



*Report of the*  
**ANC 5<sup>th</sup> National  
General Council**



**BIRCHWOOD CONFERENCE CENTRE, EKURHULENI**



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## Introduction



The 5<sup>th</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 55<sup>th</sup> 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 55<sup>th</sup> National Conference resolutions will be consolidated into an immediate Rejuvenation and Renewal Action Plan, all towards 56<sup>th</sup> National Conference in 2027. The NGC also considered plans towards ANC's 120<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2032, based on the ANC Vision 2032, presented to 55<sup>th</sup> National Conference by the 1<sup>st</sup> Renewal Commission.

During the 5<sup>th</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> NGC

presented by 1<sup>st</sup> 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 56<sup>th</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> National General Council are as follows:

<b>ANC DELEGATES</b>	<b>EXPECTED</b>	<b>PRESENT</b>
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
<b>TOTAL ANC DELEGATION</b>	<b>1414</b>	<b>1287</b>

<b>ALLIANCE AND OTHER SECTORS</b>	<b>Invited</b>	<b>Present</b>
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
<b>SUB TOTAL</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>84</b>

<b>DEPLOYED CADRES</b>	<b>Invited</b>	<b>Present</b>
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
<b>SUB TOTAL</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>92</b>

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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 through 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 5<sup>th</sup> NGC

5<sup>TH</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 underdevelopment that remains stubbornly high, impacting negatively on millions of men and women, young and old, across the country.

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

The 5<sup>th</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 70<sup>th</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 disincentivising 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.

### **30<sup>th</sup> 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-ambule 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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

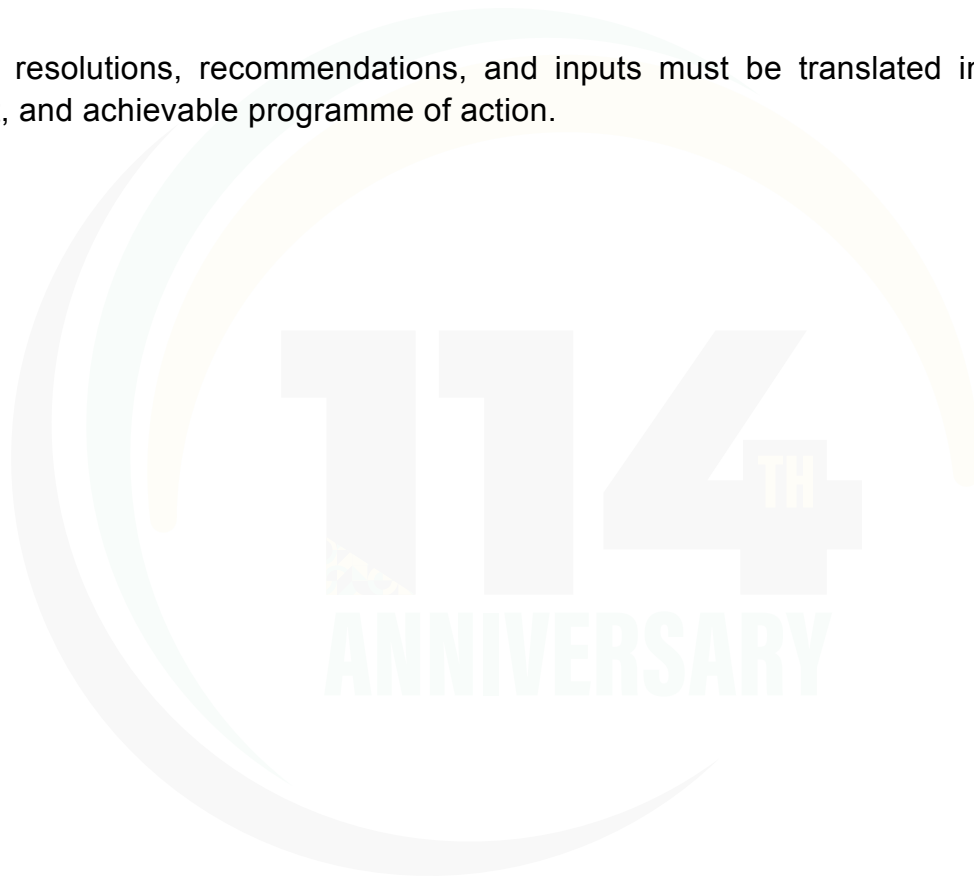
work of the Madlanga Commission and others, and develop a comprehensive strategy to advance the war on corruption.

### **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 Transformation Report 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) Institute a SETA review in relation to industry requirements.

## **On Economic Transformation and B-BBEE**

15. Noting that the transformation imperative is under attack from 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.

<b>Service delivery / local government reform</b>	<b>Mixed</b>	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..
<b>Demarcation / boundary alignment</b>	<b>Poor to Mixed</b>	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.
<b>Anti-corruption / State Capture responses</b>	<b>Good</b>	Good progress on the broader state capture response: the Presidency reports 48% of actions complete, 23% on track, 29% delayed. ( <a href="http://Polity.org.za">Polity.org.za</a> ) 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.
<b>Gender / youth representation in governance</b>	<b>Poor</b>	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.
<b>Public administration professionalisation / human resources</b>	<b>Mixed</b>	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.
<b>Financial management &amp; municipal equitability</b>	<b>Mixed to Poor</b>	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 PNU's. 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**

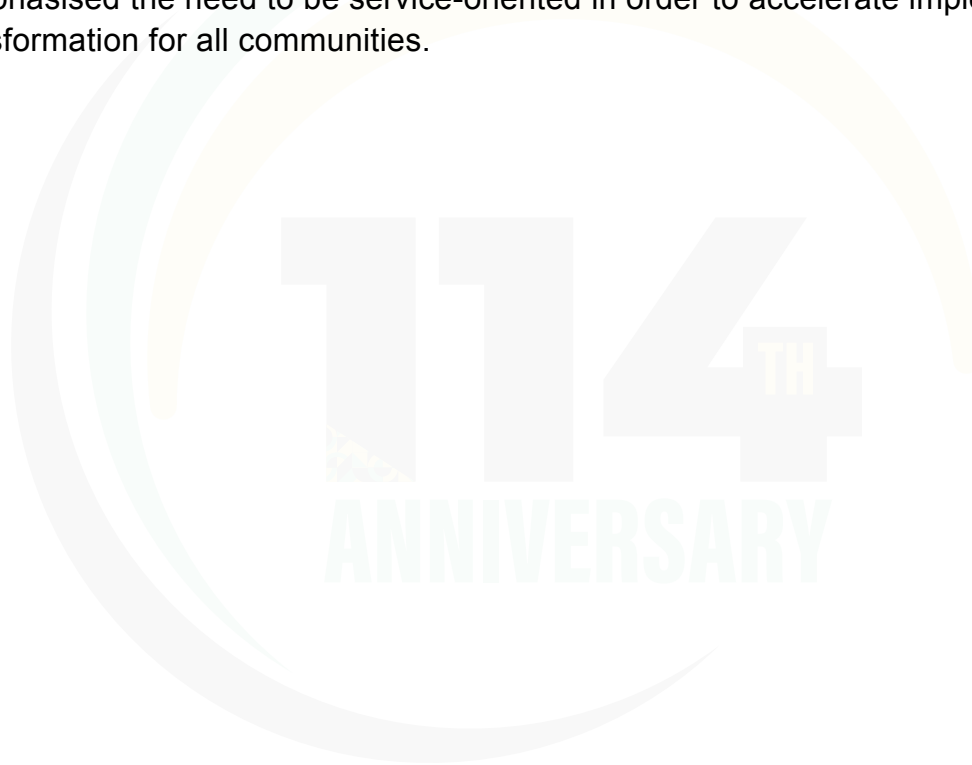
1. Increase R&D investment and enforce department-level budget ring-fencing.
2. Legislate mandatory procurement of locally developed technologies to strengthen innovation.
3. Expand community-based innovation hubs, township incubators and rural Wi-Fi access programmes.
4. Establish a central STI coordination 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 (CPFes) 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 CPFes, 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, eThekweni, 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-served 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 employees 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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-faceted, 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 5<sup>th</sup> National General Council reaffirmed the correctness of the resolution of the 55<sup>th</sup> National Conference to elevate monitoring, evaluation as a key function of the organization. It notes that the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 2<sup>ND</sup> 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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 policies, 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 committees. 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 55<sup>th</sup> 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.

## 5<sup>th</sup> 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.

## 5<sup>th</sup> 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.

