

# **TASKS OF ORGANISATION-BUILDING AND RENEWAL: FORWARD TO THE CENTENARY OF THE ANC NGC Discussion Document**

## **INTRODUCTION**

- 1.** The formation of the ANC on 08<sup>th</sup> January 1912 was a watershed moment in the struggle against colonial powers across Africa. The birth of our movement was the beginning of the African people's organised resistance to colonial conquest. The movement also succeeded in forging unity in action among diverse peoples of the continent and the world at large in the global anti-apartheid struggle that declared apartheid a crime against humanity. From these struggle experiences, the ANC became located in the traditions of *progressive nationalism, non-racialism, internationalism and anti-imperialism*.
- 2.** At its inception, the ANC advanced the perspective of organising on the basis of *African unity*: cooperation and solidarity of the African majority across ethnic and tribal lines. This was a unity not just born out of common African identity. The African majority were to become recognised as the core motive force in the struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed in South Africa. As the struggle developed, the strategic task of the ANC became that of the liberation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general (understood broadly to mean Indians and "Coloured people"). Thus, it is no accident that our major organisational task and mobilisational efforts centred around uniting, leading and liberating the Africans in particular and Blacks in general. Over time, the mobilisation and unity of all South Africans moved to the centre-piece of the ANC's strategy and tactics.
- 3.** In the year 2012, the ANC will mark one hundred years of its existence. The Centenary is a great moment to pause and ponder how far progressive humanity has come in its mission to build a *just, equitable and more humane world*. It is a moment to celebrate the proud history and traditions of a world-wide struggle against apartheid. It is also the right moment to pause and ponder the future of the ANC over the next fifty-to-hundred years. We must ask and answer difficult questions about the future of our country and the longevity of our movement.
- 4.** For how long will the ANC survive as the leading force for progressive change in our country and continent? What are the identifiable threats to the longevity and durability? What should be done by current generations to ensure that future generations inherit the type of ANC that continues to represent the interests of the majority in society? Addressing these long term concerns is the central focus of organisational renewal.
- 5.** No organisation is guaranteed eternal life or long term success. Sustained success and long term survival result from conscious decisions and conscientious actions of those charged with the responsibility to lead. The goal of organisational renewal is to address the organisation's *success, sustainability and long term survival*.

6. Renewal is often triggered by the following conditions or circumstances:
  - a. A yawning gap between the organisation's stated ideals and its day-to-day practices and operations;
  - b. Major changes that have taken place in the external or internal environment;
  - c. Dramatic failure or profound internal weaknesses in the organisation;
  - d. Attempts at anticipating emerging trends that will impact negatively on the life of the organisation;
  - e. Major shifts in the organisation's vision, mission and strategy and tactics;
  
7. Most ruling parties undertake renewal only in the aftermath of electoral defeat: too little too late. Loss of electoral support or political power has been a major trigger for parties to undertake renewal. Others undertake some "modernisation" to repackage the core message and public image of the party so that it can be acceptable and attractive to the electorate. Often, the objective is to just remain in power or regain lost power, without any deep commitment to pursue a grand vision or project of social change. The "modernisation" school of renewal is ameliorative rather than transformative.
  
8. However, there is an alternative approach to renewal: a transformative school of thought in the renewal discourse. This approach is followed mainly by parties that have long term goals and ambitions to change society for the better. Such organisations do not have to wait for dramatic failure and terminal crisis in order to search for renewal. Self-renewal and self-correction are part and parcel of the anatomy of successful and sustainable organisations or social systems.
  
9. The ANC prides itself as a movement that has internalised transformative self-renewal in its mode of thinking and style of work. Few political parties or movements would have overcome the incredible difficulties and survived the difficult terrain that characterised the struggle for freedom in our land. How many organisations have survived (and become qualitatively better) the rapid and profound political, social and economic transformations of the past hundred?
  
10. And yet, disturbing developments and worrying trends that pose a threat to the survival of the ANC prompted the 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference to instruct the NEC to establish or declare "a period of renewal of the values, character and organisational practices of the ANC as a leading force for progressive change in our country".
  
11. What are the implications of the call for renewal? What is the relevance of the current historic mission, character, values and practices of the ANC in the new phase of struggle post-1994?

## **RELEVANCE OF THE ANC MISSION, CHARACTER AND VALUES**

12. The ANC's mission remains that of uniting all South Africans around the vision and programme around building a united, non-racialism, non-sexism, democratic and prosperous society. As governing party, the ANC seeks to use state power to move as rapidly as possible towards realizing its historic mission fully.

13. The progressive character and unique features of the ANC evolved with the struggle. From the onset, the ANC was a multi-class movement that embraced all Africans regardless of their social status, religion and culture. As the struggle developed and South Africa became more industrialized, the working class occupied a vanguard position in the national liberation struggle. The ANC's multi-class character continued, but the movement adopted a clear bias towards the toiling classes - the working class and the rural masses. It evolved from a federal structure to a unitary organization. Further, it evolved into a movement with a democratic, mass-based, non-racial, non-sexist and internationalist character. It places huge responsibilities on its cadres and accords a special status to the branch in its organizational structure. It is our view that the character of the ANC remains relevant and should therefore be defended against corrosive tendencies that will be discussed in detail later in this discussion document.
14. No political movement or party is born with ready-made values, character, principles and culture. They are forged and tempered in the concrete conditions of struggle. A vibrant organizational culture and acceptable practices are also developed over time and tested in practice during the course of dealing with and resolving problems.
15. The ANC has developed a set of core values, principles and practices that reinforce its character: unity, service, sacrifice, collective leadership, democratic centralism, internal debates, humility, honesty, hard-work, constructive criticism and self-criticism, discipline and mutual respect. How were these values, principles and practices forged? How do they guide the ANC's approach to difficult situations?

## **KEY MOMENTS OF RENEWAL IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANC**

### ***The ebbs and flows of the formative years: 1912 - 1937***

16. By the end of the first decade of its existence, the ANC had succeeded in bringing together disparate African organizations such as the provincial Native Congresses, Independent Associations, Vigilant Committees and royal houses into a coordinated national and Pan-African political voice and opinion on matters as the 1913 Native Land Act, Pass Laws and First World War. This was the most significant achievement of the first decade of the ANC's existence.
17. The main organizational weaknesses identified in this period were issues such as fluctuations in membership, irregularity of meetings, inadequate finances and intra-organisational disputes arising from the absence of a coherent organizational structure and standards across the country. The fact that the "first generation" leadership of President-General J.L. Dube and Secretary General Sol Plaatje spent most of the time on delegations and deputations to England, away from the newly formed organization was a challenge. The absence of a fully-fledged Constitution somewhat undermined the emergence of a coherent national organization. It is only in 1919 a full Constitution was adopted that a clearer relationship between the national organization and the provincial organizations and associations emerged.

18. At the level of strategy and tactics, petitions and deputations remained the main form of engagement by leaders of National Congress. However, peaceful protests militant and demonstrations featured occasionally. In 1913, African women in the Free State embarked on hitherto unknown methods of struggle that later became prominent in the 1950s: public demonstrations against and defiance of pass laws. These radical forms of protests were later a regular feature in the Free State, Transvaal and Port Elizabeth between 1918 and the early 1920s. Charlotte Maxeke, President of the Bantu Women's League, was the key pioneer in these early forms of militant action. The pioneering spirit of militancy and open defiance of apartheid laws is often limited to the 1956 Women's March and subsequent years of struggle.
19. However, the nascent attempts at radicalization in the 1920s were undermined by the fact that the ANC's main political activity shifted towards its annual conferences, whose resolutions were hardly implemented by its constituent organs. This created a vacuum on the African voice and opinion on major issues of the time. This space was occupied by the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), which began to play an active role as a mass movement rather than a trade union federation.
20. A ferment of radical ideas among younger members of Congress led to complaints and dissatisfaction with the focus and methods of petitions and deputations, including the posture and language of the older generation. Josiah Gumede, a founder member and veteran of the Natal ANC became the figure around which the call for change rallied, leading to his election to the Presidency of the ANC in 1927.
21. President Gumede called for greater co-operation between the "right and left wings of the great movement". He also supported co-operation between the ANC, the ICU and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), which was the early beginnings of the politics of non-racialism and the Tripartite Alliance. He saw the ANC as an integral part of the international anti-imperialist forces, what is today known as "the disciplined force of the left". His views generated a backlash from a conservative section among the founders of the ANC who mobilized for his ousting. He was subsequently replaced by Pixley ka Isaka Seme in the 1930 National Conference.
22. The 1930s was lowest point in the first two decades of the ANC's existence. The movement became a moribund organization torn apart by a debilitating ethnic conflict and factionalism, hardly able to convene national conferences. Some among its leadership and many in society believed the ANC's heydays are over and were beginning to look elsewhere for inspiration. This prompted President Seme to write a pamphlet titled "The African National Congress – Is It Dead?" The CPSA, a natural home for left-wing African leaders of the time, was going through an equally debilitating sectarian strife in this period. The ICU had reached its heydays in the 1920s and later rapidly declined.
23. And yet, at a broader socio-economic, the oppressed needed strong leadership and inspiration. Their conditions deteriorated rapidly during the Great depression. They also needed leadership on matters pertaining to the 1936 Land Act and the Second World War. The white ruling coalition of Hertzog-Smuts consolidated its power and gained more confidence as the representative organizations of the oppressed were getting torn by internal strife. The movement had lost its spark as the voice and centre of political activity for the oppressed.

### ***The first wave of successful renewal: 1937- 1949***

24. The return of ZR Mahabane to the Presidency (in December 1937) to work with James Calata (elected Secretary General in December 1936) marked the first wave of the renewal (referred to in those years as “resuscitation of the ANC”). These two leaders travelled all over the country talking to ANC members and veterans about the need to re-build the ANC and bring it back to the centre-stage of the struggle. They rallied people around the celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary or “Silver Jubilee” year of the ANC. Some members were very optimistic about the reawakening of the ANC, arguing that “Congress lives in the hearts of the people” and will never die. However, there were also those who were pessimistic about the future of the ANC.
25. The Silver Jubilee “resuscitation campaign” helped the ANC to regroup. One of the main areas of focus for renewal, according to Calata, was to ensure that the ANC appeals to university and college graduates. He argued that the ANC needed to be led by younger and educated leaders. He campaigned for the election of AB Xuma to the Presidency of the ANC in December 1940, who narrowly won the closely contested election against President Mahabane.
26. After his election, President Xuma enthusiastically led a process of the re-organisation of the ANC into a coherent administrative and organizational machinery with clear a vision and policies, functioning structures and systems. He championed and supported a number of innovations - establishment of the NWC, regular meetings to chart the way forward and a collective style of leadership; restored the unitary and membership-based character; emphasized that provinces should account on their work and often suspended provinces and branches that were not fulfilling their responsibilities; intense focus on the recruitment of young graduates, although he subsequently treated youth Leaguers with serious suspicion; put finances on a sound footing, including giving audited financial statements to conferences; support for the formation of the ANCWL and ANCYL, and advocated for the employment of a full-time organizers and other functionaries, though it never happened until 1949.
27. At the level of policy, strategy and principles, the African Claims and new ANC Constitution were drafted and adopted in 1943. This period marked the beginning of the tradition of planning for the future (African Claims) and the politics of non-racialism and alliances (Doctors’ Pact), laying the basis for the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses to work closely with ANC over many decades. Despite his organisational successes, Xuma’s renewal failed to harness the potent energy and anger of the social forces that objectively stood to gain from a more vibrant organization and renewed ANC – the youth and African workers and the growing squatter movement on the outskirts of major cities.
28. The National Party came to power in 1948 under the platform of grand apartheid policy. This changed the mood among the oppressed and calls for a change of tempo and tactics were heard among the trade union and ANCYL leaders. The 1946 African miners’ strike raised the level of confidence among the masses that direct action in the form of peaceful protests, public demonstration and strikes can have to replace the old tactics and methods of struggle. Xuma failed to read the mood!

29. It is against this context that the 1949 ANC National Conference took place. This Conference was a watershed - a turning point that changed the tone and tempo of the struggle for several decades ahead. It became a key moment for self-reflection and self-renewal. It adopted a programme of action (POA) with far-reaching strategic and tactical implications, direction action and mass defiance of apartheid laws. The new NEC had a significant presence of leaders from the Youth League, trade unions and CPUSA, with a common commitment to the POA and all its strategic and organisational implications. This included the election of Walter Sisulu as Secretary General, who brought new meaning and significance to the role of the Office of the Secretary General as the "engine of the organization".

***The decisive rupture and second wave of successful renewal: 1949 – 1969***

30. The National Party regime was determined in its publicly stated ambition to pass laws to increase state repression and oppression against the leaders and organizations of the people and further institutionalise racial segregation through grand apartheid schemes. This marked a new era of entrenched national oppression and racial discrimination. This posture of the apartheid ruling bloc was a critical factor that mobilized and forced larger numbers of people to join the campaigns of the Congress movement.

31. For the ANC, the 1950s was not only the turning point but also the highest point in the four decades of existence. While its historic mission remained the same, its strategy and tactics shifted to mass mobilisation and the building of alliances across the colour line. Its language and mode of politics changed fundamentally to a more fiery rhetoric and revolutionary discourse. The organizational machinery built during the 1940s was no longer suited for the new phase of the struggle. Hence, a new wave of renewal kicked in, led mainly by the younger generation and militants from trade unions resulting in a major re-organisation and repositioning of the ANC into an effective instrument for mass mobilization, dedicated volunteers and vibrant grassroots structures "to maintain full dynamic contact with the masses" (Mandela, 1951). The volunteers and the branches assumed greater centrality in the organization.

32. The Defiance Campaign was a major experience from which lessons were drawn on mass struggle, and the need for training, discipline and sacrifice among the volunteers (rudimentary cadre policy). The lessons of the Campaign were key during the mobilisation for the Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter as the alternative vision for South Africa. The Freedom Charter represented democracy and non-racialism in theory and practice – the participation of people from all walks of life – black and white, rich and poor, rural and urban, men and women. The 1956 Women's March and the Women's Charter marked a major reassertion of women's emancipation as a key element of the national liberation struggle and reaffirmed the central role played by women in the struggle since the 1913. The four years of the Treason Trial prepared the organisation to be able to survive repressive laws and further publicly demonstrated the non-racial and non-sexist nature of our struggle as men and women, black and white were being tried for taking a stance against white minority rule.

33. By the close of the decade, the ANC was never the same. Notwithstanding the continuity of its historic mission, it had become a bigger organisation (100 000 members) with a clear vision, ideological outlook of progressive African nationalism, mass-based, non-racial and non-sexist in character. Organizational principles and practices that emphasised collective leadership, sacrifice, and service emerged. The critical role of women, workers and youth in its campaigns and leadership structures gave it a more vibrant and dynamic character very different from earlier period. The Congress Alliance emerged as a critical organizational force for mass mobilization and defiance. These changes were to become an enduring feature of the ANC over the next fifty years of the struggle. President Chief Albert Luthuli, who became President in 1952, was the central figure behind the renewal of the ANC during that decade, a leadership collective that was composed of the most resilient among the older generation, former youth leaders, women, communists and trade unionists.
34. By the time the regime decided to ban the ANC and PAC after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, the ANC had already anticipated this eventuality. From 1953, the M-Plan was adopted to prepare the organization for a possible shift to underground work. Throughout the 1950s, the movement was preparing itself to continue the struggle even under conditions of illegality and exile. The call to arms was already being echoed in different mass meetings as a response to the intensification of state repression and violence against peaceful protesters.
35. The banning of the ANC in 1960 was major attempt by the regime to crush the ANC and popular resistance to apartheid. The movement's response was far-sighted and bold in sending key leaders out of the country and launching Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) in 1961. However, the movement took some time to respond adequately to the post-Sharpeville and post-Rivonia strategic and organisational challenges. The 1962 Lobatse Conference and subsequent meetings of the NEC and the Alliance could not adequately define a new way forward that could take the liberation struggle to a level higher than the 1950s. The heroic military campaigns of Wankie and Sipolilo lifted the spirits of MK fighters but there was no follow through at the level of strategy and organisation and this caused demoralisation and dissent in the ranks. Like it was the case during the late 1930s, the question of whether the ANC will ever reach the level of organization of the 1950s was lingering in the minds of many! The Morogoro Consultative Conference was convened in 1969 to grapple with all the challenges.

***Revival, resurgence of mass struggle and un-governability: 1969 - 1989***

36. The 1969 Morogoro Conference was another watershed conference of the ANC. It was a moment for self-reflection, self-correction and renewal. A new Strategy and Tactics document was adopted and a major re-organisation of the movement to redirect the struggle back home. Post-Morogoro, all revolutionaries were integrated into the ANC and the underground machinery was rebuilt. The release of some key leaders from the Robben Island strengthened renewal. The 1973 Durban dock workers strike and the 1976 student uprisings challenged the ANC underground to rise to the occasion and give leadership and contest the Black Consciousness Movement.

37. Post-1976, the ANC was the most successful among all organisations that sought to harness and harvest the anger and energy of the youth to rejuvenate its machinery. The ANC emerged from the 1970s as a renewed organization with heightened activities in the underground, mass mobilization and military operations. The seminal visit of the NEC delegation to Vietnam in 1978 resulted in a theoretical consolidation of the main ideas contained in the 1969 strategy and tactics. The concept of the four pillars of struggle emerged from this visit – mass mobilization, underground work, armed struggle and international solidarity. Mass mobilization assumed greater emphasis while MK operations and underground work needed to inspire the people more and more into mass action and defiance. The idea of a progressive united front of popular organizations was born of this process of finding creative ways of moving the struggle to a higher level.
38. The ANC entered the 1980s as a rejuvenated and renewed movement, organisationally and strategically. In line with the programme to escalate the mobilization of the masses so that they can take charge of their own destiny, a new wave of mass political activity among the youth, students, women, workers and residents of townships and villages across South Africa. The proliferation of mass democratic formations culminated in the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983. The increase in MK's military operations inside the country, hitting the symbols of apartheid power, gave greater impetus and confidence to the masses and spurred a mood of defiance among the people, especially the youth.
39. The 1985 Kabwe Conference gave impetus to mass insurrection and the surge to un-governability. Kabwe elected a fully non-racial NEC and adopted far-reaching resolutions to take the struggle to a victorious conclusion. For the first time since the ANC was banned, the level of organization and mobilization of the masses, effectiveness of armed struggle and international solidarity reached unprecedented levels. The country was being rendered unworkable and country ungovernable as the legitimacy of the apartheid state was being challenged on all fronts. The regime was forced to seek a negotiated settlement in the late 1980s and ultimately unbanned the movement and release its leadership in 1990.
40. Looking at the entire history of the ANC, the 1980s is arguably the highest point. The depth of strategic and tactical savvy and level of organizational coherence far surpassed the 1950s. By the time it assumed power, the movement had developed into a mature people's movement and agent for change, with a strategy and tactics, set of policies and a tried and tested leadership. President OR Tambo was the central figure who kept the movement together and unfailingly inspired our people during the period between the banning in 1960 and the unbanning of the ANC in 1990.

***Rebuilding the movement after unbanning: 1990 - 1994***

41. The 1991 Durban Conference had to grapple with major strategic and organizational questions that arose from the unbanning of the movement and release of political prisoners in the context of negotiations. The movement needed to integrate all its cadres – from the mass movement, underground structures, prison and exile - into one coherent and cohesive organization, with common strategic and tactical perspective on negotiations. These cadres came with various political sub-cultures and diverse experiences. It had to absorb large numbers of new members who had no political experience. All these put new demands on the organization.



42. In the midst of the negotiations and state-sponsored violence against the masses of our people in Natal and Transvaal, the movement had to re-establish itself as a legal mass organisation. This, among others, meant the establishment of structures and offices across the country along the lines of the mass-based movement of the 1950s. The ANC needed to have an organizational presence in every community and engage directly with sectors that would previously been the exclusive domain of Congress-aligned mass organizations.
43. Overall, the movement managed the daunting challenges very successfully, refusing to be diverted from the urgent need a peaceful transition to democracy as rapidly as possible. By the time of the April 1994 elections, the ANC had a nation-wide organizational presence, with a fair degree of coherence and cohesion.

### **CHALLENGES OF RENEWAL IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA**

44. The 1994 democratic breakthrough ushered in new conditions of freedom and democracy. The ascendancy to power imposed new strategic and organisational imperatives such as the need to develop new skills around political management of governance, running election campaigns, involving the people in governance and mass work on the democratic terrain.
45. Both the Bloemfontein Conference (1994) and Mafikeng Conference (1997) grappled a great deal with the strategic and organizational challenges of the new situation. Among the major organizational questions was the need to clarify the relationship between the party and the state. The first few years of governance have already thrown to the fore the need to transform the inherited apartheid state machinery into an effective instrument of change. The role of the Alliance in the new period, especially on matters of governance was under-theorised.
46. Organisationally, the ANC needed to re-organise itself in a manner that will address two imperatives: 1) it is now a governing party; 2) it remains a liberation movement that must mobilize and lead the people in the new phase of struggle. For a while, these two imperatives were almost in tension, leading to articulations such as “the ANC in government and the ANC outside government. One of the major challenges was to balance the deployment needs of the movement with that of the state. In reality, the ANC suffered an unmanaged exodus of cadres out of the organization, into the state, leading to the view that “we have behaved in a manner that could endanger the revolution” (former President, NR Mandela).
47. The reality and impact of incumbency was beginning to make its mark on the movement. State power is a potent instrument for transformation of society. It gives the legitimate authority, power, influence and resources to make our agenda, vision and policies those of the entire nation and gives us the instruments to realise the dreams of our forebears as outlined in the Freedom Charter.

48. However, all ruling parties have to contend with the corruptive and corrosive effects of power, varying degrees depending on the ideological strength of each party and the socio-economic structure of each society. Progressive parties and individual revolutionaries tend to manage state power more conscientiously, conscious of its destructive potential. To be “ready to govern” as we said in the early 1990s, means to mature and know how to survive “sins of incumbency”.
49. What are the “sins of incumbency” and how have other ruling parties managed to overcome or minimize them? Once in power, the incumbents face the dangers such as bureaucratisation of the party and state; development of social distance; arrogance of power; ideological decline among rank-and-file; corruption and use of state institutions to settle inner-party battles; party life revolves around winning elections and sharing the spoils of power – positions and state resources. Incumbency can transform the nature and essence of the party.
50. Within a few years of coming to power, the movement began to identify trends that were not consistent with its culture and traditions. Both Mafikeng and Stellenbosch Conferences and the 2000 and 2005 NGCs lamented the negative impact of state power on the movement. Unfortunately, the dominant thinking was that the problem was with the “organisational design” of the ANC. The debate on organizational design focused principally on the “modernization” paradigm.
51. Polokwane Conference framed the problem more profoundly as a steady erosion of the character, culture and values of the ANC. Polokwane raised the alarm that a silent transformation of the ANC into a shadow of its former self is underway and it must be arrested and reversed through a vigorous campaign for organisational renewal. This is one of the distinct mandates of the NEC from Polokwane. For this reason, Polokwane could be a turning point in reversing the ANC’s quiet drift to self-destruction and atrophy. We dare not fail!
52. Polokwane Conference may not be a watershed in the classical sense of a strategic change of direction. It cannot be equated with the ANC Conferences of 1912, 1949 and 1969. There was no major shift in the strategy and tactics and organisational structure of the ANC. However, far-reaching strategic decisions were taken on major questions of our time:
- a. **The relationship between the party and state:** the ANC was defined as the strategic centre of power. This helped to clear theoretical confusion and reverse a trend of the past decade-and-a-half where the ANC was trailing behind the state on major strategic and policy issues.
  - b. **The centrality of the people:** the ANC should remain the servant of the people. Going forward, ANC members must regard service to the people as a sacrosanct principle. Both the ANC and state belong to the people of South Africa. Nobody should be allowed to use the ANC or the state to pursue personal, sectarian, or factional agendas.

- c. **The ANC belongs to the rank-and-file members and ordinary people:** when duty calls, the loyal ANC members and supporters come to the fore, without any promise of a reward. Such people never expect the movement to do anything for them. Their courage and commitment tend to rise when the movement faces trying times. When there negative developments that threatened to divide the ANC, members intervened decisively at Polokwane Conference to point the way forward. Post-Polokwane, members defended the unity of the movement successfully when a renegade group tried to split the movement and form a breakaway party.
- d. **Organisational renewal is the principal task of our time to prevent the degeneration of the movement:** the key mandate of the newly-elected NEC and the entire membership is the need to fight tendencies that are steadily eroding the ANC's character, values, culture and traditions through the launch of organisational renewal. This is a life and death struggle that must be won!
- e. **The relevance and central role of the Alliance in the transformation of society:** the ongoing relevance and central role of the Alliance in the transformation of South Africa was reaffirmed. This central role needs elaboration in terms of correct conceptualisation and organisational mechanisms. Properly understood, the centrality of the Alliance in our ongoing struggle is not in conflict with the perspective of the ANC as the strategic centre of power and leader of the Alliance. It is only when there is an attempt to replace one by the other that confusion and tensions will arise. We need to deepen debates on this dialectic.

## OVERVIEW OF THE LESSONS FROM OUR HISTORY

53. There are many lessons that can be drawn from the ANC's near-century of existence. How has the ANC survived over the past century? What has sustained the movement up to its First Centenary? Are there timeless principles that should continue to guide the thinking and work of our movement into the future?
54. The following tried, tested and timeless principles constitute the ANC's **internal defence mechanisms** and **sources of renewal and survival** into the future:
- a. **Unity is sacrosanct:** the ANC is the embodiment of the unity and collective will of many generations of South African revolutionaries and freedom fighters. Equally, the unity and cohesion of the Alliance and the democratic movement is crucial. National unity among all South Africans is its goal. Anything that undermines unity poses a threat to the survival not only of the movement, but the revolution in its totality.
  - b. **Putting people first:** the interests and aspirations of the people have always been the driving force behind the policies and actions of the ANC – "Batho Pele". Once the ANC shifts its focus away from the people, it is bound to lose its stature and standing in society. And yet, political parties and ruling parties in particular tend relate to "the people" only through election time rhetoric.

- c. **Capacity for self-reflection and self-correction:** the ANC must never lower the guard on criticism and self-criticism. Ruling parties are prone to claiming easy victories and hiding their weaknesses and shortcomings in the interest of winning elections. And yet, the movement should strive to remain its own harshest critic, boldly admit mistakes and swiftly correct any deviations and failures when they arise. Robust internal debates on all matters of policy, strategy and organization, including contestation for leadership, are the life-blood of the ANC. The ANC needs to jealously safeguard and deepen this culture of self-reflection and self-correction under current conditions.
- d. **Ability to adapt to new conditions and preserve its essence:** the ANC has been able to adapt to new conditions and new environments, while at the same time preserving its essence. Over years, the ANC developed the ability to see problems and take pre-emptive action long before they happen. Once in crisis, the ANC has also been good at turning crises into opportunities to learn. In a world characterised by rapid and pervasive technological change that has profound social and economic implications, the ANC will do well with its dynamism.
- e. **Pivotal role of the membership:** the rank-and-file members are the guardians of ANC policy, culture and traditions and the agents for change in society. If their political empowerment and ideological development is neglected, they can become a readily available force that is harvested by those who want to hijack the movement for their own personal, factional or sectarian agendas.
- f. **The role of leadership:** leadership has a distinctly important function in our movement. The membership of the ANC elects a leadership that is, in their view, able to represent their collect views, feelings, fears and aspirations. ANC leadership has always been composed of men and women who are ahead of the pack in terms of foresight, experience, commitment, hard-work and courage. Leadership must be earned through force of exemplary conduct and self-discipline. The ANC should invest in leadership development consciously and continuously if it is to avoid the shock of being led by a generation which has no resonance with its history and traditions.
- g. **Approaching problems with sustainability and posterity in mind:** steadfast on matters of principle, the ANC has shunned the politics of both “short-termism” and “populism” in its approach to problem-solving. That which appears exigent today may not be relevant tomorrow. Similarly, that which is popular today may not be the lasting solution. When dealing with difficult situations and daunting challenges, the ANC’s approach is to identify principles that will outlive the heat of the moment.

- h. **A learning organisation imbued with progressive internationalism:** the ANC was born out the lessons of the progressive struggle at the turn of the century. The first generation of its leadership sought to understand and grapple with the problems of the world in their time in order to contribute to changing the world for the better and draw lessons for the struggle at home. The First and Second World War, the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles and national liberation revolutions across the developing world impacted on the ideological outlook, strategy and tactics of the ANC during the different phases of the struggle. And yet, the ANC and its allies, especially the SACP, also contributed immensely to progressive internationalism. As a disciplined force of the left, the ANC must continue to be part of the forces that call for and contribute to the renewal of the progressive agenda in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## **INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE ON RENEWAL OF THE LEFT**

55. The problem referred to as sins of incumbency has destroyed many national liberation movements or left parties in power during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This remains a problem in our time. In recent history, parties such as the Chinese Communist Party, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, Brazilian Workers' Party and Tanzania's Chama Cha Mapinduzi have written extensively on how they are grappling with problems such as bureaucratisation, corruption, factionalism and abuse of power.
56. The **question of bureaucratism:** the bureaucratisation of the state or the party has occupied revolutionaries over the past century. Lenin, during his last days, was increasingly concerned about the state becoming too bureaucratized, warning about a "bureaucratic ulcer". His main concern was how state apparatus stifle genuine participation of the masses<sup>1</sup>.
57. Among the main manifestations of bureaucratism is the **demobilisation of the popular forces** after liberation or independence. The role of popular forces is reduced to celebrating official "revolutionary days" and mobilisation for elections. Bureaucratism tends to reduce participation of the masses to attendance of rallies and meetings where the state or party officials come and talk to (and not with) the masses. Often, the leaders are bringing reports and absorb very little of what the masses see as the solutions to the problem in their own areas. The views of the people, including on the prioritisation of allocation of resources, are often completely ignored.
58. The ability of the Cuban revolution to fight and resist bureaucratism and corruption is one of the main reasons why Cuban socialism has survived for so long. In his address to the Committee for the Defence of Revolution (CDR) in 1970, Castro emphasised the importance of shifting more power at the level of the grassroots, especially on decisions that people themselves can effectively exercise:

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<sup>1</sup> Lenin, "10th Congress of the RCP(B)," 16 March 1921, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, pp. 165-271

“Imagine a baker's shop on a street which provides bread to all who live there and an administrative apparatus that controls it from above. How does it control it? How could the people not care how that bakery operates? How could they not care whether an administrator is good or bad? How could they not care if people there had privileges or not, if there was negligence or not, insensitivity or not? How could they not care how it provided its services? How could they not care about the hygiene problems there? And how could they not care about the production problems, absenteeism, the quantity and quality of the goods? It is impossible not to care... Can anyone think up a more effective means for controlling that bakery than the masses themselves? Could there be any other method of inspection? No! The person who runs that micro-unit of production could go bad, the person who inspects it could go bad, everyone could go bad. The only ones who are not going to go bad are those affected [by all this], those affected!”<sup>2</sup>

59. The **question of corruption**: this is a problem affecting ruling parties across the world, regardless of their ideology. Both American capitalism and Soviet socialism have been prone of corruption scandals. Leftwing parties speak more openly and honestly against corruption, while the liberal and rightwing establishment only speak loudly if it involves their opponents. The Chinese Communist Party owes its survival and success partly from its successful fight against corruption. Harsh measures against corrupt party or state officials send a strong message in society. Any ambiguity or prevarication in dealing with corruption will ultimately result in the erosion of the revolutionary noble ideals and values of the left. Both the ANC and Brazilian Workers' Party (PT) are grappling with this challenge. The fight against corruption is a matter of life and death.
60. **The question of factionalism**: one of the problems that have plagued the left in the past century is the issue of incessant sectarianism and serial factionalism. Factionalism assumes a new dimension once the party is in power. Different factions contend over party leadership using the instruments of state to tilt the balance of power in their favour, including using patronage to reward those who are loyal to a faction in power and punishing opponents in all manner of ways. The experience of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party is very illustrative.
61. It is instructive to note that while sins of incumbency have and are destroying several liberation movements and parties on the left, there are also cases of parties that are fairly successful in mitigating and overcoming the destructive and corruptive impact of power. For instance, the Tanzanian ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, and Chinese Communist Party are among the most outspoken parties against the sins of incumbency. There are many case studies of successful renewal of the left in Latin America, although most are born out of the experience of losing power. All these case of successful renewal should be studied by the Alliance and democratic movement as we undertake the massive and difficult task of organisational renewal. Renewal is indeed a matter of life and death for the left and progressive forces in general.
62. Given all the rich historical and international experiences on renewal what should be done to take forward our movement and the democratic state?

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<sup>2</sup> Fidel Castro, **Speech for the 10th anniversary of the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution**, 28 September 1970.

## KEY AREAS OF FOCUS FOR ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

63. Given the mandate of Polokwane Conference on renewal, what should be done to turn the tide against the silent transformation of the ANC away from its deep traditions of principled struggle and selfless service to the people?

64. Firstly all the interventions on renewal should be based on the strategic perspective that the ANC is both a national liberation movement and the governing party – the ultimate strategic centre of power for all its members deployed to work in the state and society at large. Accordingly, organisational renewal should seek to build and strengthen the ANC's capacity to give moral, political and intellectual leadership to the state and society in general. What are the immediate and medium term interventions that will begin to turn the tide against the erosion of the ANC's character, values, culture, principles and practices? How does the ANC strengthen its sources of renewal and survival?

### ***a. Build and safeguard unity and cohesion***

65. The ANC needs to combine mass political education with strong action against factionalism and all divisive tendencies in the ranks. The membership of the ANC needs to be educated to understand what constitute factionalism and divisive conduct so that healthy internal debate, contestation and disagreements are not conflated with divisive conduct. Going forward, all levels of the organisation should take firm action against individuals who are known to be experts and professionals in factional and divisive conduct.

### ***b. Restore discipline and cultivate the values of the ANC in the ranks***

66. High level of political discipline has been one of the key features that have distinguished a member of the ANC from other people in society. At the core of discipline is the need to cultivate the core values of the ANC among the membership and leadership. Ultimately, we should measure discipline in terms of whether the conduct of members and leaders mirror the ideals of the ANC. We must promote and instill the type of conduct that inspires confidence among the masses of our people. We need to emphasise positive behaviour.

67. And yet, lack of discipline and blatant ill-discipline is becoming a distinct feature of the current situation. Inconsistency of application of rules and reluctance to act against ill-disciplined elements is rife, especially in the run-up to and during Conferences. The leadership is often afraid to take firm action if this will threaten their prospects for election. The police and courts are called upon regularly to help resolve internal disputes. The culture of our movement is getting eroded at a frightening pace. The situation is a grave emergency that requires decisive action and extra-ordinary measures:

- a. Summary dismissal and expulsion of members who disrupt meetings of the organization or resort to violence to deal with organizational matters.
- b. Dismissal of leaders found guilty of manipulating internal processes such as membership recruitment, audit and credentials to try and influence the outcome of the conferences in their favour.

- c. Dismissal and criminal prosecution of members found to have raised money outside the formal structures and processes defined by the organization, in order to influence the outcome of our conferences.
- d. Dismissal of members found guilty of corruption and abuse of power.
- e. Dismissal of members who cause and perpetuate divisions and factionalism in the structures.
- f. Compulsory political education and community service as a corrective and correctional measure for those found guilty of offences that are not dismissible.

68. The ANC needs to put in place measures to protect its integrity and image as a movement with a high moral ground and a governing party that is clean and incorruptible. As a matter of principle, all members of the ANC are free, like all South Africans, to engage in legitimate and clean business activities in the public and private sector. The ANC members who are in business should be upright - ethical, competent, conscientious and law-abiding in their business dealings. Public representatives, public servants and serving members of the constitutional structures require organisational protocols that will conflict of interest and abuse of office for commercial gain.

69. In order to protect the image and integrity of the movement and its leadership, it is proposed that an Integrity Committee should be established at national, provincial and regional level. The Commission will manage the interests of those who hold office in the state and organisation and investigate any allegations of improper conduct. This will protect ANC leaders from false accusations and malicious allegations of corruption and abuse of power. This will go a long way in preventing misdemeanours by some in our ranks and in society who give a bad name to all genuine black businesspeople and entrepreneurs who have links with the ANC a bad name.

***g. Invest in membership development and growth***

70. Having reaffirmed the centrality of the membership in resolving problems faced by our movement and the people as whole in each given phase of the struggle, the ANC leadership needs to take the membership very seriously. We have tended to limit the interaction of upper structures with chairpersons and secretaries of branches or BEC members. We do not make adequate time to visit ANC members and engage them to hear their views on different issues of concern and empower them to lead communities effectively. Going forward, the NEC, PECs and RECs should schedule regular interaction with branches in order to politicise and be politicised by the membership. The launch of Imvuselelo Campaign nation-wide should be used to bridge the gap between the leadership and membership. Every branch should have a standing monthly or bi-monthly political workshop or seminar on a key topic of interest to the general membership and national, provincial and regional leaders should be invited.



71. The One Million Membership Campaign is a key resolution of Polokwane Conference. The campaign is not just about the numbers. It is an important opportunity to strengthen the mass, non-racial and multi-class character of the ANC. Necessarily, the recruitment drive has to be targeted in order to enhance the sociological profile of our membership. We need to recruit individuals who will enhance the ANC's ability to serve the people. No one should join the ANC on the basis of a promise for reward. All new members should be given tasks after they are inducted on the history and role of the ANC and its members in society. A system needs to be put in place in every branch so that the active role of members in the life of the organisation is monitored and reviewed regularly and those who don't participate need to be tracked down and reminded of their responsibilities. This will help to eliminate the spectre of BGMs that fail to quorate because members cannot be found. The problems of the membership system need to be resolved in accordance with the 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference resolutions.

#### ***h. Invest in the development and strengthening of the Branches***

72. After the relaunch of the ANC in 1990, we have spent too much time focusing on changing the structure of the branches. Not enough attention has been given to clarifying the distinct function of the ANC branch. What is even worse is that we have not paid enough attention to adequately improving the capacity of the branches – training and development as well as resource allocation. The focus of branches - the content of their programmes and agenda of their meetings - should shift towards service delivery and development issues in the localities.

73. As proposed earlier, the NEC, PEC and RECs should interact with and engage ordinary members in BGMs more regularly. Imvuselelo Campaign should have strong component that ensures that the leadership of upper structures assist in building branches under the banner "Empower the Membership: Visit the Branch". By the end of 2011, all the branches should have been visited by NEC and PEC members to engage them on the Centenary of the ANC.

74. The ANC structures need to always look for opportunities to mobilize people around specific issues of concern such as crime, education, health and other development issues. Imvuselelo Campaign and other campaigns should be sustained over a period of time, with trained volunteers who will focus on each campaign. Among other specific objectives, campaigns should be seen as a training ground for cadreship and leadership. Those who are active in campaigns should be given priority on political education.

#### ***i. Invest in ideological renewal and the building of a New Cadre***

75. As a disciplined force of the left, the ANC has a responsibility to contribute to the renewal of progressive ideas and policy alternative suited for the current problems faced by humanity. We in the ANC must refuse to be passive consumers of ideas and policies chummed out by conservative and neo-liberal think tanks across the world. Our movement and its allies have rich theoretical and ideological traditions that were developed over many years of involvement in the national and world-wide struggles of the oppressed peoples and exploited classes.

76. The Political School and Policy Institute are critical institutions around which to build a confident ANC in a theoretical and ideological sense. And yet, such an ANC should continue to eschew dogma and place emphasis on the balance between theory and practice.
77. The development of the ANC's comprehensive system of political education is on course. It is clear that this matter is seen as one of the most critical interventions and a key pillar on which the survival of the ANC depends. Great strides are being made across the country in reviving a culture of "Umrabulo" in the ranks. More needs to be done to ensure that ANC members understand the history, politics and policies and conduct themselves in a manner that approximates its values and culture. The political school should focus on the rapid and sustained development of the "New Cadre" in accordance with 2000 NGC resolutions: a cadre with the knowledge, competence, outlook, attitude, skills and ethics required for this new phase of the struggle.
78. The movement's approach to deployment should be underpinned by a comprehensive Cadre Policy in the traditions of Kabwe Conference. Since coming to power, we have tended to focus too much on the deployment rather than cadre preparation and preservation. The assumption is that there are cadres who are ready for the tasks of the current phase of our revolution, and all we have to do is to deploy them appropriately.
79. This one-sided focus on deployment has put a lot of pressure on the movement. Most of the in-fighting arises from and is linked to deployment. Because of our history, too many ANC cadres and members cannot make a living independent of deployment by the movement. The deployment criteria are unclear and the deployment process is often shrouded in secrecy, only known to those who serve in constitutional structures. As a result, many stories are concocted about why specific comrades were considered or not considered for deployment. This contributes to unhealthy atmosphere.
80. The movement needs to encourage its members, especially the younger generations, to invest in their own self-development and self-cultivation. Members of the ANC should be encouraged to earn a decent living through their own legitimate initiatives. The ANC does not owe anyone of us a source of income. The movement will nurture and utilise our positive attributes - values of integrity, competence and service to the people - in order to carry the struggle forward at each given moment. Deployment process should be done in a way that promotes predictability, transparency and accountability.

***j. Leadership renewal and development***

81. The question of leadership renewal has received detailed treatment in the discussion document on "*Leadership Renewal, Discipline and Organisational Culture*". In this paper, we want to address matters of principle. Once more, it is important to emphasise that leadership is a critical factor for the survival and success of any organisation. Any organization that neglects the task of developing leadership continuously and systematically, neglects its future.

82. Over a century, the ANC has been the best leadership school to train and produce leadership for our country. Renewal must ensure that the ANC continues, right into the next century, South Africa's best leaders are trained. The political school would need to be more deliberate on leadership development.
83. With regard to the leadership election process, there is a need to defend and deepen the democratic character of the ANC. *The Leadership Renewal* paper identifies some of the major problems regarding the electoral processes of the movement and further proposes interventions. The integrity and credibility of the election processes should be restored. We also need sound internal dispute resolution mechanisms ensures that the courts and the police are not drawn into matters that can best be resolved organisationally.
84. The ANC also needs to pay strategic attention to the management of the transition from one leadership to another in a way that ensures stability. When there is change of leadership in the movement, we should ensure that government and the state in general continue to function normally. Generational transition needs to be discussed openly in the ranks. The critical principle that should be safeguarded at all times is that membership determines the policy and leadership of the ANC. In this regard, we should review and strengthen involvement in the discussion of policy and nomination and election of leadership.

#### ***k. Enhance the governing capacity of the ANC***

85. Having defined the ANC as the strategic centre of power, more needs to be done to enhance its capacity to give strategic leadership to all its cadres in the society and across society. The institutions of the ANC – Policy Institute, constitutional structures, sub-committees - should be jerked up. It should be compulsory that all ANC leaders should have basic knowledge and competence on matters of governance, service delivery and development. Governance should be one of the core areas of the political school curriculum. The internal capacity for monitoring and evaluation should be built at all levels, including at branch level. The ANC should always be able to anticipate governance challenges and develop appropriate policy responses and not trail behind the state.

#### ***l. Renewal of the Leagues***

86. Both the ANCWL and ANCYL have played a critical and pioneering role in the evolution of the ANC into a revolutionary national liberation movement and agent for change. They are an integral part of the ANC – its historic mission, its democratic, non-racial, non-sexist vision and mass character and its principles – because they contributed immensely to what it is today. They are autonomous organs of the ANC, with their own Constitutions, structures and decision-making processes that have to be observed and upheld by their leaders and members alike. The supremacy of the ANC Constitution has to be upheld. It grants the Leagues autonomy so that the ANC does not interfere in their day-to-day operations.

87. At the same time, the ANC cannot await an invitation when there are problems in one of its constituent organs. The movement has to intervene in a fair and even-handed manner, guided by its own Constitution, traditions and standard practices. This is a matter that needs to be fully understood and appreciated across the movement in the current environment. Renewal should create space to debate this matter.

88. As we move to the Centenary, each organ of the ANC needs to review its own state of affairs honestly and frankly – self-reflection and self-correction. In varying degrees, the Leagues suffer from the chronic problems of the mother body outlined in this report. The programme of renewal should be based on the general challenges facing the movement as well as the specific issues facing women and youth in society. For instance, the 2009 election campaign has provided useful experiences on how the ANCYL was able to draw new generation of voters into ANC politics – “Ayobaness” campaign – exploding the myth of youth apathy. The ANCWL’s outreach programmes and work among young women bear important lessons for renewal. With regard to the Veterans’ League, it has to start playing a confident and more assertive role as the custodians of the history, traditions, culture and values of our movement. ANC veterans should not allow themselves to get caught up in the contemporary quagmire of sins of incumbency. It should therefore be made up of real veterans of the struggle who can add a great deal of value in the campaign to preserve the character, values, culture, traditions and principles of our great movement.

#### ***m. Build financial sustainability***

89. The ANC needs to restore a culture of resourcefulness and self-sufficiency that existed in the years before it was banned in 1960. Beyond 2012, every branch, region and province should be able to finance its major activities. This can only be the case if we implement the Polokwane Conference resolution on membership fees and levies of public representatives being directed to fund branches, regions and provinces. The way we finance the ANC needs to protect the integrity and image of parties. In this regard, we have to promote greater public funding of political parties as it is the case in other democracies. We also have to get ready to a dispensation of greater transparency of private funding. We have to strengthen accountability and financial management and set ourselves a goal of achieving audited (clean audits) financial reports to all conferences at all levels.

#### ***n. Modernisation of the organisation’s operations and offices***

90. The ANC is an organization held in very high regard by most South Africans and our friends across the continent and the world at large. However, the ANC’s operations and offices are often dogged by a terrible image of inefficiency, incompetence and dysfunctionality. The 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference instructed the entire organization to take decisive steps to restore the professional image in all offices.

91. The ANC needs to employ highly skilled, competent, talented and committed staff. We need to harness the ICT revolution to build a modern, dynamic and effective organisational machinery. In particular, we need to aggressively use the new information and communication technology platforms effectively for campaign purposes and communication with membership and society. This includes entering a period where we will never again talk of the problems of a dysfunctional membership system.

***o. Renewal of the Alliance and Mass Democratic Movement***

92. Collectively and individually, all components of the Alliance and MDM have suffered from and have been affected by the sins of incumbency in varying degrees. They have also been grappling with redefining their role in the aftermath of the democratic breakthrough of 1994 and the impact of the collapse of the Berlin wall and crisis of developmental states in the early 1990s. One of the issues around which the Alliance has an unresolved debate is the question of the relationship between the Alliance and state power. To address this question, we can't entirely rely on models of interface and interaction that have worked in the past. We have to maintain a posture of principled adaptability.

93. At the level of principle, we have to maintain the perspective that ours is a strategic alliance whose roots are much deeper than any coalition of parties. Organisationally, the main area of weakness is the ability of the entire ANC-led democratic movement to engage in common campaigns, outside the election campaign, that capture the imagination of society on matters of development, transformation and democratic consolidation. For example, we still lack a popular movement on key socio-economic issues such as education, health and crime. Renewal should get us to focus on finding new and creative ways of mobilizing society for change, rather than spend a disproportionate amount of time hurling insults at one another.

**AREAS OF FOCUS FOR THE RENEWAL OF GOVERNANCE**

94. For renewal to have a far-reaching transformative impact, it has to be a societal project. The ANC is not an island. Renewal will only succeed in preserving the values of the ANC if it simultaneously address the values of broader society and the structural and economic context that fosters and promote such values. For example, unless the ANC makes rapid progress in the transformation of our economy and society to benefit the majority, it will be unable to withstand the prevailing logic of colonialism of a special type. Renewal has to permeate all aspects of society to produce the new person and new environment.

95. It is for above reason that we should welcome the fact that President JG Zuma has not only been raising the question of renewal in the NEC meetings. He has also made renewal a key theme of his Presidency in the current term of government, underscoring the point that government should work with the people in a new way. Some of the new ways of working for the entire system of government and the emerging national democratic state are as follows:

### ***a. Policy renewal***

96. The ANC has never been a dogmatic organization. In fact, it eschews dogma and encourages its members to be critical thinkers. In its approach to policy review, evidence informs its attitude to whether a particular policy should be adopted, not ideological obsession. It neither subscribes to neo-liberalism's "primacy of the market" paradigm or the ultra-left's perspective of the "omnipotence of the state". The Freedom Charter is the main policy framework of the ANC against which we must review the performance of the movement in government. If policy does not produce the desired results and intended outcomes, it has to be reviewed.

97. In the sixteen years of democratic rule, we have recorded progress in many areas – access to housing, healthcare, education, social assistance, water, electricity, bulk infrastructure. We have put in place new policy frameworks and institutions that support our young democracy. However, there are areas where we need new ideas precisely because we are not producing desired results i.e. human development deficit, unemployment and rising inequalities. Societies with a profile like ours are beginning to turn the tide (Brazil) because they are paying attention to policy outcomes, not dogma. We need policy renewal.

### ***b. Building capacity for implementation and delivery***

98. The ANC is acknowledged, including by the opposition, as the party with the best policies for the problems faced by our society. However, the track record of the civil service to respond promptly and compassionately to the needs of the people leaves much to be desired. This has a negative impact on the image of the ANC as the ruling party. Competence, commitment and integrity should inform the recruitment and deployment of senior political and administrative cadres. Our movement needs to show its members and the public that poor and mediocre performance will not be tolerated. Cadres who fail to perform should be removed from the positions that are demanding because they can hold back the whole institutions.

### ***c. Renewal of values and ethics of governance***

99. The preservation of the core values of the ANC will be valueless unless such values find expression in the ANC-led government. "Batho Pele" integrity, honesty, service, hard-work, sacrifice, ethics and accountability among civil servants and public officials. There must be consequences for incompetence, corruption and lack of accountability.

### ***d. Institutional renewal and optimal organisation of the state***

100. The state requires both institutional stability and renewal. A substantial amount of work was done during the past fifteen years on putting the appropriate institutions to carry out the developmental vision espoused in the Freedom Charter and Constitution of the Republic.

101. However, the developmental state model requires greater capacity and effective planning, coordination, monitoring and evaluation. Further re-organisation and realignment of government was necessary after the 2009 elections. The impact of the latest institutional re-organisation will only be assessed against the outcomes that will be achieved. What ANC cadres should avoid at all times is to introduce changes in government in pursuance of “individual legacies” rather than sound organizational and policy objectives.

***e. Democratic renewal***

102. The democratisation of our society is one of the central objectives of our national democratic revolution. Over the past sixteen years, we have built strong institutions of liberal democracy - periodic elections, multi-party contestation and representation, separation of power, free press, etc.

103. However, the ANC-led democratic movement has always combined representative democracy with participatory democracy i.e. popular involvement and self-empowerment of the masses is a key aspect of our concept of democracy: “the people shall govern”. It is in the area of popular democracy where there is a huge deficit. This is illustrated, among others, by the sense of alienation that communities on matters of governance. Protest action is another manifestation of the feeling of alienation, particular because most protests take place where there is significant delivery underway.

104. We need to find new ways of active mobilization and engagement of our citizenry, for there can be no popular revolution without the mobilization and active involvement of the people. Izimbizo and IDP processes are seen by many among our people as talk shows and talk shops. There is a need to build structured partnerships between the developmental state and key sectors of society in working to achieve the change we need. This partnership should be built around our transformative and developmental agenda.

105. There is also need to introduce an activist approach to parliamentary and constituency work. Public representatives at all levels should do direct interaction with households more regularly and provide effective political oversight on government. This will help to strengthen and deepen the democratic character of our movement and state.

## CONCLUSION

106. In this discussion document, we have raised issues that warrant the urgent and decisive attention of our movement as it approaches one hundred years of its existence. Most of these issues were identified by the 52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference as the agenda that must be driven by newly-elected NEC. Consequently, we have made the point that Polokwane Conference was not just about a change of leadership. It was a moment for self-reflection, self-correction and the beginning of renewal. The watershed decision of Polokwane was that we should not only analyse and complain about the negative impact of state power on our movement, but we should act firmly and decisively against the steady erosion of the character, values, culture and traditions of the ANC. Hence the call for renewal.
107. Since Polokwane Conference, our movement had to focus on other pressing issues, the most critical of which was the defense of the unity and legacy of the ANC. A section of those who were not elected into the leadership at Polokwane orchestrated a major attempt to cause a split in the movement, similar to the historical precedents of the formation of the PAC and the Group of Eight. They had a clear intention to harm the ANC's prospects in the 2009 elections and dislodge our movement from power. The ANC had to skillfully direct all its energies and resources towards winning the elections decisively and protecting its rich traditions and near-century legacy as the genuine voice of the people and their agent for change. The elections were a major success. The group that tried to split the ANC is now disintegrating at a rapid rate – this is the same fate that befell those who tried to split the ANC in the past.
108. However, the movement has had a delayed response to Polokwane's call for renewal. As the biggest political school and festival of ideas, the NGC is the best platform to generate the necessary attention and build momentum for renewal. Renewal is a matter of life and death for our movement. The NGC should capture the imagination of the membership of the ANC, Alliance and broad mass democratic movement and society in general on the urgent necessity for renewal, in the interest of the longevity and sustainability of the national democratic society and the progressive movement that leads our revolution.
109. Like the Silver Jubilee of 1937, the process to the Centenary gives us the best opportunity to turn the tide against the erosion of the 'revolutionary personality' of our great movement.
110. The history of the ANC teaches us that for renewal to succeed, three pre-conditions have to be met:
- a. Leadership that is resilient, courageous, principled and decisive;
  - b. Committed, skilled and politically conscious and active cadreship and membership;
  - c. An active civil society and mobilised population that refuses to succumb to apathy and cynicism in the ongoing struggle to improve their lives;



111. The time to seize the moment is now! Forward to the Centenary!