalation.	DoT / Transnet	Immediate – 2026 Report Quarterly	Functional weekly war-room with published performance dashboards and escalation logs
3) RFP for Richards Bay Dry Bulk Terminal	DoT / Transnet	by Feb 2026	RFP issued for Richards Bay Bulk Terminal;
4) RFP for the Manganese Corridor (Northern Cape → Port of Ngqura	DoT/ Transnet	by May 2026	RFP Issued for Manganese Corridor.
5) RFP for the Container Corridor (Durban → Gauteng	DOT/ Transnet	by November 2026 Report Quarterly	RFP Issued for the Container Corridor
6) Raise port productivity to international benchmarks: drive to 30 gross crane moves/hour by 2030, with an immediate recovery programme from the 12–15 range in 2026.	DOT / Transnet / Presidency / Operation Vulindlela	2026 Report Quarterly	Achieve gross crane moves/hour to between 12 – 15 range in 2026.
7) Accelerate Durban Port Terminal 2 upgrade.	TNPA / Transnet	2026 Report Quarterly	Terminal 2 construction contracts active with visible on-site implementation
Passenger rail: scale PRASA restoration and remove signalling constraint			
8) Fast-track PRASA signaling upgrades, new trains sets still to be acquired, continue rail-line and rail station development.	DoT / PRASA	2026 Report Quarterly	Signaling contractors installed and commissioned on Gauteng and Durban priority lines
9) Scale passenger rail usage from 77 million passenger trips in FY24/25 to 116 million passenger trips in FY25/26.	PRASA / DoT	FY25/26 Report Quarterly	Annual passenger journeys increased to at least 116 million

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs			
What	**Who**	**When**	**Output Indicator**
Aviation: restore compliance capacity, unlock passenger and airfreight growth			
10) Complete aviation flight-procedure compliance	DoT / SACAA / ACSA	FY25/26 Report Quarterly	All network and secondary airports compliant with updated flight procedures
11) Reform licensing council and foreign operator permits system. Digitise/modernise submissions, increase technical processing capacity, and set turnaround time standards.	DoT / SACAA	FY25/26 Report Quarterly	Digitised licensing system with defined turnaround times operational.
12) Fix electronic landing gear for bad weather aircraft landing	DOT / ACSA	FY25/26	Improved landing of aircrafts in smaller airports as well.
Road safety: legislate, enforce, and professionalise scholar transport			
13) Legislate and enforce "zero alcohol" (move toward no consumption before driving).	DoT / Parliament	FY25/26	Draft Bill by the end of 2026.
14) Amend Section 42 regulations (National Traffic Act) for scholar transport: • Mandatory advanced driver training for anyone transporting children. • Mandatory vehicle tracking systems. • Establish a dedicated national database of scholar-transport vehicles (DoE + DoT). • Enforce compliance with existing requirements (operating permits, licensing as passenger vehicles).	DOT	FY25/26	Achieve a national database of scholar transport vehicles operational; mandatory training and tracking/telematics requirements enforced
Roads maintenance, MIG/conditional grants, and municipal/provincial delivery			
15) Fix Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) and road maintenance under-spending: • Identify why funds are returned (capacity, co-funding rules, planning failures).	COGTA / NT / Provinces	FY25/26	Reduced return of conditional grants and approved reform proposals for rural municipalities

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs			
What	**Who**	**When**	**Output Indicator**
• Where co-funding rules block poor/rural municipalities, table a reform option (e.g., differentiated/cohort-based MIG conditions).			
Energy: pricing reform, municipal surcharges, free basic electricity, and transmission build			
16) Fast-track an energy, logistics, fuel and other administered pricing policy intervention so tariff outcomes change materially before local government elections.	DEE / NERSA / Cabinet	by end of 2026	Revised administered pricing framework approved and implemented
17) Address municipal electricity surcharges and uneven prepaid regimes that deepen cost-of-living pressures in townships.	ESKOM / DEE / Municipalities	FY25/26	Electricity pricing reduced in townships and stable and consistent supply of electricity.
18) Post use payment regimes. Roll out of prepaid meters.			
19) Address load reduction towards its elimination.			
20) Address electricity theft			
21) Reducing municipal debt to Eskom			
22) Fix underutilisation of the Free Basic Electricity grant: • Build municipal capability to claim/apply it (only R2bn of R10bn reportedly used). • Review and increase the Free Basic Electricity threshold (from 50kWh to a higher, evidence-based level).	DEE/ Municipalities	FY25/26	Increased utilization of the Free Basic Electricity grants as budgeted. Increase the threshold for the grant.
23) Accelerate transmission infrastructure build.	Eskom / DMRE / NT	2025–2026	Annual transmission build targets published and under construction
Distressed and strategic industries: steel/ferroalloys, autos, and localisation enforcement			

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs			
What	**Who**	**When**	**Output Indicator**
24) Conclude the strategic intervention for AMSA (majority acquisition via IDC) while preparing an operating model.	dtic / IDC	FY25/26	IDC-led majority acquisition concluded with operating model approved
25) Rebuild ferroalloy and smelting capacity (chrome, manganese, etc.) using a package approach: Electricity price interventions and targeted incentives. Export control measures where appropriate. Fix scrap export orientation: reduce incentives to export scrap and strengthen domestic recycling-to-steel inputs.	dtic / DEE / ITAC	FY25/26	
26) Gazette final export control ('permit') system for chrome.			
27) Secure 62c/kwh tariff agreement through MOU process between Eskom and smelters (as a starting point to similar processes in other energy-intensive beneficiation sectors).			
28) Review and consult on reform to energy pricing policy (EPP). Begin consultations on extending price preference point system (beyond 31 July 2027), considering extension of materials to e-waste, waste of rare earths and critical minerals and other strategic and high value industrial materials and wastes.			
29) Close policy loopholes undermining localisation in strategic sectors like the automotive sector, in order to Stop misuse of tax-free parts regimes. Stop trading/import certificate arbitrage that enables imports while undermining local production.			

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs			
What	**Who**	**When**	**Output Indicator**
30) Review functioning of duty credit framework in the auto-industrial policy, including restrictions to the sale, trade and circulation among **intermediaries** of such certificates [imports under such certificates, now constitute close to a fifth of auto imports by value].			
Development finance institutions and mobilisation of external finance			
31) Implement Afreximbank country package. Afreximbank and ECIC to finalize discussion on the incubation of the Export Credit and Capacity Agency.	NT / dtic / Afreximbank	FY25/26	
32) Launch Transformation Fund	dtic / NT / ETC	by March 2026	Transformation Fund launched with governance framework and project pipeline
33) Capitalise and scale NYDA impact through coordination, not only budget: • Ring-fence co-funding from DFIs (IDC/NEF/PIC) into youth enterprise support through the National Youth Fund. • Ensure regulations governing 'designation' of goods and services in line with section 20 of the Procurement Act, have 'set asides' for co-funding and asset management services owned by youth (such as National Youth Fund	NYDA / IDC / NEF / PIC	FY25/26	)
Trade, investment, and external economic relations			
34) Execute the "Butterfly" trade strategy's Africa focus, through practical AfCFTA	dtic / ECIC/ DFIs		Increased exports of South African good into the region and continent.

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs			
What	**Who**	**When**	**Output Indicator**
implementation and export support into African markets.			
35) Finalize the ACFTA auto and textile protocols			
36) Run parallel negotiations with major partners with clear red lines and domestic industrial outcomes: • Manage US negotiations (possible formal talks in February) pragmatically, without sacrificing strategic interests. • Finalise China engagement (duty/quota free access) while addressing standards, SPS barriers, and competitiveness realities. • Implement the EU Clean Trade and Investment Partnership model focused on beneficiation/industrialisation at source. • Continue engagements with India, AfCFTA partners, Mercosur, and Canada.	dtic / DoA / NT	FY25/26	Finalized negotiations and signing of trade agreements.
Transformation: accelerate implementation, defend the agenda, and use procurement power			
37) Complete regulatory refinements by end-March (e.g., "Statement 400" and other measures enabling contributions and compliance),	NT / dtic	FY25/26	Finalise designation regulations (section 20), review of statement 400 and similar measures.
38) Finalize public consultation process for the Public Procurement regulations, in particular section 20 on 'designation' of goods and services.			
39) Issue codes of good practice in manufacturing sub-sectors			

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs			
What	**Who**	**When**	**Output Indicator**
40) ETC to engage meet with progressive business and civil society organizations to build a progressive bloc in defence of transformation.	ETC/ Provincial ETCs	by April 2026	Building a progressive bloc (including mass democratic movement structures) in defense of transformation policies
Mining rights access and local beneficiation participation (especially rural/traditional areas)			
41) Finalize the mining rights/cadastral application system to unlock investment and reduce bureaucracy-driven exclusion.	DMPR	FY2526	Functional digital cadastral system reducing approval backlogs
42) Accelerate artisanal mining formalisation by completing the regulatory package and issuing the first expanded cohort of artisanal mining permits/licenses, paired with a joint plan to disrupt criminal networks.	DMRE DTIC	Q1–Q2 2026: regulatory package finalised; Q2–Q4 2026: license roll-out and enforcement	By end-2026: functional artisanal mining permitting system with expanded licenses issued;
43) Disrupt criminal networks in the mining sector	DMRE, SAPS/Intelligence, DHA, Justice; Presidency (security cluster coordination		Joint enforcement outcomes against syndicates with published statistics
Water and sanitation: targeted delivery now, R&D pipeline for the medium term			
44) Water & sanitation treated as an economic constraint (not only a local government matter), with practical delivery interventions in the 10-point plan framework.	ETC / DWS	2025–2026	
45) ETC to engage with the Department of Water and Sanitation on urgent intervention for 2026.			

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs			
What	**Who**	**When**	**Output Indicator**
Agriculture and food systems: industrial parks, market access, and inputs			
46) Revive agricultural/industrial parks as a near-term deliverable through dtic + provincial alignment and DFI funding.	dtic / DoA / Provinces / IDC	by October where possible.	Secure commitments form national and provincial governments for budget to revive agricultural-industrial parks.
47) Land Reform programme support: • Audit and publish underutilized state land suitable for emerging farmers. • OResolve communal land access constraints through structured agreements with traditional authorities • Finalise land rights to labour tenants lodged since 1998 • Integration of Land Reform programme to mass nutrition and food security interventions • Co-ordinate post-settlement support for redistribution beneficiaries. • Link products produced by land reform beneficiaries to mass nutrition and food security programmes such as national school nutrition programme	DRDLR / DPW / Provinces / COGTA / Land Bank	FY25/26	
Coordination, Execution, Monitoring and Interventions			
48) Align mass public employment programmes (PYEI, CWP, EPWP, NARYSec, War on Leaks and so on) by improving labour market intelligence, demand planning, skills and training, with industrial and sectoral strategies. Linking this work to the project	DEL/DTIC/Presidency/NYDA	FY25/26	

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs			
What	**Who**	**When**	**Output Indicator**
preparation gaps of technical projects at local government level.			
49) Finalise National Pathway Management System and National Employment Policy.	DEL to table (or implement?)		
50) National Labour Migration Policy to ANC for broad discussion, amendment and adoption.	DEL/DHA		
51) Adopt a strict 'no-returned-funds' accountability rule for ANC-deployed mayors/municipal leadership: municipalities returning grants must report to ANC structures with corrective plans, and repeated failure triggers deployment review.	ANC structures (NEC/PEC/REC), SALGA, COGTA, Municipal councils; National Treasury (early warning)	Q1 2026: accountability protocol; Q2–Q4 2026: quarterly reviews and interventions	By end-2026: quarterly ANC municipal performance reviews conducted; reduced grant returns; documented corrective actions and deployment decisions where failures persist.
52) Review of funding model of local government: Funding model for subnational sphere (province, district is finalized, with clear distribution of functional authority and nationally collected revenue, informed by revised White Paper on Local Government. Review also includes aligning territorial boundaries to economic and taxable base in local sphere	ANC NEC Subcommittee on Local Government/ COGTA/Presidency/National Treasury		
53) Transnet process of offloading 'non-core assets' and network asset reorganization (such as closure of branch lines and railway sidings in Transnet). Rationalisation and offloading of non-core assets and reorganization of network assets, takes into account local need and repurposing of functions of that infrastructure within the local economic development plans and DDM One Plans of municipalities and metros	ANC ETC/DoT/Dept of Energy		

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Task 2. Economic Transformation, Inclusive Growth & Jobs			
What	**Who**	**When**	**Output Indicator**
54) Macro-economic policy is aligned to trade, industrial and other micro-elements of the broader economic strategy.	ANC ETC/Economic Cluster		
55) ANC ETC convenes an Alliance workshop on macro-economic co-ordination and the strengthening of co-ordination mechanisms in government (reintroduction of PCAS, functioning of MINMEC and IGR) to harmonize implementation			

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION 2026 CONSOLIDATED KPI DASHBOARD. Aligned to 2026 Strategic Priorities

A. CORE DELIVERY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY INDICATORS

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
Local Government & Services	% utilisation of Free Basic Electricity (FBE) grant	Significant increase from baseline; under-spending reversed	DEE / Municipalities
Local Government & Services	Approved increase in FBE threshold	New threshold approved and implemented	DEE / Cabinet
Local Government & Services	% MIG & road grants spent	Reduction in returned grants YoY	COGTA / NT
Local Government & Services	Priority water projects delivered	Annual delivery targets met	DWS / Municipalities

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A. CORE DELIVERY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY INDICATORS

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
Local Government & Services	WASH R&D funding	Dedicated funding stream established	DSI / DWS

B. INFRASTRUCTURE-LED GROWTH & JOB CREATION

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
Inclusive Growth	Large infrastructure projects	Projects under active construction	Presidency / Line Depts
Inclusive Growth	Jobs created via infrastructure	Net new jobs reported	DEL / dtic
Inclusive Growth	National Employment Policy	Finalised and adopted	DEL
Inclusive Growth	National Pathway Management System	Operational nationally	Presidency / DEL
Inclusive Growth	Alignment of public employment programmes	EPWP/CWP/PYEI aligned to sector demand	DEL

C. RE-INDUSTRIALISATION & LOCALISATION

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
Strategic Industries	IDC-led AMSA acquisition	Majority acquisition completed	dtic / IDC
Strategic Industries	Smelters stabilised	Facilities operational or secured	dtic / DEE
Strategic Industries	Export permit systems	Chrome & manganese permits gazetted	dtic / ITAC

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C. RE-INDUSTRIALISATION & LOCALISATION

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
Automotive	Duty credit framework	Reviewed and loopholes closed	dtic / NT
Agro-processing	Agro-industrial parks	Priority parks revived	dtic / Provinces

D. ENERGY PRICING & NETWORK REFORMS

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
Energy Reform	Energy pricing framework	Approved & implemented	DEE / Cabinet
Energy Reform	Electricity tariff vs inflation	Tariff path moderated	NERSA
Energy Reform	Transmission build	Annual targets published & under construction	Eskom
Energy Reform	Municipal prepaid regimes	Greater standardisation	DEE / Municipalities

E. FREIGHT RAIL, PORTS & LOGISTICS

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
Logistics	Freight volumes moved	170–174 million tonnes	DoT / Transnet
Logistics	Transnet War Room	Weekly dashboards & escalations	DoT / Transnet
Logistics	Corridor RFPs	Bulk, Manganese & Container RFPs issued	DoT / Transnet
Ports	Crane productivity	12–15 moves/hour sustained	Transnet
Ports	Durban Port Terminal 2	Construction milestones achieved	TNPA

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F. MACRO-ECONOMIC COORDINATION

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
Macro Coordination	Export Credit & Capacity Agency	Institutional design completed	NT / dtic
Macro Coordination	Afreximbank–ECIC package	Operational arrangements concluded	NT / dtic
Macro Coordination	Policy alignment reports	Regular inter-ministerial reporting	Presidency

G. MSMMEs, TOWNSHIP & RURAL ECONOMIES

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
MSMMEs	DFI co-funding mobilised	Increased funding to SMMEs	DSBD/IDC / NEF
MSMMEs	Procurement to SA-owned firms	Share increased	DSBD/NT / dtic
Rural Economy	Productive land released	State land audited & allocated	DRDLR
Informal Economy	Informal firms integrated	Value-chain participation increased	DSBD/dtic

H. YOUTH & WOMEN'S ECONOMIC INCLUSION

Priority Area	KPI	2026 Target / Measure	Responsible Cluster
Inclusion	Transformation Fund	Fund launched & operational	DSBD/dtic / NT
Inclusion	Youth enterprise funding	Funding flows increased	DSBD/NYDA / DFIs
Inclusion	Procurement set-asides	Section 20 regulations finalised	NT/ DSBD

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H. YOUTH & WOMEN'S ECONOMIC INCLUSION			
Priority Area	**KPI**	**2026 Target / Measure**	**Responsible Cluster**
Inclusion	SETA fund utilisation	Utilisation rates improved	DEL
Inclusion	Public sector vacancies	Vacancy-filling delays reduced	DPSA

I. TRADE, EXPORTS & DEFENCE OF DOMESTIC INDUSTRY			
Priority Area	**KPI**	**2026 Target / Measure**	**Responsible Cluster**
Trade	AfCFTA protocols	Auto & textile protocols finalised	dtic
Trade	Exports to Africa	Measurable growth achieved	dtic
Trade Defence	Import penetration	Reduced in designated sectors	dtic / ITAC
Trade Strategy	Market diversification	Expanded export destinations	dtic
Beneficiation	Value-added exports	Share of beneficiated exports increased	dtic

NOTE: *This ETC dashboard is designed for quarterly reporting to the NEC/ETC, Cabinet clusters, and provincial structures, with each KPI supported by a short narrative and traffic-light status*.

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Task 3. Make Organisational Renewal Visible & Irreversible

What	Who	Output end 2026
Organisation Building and Membership		
1) Induction of all BECs, RECs, PECs and NECs	NEC Political Education Subcommittee	Those elected in Leadership Collectives understand and carry out their roles
2) Convene all the outstanding Regional Conferences	NEC/PEC	Structures in good standing
3) Implement manual updating of membership	NEC Organising & Membership Subcommittee	Verified and credible membership data Minimise membership buying
4) Synchronising membership system with that of the Leagues	NEC Subcommittee	A single effective membership system for the ANC and it's Leagues
5) All branches must administer oath for new members	BEC	To inculcate a culture of conviction
6) Develop a guideline for membership data cleansing process to remove members belonging to other political parties	BEC/REC /PSO	Removal of members with membership of other political parties, other than those aligned to the ANC. (Evidence-based)
7) Develop guidelines for readmitting members who had defected to other parties	Political Education recommend to NEC	Guidelines on readmission of members
8) ANC Monday's visibility	All members	Popularise and re-engrave the brand ANC in the mind and hearts of the people

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What	Who	Output end 2026	
9) Joint collaboration between Political Education & Organising and Membership on Organisation-Building and Renewal Programme of Action to improve the quality of membership.	O&M and Poled departments and committees	Ongoing	Mass politicisatian and training of ANC general membership
10) Remodel of reburial of liberation heroes	NEC Subcommittee	Continuously	
11) Organizational accountability through reporting	All structures PMER and O&M to SGO	Continuously	Reports submitted into cloud
12) NEC members to communicate NEC decisions to structures after every NEC meeting	SGO	Continuously	For coherence and precise implementation
13) Regular Joint Political Education and Organising Subcommittee meetings	NEC Subcommittee	Forthwith	To have an integrated programme of action on Organisational Renewal
14) Reinstate the rules banning the use of money in the Constitution (Rule 25.5 sub section R, S, T and U)	NEC	Forthwith	For purposes of completeness (clauses reinstated in the Constitution 2022, Rule 25.17.22-26 by the NEC[1])
15) Adopt a Renewal Charter	NEC	30 March 2026	A guiding framework for renewal

[1] https://www.anc1912.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/ANC-Constitution-2022.pdf

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What	Who	Output end 2026	
16) Regional Secretaries fulltime functionaries of the ANC.	SGO	Forthwith	All should have given resignation letters from other jobs to the SGO
17) Provinces to establish functional M&E units	RSO/PSO/SGO	Immediate	To improve our implementation & monitoring capacity of our resolutions
18) Enforce the implementation of Rule 4 of the ANC Constitution	BEC/REC/PEC/SGO	Continuous	Report on each member that applied for membership
19) Enforce social media policy	BEC/REC/ PEC/NEC	Continuous	Workshop and educate all structures & inform members on the consequences of non-compliance
20) Deepen ANC sectoral work	Sectoral Task teams of BEC/REC/ PEC/NEC	Continuous	Mass character and connectedness to communities.
21) Conceptualize a campaign to contest the narrative on corruption.	Veterans League	June 2026	Change the mindset of our communities.
22) Branches to improve activism of subcommittees	BEC/REC/PEC	Continuously	Report on subcommittee functionality
23) Implement Branch Functionality Barometer	O&M and PMER	March 2026	Consolidate the report for uniformity purposes and also synergise the work of the ANC at branch level.
24) Enforce discipline and revolutionary organizational culture, basics like punctuality	All structures	Forthwith	Instill the culture of discipline.

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What	Who	Output end 2026	
25) Implement ANC Awards, including new Awards, to strengthen best practice and learning	Awards Committee	Ongoing	Annual Awards
POLITICAL EDUCATION AND CADRE DEVELOPMENT			
26) Revise Foundation Course content and Facilitators Handbook to add ANC Constitution; Revolutionary Morality & Ethics; Introduction to the Theory of NDR.	**Department of Political Education, OR Tambo School & ETU**	Q1, 2026	
27) Enforce Induction of all those who are on Six-Months Probation to ensure by the time they are admitted as members, they have completed the Foundation Course	**Provincial and Regional Joint Subcommittees of Organising and Political Education**	Continuous	Monthly Joint O&M and POLED Sessions and Reporting on the Quality of Membership
28) Ensure all ANC Members in Good Standing have completed the Foundation Course Modules by the 56th National Conference.	**NEC Political Education Subcommittees at NEC, PEC, REC and BEC level**	Continuous	Quarterly statistics on members completed Foundation Course
29) Enforce once-a-month political education and training sessions at Branch, REC, PEC and NEC level.	**NEC Political Education Subcommittees at NEC, PEC, REC and BEC level**	Continuous	
30) Stadardise and enforce Induction of all BECs, RECs, PECs and NECs (a)	EC Political Education		

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What	Who	Output end 2026	
	Subcommittees at NEC, PEC, REC and Branch level.		
31) Improve Political Education Curriculum to include advanced Leadership Courses for different categories (a) Gender training for all ANC leaders (b) Leadership Course for all Elected Leadership (c) Youth Leadership Programme (d) Women-in-Leadership Programme (e) Local Government Leadership Programme (f) Governance Training Courses for Public Representatives	Political Education Department, OR Tambo School & ETU		
32) Training of Elections Structures and Volunteers	NET, Political Education Department & ETU		
33) Regular Joint meetings of the Political Education and Organising & Membership	Chairpersons of the NEC, PEC, REC and BEC Subcommittees	Quarterly	an integrated programme of Organisation-Building and Renewal
34) Julius Nyerere School activities	Secretaries General and Board of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Leadership School		Strong regional/continental progressive School, joint strategizing and building links amongst liberation movements.

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
SECTORAL WORK AND OUTREACH		
OBJECTIVES FOR 2026 • Rebuild trust between the ANC, sectors, and communities through sustained engagement and delivery. • Institutionalise sectoral participation in policy formulation and local governance. • Translate ANC sectoral engagement, outreach and mobilisation into concrete, localized social compacts. • Align sectoral priorities with the ANC 2026 Local Government plan and approach • Strengthen branch, regional and provincial capacity for sectoral coordination. • Demonstrate ethical, responsive, and visible leadership at local level through sectoral work		
January 8 sectoral build – up activities as a Political Launch Pad	• January 8, 2026 sectoral build up activities in the North West marked the formal launch of the Sectoral Annual Programme, setting the ideological tone, political message, and organizational discipline for the year. It is here where we demonstrated our willingness to close the gap between the movement and the people. This momentum must be carried to all provinces and regions.	NEC, PEC, REC and BEC Sectoral Task teams
2026 Local Government Elections – Service delivery and dignity, renewing local government	• Sectoral work is directly linked to service delivery, organisational credibility, and voter mobilisation, ensuring the ANC is understood by different layers of society appreciating its successes, challenges, performance, relevance, and trust.	

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
From Dialogue to Action – Towards the National Dialogue	• Organising diverse sectors for dialogues to contribute to the National Dialogue , ensuring inclusive participation, truth-telling, consensus building, and shared accountability between the ANC, sectors, and society. These dialogues must take place in branches, sub regions/zones, regions, provinces and nationally ensuring that no one is left behind	
30th Anniversary of the Constitution – Making Rights Real Through Local Action	• Commemorate the 30 years of the constitution with different sectors in the context of local government. • Reframe the Constitution as a living social contract, advancing socio-economic rights, equality, dignity, and development at all levels including local government level. • Host conversations in all regions by profiling the sectors there and discussing where to after 30 years of guaranteed rights • A call to action for every sector to play their role to make South Africa greater while working with us in all spheres of government.	
Phase 1. Programmatic Launch	• January 8 Sectoral Mobilisation in North West Province • Provincial, Regional Sectoral Launches and dialogues – Political education on National • Dialogue and Constitutional Renewal • Mapping of priority sectors per province and municipality • Set up a sectoral war room until Local Government Elections • Train sector coordinators on the Dashboard app **Outputs:** • Sector priority matrices per province • Community engagement schedules finalised	NEC, PEC, REC and BEC Sectoral Task teams Jan-March 2026

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
Phase 2: National Dialogue and Sectoral Engagement March - April 2026	• Regional Multi-Sectoral Dialogues • Community Assemblies • Rural and Township Listening Campaigns **Outputs:** • Sectoral dialogue resolutions • Local social compact drafts • Sectoral Inputs into ANC Local Government Manifesto • Documented service delivery bottlenecks per municipality	NEC, PEC, REC and BEC Sectoral Task teams March- 2026
PHASE 3. SERVICE DELIVERY ACTION AND SOCIAL COMPACTS **Key Activities:**	• Sectoral Service Delivery Action Days – Troubleshooting and responding to service delivery concerns and bottlenecks of different sectors through community imbizos, lekgotlas and conversations. **Outputs:** • Solid local social compacts • Visible service delivery interventions • Youth and women programme beneficiary reports • Local development project pipelines	NEC, PEC, REC and BEC Sectoral Task teams March- 2026
PHASE 4: ELECTORAL MOBILISATION AND CONSOLIDATION	• Sectoral election readiness meetings • Community accountability feedback sessions • Manifesto popularisation through sectors • Ward-based sector mobilisation campaigns • National Sectoral Workshop and assessment meeting **Outputs:** • Sector-endorsed local government commitments • Mobilised sectoral volunteer corps • Increased sectoral (Women, farm workers, shopkeepers, domestic workers and Youth etc.) • turnout readiness • Sectoral Report and Recommendations	

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
	• Election sectoral monitoring framework and implementation of Sectoral Programme	
MONITORING AND ACCOUNTABILITY	• Bi – Monthly sectoral progress reviews nationally • Provincial and regional bi – monthly reporting • Clear consequence management for non-performance • Weekly Continuous sectoral feedback loops with communities dealt with by our sectoral war room	
POLICY MONITORING AND EVALUATION: A. Election Research		
ANC Baseline survey: conduct the first wave of the Khayabus Survey	• Establish a baseline for key strategic directions and campaign impact • N West part of survey • Comprehensive understanding of voter perceptions • Identify key political, social, and economic concerns • Inform election strategy planning and message development	PMER/EMT 27 Febr – 18 May 2026
First Wave of Message Testing: Focus group testing of messages and issues identified in baseline research	• Inform campaign and messaging strategies • Measure message resonance and credibility • Identify high-impact narratives • Refine communication approaches	PMER/EMT DCIP June – July 2026
Focused ANC Survey Tracking: Support adaptive strategic decision-making • Monitor shifts in public opinion.	• Support adaptive strategic decision-making • Monitor shifts in public opinion • Assess campaign performance in real time	PMER/EMT July – Sept 2026

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
Assess campaign performance in real time		
Second Wave of Message Testing: Facilitate structured focus group discussions • Collaborate with DCIP and PR campaign teams • Test campaign materials (posters, slogans, and products)	• Inform finalization of campaign messages and materials • Evaluate effectiveness of campaign products Strengthen message consistency • Enhance voter engagement strategies	PMER DCIP August – September 2026
Pre-Election Survey and Post-Election Assessment:	• Conduct pre-election evaluation survey combined with election results analysis • Measure overall campaign impact • Evaluate messaging effectiveness • Identify strengths, weaknesses, and lessons Inform future electoral strategies	PMER/EMT October – November 2026
ANC Cloud: Election Structures Setup and Monitoring:	• Update all election structures on the Cloud. • Training all BETs on Cloud • Monitoring election structure reporting • All structures reporting via Cloud (BET, LET, RET, PET)	PMER/EMT
By-elections tracking	• Tracking of by elections trends	PMER/EMT Monthly reports

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
Ward Demarcation Updates	• Update new ward demarcations for LGE 2026	PMER/EMT O&M
Opinion Polls on specific issues	•	PMER/EMT
Canvassing Monitoring	Daily canvassing M&E reporting Public representative canvassing statistics and reporting	PMER with Elections Call Centre, Mobilisation team
Voter Registration Monitoring	VD-based voter registration targets Registration weekend activity monitoring Post-registration analysis	PMER
Pre-Election Analysis	• Analysis per VD, Ward, and Municipality • PowerPoint reports per LET, Region, Province, and National	PMER/EMT
Elections 2026 Monitoring	• Special votes activity monitoring and reporting • Election Day activity monitoring and reporting • Legal and compliance reporting via VD, BET, LET, RET, PET N	PMER/EMT
Post-Election Analysis	• PowerPoint reports per LET, Region, Province, and National • Performance analysis per VD, Ward, and Municipality	PMER/EMT
POLICY MONITORING & EVALUATION: B. Manifesto Development and Monitoring		

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
Review of 2021 LG Manifesto	• Achievements and Challenges of last term 2021-2026	PMER/LGI
2026 LG Manifesto	• Concept Note for Manifesto process • Manifesto development with participation of Alliance and structures	PMER/LGI
Monitoring of 2024 National Manifesto	• Monitoring and Review of 2024 Manifesto: 2 years since 2024NPE	PMER + all Subcommittees
ANC Policy Briefing Booklet	• For ANC canvassers, volunteers, candidates	PMER/POLEDU.EMT
POLICY MONITORING AND EVALUATION: C. Accountability Frameworks		
Performance management in Government	• Context based performance agreements for deployed cadres and annual assessment, linked to capacity development and consequence management	DPME Presidency Premiers
2025 ANC Councilor Review	• Review rolled done in 2025 Q4, Analysis to be done and • Presentations for National and Provinces, Municipalities PR assessments – poor uptake (500/1601): focused on LGAP • Report on Ward Councilors for Elections Committee	PMER/SGO

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
DDM	• Evaluate DDM implementation and impact. Undertake an independent review of DDM delivery successes and failures, clarify roles of spheres, and redesign coordination mechanisms where impact is limited.	DPME PMER/LGI
MP and MPL Review	• Concept Note and Questionnaire, PoE done • Briefing on Review: Caucus Lekgotla, Briefing to Chiefwhips	PMER/CAUCUS/SGO
Branch Functionality Barometer	• Preliminary and Final report of Baseline (1159/+4000) for National & Provinces: High: LP, NC, MP • Quarterly BFB institutionalized • Work with provincial and regional structures	O&M/PMER
Leadership Accountability Framework	• 2026 Framework for NEC and PECs • Different approach for RECs	PMER/SGO
POLICY MONITORING & EVALUATION: D. ANC Service Delivery War-room		
Functional ANC War-rooms with effective response and tracking systems on service delivery issues in line with LGAP Pillar 1	War-rooms Operational with sense of urgency: SD integrated with Election, ToR Campaign Address capacity of War-room	HQPMC LGI/PMER PEC REC
	National Hotline, provincial and municipality numbers: Dashboards and Digitization, analytics	PMER/LGI/PRESIDENCY HQ War room, LGI and DCIP (SN)

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
	Rapid response teams in all Municipalities	PECs: L&GI/PMER RECs/L&G/PMER
	Receive, follow-up and resolve on service delivery issues	War rooms at all levels LGI; Mayors, Chief whips & Speakers: ANC Caucuses and MMCs
ANC Structures activated and focused on SD issues	Leadership on the ground to resolve issues – assign municipalities, weekly updates	NEC, PEC, Ministers + DMs, MPs, MPLs with RECs, Leagues and MKLWV
	SD as standing item on NWC, PWC/PEC and RWC/PEC agendas	SGO, BGMs Leagues Alliance: COSATU locals and SANCO, MDM structures.
	ANC Branches with POAs: ward profile, SD action plan with Ward Councillor	HQ to do Branch POA template Monthly Branch reports through Branch

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
		Functionality Barometer
	Coordination issues:	Link with Presidential Service Delivery IMC/Hotline Provincial and Municipality Hotlines
Feedback to Communities and Activation of ANC structures	Monthly community meetings. Ward report back meetings: some Guidelines and Key messages. Engagements with Ward Councilors and Alliance, MDM: mandating forums	REC. BEC Ward Councilors
	Update report on LGAP to every NWC	LGI, PMER
	Update ANC Branch POA manual and do training	Organising, PMER, POLED.
	Engagement with organs peoples power, COSATU locals, SANCO, community organisations, MDM, sectors.	Organising & Membership, NEC
Communications in line with Pillar 6 of the LGAP	Media scan and narrative, mood reports	DCIP
	Briefing with Council Troikas: key messages	DCIP/LGI/PMER
	Community radio and knock and drop	Mayors

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
		ANC local structures
	Internal Communication to ANC members: monthly briefing on key issues for the month…	DCIP/PMER
	Workshop Communications messages for Service delivery & LG	DCIP/LGI/PMER
	Opposition areas: contrast	PMER&DCIP, WC, KZN
POLICY MONITORING & EVALUATION: E. ANC PROGRAMME OF ACTION SUPPORT		
2026 POA	• National ANC 2026 Action Plan distributed, Subcommittees, Provinces, Leagues • Monthly Message and Activity sheet on POA, briefing and concept notes • ANC Branch POA Template	
Reporting and Monitoring of POA	• Monthly report on POA to PMC and NWC • Monthly reports: Subcommittees, Provinces and Leagues • Branch Functionality Barometer	
Monitoring of LGAP	• Quarterly/Monthly reports to NWC	
Monitoring of 10- point EAP	• Quarterly/Monthly reports to NWC	

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Outputs	Objectives/Activities	Who Timeframe
POLICY MONITORING & EVALUATION: F. Policy and Research		
Research project: Youth Unemployment	•	
Research Project: organisational	•	
ANC Submissions on Policies/Laws	- Immigration, Refugees WP - Local Government White Paper - Electoral Reform - SOE Holding Compay Bill • Water	NEC Committees/ PMER
SOEs	• Tracking all activities around SOEs performance	
National Jobs Plan and Unemployment tracking	• Monitor	
National Policy Conference 2027	• Preparations for National Policy Conference 2027	

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TASK 4. WAR ON CRIME, CORRUPTION, GBVF AS NATIONAL DISASTER		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator end 2026**
A. GBVF as a national disaster		
Expedite the implementation of the GBVF National Strategic Plan	DWYPD	Reduction in the incidence of GBVF across the country
Government to fund the GBVF Respond fund	National Treasury	Increased programming in addressing GBVF activities
Intensify and accelerate the localisation in fighting against GBVF	ANC Branches	Reduction of incidences of GBVF within local communities
Expedite the establishment of the National Council on GBVF (public entity)	Parliament DWYPD	Effectively coordinated GBVF programs
Expedite the economic empowerment of women to address their exploitation	All of government	Reduced vulnerability of women in society
Explore mechanisms to stop the victims of GBVF from withdrawing reported cases	SAPS	
Counter the abuse of drugs in communities	All of government	Reduction in the number of the GBVF perpetrators
B. Immigration and Citizen Services		
Urgently initiate the process to audit the South African Population Register	DHA	Cleaned Population Register
Expedite the implementation of the digital identifier in the Population Register	DHA	
Expedite the finalisation of White Paper on International Migration, Citizenship & Refugee Protection & start legislation process	DHA	Stabilised immigration regime in South Africa

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TASK 4. WAR ON CRIME, CORRUPTION, GBVF AS NATIONAL DISASTER		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator end 2026**
Develop mechanism to counter the abuse of asylum system by economic migrants	DHA	Reduced influx of economic migrants into South Africa
Expertise the relocation of Refugees Reception Centres (RRC) to the ports of entry	DHA	Reduced influx of economic migrants into South Africa
Coordinate the efforts on engaging the published White Paper on International Migration, Citizenship & Refugee Protection	All ANC Branches	Seamless movement of people and goods across the ports of entry
Expedite the capacitation of the Border Management Authority	BMA	Better border management environment
C. War on Crime, Safer Communities		
Expedite the review of the Organised Crime Strategy	SAPS	Reduced incidences of crime within the communities
Urgently develop the monitoring & evaluation tool to ensure accountability on the implementation of Organised Crime	SAPS	Reduced escalation of criminal activities in the country
Expedite the capacitation of the Detectives, Crime Intelligence & IPID in line with National Anti-Corruption Advisory Council (NACAC) proposals	SAPS	Fully capacitated police machinery
Expedite the establishment of an Anti-Organised Crime Advisory Council	SAPS	Consolidated application of anti-crime efforts

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TASK 4. WAR ON CRIME, CORRUPTION, GBVF AS NATIONAL DISASTER		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator end 2026**
Urgently drive the implementation of DPCI as an effective anti-organised crime investigation agency	SAPS	Well capacitated and resources agency for addressing organised crime
Urgently implement the provisions of Integrated Crime & Violence Prevention Strategy (ICVPS)	All ANC Branches	All community engagement efforts in addressing
Robustly eradicate the criminal elements within the Criminal Justice System Cluster (JCPS)	Justice Criminal Cluster	Professional and ethical Criminal Justice System
Urgently amend the Sexual Offences Act in order to legalise the publication of the child sexual offenders	DoJ&CD	Reduction in the repeat offenders for sexual offences
Fully implement the Firearm Control Act in order to ensure since framework on licensing of firearms	SAPS	Highly controlled firearm ownership in the country
Urgently address the challenges in the police forensic space	SAPS	Quick resolution of all cases related to forensics
Urgently implement the rotation of law enforcement officers from one deployment area to the other area	Justice, Crime Prevention & Security Cluster (JCPS)	
Urgently address the Border Police & Border Guards duplication stalemate	SAPS & DHA/BMA	
Explore mechanisms to stop the victims of GBVF from withdrawing reported cases	SAPS	

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TASK 4. WAR ON CRIME, CORRUPTION, GBVF AS NATIONAL DISASTER		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator end 2026**
Urgently develop and implement an effective multi-agency anti-gang violence plan	SAPS	
Ensure the permanent deployment of police officers within institutions of higher learning	SAPS	
Design & implement the social module across the schooling system	DSD, DBE & DHE	
Expand the youth service and training of the unemployed youth on technical skills	SANDF	
Ensure that foreign nationals meant for deportation are directly moved from court to deportation facility, not correctional facilities	DHA	
Expedite the signing of the SADC protocol on sentenced offender exchange	DCS	
Correctional Services		
Urgently implement the identification & disruption of signals (jamming) within Correctional Facilities	DCS	
Urgently expedite the roll out of the monitoring devices for parolees in order to improve tracking of their activities	DCS	
Urgently expand the programme on correctional services self sufficiency (food production)	DCS	
Reconsider the allocation of funding from the Criminal Asset Recovery Account (CARA) to DSC	DoJ&CD	
Ensure the supper launch of the already build super maximum facilities for DCS	Presidency	
Urgently screen individuals intending to joint the ANC	All ANC Branches	

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TASK 4. WAR ON CRIME, CORRUPTION, GBVF AS NATIONAL DISASTER		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator end 2026**
Urgently fund the security cluster to address the security challenges in the country	NT	
Introduce the specialised drug squad to address the expansion of drug use in the country	SAPS	
Infuse the Street Committees in the activities of Community Safety Forums & Community Policing Forums (CPF)	All ANC Branches	
Urgently deploy technology (AI) to address the criminal activities in communities (cybercrime)	SAPS/SITA	
Urgently set up the GBVF Courts & special desks in Police Stations	SAPS & DJ&CD	
Urgently multi-agency task team against kidnapping, extortion & gangsterism, Cash In Transit	SAPS/DPCI/NPI	
Set up the GBVF rapid response teams in hotspot districts	DCOG DWYPD Municipalities	
Enhance the implementation of the Integrated Criminal System (IJS)	JCPS Cluster	
Implement a principle that no one should take any position of responsibility without police clearance	All ANC Branches Alliance structures	
Urgently regulate leaner schools transport especially by giving them a special colour to be visible	DoT	
Develop a targeted communication strategy to effective communication on issues of crime, corruption,	GCIS	

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TASK 4. WAR ON CRIME, CORRUPTION, GBVF AS NATIONAL DISASTER		
What: Objectives and Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicator end 2026**
Expedite the vetting of law enforcement officers in order to clean the JCPS Cluster	JCPS Cluster	

KEY INDICATORS FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN 2026

INDICATOR	TARGET	MEASUREMENT
1. Reduced priority crimes & GBVF;		
2. Increased conviction rates;		
3. Increased asset recovery;		
4. Effective coordination within JCPS Cluster;		
5. Strengthened border integrity;		
6. Improved community confidence.		

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TASK 5. NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND CONSTITUTION @ 30		
What, Objectives/ Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicators by end 2026**
A. Constitution @ 30		
Preparing structures for the National Launch of the 30 Years Anniversary of the Constitution, yearlong programme.	Launched in all nine Provinces, same date and time	Reaffirm democratic gains, public commitment to transformation and National unity on Constitutional Values Preparing ANC structures on the year-long commemoration activities that will happen in all structures especially branches and regions
Constitutional review which highlights areas in the Constitution critical to advancing the NDR and defeating anti-transformation narratives. This should include a briefing document that has clear messaging on the value of the Constitution, informs our inputs into the National Dialogue, highlighting our successes and including proposals for a referendum on the Constitution.	Constitutional Committee, Alliance Secretariat	A progressive national led debate on the Constitution and how it advances inclusion, a better life, redress and social cohesion. Engagement on electoral system
Engagement on the battle of ideas, in context of the Constitution on transformation, Pan Africanism and foreign policy, land reform, etc.	DCIP POLED	Counter anti transformation narratives and ANC positions explained in public engagements, members understand movement positions.
Establish focal points for both the 30 year Anniversary of the Constitution and the National Dialogue	National, Provincial, Branches	Identification of focal points to engage/ communicate with
Branch Dialogues and Branch Assemblies	ANC Branches	Renew social compacts across society and strengthen participatory democracy

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TASK 5. NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND CONSTITUTION @ 30		
What, Objectives/ Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicators by end 2026**
Constitutional Builders Youth Forums	Youth League and PYA Structures in Regions	Increased youth participation and inter - generational solidarity Confront misinformation and disinformation among young people Youth Voter education and registration
Civic Empowerment Assemblies to promote knowledge of the Constitution, national unity and patriotism by honouring national symbols such as the flag, singing the National Anthem and reciting the Preamble to the Constitution	Schools, institutions of higher learning, government institutions, Parliament, provincial legislatures, and at national events, national broadcaster and other media.	Civic Education to encourage patriotism and love for the country and moral regeneration to advance the Constitution Deepen Constitutional literacy, rights and informed active citizenry among students and young people Deepen dialogue on issues of national interest in all spheres of society. Reflect on the 50th anniversary of the Soweto uprising and the 70th anniversary of the 1956 Women's march. Youth taking responsibility for the future.
Multimedia impactful campaigns, inclusive of national days Battle of Ideas on: Immigration, Pan Africanism and Service Delivery	DCIP; ANC branches; Leagues; Alliance; Regions; Provinces	Win the battle of ideas on key pillars of the NDR Sensitise principles of inclusivity in the Constitution including

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TASK 5. NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND CONSTITUTION @ 30 What, Objectives/ Activities	Who	Output Indicators by end 2026
National Question - The importance of building an inclusive and diverse ANC and society that reflects the demographics of South Africa		addressing tribalism, racism, sexism and other issues that promote disunity Contribute in building a united nation
Incorporate the Constitution in political and civic education programs for our own ranks and society in general related to the challenges of the movement	OR Tambo School of Leadership; ANC branches; Alliance	Entrench the history, value, relevance and transformative intent of the Constitution Focused engagement on our challenges Battle of ideas National question
B. NATIONAL DIALOGUE		
Ward by Ward listening Campaigns and Service delivery Troubleshooting	Branches and Regions ANC Councillors ANC National Caucus and ANC Provincial Caucus	
Ward by Ward listening Campaigns and Service delivery Troubleshooting	Branches and Regions ANC Councillors	

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TASK 5. NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND CONSTITUTION @ 30		
What, Objectives/ Activities	**Who**	**Output Indicators by end 2026**
	ANC National Caucus and ANC Provincial Caucus	
Mass mobilisation for Nation Dialogue participation	ANC branches; structures all levels; MDM structures	
Establish service delivery hotlines at national, provincial and local level	National, provincial and regions	
Sectoral Outreach and Multi Sectoral Dialogues ANC engagement with Alliance, Legacy Foundations, Civil Society, Pressure groups and Community Based Organisations	Sub Regions/Zones; Regional; Provincial and National	
Mass mobilisation for Nation Dialogue participation	ANC branches; structures all levels; MDM structures	
Extensive House Meetings	Branches	
Workshops on ANC talking points and messaging for National Dialogue	PMER, DCIP and Political Education	
The NEC and relevant subcommittees to develop programmes where necessary and also to respond decisively to emerging contemporary issues	NEC and its relevant subcommittees	
Inter - Governmental Task Team	All spheres of Government	
Coordination in the Alliance to advance our positions	Alliance partners	

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TASK 6. A BETTER AFRICA AND WORLD

Action/Activity	Who	When	Output by End of 2026)
A. Better Africa and World			
Reviving the principle of anchor and strategic partner states to inform how South Africa engages diplomatically on African continent by both the ANC and Government.	ANC & DIRCO	December	Development of a list of key anchor states; Engagement with members of diplomatic corps of these anchor states; Updated anchor and strategic partner policy
Continuation of party-to-party engagements for conflict resolution and the silencing of the guns on the African continent in pursuit of our Pan Africanist principles.	ANC	December	Identify and engage key partners in Sudan, Egypt/Ethiopia, DRC/Rwanda, Somalia/Somaliland, Western Sahara/Morocco
Continue to participate in mediation and conflict resolutions process in South Sudan, DRC and Madagascar, etc..	DIRCO, Defence, State Security Agency	December	Engagements and assessment of conflicts and parties involved
Develop a draft plan / position for to ensure Madagascar return to constitutional order.	DIRCO, ANC	March	Draft plan/position for on Madagascar. Party to party engagements

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TASK 6. A BETTER AFRICA AND WORLD

Action/Activity	Who	When	Output by End of 2026)
As Chair for 2026/27 focus on strengthening political and economic integration, cohesion and stability.	DIRCO, ANC, DTIC, National Treasury, Defence, State Security Agency	June	Government should have a strategic and implementation plan for 2026 and 2027 which sets out what we want to achieve as chair politically
Continue to participate in mediation and conflict resolutions process in South Sudan, DRC and Madagascar, etc..	DIRCO, Defence, State Security Agency	December	Engagements and assessment of conflicts and parties involved
Push for the critical and rare earth mineral strategy, as well as the AI strategy to be finalised	DIRCO	December	Lobby to finalise a critical and rare earth mineral strategy, as well as the AI strategy and adopt at
Continue to implement and participate in the SADC regional economic integration strategy, especially on issues affecting workers in the region & the Africa Continental Free Trade	ANC/DIRCO/ /DTIC/NT	December	Participation reports from AU and SADC
Creation of a progressive forum for SADC Countries	ANC and DIRCO	December	Draft Concept Paper on the progressive forum
Strengthen parliamentary diplomacy	DIRCO, ANC caucus in Parliament and ANC	Dec	Policy and protocol that addresses the harmonization between parliament and the structures of the ANC (including the PAP,

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TASK 6. A BETTER AFRICA AND WORLD

Action/Activity	Who	When	Output by End of 2026)
			Common wealth parliamentary association, etc..)
Co-ordinating and updating provincial and local government diplomacy	DIRCO, Provincial and Local government	Dec	Updated policy and protocols that include skills transfer and twinning relations between metros and other countries.
Finalise host country agreements with African and multilateral institutions	ANC and DIRCO	JUNE	Signed host country agreements
Party-to-party, multi-party and intra-party			
Continue to engage and strengthening party-to-party relations, especially Liberation Movements	ANC	DEC	Party to party relations
Solidarity and Campaigns			
Acceleration of solidarity efforts in support of Western Sahara by increasing community-based campaigns. ANC, together with Alliance structures, leagues and progressive civil society structures should lead formation of an international solidarity movement in support of Palestine, Western Sahara and Cuba.	ANC/Alliance	December	Working with the embassies and representatives of the Palestinian, Cuban and Western Saharan communities, developing an Alliance program of action in Solidarity with people of Palestine, Western Sahara and Cuba;

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TASK 6. A BETTER AFRICA AND WORLD

Action/Activity	Who	When	Output by End of 2026)
			implementation of this Solidarity POA
Update our modalities and participation policy in progressive internationalist organizations such as Socialist international forums and Sau Paulo forum (amongst others)	ANC, Alliance partners	JUNE	Policy position
Finalization of the decision on the application new Cuba Economic assistance package	DIRCO, DTIC, NT, African Renaissance Fund	DEC	Project approval
The government must ensure it continues to enhance the Cuban Exchange Program	DIRCO, ANC	DECEMBER	Updated Technical exchange programme agreements
Government must appoint special envoys for Western Sahara and Palestine	DIRCO	DECEMBER	Appointment agreement signed
Facilitate the unity of the Palestinian political parties and progressive role players	ANC	DECEMBER	Workshop people on the importance of the union
Transformation of Global institutions			
Climate Change disaster management: working with SADC to strengthen responses to disaster management and	DIRCO	DECEMBER	Establish a Cross national protocol which includes a proactive approach to climate change and ensuring education, as well as

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TASK 6. A BETTER AFRICA AND WORLD

Action/Activity	Who	When	Output by End of 2026)
implementing climate change arrangements			development of early warning systems.
Finalise the reflection of the Ezulwini Consensus	DIRCO, ANC	JUNE	Informed discussions at the peace and security council
Finalization of the decision on the application new Cuba Economic assistance package	DIRCO, DTIC, NT, African Renaissance Fund	DECEMBER	Project application approval
Climate Change disaster management: working with SADC to strengthen responses to disaster management and implementing climate change arrangements	DIRCO	DECEMBER	Establish a Cross national protocol which includes a proactive approach to climate change and ensuring education, as well as development of early warning systems.
Capacity Building			
Furthering and unpacking the ANC led government's foreign policy and international outlook	ANC/DIRCO	December	Different engagements with regional groups of ambassadors
Continue to strengthen coordination between ANC HQ and Provinces on I.R. Matters and establish a fully-fledged and well-resourced ANC I.R. department. Addressing funding	ANC	December	Appointment of someone in the department looking specifically at campaigns; developing a self-sustaining funding model for the ANC's IR work.

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TASK 6. A BETTER AFRICA AND WORLD

Action/Activity	Who	When	Output by End of 2026)
limitation within ANC I.R. to ensure adequate resourcing for party-to-party engagements in the region, continent and the world.			
Implement an international relations training program for all RECs	OR Tambo School of Leadership (ANC)	December	Internationalist Cadre programme
Finalise Strategic deployments (UN, Special committees, Foreign missions)	DIRCO	JUNE	deployment strategy for multilateral institutions and international organization.
Implement an international relations training program for all RECs	OR Tambo School of Leadership (ANC)	December	Internationalist Cadre programme

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Democracy means more than just the vote.

It must be measured by the quality of life of ordinary people – men and women, young and old, rural and urban.

It means giving all South Africans the opportunity to share in the country`s wealth, to contribute to its development and to improve their own lives.

ANC Elections Manifesto , 1994