



REPORT

**of the 3rd National General Council
held at the Durban Exhibition Centre
Durban (eThekweni)
20–24 September 2010**



TOWARDS 100 YEARS OF SELFLESS STRUGGLE

**Working together to create a national
democratic society**

Report
of the
THIRD NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL
20-24 September 2010
Durban Exhibition Centre
Durban/eThekweni

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FOREWORD



by **Secretary General Gwede Mantashe**

Comrades,

The Third National General Council (NGC) of the African National Congress was a resounding success.

In the preparations, during the proceedings and as evidenced in its outcomes, the NGC demonstrated that quality resonates with the ANC, that is, the ability to pull itself together, ensure cohesion and unity of purpose.

We described the NGC as the biggest political school, capturing it as a process rather than an event. The Regional General Councils and Provincial General Councils that preceded it provided an opportunity for branches, including those that had no delegates to the NGC, to engage with the policy papers. This process set the tone for the deliberations at the NGC and provided a positive impact on the quality of debates in the various commissions. Delegates expressed their views with a great degree of clarity and depth of understanding.

President Jacob Zuma set the tone and gave clear directives as to where we are and how to move ahead. The reports tabled and policy papers presented reported progress made since the 2007 Polokwane National Conference. In many areas the reports covered work in progress, and also areas where the Resolutions of the National Conference have been fully implemented. The NGC gave guidance to the leadership on how the pace of implementation can be accelerated. Central to these discussions was the renewed call for the ANC to step up efforts to change the lives of our people for the better. The focus on education, health and the economy sent one clear message, that is, we cannot continue with business as usual. Time for being over-cautious was running out and leadership was nudged to take calculated risks to benefit our society. High levels of unemployment, deepening poverty and growing inequality were acknowledged as the biggest challenges that our movement must confront.

The resolution on the role of the state in the economy is fundamental and greater than the matter of the nationalisation of mines. It is this principled viewpoint that informed delegates to instruct the NEC to carry out an in-depth study on how best the benefits from the richness of our national resources could be used on behalf of the people as a whole. This would enable the ANC to present scientifically researched case studies so that any decision taken is based on real issues. The resolution further directs the NEC to look into other sectors, such as the financial sector. We must go to the 2012 Policy Conference with a

clear framework so that the ANC can have a rational debate on this important policy issue. A relatively easier part of this is the need to help the Posbank get a proper banking license, so as to establish a visible footprint for the state in the financial sector. Equally important is the development of concrete timeframes for the implementation of the National Health Insurance (NHI).

The NGC was seen as an important point for consolidating the work of bringing cohesion and unity in the ANC. It recognised the efforts of the leadership over the last two and half years in this regard. It gave consent that leadership, in most cases, had to act cautiously so as to avoid giving an impression that it was biased and involved in a purge of those who did not agree with it.

Delegates, cognisant of the challenges of the past two and half years and firmly believing that this NGC was a turning point in the life of our movement, unanimously proclaimed that now is the time for leadership to be decisive in enforcing discipline in the organisation. The call for stronger enforcement of discipline should be applicable in all the structures of the ANC and its Leagues.

The paper on leadership renewal, discipline and culture provide clear guidance on what is intolerable as we move forward. But discipline is far more than its processing and administration through the relevant disciplinary structures. Cadre discipline is reflected in conduct, revolutionary conduct, resonant with the core values and principles of our movement as passed on from generation to generation. Cadres of our movement have always been known for, among others, being of good standing in society, and selfless in their commitment to the people. Renewal of our movement is a call to return to these core values and principles that have endeared the ANC to our people throughout its history.

In the coming period towards our National Conference in Mangaung, every cadre of our movement must contribute to the Imvuselelo campaign. We must realise the target of one million members by 2012. There must be a visible growth in the branches and regions throughout our provinces. This campaign must ensure recruitment of members and the strengthening of ANC members and structures. The process of cleaning the membership system must be an integral component of the campaign, whereby we can account for every member of the ANC. Gatekeeping and membership manipulation must be fought at all times, and not only in the period toward

elective conferences. NEC members, as they traverse the length and breadth of each of our provinces, must prioritise organisation building.

We must begin the urgent work towards the local government elections. The NGC provides an impetus to a dedicated effort to deliver a resounding success in the local government elections. Uppermost is the need to increase the number of municipalities directly controlled by the ANC, including in the Western Cape. Therefore, we must work hard and fight factionalism wherever rears its ugly head. We will insist on provinces presenting regular progress reports on this important work.

This report summarises the detailed discussions that ensued over five days, wherein delegates engaged in theory and practice of the day-to-day struggles in their everyday life, and in the life of our movement. This report must be used for discussions and political education in the branches of the ANC. The report-back processes should be as intensive as the process leading up to the NGC. Branches must feel that they are not only important but that they also matter. Implementation must be our preoccupation from now on.

We emerge from this NGC evermore convinced that the ANC is in better shape. The disunity and polarisation that characterised the period preceding, during and immediately after the 2005 NGC and the 2007 National Conference is behind us. Contrary to the predictions of

detractors, analysts and commentators that the NGC spelt the beginning of the demise of a self-destructive ANC, we can safely say that the ANC that emerged from the Third National General Council is cohesive and united.

We can, with certainty, recount the words of comrade Isithwalandwe Nelson Mandela – written to the Kabwe National Consultative Conference in 1985, while he languished in apartheid incarceration – that,

“We still remain a closely knit organisation, ever conscious of the crucial importance of unity and resisting every attempt to divide and confuse us... unity is the rock on which the ANC was founded, it is the principle which guided us down the years as we feel our way forward... in the course of its history the ANC has survived countless storms and risen to eminence partly because each member has regarded himself or herself as the principal guardian of that unity”

The ANC Lives. The ANC Leads.

Amandla! Matla! Matimba! All Power!

NGC Delegates in plenary ▼



OVERVIEW OF NGC PROCEEDINGS



- 1) The NGC was held over five days at the Durban Exhibition Centre in Durban/eThekweni. Prior to the NGC, the National Executive Committee adopted a theme, issued discussion papers and adopted Credentials for delegates and guests to the NGC. Provinces and other delegates had a process of pre-registration, and registration was finalised in Durban.
- 2) The first plenary session started on Monday, 20 September 2010 and was an open session. ANC National Chairperson, cde Baleka Mbete presided over the plenary, opening the NGC with an inter-faith prayer, the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and a welcome address by ANC KZN Provincial Chairperson, cde Zweli Mkhize. During this open session, the NGC also received the *Political Report* from ANC President, cde Jacob Zuma.
- 3) This was followed by a closed session of plenary. The plenary firstly adopted the Council Programme, Rules of Procedure, including NGC committees, rules of plenary and discipline at the NGC. This was followed by the presentation of the final Credentials report by the Deputy Secretary General, cde Thandi Modise. The NGC also adopted the Credentials report.
- 4) Secretary General cde Gwede Mantashe, presented the *Midterm Organisational Review*, followed by the presentation by Treasurer General, cde Matthews Phosa, of the *Financial Report* on behalf of the National Executive Committee. The plenary also received a report on the Centenary preparations from Centenary Task Team convenor, cde Baleka Mbete. The plenary session entertained brief questions of clarifications and responses on the reports from the Officials. The reports were then referred to Commissions for discussions, before adoption at the plenary.
- 5) Plenary started on the second day, Tuesday 21 September 2010, with presentations on the three key NGC discussions documents:
 - On Strategy and Tactics and the balance of forces, by cde Tony Yengeni
 - On Organisational and leadership renewal, by cde Fikile Mbalula
 - On Gender, by ANC Women's League President, cde Angie Motshekga
- 6) A presentation was made on the Commissions for the next two days. The eight Commissions on 21 September 2010 discussed the Political and Organisational reports, Strategy and Tactics, Organisational Renewal and Gender. All commission chairs and facilitators met with the Drafting committee at the end of Day 2 to consolidate their reports.
- 7) NGC Commissions continued with all delegates participating on Wednesday, 22 September 2010, focusing on the policy issues before the NGC. This was done in eight commissions:
 - Social transformation
 - Education
 - Health
 - Peace and stability
 - Media diversity and communications
 - International relations
 - Economic transformation
 - Legislatures and governance
- 8) All commission chairs and facilitators met with the Drafting committee at the end of Day 3 to consolidate their reports.
- 9) The NGC plenary session reconvened on Thursday, 23 September 2010 to receive, discuss, amend and adopt reports from Commissions. The session started with a statement by the ANC Veteran's League.
- 10) The lengthy plenary session that followed received the reports from the Commissions of Day 2 and Day 3 commissions and lasted way beyond midnight, reflecting the breadth, depth and vibrancy of discussions in Commissions, with further elaboration and inputs from plenary. The plenary inputs were consolidated into the Reports of Commissions, attached to this report.
- 11) The final day of the NGC on Friday, 24 September 2010 started with a closed plenary session. National Chairperson Mbete, who once again presided over the NGC explained the reason for the closed session. The Chair gave an opportunity to ANC Gauteng Provincial Chairperson cde Paul Mashatile, speaking on behalf of the Provincial Chairpersons and Secretaries, to apologise on behalf of those involved in the

regretful breach of discipline that occurred towards the end of the previous night's plenary session. He stated that the incident was unreservedly condemned and indicated that the Steering Committee had referred the matter to the National Executive Committee for further elaboration and action. The National Chairperson also gave the ANC Youth League an opportunity to address Council on the matter, but plenary felt that the input from cde Mashatile sufficed.

- 12) The media and other guests were called into the Closing session. Cde Jeff Radebe read the Declaration of the NGC, followed by the Closing address of by President Jacob Zuma, who reflected the key decisions of the National General Council.
- 13) The NGC closed with the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

Delegates arriving for plenary ▼



CREDENTIAL REPORT

DELEGATES

1. Branch delegates

| Province | Membership | Expected | Present |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Eastern Cape | 161,161 | 323 | 280 |
| Free State | 41,637 | 83 | 73 |
| Gauteng | 69,860 | 140 | 138 |
| Limpopo | 101,971 | 204 | 199 |
| KwaZulu-Natal | 192,618 | 386 | 386 |
| Mpumalanga | 46,405 | 93 | 75 |
| North-West | 57,911 | 116 | 111 |
| Northern Cape | 37,122 | 74 | 67 |
| Western Cape | 40,427 | 81 | 65 |
| Total branch delegates | 749,112 | 1500 | 1394 |

2. Other delegates

| Category | Expected | Present |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| NEC | 86 | 68 |
| PECs | 225 | 161 |
| ANCWL | 62 | 55 |
| ANCYL | 62 | 45 |
| ANCVL | 62 | 54 |
| Total | 497 | 383 |
| Total Delegates | 1997 | 1777 |

* Delegates from branches constituted 78.4% of total delegates present at the NGC.

3. Observers

All observers had speaking rights in commissions and plenary, but no voting rights.

| Category | Expected | Present |
|---|-----------------|----------------|
| IsiThwalandwe | 3 | 2 |
| RECs | 265 | 184 |
| Ministers and Deputy Ministers | 25 | 18 |
| Directors General | 18 | 15 |
| Deployed Cadres | 15 | 7 |
| Presiding Officers (Parliament) | 2 | 2 |
| Members of Parliament | 55 | 30 |
| South African Communist Party | 30 | 30 |
| Congress of South African Trade Unions | 30 | 25 |
| South African National Civic Organisation | 30 | 30 |
| MK Military Veterans Association | 15 | 15 |
| SA Students Congress | 5 | 5 |
| Congress of SA Students | 5 | 5 |
| Contralesa | 5 | 5 |
| PSL / SAFA | 10 | 5 |
| Other invited Guests | 100 | 25 |
| ANC Staff | 260 | 260 |
| Total observers | 873 | 663 |
| 3. MEDIA | | |
| Media representatives | 200 | 400 |

SUMMARY

| Category | Expected | Present |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Branch delegates | 1500 | 1394 |
| Other delegates, including Leagues | 497 | 383 |
| Observers | 873 | 663 |
| Media | 200 | 400 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 3070 | 2840 |

POLITICAL REPORT

of **ANC President Jacob Zuma**

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We meet five years since the watershed National General Council held in 2005 in Pretoria in Tshwane.

The African National Congress during that time, had to choose between two options - to fight to retain its historical character and task, or to abandon its history as a liberation movement and become a modern political party with new values, given the ever changing material conditions.

As customary, discussion documents were introduced in preparation of that NGC including among others, the organisational design of the ANC, renewal and unity and the implementation of the mandate through government.

As usual and as expected, the debates among the structures in the branches of the ANC in particular were open, robust and vibrant.

However, the levels of discontent between the membership and leadership of the movement had reached an unprecedented point. This was precipitated by decisions taken by the leadership which the membership strongly disagreed with.

The debates and discussions that took place then became explosive as branches defended their rights and authority, which they felt had been eroded and undermined by the leadership.

It was at that NGC that the branches sang a song boldly and loudly, "Amandla Asemasebeni". They demanded that the leadership should never take the role of branches for granted.

Consequently, that NGC did not just become a mid-term review as prescribed by the ANC Constitution. It became a platform by branches to express their unhappiness of the erosion of internal democracy within the movement.

It served as a reminder of the importance of branches in the movement and that they must never abdicate their responsibility even during the most difficult and trying times.

It also served as a reminder to the leadership that we are elected by the membership and that is where our loyalty and trust should lie at all material times. It underscored too that branches must also have faith in the leadership, and that the leadership must never betray this faith and loyalty.

THE NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE

A National Policy Conference was subsequently held in July 2007 to prepare for the 52nd National Conference of the ANC.

Policy recommendations adopted by that conference were an affirmation by branches to the leadership that branches are central in the formulation of policy in the ANC. This conference also re-affirmed unity as the basic requirement and non-negotiable principle in the African National Congress.

Some of the policy recommendations adopted included that the ANC President shall be the candidate of the movement for President of the Republic. It was also resolved that the prerogative of the President of the ANC to appoint Premiers and Executive Mayors should be exercised after consultation with the leadership of the organisation.

This was an attempt by the membership of the ANC to deepen unity and strengthen the internal democracy of the movement, as well as to correctly interpret the principle of a prerogative, which in the view of the membership had been misinterpreted.

The conference, therefore, was an embodiment of the real challenges that our movement had experienced for a sustained period of time.

This week, as we gather to take stock and chart the way forward towards the centenary of this glorious movement, we reaffirm that indeed the final power lies with the branches of the ANC. This was one of the most tangible achievements of the 2005 NGC as well as the policy and national conferences of the year 2007.

THE POLOKWANE CONFERENCE AND THE AFTERMATH

Today we are able to say that having emerged from that trying period, the ANC has reached a level of stability that did not seem possible two years ago, and it is moving towards becoming a stronger and a more effective organisation as we head towards the centenary, on 8 January 2012.

This is due to the fact that the branches decided to deal with the problems head on, to save the organisation from becoming something unknown. Therefore, the 2005 NGC and the Polokwane conference stand in history as one of

the watershed moments in the history of the ANC, with far reaching consequences for the movement and the country.

Given that the tense atmosphere that had characterised the 2005 NGC, had continued right through to Polokwane, and the leadership contestation and anger of the membership had created deep divisions within the ANC, it is to the credit of ANC branches that we emerged from Polokwane as a united and solid organisation and a strong centre of power in South African politics.

We emphasised then, and repeat today, that the Polokwane conference was never one of victors and losers. It was a conference where branches set out to re-assert their authority and power and to reclaim the organisation, and all members had a responsibility to respect the will of the branches, as the supreme and basic unit of our organisation.

The organisation that emerged from Polokwane certainly needed healing and renewal, and the leadership was mandated to work intensively to unite the membership of the ANC, regardless of who their leadership preferences had been in that heated conference.

In the 2008 January 8th Statement we appealed for cohesion and unity between the ANC leadership and its senior cadres deployed in government, to ensure that the mandate that the electorate had given the ANC could be carried out in harmony and efficiently. We were only too aware that the existence of two centres of leadership had a potential to cause tensions if not managed carefully.

A successful programme of action was undertaken immediately after Polokwane to visit provinces to strengthen ANC structures, as well as to address infighting, dysfunctionality, factionalism and other problems that had arisen leading up to the Polokwane conference.

While 2008 was a highly successful year with regards to rebuilding and renewing the organisation on the ground, the management of relations between the organisation and its government became cumbersome.

Communication between cadres deployed in government and the ANC leadership, became poor and this did not help the situation. The movement was also still dealing with the court case that had been brought against the President of the ANC at the time, which also caused tension between the ANC and some cadres deployed in government.

Towards the end of 2008, the organisation had to confront the reality that relations with its foremost deployee in government, the President of the Republic, had broken down irretrievably.

After many hours of deliberations in September 2008, the NEC took a decision to recall Comrade Thabo Mbeki from his position as President of the Republic. This was one of the most difficult political decisions the organisation had to take.

However, it was necessary for the sake of unity and progress within the movement and between the organisation and its government. Thanks to the skilful management of the implementation of this decision, the change in government proceeded smoothly. We once again acknowledge the response of Comrade Mbeki, who accepted the decision of the organisation with dignity and agreed to step down.

Reacting to this decision, some ANC cadres that the ANC had deployed in government as ministers and deputy ministers, as well as two premiers, resigned from their positions. This action exposed that these cadres were more loyal to an individual than to the organisation.

The ANC deployed the Deputy President, Comrade Kgalema Motlanthe, as President of the Republic, to help the country through the transition and ensure continuity in government. We thank Comrade Motlanthe for leading government and the country well through that transitional period. He later accepted deployment as Deputy President of the Republic after the 2009 elections.

The events of 2007 to 2009 showed the huge capacity of the ANC to stand as a custodian and guarantor of democracy in the country. The country remained stable and unshaken even though major decisions had been taken. This demonstrates that the ANC has its own effective internal democracy which is guaranteed by its own members and branches of the ANC.

We thank South Africans for their patience and faith in the ANC. While this appeared to be a difficult moment for the ANC, the South African people remarkably went about their business normally, knowing that the organisation would resolve whatever matters needed to be resolved.

You will remember as well that later in 2008, some members of the ANC who were angry and unhappy about the outcome of the conference in Polokwane, and also with the changes in the leadership of government, left the organisation amid huge pomp and drama, and formed their own organisation.

The media and commentators started saying the ANC should prepare to sit on the opposition benches in Parliament. They truly believed that this was the end of the ANC. And indeed, it did sound like there was a massive onslaught against the people's movement because of the fanfare. However, to borrow from Shakespeare, it was a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing!

We want to commend the membership of the ANC. We visited all provinces in October and November 2008 in a massive mobilisation campaign to explain to our people, what this change in the balance of forces meant and they understood very well. They stood firm and defended their organisation.

At this point our preparations began for the 2009 election campaign.

THE 2009 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Research had been conducted about government performance, and the 15 year review provided information on what had worked and what needed to be corrected. With that background information, the ANC went to the people seeking their participation in the drafting of the election Manifesto, under the highly interactive campaign: “My ANC. My Vision. My Future.”

This supported the intensive listening campaigns run by the President and the leadership around the country. Our election Manifesto united our people around a common programme, centred on our five key priorities - creating decent work and sustainable livelihoods, rural development, land and agrarian reform, education, health and the fight against crime and corruption.

Supported actively by the Alliance partners, COSATU and the SACP plus SANCO, and other structures of the mass democratic movement, the ANC fought a formidable, visible and very memorable election campaign.

We commend all structures of the movement for putting up such a good fight to defend, consolidate and advance the programme of the ANC. The Women’s League, Youth League, our Alliance partners, COSATU, SACP, with also the support of SANCO, proved that the ANC would rule this country for a very long time to come. We extend our gratitude to various civil society formations that provided support, or came to listen to what we had to say because they believe that the ANC has the interest of the country at heart. These included religious leaders, traditional leaders, business, professionals, minority groups and a host of others.

We must single out the youth of our country for being an active part of the democratic process. The vibrancy of the ANC Youth League campaign captured the imagination of young people, many accepting the ANC as their political home, declaring that the ANC “rocks” and that it is “cool” to be part of the ANC!

Our campaign also attracted performing artists - from actors to musicians as well as soccer legends. This is the power of the ANC – able to unite South Africans from all walks of life. This was an ANC in control and a movement of the people which knew where it was going.

The ANC was returned to government with a landslide majority, once again proving that this organisation remains the home of the majority of the people of this country.

ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL – TOWARDS THE CENTENARY IN 2012

We have indeed done well in the past two years to heal and rebuild the organisation. However, the branches of the ANC at this NGC must assist the organisation to stay focused on this mission, and to eradicate some worrying tendencies before they become entrenched in the organisation.

As the leadership we are already engaged yet again in an intensive organisational renewal drive. As part of the preparations for the Centenary, we have visited a number of provinces as part of the Imvuselelo renewal campaign. We will visit the outstanding provinces after this NGC.

The campaign is not just about recruitment and increasing numbers. It is about building an ANC cadre who is loyal to the organisation and who understands the mission, principles, character and traditions of the movement as well as the responsibility of an ANC member, all of which are sometimes taken for granted.

It is also aimed at reminding members and potential members that the ANC was formed in 1912 under the clarion call of unity – *Mzulu/Mxhosa/Msuthu blanganani*. The ANC also stands for the unity of all the people of our country, as stipulated in the Freedom Charter, which says that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

It was for this reason that Comrade President Nelson Mandela, in a message of support which he sent from prison in 1985, to the ANC Kabwe Conference, said that: “Unity is the rock upon which the ANC was founded”.

The discussion document of this NGC entitled “Leadership, Renewal, Discipline and Organisational Culture”, outlines some of the problems we have to confront in order to strengthen the ANC and keep it focused on its historical mission. The political and organisational reports presented at the Polokwane Conference also raised these challenges. The various Provincial General Councils have also dealt with these issues.

We also have spent a substantial amount of time in meetings of the NEC over the past two years to deal with these problems. Some have subsided; others need further work.

We say “amandla asemasebeni” and that we must take the ANC back to the branches. We must therefore ensure that these branches have genuine members. Our audit and verification of membership procedures are intended to

ensure that only branches in good standing determine the policy and leadership direction of the organisation.

In some instances this is not the case. Some branches contain members who belong to other members. That means some members of the ANC influence other members to support them for their own personal interests, and by so doing make these members loyal to them and not to the organisation.

Another tendency is the abuse of lobbying, which has been a long standing democratic practice within the movement. It traditionally takes the form of informing branch delegates about the characteristics of a person or persons that must be considered for leadership.

It cannot and should not take the form of an instruction on who to vote for, and thereby creating a culture of despising the will of the ANC branch members in good standing, in the manner that the “slate” method is doing. This certainly corrupts the democratic processes of the ANC.

We have also had forms of lobbying which includes smear campaigns in the media as well as gossip and rumour-mongering about one another.

A new dangerous method of lobbying has emerged, where comrades use money to buy support. We should not allow a situation where those who have money turn members of the ANC into commodities. Kudlalwa ngabantu ngoba bezihluphekela.

We are also concerned about labeling and other divisive tendencies that are also creeping in. For example, we have always said the ANC is a broad church but suddenly, there are now people who are said to be about “anti-communists” and others who are “anti-nationalists”.

We are also alarmed by members of the ANC who continue to attack others publicly or comment on organisational issues publicly without any mandate or authority to do so. If they do not attack others directly, they use innuendos or insinuations.

A decision was taken in May this year by the NEC, banning all public spats as well as the discussion of the 2012 succession and related leadership preferences. This was done in order to strengthen unity, prevent confusion and to avoid undermining the confidence of the membership in the leadership that has been elected to lead this organisation until the next conference.

Mobilising and lobbying for succession so early also gives a wrong impression that the ANC comprises of groups of people who are pre-occupied with fighting for influential positions to advance personal interests instead

of advancing the programme of the organisation.

It is clear that the time has come for the organisation to act. We must take a decision that those who engage in such activities are in fact undermining the organisation and its work, and at worst, are undermining the unity of the organisation. Action must be taken against them.

Already, a decision has been taken that those who take the organisation to court before the exhaustion of organisational processes should be summarily suspended before any considerations.

We have no choice but to re-introduce revolutionary discipline in the ANC. If we fail to do so, we would be weakening the very fibre and existence of the ANC. In the passage of time, all liberation movements face such a test and have to deal with all sorts of opportunistic tendencies. The organisations that fail to deal with such tendencies and tests vanish. We cannot allow that to happen to the ANC.

Going forward in building the organisation to withstand such pressures, we must do all we can to renew and strengthen the ANC and all its structures, including the Leagues. In the context of social mobilisation and the need to organise all motive forces behind the vision of the ANC, the ANC in its wisdom established the ANC Youth League, Women`s League and Veterans League.

Historically, both the Youth League and the Women`s League have played an important role in the life of the African National Congress, and their role remains relevant and crucial, as we construct a new society envisaged by the Freedom Charter today.

The ANC Constitution clearly describes this relationship of the ANC with its own Leagues. The Leagues are established to function as autonomous bodies which are an integral part of the ANC. Politically and organisationally, the Leagues are structures of the ANC, and are subject to ANC discipline. The ANC is not in alliance with its own Leagues, nor are the Leagues alliance partners of the African National Congress. They are structures of the organisation.

We must do everything we can as the ANC to help the Leagues to carry out their organisational responsibilities and mandate, because if they succeed as they should, the ANC will be stronger.

We have noted some regrettable incidents, particularly relating to ANC Youth League conferences, which are unacceptable and need to be dealt with. The leadership will work with the ANC Youth League intensively after this NGC, to deal with these organisational challenges and to strengthen it, so that it can perform its role as the grooming school for future ANC leadership.

We must also support the League as it drives the agenda of youth political, social and economic development. A key achievement for the Youth League last year includes the establishment of the National Youth Development Agency, which is now building its structures nationally, so that it can put youth development on the national agenda.

The Women's League has functioned well since its national conference. The League must accelerate work on the challenges facing women as directed by the Polokwane conference, especially relating to the feminisation of poverty and the impact of all government policies on women. The resolution to consider the establishment of a Women's Ministry was implemented last year.

In another important development, the ANC established the Veterans League last year and it had a successful inaugural conference. This was done to create a space for our stalwarts to continue to play a role in the life of the organisation.

The Polokwane Conference took a resolution that we should provide proper support to our former Umkonto we Sizwe combatants and oversee the proper functioning of MK Military Veterans Association at all levels. In this regard, the Department of Military Veterans has been established within the Ministry of Defence and Military Veterans to cater for the needs of these cadres and other veterans.

Strengthening the Alliance

The post-Polokwane renewal had to include rebuilding relations between the ANC and its Alliance partners as well. As we moved towards Polokwane in 2007 the relations with the Tripartite Alliance partners were frosty and difficult. The situation has changed considerably for the better.

The Alliance was formed out of struggle, and out of the shared vision as articulated in the Freedom Charter. It is based on the understanding that each Alliance component enjoys political independence from the other, but also acknowledges the central role of the ANC as the leader of the Alliance and the political centre.

We reaffirm what President Oliver Tambo said on the occasion to mark the 60th Anniversary of the SACP, 30 years ago, when he said:

“The relationship between the ANC and the SACP is not an accident of history, nor is it a natural and inevitable development. For, as we can see, similar relationships have not emerged in the course of liberation struggles in other parts of Africa... Ours is not merely a paper Alliance, created at conference tables and formalised through the signing of documents and representing only an agreement of leaders. Our Alliance is a living organism that has grown

out of struggle. We have built it out of our separate and common experiences”.

There are no components of the Alliance that can be wished away or be replaced by others. All fulfil aspects that have been proven over the long history of the Alliance.

We must emphasise as well that the Alliance is not based on conformity and monolithic interpretation of events. It is a strategic Alliance. We must avoid a temptation to change the historical character and purpose of the Alliance, regardless of challenges we face today as a sector, group or individuals.

Each Alliance component partner has a political responsibility to guard against tendencies that threaten the unity of the Alliance. The Alliance is a unique political entity, and none of us must celebrate when it faces challenges. All the bold headlines about the imminent death of the Alliance are a waste of time and ink because the Alliance will live for a long time to come. However, there are challenges that must be dealt with.

The recent strike by public servants requires serious introspection from individual Alliance partners, and the Alliance collectively. As the ANC we affirm the right of workers to strike as enshrined in the Constitution and we will always protect and defend that right. In the Manifesto of the ANC, we stated our commitment to improve the working conditions of public servants.

The ANC government remains committed to realise these provisions in the ANC Manifesto and will gradually implement this crucial aspect.

We have taken a decision to engage Cosatu after this NGC, not only to evaluate the recent strike, but also to remind one another of the role of the Alliance, who we are as components and what we stand for. We would not want to pre-empt these discussions, however, it would be wrong if we do not talk about some of the things that have characterised the recent strike, which are alien to the history of worker's struggle and the Congress movement, and also to deal with the serious distortion of the history, mission and character of the ANC that we witnessed during the strike.

Some of the statements made by striking workers and some in the leadership of the federation suggested that the ANC had abandoned the struggle of the workers and poor in this country. The ANC has always fought on the side of the workers and will continue to do so. As far as we are concerned there is no ambiguity about our being in Alliance with COSATU given that history.

There is also a new tendency to re-define the Alliance relationship as if it was based on some legal agreement

or memorandum of understanding. Comrade Tambo's articulation is therefore useful: "Ours is not merely a paper Alliance, created at conference tables and formalised through the signing of documents and representing only an agreement of leaders. Our Alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle. We have built it out of our separate and common experiences".

Therefore, to reduce a historical Alliance which was built through sweat and blood into an electoral pact is to miss the point with regards to the significance of this Alliance. It is important comrades that we should not play around with this Alliance.

Let us restate some basic principles. The right to strike must never be used to undermine the rights of other people. We must win over people to join the strike out of political consciousness and sympathy, and not through violence, intimidation and destruction of property.

We will discuss these and other matters with COSATU when we meet. Suffice to say that the bold headlines about the imminent death of the Alliance are grossly exaggerated. It will live for a long time to come.

We thank all the volunteers who gave their time to alleviate pressure and suffering during the public sector strike.

To conclude this organisational renewal part, I would like us to remember five basic principles which have guided all generations of the movement. The tried and tested principles are simple but are fundamental to the life and health of our organisation.

These are that:

- An individual must always respect and obey the collective decisions of the ANC.
- The minority should accept that the majority prevails. It is an important basic democratic principle.
- Juniors must respect their seniors. Those who belong to junior structures must respect those serving in senior structures.
- The entire organisation must respect and abide by the decisions of the leadership committees, be it NEC or PEC.
- The leadership must always respect the membership of the organisation.

We go into the detail of these issues in the cadres forum during Imvuselelo.

Many who disregarded these principles and values left the ANC and either tried to form or formed their own organisations. Such organisations do not survive because they are not based on the principles that the ANC was formed for.

GOVERNANCE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANC MANIFESTO

This NGC is also about reviewing progress in the implementation of our resolutions and policies.

After a review of the performance of government in the 15 years in office, it became clear that we needed to improve the functioning of the state machinery to improve the quality and the speed of service delivery.

A primary intervention was to change the way government was structured. After the 2009 elections we reconfigured government departments to improve their performance.

The ANC government also established the National Planning Commission as well as a performance monitoring and evaluation department in the Presidency to promote improved performance of government. These had been identified as critical interventions that were required.

Substantial work has been done by the ANC government to deliver on the priorities.

Creating decent work and sustainable livelihoods

The Freedom Charter states that the people shall share in the country's wealth. Sixteen years into our democracy, while we have made substantial progress, we have not yet achieved true economic transformation, which should include fundamentally changing the structure of the economy and the distribution of wealth and income in our society.

To deal with the inequalities, poverty and unemployment, we are building a strong mixed economy, where the state, private capital, cooperative and other forms of social ownership complement each other in an integrated way, to achieve shared economic growth.

We have to achieve higher levels of economic growth and ensure that such growth benefits all of society, especially the poor.

We have to take note of the global environment we are operating in to achieve these economic goals. The NGC takes place at a time when the world is undergoing rapid change, in which old certainties are disappearing, new trends are emerging, but new opportunities also present themselves to us, if we are bold enough to seize them.

I wish to point to a few key trends that we identified in our current work on a new growth path which will be finalised after this NGC by government, enriched by the inputs of ANC branch delegates in the commissions.

The first trend is the shift of economic dynamism and growth from the old developed economies to the new developing economies. There are fresh opportunities for

South Africa, and indeed the continent, to achieve our own developmental goals through new partnerships that become possible.

In this context, the recently-signed Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between China and South Africa is an important signal. Similar opportunities are available with India, Brazil, Russia and other developing countries.

The second trend is the importance of the African continent to our own economic future. The continent is a market of one billion consumers. It is also an enormous source of raw materials that need to be beneficiated locally to create jobs and to ensure a modern industrial economy on the continent.

The third is the serious challenge of climate change. There is compelling scientific evidence that we are damaging the very future of humanity by the high-emission economies that grew in the 19th and 20th centuries.

As we continue to build our coal based energy resource, we need to simultaneously build the foundations for renewable energy as our contribution to responding to climate change.

There are enormous opportunities in the new green economy that we need to take advantage of. We need to position our economy to shift and create the hundreds of thousands of green jobs that are capable of being created locally.

The fourth trend relates to the new technologies that will increasingly reshape our world, including bio-technology. These can become important sources of economic development and creation of decent work opportunities.

Finally, the global economy has not emerged fully from the economic crisis that started with the financial meltdown of September 2008. But its impact across the world has not been uniform and a new trend emerged. On the one hand we see very limited economic growth in most developed economies. Yet on the other hand, we see strong and robust growth in large parts of the African continent, Asia and Latin America.

But more importantly, the economic crisis has created a challenge for orthodox, one-size-fits-all policies. Developmental states have managed the crisis better than many in the old economies who followed rigid formulas. This creates space for South Africa to begin to develop policies suited to our circumstances, our needs and our people.

Going forward, the principle of creating decent work opportunities must be put into practice through the establishment of this new growth path for our country

that we are talking about.

The new growth path must start with the recognition that on the one hand, we have had economic growth for a sustained period since the advent of democracy, with particularly high growth since the early 2000s and net job creation.

On the other hand, poverty remains high, inequalities have remained the same or even grown worse, while some of the jobs created often brought low wages and poor conditions.

Moreover, the economic downturn saw the loss of over a million jobs in our country; and job losses were continuing in the first six months of this year despite the return of economic growth. This has worsened what is an unacceptable situation of high rates of joblessness among our people.

These developments point to the core importance of redirecting and transforming economic growth, in order to bring about greater equity based above all on the creation of decent employment.

At the same time, we recognise that profound shifts in the global economy bring not only risks, but also opportunities. These include the rise of new economic giants in Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe, fast economic growth on the African continent and the emergence of new technologies on a mass scale, as well as the recognition that global warming requires all of us to redesign our economies.

All these open the door to new opportunities and ultimately to prospects for more equitable growth.

Our research shows that our economy has the potential to create employment on the necessary scale – through the plans for a large-scale expansion in infrastructure; in mining, agriculture; in the services, construction, tourism; in the new economy areas such as the green economy and knowledge-based sectors; rural development; African regional development; and through the social economy and the public sector.

The challenge is to take advantage of this potential. But we should acknowledge that this cannot be done easily or overnight.

Critically, it has to be achieved in a way that sustains growth but transforms the quality of that growth so that we ensure that both the benefits and costs of change are fairly spread, in ways that protect the poor and bring about a more equitable and just society.

The economic transformation discussion document presents proposals that this NGC should look at, to assist

us to finalise a growth path that involves major changes in the way we work.

The anticipated measures include appropriate fiscal and monetary policy measures that are actively directed to promoting larger number of jobs. These should be linked with measures to control inflation and improve efficiency across the economy, including through a more competitive and stable exchange rate.

They must also involve targeted measures to improve the performance of the economy in a number of areas, such as rural development, strengthening industrial and trade policies, education and skills, small business and cooperatives promotion, strengthened competition policies, African regional development and labour market measures.

We also need to work towards strengthening the role of state-owned enterprises and ensuring that, whilst remaining financially viable, SOEs, agencies and utilities - as well as companies in which the state has significant shareholding - respond to a clearly defined public mandate and act in terms of our overarching industrial policy and economic transformation objectives. We established a Presidential Review Committee recently to undertake this work.

We must also address the position of vulnerable workers, and other key areas that would strengthen both equity and growth.

Also critical is the need to strengthen social dialogue to ensure broad consensus on the key priorities. We also need to mobilise our people around core initiatives and identify what all of us can contribute to achieve the national vision founded on the broad mandate we received at Polokwane, and as directed by the ANC Manifesto.

The new growth path will not be achieved by government alone. It requires the participation, effort and enthusiasm of all of us.

Government has been waiting for this NGC to take place, to be followed by a special Cabinet meeting that will discuss and finalise this growth path, given the importance and urgency for the country.

Fighting crime and corruption

The revamping of the criminal justice system is proceeding well.

The crime statistics released recently indicate that progress is being made in the fight against crime. We commend the police for achieving quite a significant decline in the murder rate and other serious crimes.

Our recent personnel investment through appointing

more than 40 000 new police officers during the 2010 Soccer World Cup will certainly yield results, and so will the investment in equipment and security infrastructure.

We reiterate the call for ANC branches to provide support to law enforcement agencies in the fight against crime, including establishing and strengthening street committees.

We must eradicate corruption as well as perceptions of corruption.

A Cabinet Inter-Ministerial Committee has been established to coordinate government efforts to fight corruption. The IMC works with institutions such as the Public Protector, Auditor General, and the Special Investigating Unit to coordinate efforts.

Government has also established an Anti-Corruption Task Team led by the Directorate of Priority Crime Investigations, known as the Hawks, to coordinate investigations and prosecutions.

The areas identified as priority for scrutiny in government generally are supply chain management, identity theft, social grants system and electronic fraud. In August this year, we directed the Special Investigating Unit to investigate supply chain related concerns in seven government departments nationally as well as in Gauteng and the Eastern Cape.

Various preventative policy measures can be explored. These include the centralisation of major contracts and procurement of major items, stricter penalties for service providers who obtain contracts illegally, to increase transparency and accountability in the tender processes, as well as to improve the protection of whistleblowers.

We must also implement the provisions in our election Manifesto which states that politicians should not tamper with the adjudication of tenders. Basically, we must not allow tenders to destroy the ANC.

Relative progress has been registered in the fight against this scourge.

Health

Extensive work has been done in the health sector informed by the ANC's ten point plan which has been adopted by government. Amongst priorities for implementation currently is the improvement of physical infrastructure such as hospitals and clinics.

The ANC government must continue to improve work to ensure cleaner hospitals and clinics, faster service and shorter waiting periods, the availability of medicines and patient care. Extensive work has been done to boost the campaign against the spread and the impact of HIV through prevention, treatment and support.

A massive HIV testing campaign is proceeding successfully. ANC branches should encourage members to test and know their status. The confidentiality of this process should be emphasised to members in order to promote participation.

The ANC must also lead campaigns to fight the stigma that is attached to HIV and AIDS, and ANC branches should be visible in providing care and support to affected families. Work is continuing to fight tuberculosis and malaria, as well as arrest maternal and infant deaths. The National Health Insurance policy development process is proceeding well.

Education

Education is our apex priority and for that reason we decided to split this portfolio into two, basic education and higher education and training.

On basic education, working with the unions in the education sector, we have to make it a reality in every school for teachers to be in school, on time, teaching for at least seven hours a day.

The ANC government continues to strive to deliver on the basics, such as providing the workbooks on time, and the necessary support to educators and school governing bodies. We have to bridge the gap between schools in historically disadvantaged areas and in historically white areas, in terms of facilities and teaching.

The environment in our schools also needs further attention. We have to work with the schools to promote respect for teachers by learners and vice versa. Discipline and respect in the classroom will ensure effective teaching and learning.

Government is also attending to issues of safety and substance abuse in our schools to protect our children. Further work is required to ensure access to education in line with the Millennium Development Goals. According to the recent Statistics SA general household survey, 200 000 children between the ages of seven and 15 are not in school for various reasons, mostly poverty. Most of these children are in the farming areas in the Western Cape, and must be reached and provided this opportunity to access education.

The promotion of access to higher education for all students including the poor, as well as skills development in general, is a critical part of the ANC government's human resource development strategy. This priority is being given the necessary attention.

Rural Development and land reform

At the Polokwane conference, concerns were raised about weaknesses in the land restitution process and rural

development generally. The ANC government responded to the concerns of ANC branches by splitting rural development and agriculture.

A Comprehensive Rural Development Programme has been put in place and a pilot programme has been rolled out in eight provinces.

Current approaches to land reform have not been moving as fast as desirable. The willing-seller, willing-buyer approach to land acquisition had constrained the pace and efficiency of land reform. The land reform policies undertaken by government are meant to deal with this problem.

Our target is to redistribute 30% of agricultural land before 2014, accompanied by support programmes for the rural poor, farm workers, farm-dwellers and small farmers, especially women.

This new sharp focus on rural development and land reform should be able to provide the results required by the election Manifesto and conference resolutions.

Local government

The ANC study into the state of local government indicated that a lot needs to be corrected to improve service delivery.

Among the matters that must be attended to is the problematic relationship between municipal officials, elected representatives and political parties. We reiterate the view that senior municipal officials should not hold fulltime leadership positions in political parties, as this causes tensions that hinder service delivery.

We commend all the hardworking councilors who are the first port of call in communities. Moving forward to the 2011 elections, drawing from experience, we should ensure that our deployment procedures enable us to produce more highly committed, effective and disciplined cadres to help us improve service delivery in this sphere.

To succeed in transforming local government, the ANC must continue to be part of the lives and experiences of our people. The fundamental principle is that we must remain truthful to our people at all times, even when we have not met their expectations. We must tell them the difficulties we come across including the reality that resources are not limitless.

Last year, we experienced protests in various areas in the country, which were said to be linked to service delivery. These protests were also accompanied by unacceptable activities such as violence and destruction of property. While we appreciate the frustration and impatience, it is puzzling why people burn a clinic to demonstrate to government that they need a school.

We have criss-crossed the country in recent months to engage our people. If they are informed, they understand and work with us to find solutions. Therefore, ANC structures must not allow a gap to develop between them and the people.

International relations

We contribute to the promotion of a better Africa and a better world. Our main goal in implementing the ANC Manifesto is the creation of an environment conducive for economic growth and development.

South Africa remains seized with a number of priority programmes of the African Union such as building continental unity, strengthening regional economic communities, infrastructure development, health promotion, especially maternal and child health, as well as peace and stability. We have revived party-to-party relations with former liberation movements especially in the SADC region, as directed by the national conference.

The Secretary General meets with his counterparts regularly, taking forward the cooperation between the respective movements. A Presidential Summit was held in Tanzania in May this year and reaffirmed the importance of constant engagement amongst these historic formations. We look forward to a key role by these movements when we celebrate the ANC centenary in 2012.

The ANC continues to strengthen South-to-South Cooperation, both politically and economically, through platforms such as IBSA and the China-Africa Forum.

We continue to advance African Union-European relations, as well as relations with between Africa and Asia, Caricom and other regions.

We work with like-minded countries to promote support for the Kyoto Protocol on climate change. The ANC also continues to support the self-determination efforts of the Western Sahara, under the leadership of Polisario to ensure the liberation of the last colony on the African continent.

We continue to pledge our support to the Cubans in their campaign to end the economic blockade against their country.

We support the quest for a solution to the Israeli- Palestine question and back the two-state solution. We participate in the G20, World Trade Organisation and other forums as part of promoting a new world order.

The ANC, as the oldest liberation movement in the continent, is expected to play a key role on matters impacting on the continent and the developing world. We will not shy away from playing this role, as part of

advancing the African agenda.

PROMOTING THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HEGEMONY OF THE ANC

The ANC has always been an inclusive organisation, drawing to its ranks all who share its desire to achieve the society outlined in the Freedom Charter, a South Africa belonging to all who live in it, united in their diversity.

We have spent the last two years since conference engaging various sectors of society to unite our people around the common vision of a united, prosperous, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa, free of poverty and deprivation.

In the true character of the non-racial and unifying nature of the ANC, we have met minority groupings such as the HIP Alliance (Hellenic, Italian, Portuguese communities) as well as Afrikaner communities.

To promote a shared growth path, we have engaged organised business, while we engaged the religious sector, traditional leaders and healers on our social development agenda.

We also take this unity message to opposition parties represented in parliament whom we meet to discuss issues that can be regarded as being in the national interest, which should not cause polarisation amongst us.

We must also build on the unity, cohesion and patriotism that was on display during the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. South Africans displayed deep-seated love for their country, its symbols and their national soccer team and welcomed the world with open arms.

We were able to showcase all that is positive about our country - that we are a nation that can keep its undertakings, which has sophisticated infrastructure as well as excellent organisational and project management skills. We also showcased possibilities in our criminal justice system as the performance of the police, courts, intelligence community and others indicated we have the capability to deal with crime decisively.

Most importantly, we gained a reputation as a highly efficient, hospitable and friendly people in the world. We must now use that expertise and experience to improve the delivery of services to our people.

We once again congratulate the South African people for helping us to deal with the stereotype that nothing good can come out of Africa, and also for proving that South Africa is indeed a winning nation. Most importantly, we congratulate the ANC for working so hard for 98 years, so that South Africa can be free and be able to host the world in this greatest sports spectacle of all time.

We will take the promotion of unity, success and cohesion forward on Heritage Day when we gather at Moses Mabhida Stadium to celebrate the World Cup and everything that unites and defines the South African people.

The next biggest African celebration of all time will be the centenary of the ANC, to be celebrated in Mangaung on the 8th of January 2012. It will bring together Africa and the world, as the history of this movement has always been internationalist in character.

I took the opportunity while attending the African Union summit in Ethiopia recently to invite all African Heads of State to join us when we celebrate, as we did for the World Cup. All ANC branches must start preparing in earnest for this historic celebration.

CONCLUSION

As we commence with the business of this NGC, each and everyone of us here, must vow to make the ANC more stronger when we leave, than it was when we started this meeting.

Every delegate here must contribute in the discussions about policies so that the ANC can govern more effectively and better.

Millions of South Africans have their hopes on this NGC, in order to improve their lives. We dare not fail them.

Amandla!

NGC... in pics

NGC Delegates singing the “Solomon” song ▼



Delegates listening attentively to the reportback from Commissions ▼



REPORT OF NGC COMMISSIONS

(AS ADOPTED)

Political and Organisational reports, Strategy & Tactics, Organisational and Leadership Renewal and Gender

Introduction

1. The NGC received the Political Report of the President and the NEC's Organisational and Financial Reports on the 1st Day. On the 2nd Day, the commissions debated all the reports together with the discussion documents on Strategy and Tactics, Organisational and Leadership Renewal and the Gender perspective of the ANC.
2. The delegates discussed at length challenges facing our movement and our country, sending a clear message that without a strong and united ANC our vision of a national democratic society will not be realised.
3. In the ANC's traditions of self-reflection and self-correction, the NGC was characterised by frank, robust and fearless debates among delegates. The hallmark of such debates was mutual respect and the willingness to influence and be influenced.
4. Having discussed the Political and Organisational reports, the NGC agreed that the reports sum up the national political situation and the state of organisation since the 52nd National Conference. It was further noted that the reports give a clear account of the progress made in implementing the resolutions of Polokwane Conference. Further, Council welcomed the forthright manner in which the reports outline the challenges and weaknesses that plague our movement currently and the bold action required to confront and overcome them.
5. Accordingly, Council adopted the Political and Organisational reports. All matters of detail raised by delegates in various commissions and plenary were referred to the NEC for follow-up.
6. Council welcomed the Financial Report presented to plenary and adopted it as a true reflection of the state of finances of the organisation. However, it

was noted that the Report should have been taken to commissions for detailed discussion by delegates like other reports. This shortcoming should be corrected in future so that the NGC deliberates fully and tracks the implementation of the Polokwane Conference resolutions.

On the Strategy and Tactics

7. The NGC discussed the critical issues raised by Strategy and Tactics (2007) on the character of the NDR, the motive forces, the character of the ANC and the domestic and global balance of forces. It was noted that we should remain consistent in explaining:
 - That the objective of the NDR is to unite all South Africans to build a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.
 - That the main content of the National Democratic Revolution is the liberation of blacks and Africans in particular, the majority of whom are poor and female; and
 - That the NDR seeks to resolve the main and interrelated contradictions of national oppression based on race, super-exploitation of black workers and the triple oppression of black women.
8. Council further noted that this informs the character of the ANC and the motive forces. The following matters of emphasis were raised in this regard:
 - The multi-class character of the ANC, with its bias towards the working class and the poor.
 - That the ANC continues to be the strategic centre of power, the leader of the Alliance, a disciplined force of the left, and a mass movement with an internationalist and an anti-imperialist outlook.
 - The need for a special focus on those among the

motive forces that, over the last 16 years, have not benefitted much from progress in experiencing an improved quality of life on a sustainable basis.

- We must build the capacity of the black masses, the working class and women in terms of political consciousness and organisation. This should include a focus on sectoral strategies for different classes and strata within the motive forces and closing the gap between the movement and civil society. At no time should the ANC take for granted its leadership of the motive forces. The movement should always earn leadership through direct engagement with and working to ensure that transformation benefits motive forces, especially the working class and the poor.
 - The emergent black business class is an important product of the 1994 breakthrough, and we should build their consciousness and capacity to be productive and play a progressive role in the transformation of the economy, especially in pursuit of our agenda for decent work, job-creating growth, equity and empowerment.
9. With regards to our vision of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society, it was noted that since 2007:
- *A democratic South Africa:* democracy is becoming entrenched through the Constitution and the institutions and processes we put in place. However, we must continue to deepen people's participation in the processes of change and development.
 - *A united and non-racial South Africa:* The 2010 World Cup has shown the tremendous potential South Africa has for building national unity. At the same time, we need to work at building a common South African identity and people's culture. We must continue the discussions on the national question, with regards to so-called national minorities, the unity of the African people, deracialisation of our society and building a truly non-racial society. In addition, the contradictions in our society require that we pay attention to social cohesion, and the factors (in addition to race) that contribute towards tearing at the social fabric of our society and undermining unity, such as poverty and inequality, crime, corruption and gender-based violence. It is furthermore the responsibility of the ANC as leader of the progressive forces, to engage and unite all of society around a common vision for South Africa during the Second Decade of Freedom and towards the Centenary of the Freedom Charter in 2055.
- *A non-sexist South Africa:* we confirm that the triple oppression of women, and the intersection of gender oppression with race and class, requires a dedicated struggle within a struggle for a non-sexist South Africa. We are making progress in this regard, through efforts to improve the quality of life of women and their empowerment in all programmes of social and economic transformation. Secondly, we also seek to eradicate patriarchal relations by creating a gendered environment and perspective in everything we do, challenging practices, institutions and attitudes that continue to treat women as inferior.
 - *A prosperous South Africa:* We have made progress since 1994 with addressing the apartheid colonialist legacy of underdevelopment, through the expansion of basic services, provision of infrastructure and laying the foundation for economic transformation. The fault lines of apartheid colonialism and patriarchy still see poverty largely defined on the basis of race and gender, the persistence and new forms of inequality, the realities of the geography of apartheid, slow changes in patterns of land ownership and a largely untransformed economy. This latter issue is of particular importance, since we recognised in Strategy and Tactics (2007) that the eradication of apartheid production relations is more than just an issue of social justice. It is also that these relations act as a break on the economy and on the building of a prosperous society. The debate on and finalisation of the New Growth Path, and the work of the National Planning Commission are therefore critical.
10. Council reaffirmed the five pillars of social transformation in which the ANC must intensify work and lead: the state, the economy, organisational work, ideological struggle, and international work. Work in each of these areas should be undertaken consciously and programmatically, and we must ensure indicators in each of these pillars, so that we are able to monitor progress over time, and the impact of work in these pillars on our vision of a united, democratic, non-sexist, non-racial and prosperous South Africa and on the motive forces.
11. Council noted the changes in the domestic and global balance of forces since Polokwane and agreed with the Political overview that the shift in economic power towards Asia and the challenge to

the neo-liberal hegemony with the global financial crisis open opportunities for more progressive national developmental paths.

Programmatic issues towards 2012

12. The political education committee should prepare rigorous discussion documents on the following matters, in preparations for the National Policy and National Conference of 2012:
 - The domestic and global balance of forces, including future trends and the implications for our agenda.
 - Progress and challenges with building a non-racial, united and non-sexist society.
 - The relationship with capital, in the context of a new growth path and our conceptualisation of the developmental state.
13. We must ensure broad understanding and consciousness of Strategy and Tactics among ANC membership and structures, as an integral part of our political education, Imvuselelo campaign and leadership development. In particular, we must ensure that ANC branches analyse the motive forces at local level, so that we put conscious strategies in place so that our mobilisation and our membership reflect the motive forces.

On organisation-building and renewal

14. Since the clarion call for renewal was made by the Polokwane Conference, much time was spent developing a common theoretical basis and identifying the course of action that must be undertaken to take forward the resolution on organisational renewal: “The preservation of the movement’s character, culture and values in a changing context and new conditions of struggle is the central focus of the organisational renewal effort in the run-up to the Centenary of the ANC in 2012.”
15. Council appreciated the NEC’s work in developing the discussion documents on *Organisational Renewal* and *Leadership Renewal, Discipline and Organisational Culture* as an important step in taking forward the resolutions of Polokwane Conference. Going forward, the NEC needs to develop a concrete plan of action to implement the proposals made in these two documents, all of which were adopted by the NGC.
16. The delegates overwhelmingly want the 3rd NGC to go down in history as the gathering that marked

a decisive turning point in tackling, arresting and reversing the negative tendencies that have eroded and threaten to erode the political integrity and moral standing of the ANC among our people. The 3rd NGC has to be remembered as the gathering that went beyond condemning sins of incumbency and other misbehaviour such as ill-discipline and factionalism. From now onwards, decisive action has to be taken by the leadership and membership to renew our movement and fight tenaciously against any tendency to erode the character, principles, core values and culture of the ANC.

17. Accordingly, we emerge from NGC with a renewed determination, resolve and tenacity to cultivate and restore the core values and principles of our movement - unity, selfless and steadfast commitment to serve the people, sacrifice, collective leadership, humility, honesty, discipline, hard work, internal debate, constructive criticism and self-criticism and mutual respect.
18. Council concurs with the conclusion of the discussion documents that for renewal to succeed, it requires significant mobilisation and leadership - a leadership that is resilient, courageous, principled and decisive; committed cadreship and politically conscious membership; an active civil society and a mobilised population. Urgent steps will need to be taken by the movement as a whole to organise all sectors of the democratic movement and civil society around our programme of renewal.
19. Council was concerned that the NEC was not showing the necessary courage, consistency and steadfastness in tackling the negative tendencies afflicting the movement. Accordingly, the NGC called upon the NEC to lead renewal with renewed vigour and energy, providing decisive, exemplary and inspiring leadership to our movement and our people as we move to the Centenary.
20. Equally, Council called upon all cadres who occupy positions of leadership and authority in the movement, the Alliance, the state and civil society at all levels to embrace the core message of renewal and live the values of our movement at all times. Delegates agree that it is through force of example that we can provide moral and political leadership to our people in their ongoing quest to build a caring society based on values of human solidarity, equity, justice and fairness.
21. In this regard, the NGC adopted a set of programmatic tasks that should be undertaken

to renew the movement in its entirety and speed up the implementation of the 52nd National Conference resolution on Organisational Renewal:

Programmatic tasks towards 2012

22. On building branches

- We reaffirm the centrality of the branch and the importance of grassroots activism in ensuring that renewal succeeds. Branches constitute the foundation and basic unit of our organisation and they have to be much stronger and more rooted in and connected to communities if our movement is to survive as the progressive force for change and trusted servant of the people. We therefore need to deploy resources towards strengthening and politically empowering branches to lead communities effectively.
- In this regard, we must speed up the decision to establish branch offices and improving our research capacity at the branch level in understanding the communities so that we remain hegemonic in society. That by the time we hold the 53rd National Conference, the NEC must have concluded the implementation of the decision to re-allocate 100% of membership fees to branches on a more regular basis than it is at the moment.
- Every branch should have a standing monthly political education programme and a set of campaigns that address issues affecting local communities.
- The NEC and PECs should make a concerted effort in contributing directly to the work of building branches – leadership should be seen much more on the ground interacting with the membership to explain and cultivate the core values and principles of our movement.

23. On unity and cohesion

- The NGC welcomed and appreciated the efforts and diligent work of the NEC and all structures that maintained unity and stability especially in the run-up to the 2009 elections when some former leaders tried unsuccessfully to split our movement. Delegates believe that unity remains the bedrock upon which the long term success and survival our movement depends.
- In this regard, Council further called for exemplary conduct, steadfast leadership and decisive action on the part of the NEC in rooting out factionalist and divisive tendencies in both the ANC and its Leagues. Tendencies among

some NEC members to fuel divisive practices and promote certain candidates in leadership elections in provinces, regions and the Leagues should be nipped in the bud immediately by the NEC itself because these erode the standing of the entire NEC collective among the membership. The same tendencies must also be rooted out among the members of the NEC's of the Leagues, PECs and RECs across the country.

- Ongoing political and ideological work should be undertaken to educate ordinary members in branches and grassroots structures that they are guardians of unity and core values of the ANC and should therefore intervene when those in leadership cause disunity in the ranks.

24. On discipline and revolutionary conduct

- The NGC is extremely concerned about the breakdown of discipline and rising levels of misconduct in the ranks since the 2005 NGC and the past two-and-half years since Polokwane Conference.
- Council criticised the NEC for not being firm and consistent in enforcing discipline among all ANC members, including among NEC members. Acts of ill-discipline in the constituent organs of the ANC such as the Leagues and public attacks by our Alliance partners have a direct negative bearing on the image and integrity of the ANC in society. Inconsistent application of rules and inaction were roundly condemned by commissions. The NEC in particular and all constitutional structures in general are called upon to act with firmness, fairness and consistency in enforcing Rule 25 of the ANC Constitution. There should be no confusing signals and messages from the leadership on matters of discipline and integrity.
- Council calls for a vigorous programme to promote integrity and cultivate revolutionary conduct across the movement. Further, Council calls for the establishment of an Integrity Committee of the ANC to drive this programme. The committee will also focus on curbing and combating possible abuse of power and corruption among ANC leaders and members at all levels. Such a structure must be composed mainly of those who have served the movement for a longer period of time, with a proven track record of integrity and self-discipline. The NEC needs to urgently develop guidelines for the Integrity Committee so that it can start functioning with immediate effect.

- Council instructs the NEC to review Rule 25 of the Constitution and develop a detailed Code of Conduct that should be taken to the 53rd National Conference. Part of the review should be to ensure that public representatives don't receive special treatment on matters of discipline.

25. On organisational work

- The NGC noted that the Polokwane Conference resolution calling for NEC and PEC members to dedicate more time to grassroots work has not been taken forward consistently.
- The NEC must go back to the practice of briefing structures directly after every NEC meeting about the key decisions as a form of accountability and information sharing. This will ensure that structures are not dependent on media reports about organisational decisions.
- Council's view is that all NEC members should be deployed throughout the country on the mission to talk to ANC members and supporters in communities as part of Imvuselelo Campaign. This will give the leadership an opportunity to communicate the core message and conclusions of the NGC and lay the ground for and generate excitement on the Centenary preparations.
- Council mandates the NEC to develop detailed guidelines on the circumstances that should lead to the dissolution or disbandment of structures so that every level of the organisation can understand what would lead to their dissolution. Such guidelines should be tabled for discussion and possible inclusion in the ANC Constitution in 2012.

26. On membership

- The NGC welcomed the launch of the Imvuselelo and One Million Members Campaign and further appreciated the work being done by the President and Deputy President in visiting different provinces. This work should be undertaken on a much larger scale by the entire NEC in order to have sustained impact in the run-up to the Centenary.
- The Membership system must be improved urgently in line with the Polokwane Conference resolutions and subsequent NEC decisions as contained in the Organisational report to the NGC. This will boost the One Million Membership drive. This includes taking urgent steps to decentralise the membership system to regions with the necessary capacity.

- The recruitment drive must be accompanied by a massive political education campaign in every branch to ensure that all the new recruits understand the basic history and core values and principles of the ANC. Commissions are concerned that chasing membership growth without a concerted membership political development programme will threaten the long-term survival of the ANC and increase its vulnerability to sins of incumbency.

27. On cadreship development

- Council is of the firm view that political education is the cornerstone of organisational renewal. Commissions appreciated the steps taken by the NEC to operationalise and institutionalise the political school at national level and in several provinces. The NEC will need to report much greater progress at the Centenary Conference.
- The NEC should ensure that further work is undertaken to roll out a political education programme across the country at provincial, regional, sub-regional, zonal and branch level and monitor strict adherence.
- Our cadre programme should also consciously seek to empower and educate our public representatives and deployees in all three spheres of government.

28. On leadership renewal

- The NGC's view is that one of the most significant contributions that the ANC has made to our country and continent over many years is tried and tested leaders who inspire confidence and trust among the masses of the people. Further, Commissions agree that if the ANC is to remain the best school for leadership in our country and continent, it has to invest hugely in leadership development and the cultivation of the core values of our movement among younger generations. This task cannot be left to chance or to the highest bidder. The leadership election processes require constant attention so that they are democratic and free from manipulation and external influences.
- Council is of the firm view that as we move to the 53rd National Conference, the ANC Constitution should be reviewed so that it makes it explicitly clear that members elected to serve in upper structures of the movement should not stand for election in lower structures. This practice should be discouraged with immediate effect because it creates an impression or culture

among members that only few comrades are capable of serving in leadership positions.

- Council reaffirms the principle of a generational mix in the composition of ANC leadership collectives as a longstanding practice of the movement. What is important is that individual cadres should be assessed in relation to the contribution they can make to the tasks of the movement in a given phase of the struggle, instead of representing a generation. In other words, every cadre has to pass “through the eye of the needle”. In addition, Council calls for a more open and structured discussion on the question of the different generations that constitute our movement and their unique contributions to the different phases of our revolution, in the past and at the present moment.

29. On lobbying

- Council adopted the proposals on lobbying in the leadership renewal document. The NEC should develop an implementation plan on this matter in line with Polokwane Conference resolution in order to curb the possible abuse of lobbying or manipulation of the membership.

30. On building the Alliance

- The NGC agree that the Alliance was formed out of struggle and out of a shared vision as articulated in the Freedom Charter. It is based on the understanding that each Alliance component enjoys political independence from one another, but also acknowledges the role and responsibilities of the ANC as the strategic centre of power and leader of the Alliance.
- Council further called on the entire ANC to remain focused on the task of building a strong and united Alliance that is capable of defending and advancing the tasks of the National Democratic Revolution.
- Council emphasised the need to continue to engage on key theoretical questions so that we can continue to sharpen our understanding of the tasks of the NDR.
- Council endorsed the NEC’s call that the Alliance leadership avoid public spats because this alien behavior undermines the integrity and standing of the Alliance among ordinary people who have huge respect for the role played by individual Alliance partners in the struggle for freedom. In this regard, the Al-

liance should, among others, discuss a joint programme of renewal, which should include matters of discipline and revolutionary conduct among the leadership of the Alliance at all levels.

31. On Gender

- The NGC reaffirms the building of a non-sexist society as one of the strategic objectives of the ANC. Central to this is the complete eradication of triple oppression suffered by black women, especially the working class and African women.
- Council is of the firm view it is a collective responsibility of the entire movement to realise the goal of a society wherein issues of gender, class and race are no more the defining features of the society we seek to build. In this regard we must continue to inculcate progressive values in society.
- Council recognises work being done in addressing challenges of the gender agenda in society. This is evident in the transformation of the state, the economy and many sectors of society wherein women are now playing significant roles, which were previously seen as those of men.

Programmatic tasks on gender towards 2012

Having identified progress made in this regard, the NGC is of the view that much more needs to be done. These relate to the following programmatic tasks towards 2012:

- Implementation of the 50/50 gender parity policy at all levels and across society.
- We must continue to build a developmental state that will intervene in addressing gender equality; in all the institutions of the state, the economy and society.
- Furthermore the state must enforce the implementation of legislation and policies are geared towards addressing this challenge, including fast-tracking the introduction of the Gender Equality Bill. This will accelerate the transformation of society, institutions and practices and further lead to economic independence of women.
- More work needs to be done to educate society on the importance of gender struggles and also on women emancipation in the context of gender relations as socially constructed.
- As we prepare for the 20th anniversary of freedom

and democracy, we must provide a detailed account on work done in addressing challenges of gender.

- That the NEC must ensure that at all levels of the organisation subcommittees on Gender are established and are functional.
- As part of emancipating women, we must dedicate resources towards rural women as they are the most vulnerable, due to cultural practices, and lack of access to information and economic empowerment.
- The Women's Ministry must be speedily capacitated so that it can intervene in addressing challenges of gender.
- As the ANC we must ensure that all our work is gender-sensitive and conscious of women's needs.
- In the run-up to its Centenary, the NEC should make an audit of traditional and cultural practices that undermine women and impede progress towards gender equality. This should lead to the adoption of an intervention plan.

32. On the Leagues

- The National General Council reaffirms the role, relationship with the mother body and the autonomy of the Youth and Women's Leagues as set out in the Constitution of the ANC.
- The NGC congratulated the ANC Youth League on its successful first National General Council held in August 2010.
- Council's view is that the programme of organisational renewal is also critical for the Youth League, given the socio-economic challenges faced by young people, and the ever-changing needs and opportunities of new generations. The twin tasks of the Youth League of championing the interests of young people in the ANC and in society and as a preparatory school for new cadres of the movement are reaffirmed.
- The renewal of the ANC Women's League is fundamental to the long-term success of the struggle of women's emancipation and gender equality, for women to take their rightful place and for the transformation of gender relations in the movement and in society. Renewal of the ANCWL is therefore important.
- Council welcomed the launch of the Veterans League as an important development since the Polokwane Conference. The veterans have a critically important role to play in the

organisational renewal process. They are the custodians of the history, values and culture of our movement, to which they contributed so immensely. Their role as the guardians of the revolution was reaffirmed and they should intervene decisively and in a structured way whenever they feel something is going wrong in the movement. The Veterans League has a crucial role to play in the political school and general political education programmes of our movement.

33. On MKMVA

- The NGC noted the progress made in implementing the resolution of the 52nd National Conference on MKMVA, especially on the establishment of the Ministry of Defence and Military Veterans. However, there is still no systematic and structured programme to take forward other aspects the integration and utilisation of MKMVA members as an organisational resource. The NGC acknowledges the contribution of MK cadres as politically trained and disciplined cadres of the movement and their knowledge is still required in pursuing the objectives of the NDR.
- Council further mandates the NEC to engage with MKMVA on programs that will facilitate their integration and utilisation of former MK combatants in strengthening organisation.
- Council acknowledges and further endorses the need for the revival of the commissariat and its relevance to the ANC at this point in time. The commissariat will focus on the following strategic areas:
 - Contribute towards the stabilisation of the ANC and the alliance partners through effective political education, in line with the ANC political programmes;
 - Contribute towards strengthening the ANC to meet its manifesto priorities;
 - Contribute towards the general ANC effort in the 2011 local government elections;
 - Ensure that the ANC reaches its 100 years as a strong and united organization and ready to take its rich history, legacy and culture of service to the people into the second centenary;
 - Serve as a resource in research and politi-

cal analysis of the balance of forces and the alignment of class forces, including trends both internal and international

- The following organisational matters should be clarified in discussion with MKMVA NEC:
 - Commissariat
 - Relationship with the Veterans League
 - Relationship with the Secretary General's office
 - Role within the Alliance
 - Resourcing of MKMVA

34. On the Centenary preparations

- The NGC noted that the Centenary of the ANC will be celebrated in 2012. The NGC confirms the fact that the ANC will be turning one hundred years is a major achievement and historic for the people of South Africa, the continent and the world. This is particularly so because the ANC is a parliament of the people whose historic mission remains that of uniting the people of South Africa and continent around the vision of a better Africa and better world.
- Council welcomed and approved the comprehensive programme for centenary celebrations presented to plenary on the 1st Day of the NGC by the National Chairperson. While it is correct that the celebrations will be international, national and local, the NGC called for greater localisation of the celebrations so that our people across the length and breadth of our country, in rural and urban areas, far and near could be involved in the occasion. This includes the need to raise resources locally so that the celebrations are not bureaucratised, stifling local initiatives in provinces, regions and communities.
- The proposed establishment of the ANC Heritage 2012 Institute to act as a single, representative and authoritative depiction of ANC history was fully supported by the NGC. Accordingly, Council so decides that the Institute should be established at the birthplace of the ANC in Mangaung, Free State province.

EDUCATION

Making education a national priority – progress since Polokwane

1. The National General Council noted the following areas of progress and work in progress to implement decisions of Polokwane and the 2009 Elections Manifesto:
 - 1.1 The creation of the ministries of Higher Education and Training and Basic Education, to ensure focused attention on distinct areas of the system.
 - 1.2 The identification of basic education as the number one priority in Government's Programme of Action.
 - 1.3 That Government has developed *Action Plan to 2014: Towards Schooling 2025*, which provides a comprehensive plan for the turnaround of the system. Key strategies in the plan to improve delivery substantially include the following:
 - 1.3.1 Clear measurable targets for improving critical aspects of the system, covering Grade R to Grade 12.
 - 1.3.2 Development of the Annual National Assessment (ANA) tests into a credible system that makes us all accountable for achieving standards.
 - 1.3.3 Working with and through provincial education departments.
 - 1.3.4 Re-orientation of departments to support provinces and schools.
 - 1.3.5 Very strong focus on a social contract with teachers.
 - 1.4 The Action Plan provides, for the first time, a common and integrated plan for the entire sector (including national and all provinces) and should help to focus the attention of the country. Progress reported to the NGC must be seen as integral part of the Action Plan to 2014

On free education for the poor

2. The NGC affirmed the following resolutions on free education for the Poor:
 - 2.1 Polokwane resolution 43: *"The no-fee schools be expanded to 60% by 2009"* and Resolution 44: *"Progressively introduce free education for the poor until undergraduate level"*.
 - 2.2 2009 Election Manifesto: *"Work towards a free and compulsory education for all children. As the immediate step it will ensure that at least 60% of schools are no-fee schools"*.
3. The NGC acknowledged progress and work in progress on meeting the goal of free education:
 - 3.1 No-fee school policy: Target for 2010 of 60% of learners in no fee schools. Currently approximately 68% of learners (approx. 8 million learners) nationally attend approximately 19 900 no-fee schools.
 - 3.2 Extension of the no-fee policy to cover primary as well as secondary schools.
 - 3.3 Poor learners in fee-paying schools accommodated by the fee exemption policy.
4. The NGC noted the following challenges discussed by the commission:
 - 4.1 Adequacy of money that is actually budgeted and reaches schools – especially in respect of small and rural schools.
 - 4.2 The policy and implementation of the quintile system must be clarified to avoid negative impact on poor learners.
 - 4.3 Post-provisioning for small and rural schools must be evaluated – including multi-grade teaching.
 - 4.4 Ensure provision of basic services by municipalities are consistent with our pro-poor objectives.
 - 4.5 The fact that education is a priority of government should find expression in the budget process.

On adult basic education and training (ABET)

5. The NGC affirmed the following resolutions on adult basic education and training:

- 5.1 Polokwane Resolution 41: "...review *Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET)* so as to ensure that it better responds to the skills demand".
 - 5.2 2009 Election Manifesto: "*Ensuring that South Africa is completely liberated from illiteracy by 2014 through our mass literacy campaign - Kba ri Gude*".
6. The NGC acknowledged progress and work in progress in meeting the goal of eliminating adult illiteracy by 2014:
- 6.1 The *Kba Ri Gude* massive literacy campaign contributes to the Government's Poverty Alleviation Strategy by employing 40 000 practitioners who have successfully eradicated illiteracy among at least a million adults in the past two years.
 - 6.2 Approximately R500 million has been paid out in the form of allowances to volunteers who are mainly youth and unemployed.
 - 6.3 The need to investigate reported problems around payment of staff in *Kba Ri Gude* as well as sustainability, sudden discontinuation, uniformity of stipend, and career-pathing of adult literacy trainers.

Career guidance

7. The NGC affirmed the Polokwane Resolution 34 that: "Career guidance be a compulsory subject from grade 8 upwards."
8. Council noted progress with implementation of this resolution, in particular the introduction of Life Orientation as a compulsory subject from Grades R-12 in the National Curriculum Statement (NCS), with career guidance currently integrated in the Life Orientation curriculum from Grades 8-12.

Teacher quality, development, supply and remuneration

9. The NGC affirmed the following resolutions and policy positions:
 - 9.1 Polokwane Resolution 48: "New curriculum must be accompanied with skills development of teachers."
 - 9.2 2009 Election Manifesto: "Promote the status of teachers, ensuring the employment of adequate numbers, and improving their remuneration and training, as an important part of our drive to ensure that quality teaching becomes the norm, rather than the exception. Together with the trade unions, we need to ensure that teachers are in school, in class, on time, teaching, that there is no abuse of learners and no neglect of duty".
10. The NGC acknowledged progress with implementation of these policy positions:
 - 10.1 The National Teacher Development Summit was held in June 2009 and produced a detailed national teacher development action plan including activities, timelines, responsibilities and outputs for the next five years nested in a longer term strategy to ensure a sustainable teacher development system. The focus is on improving teacher subject and pedagogical knowledge to realise the rights of all learners to quality education.
 - 10.2 Around 130 000 teachers per year receive support through funded programmes and 80% of teachers have received support through short-term workshops.
 - 10.3 The Department of Basic Education and the South African Council of Educators are developing a Continuing Professional Teacher Development Management system, which will enhance involvement and measurement of teacher professional development activities.
11. The NGC further noted the following additional challenges, that require urgent attention arising from the commission discussions:
 - 11.1 Clarification on the confirmed duality of roles must be urgently addressed.
 - 11.2 The question of the impact of remuneration of teachers and their professionalism must be urgently addressed – especially the question of housing.
 - 11.3 Quality of training currently offered at higher education institutions (HEIs) in respect of pedagogy and content should be addressed by credible training options.

Developing the capacity of Principals

12. The NGC affirmed Polokwane Resolution 40: *“To affirm that all principals should undertake a leadership, management and governance course.”*
13. The NGC acknowledged progress with implementation of this policy position:
- 13.1 The completion of a national field-test on the Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE): School Management and Leadership targeting principals (2007-2009). Eight-one percent of the selected 1 167 candidates graduated in 2009. Based on this, the ACE programme has been extended beyond the 4 years field-testing phase.
- 13.2 Government will be targeting at least 8 000 principals and deputy principals to complete the Advanced Certificate in Education: School Management and Leadership. In addition, all school leaders from underperforming secondary schools and their feeder primary schools will complete specific stand-alone ACE modules.

Dual roles of public servants elected as councilors

14. The NGC noted Polokwane Resolution 39, which states that *“the duality of public servants elected as councilors undermines both or either of the two with regards to efficiency and this must be reviewed”*.
15. The NGC further noted that this matter is also under consideration by the Legislature and Governance Sub-committee.

Maths, Science & Information Technology

16. The NGC affirmed the following resolutions and policy positions:
- 16.1 Polokwane Resolution 47: *“Maths, science and IT must be promoted and supported, including through Saturday tutorial programmes and bursaries be offered to teachers in [these] areas”*; and
- 16.2 Polokwane Resolution 50 that *“we should recruit from foreign countries on scarce skills such as maths and science”*.
- 16.3 2009 Election Manifesto: *“improving the quality of schools, particularly performance in*

mathematics, science, and technology and language development”.

17. The NGC acknowledged progress with implementation of these policy positions:
- 17.1 The 500 Dinaledi schools continue to demonstrate that learners can perform well above the national average with the necessary focus and support. Out of the 52 779 maths passes, 12 213 (23.7%) learners came from Dinaledi schools.
- 17.2 Teaching of Maths, Science & IT is prioritised by the Funza Lushaka Bursary Scheme – aimed at increasing new recruits in these areas.
- 17.3 A draft connectivity plan has been developed between the Department of Communications and the Department of Basic Education in order to promote ICT connectivity in schools.
- 17.4 Government has also encouraged participation of learners in mathematics olympiads in order to nurture learner talent in mathematics.
- 17.5 Provinces such as Gauteng, Limpopo and KwaZulu Natal have employed Mathematics and Science teachers from other countries through their own recruitment process. These teachers have come from countries such as Egypt, Zimbabwe, Kenya and India, among others.
- 17.6 Government is working on a detailed Supply and Demand Plan as part of the Teacher Development Framework, which will include an assessment of recruiting teachers from other countries.

National Education Evaluation and Development Unit (NEEDU)

18. The NGC affirmed Polokwane Resolution 42 on *“the establishment of a national education evaluation and development unit for purposes of monitoring, evaluation and support”*.
19. The NGC acknowledged progress with implementation of this resolution:
- 19.1 The Ministerial Committee on the National Education Evaluation and Development Unit (NEEDU) was established in 2008 to investigate and advise the

Minister on how independent evaluation of schools and teachers could be undertaken.

19.2 NEEDU will monitor and evaluate performance across the entire system including the national department, provinces and districts as well as schools. It will ensure that learners learn and achieve, teachers teach and departmental officials properly support schools.

19.3 Teacher performance is critical to quality education and learner achievement. NEEDU will play a part in identifying weaknesses in terms of teacher performance but this will be linked to a focused teacher developmental strategy.

School Infrastructure

20. The NGC affirmed the following resolutions and policy positions:

20.1 Polokwane Resolution 49: "Building of schools to replace mud schools must be included in the Expanded Public Works (EPW) programme."

20.2 2009 Election Manifesto: "Ensure that all schools and health facilities have access to basic infrastructure such as water and electricity by 2014."

21. The NGC acknowledged progress with implementation of these policy positions:

21.1 About R2.7 billion was allocated from the 2008 Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) for school infrastructure programme and for the eradication of mud structures.

21.2 Government is finalising the Accelerated School Infrastructural Development Initiative (ASIDI) that sets out to address the infrastructure backlogs in the shortest possible time.

21.3 ASIDI is attempting to provide a nationally coordinated effort that achieves economies of scale, while at the same time seeking to introduce cost-effective innovations in the planning, design and construction of schools.

22. The NGC confirmed the importance of the Accelerated School Infrastructural Development Ini-

tiative (ASIDI) for our goal of quality education for all.

School Nutrition

23. The NGC affirms the following resolutions and policy positions:

23.1 Polokwane Resolution 35: "We must progressively expand the school nutrition programme to include high school learners in poorer communities."

23.2 2009 Election Manifesto: "Extending school feeding schemes to all deserving high schools and improving the implementing of the feeding scheme in all deserving primary schools."

24. The NGC acknowledged progress with implementation of these policy positions:

24.1 Currently, the National School Nutrition Programme has been successful in most provinces with approximately 7.2 million learners in 20 059 schools benefiting, mainly from rural, farm and informal settlement areas. The programme was successfully extended to quintile 1 secondary schools in 2009. Feeding has commenced in quintile 2 secondary schools in 2010 with preparations for feeding in quintile 3 secondary schools in 2011.

24.2 The school nutrition programme promotes community participation and has engaged 37 844 Voluntary Food Handlers who support the programme at schools in preparing and serving meals for learners. They receive a minimum monthly honorarium of R500. Over 2 300 contracted small enterprises and 216 local cooperatives are engaged to procure food distributed in schools.

Early Childhood Development

25. The NGC affirmed the commitment in the 2009 Elections Manifesto to "introduce a comprehensive early childhood development system."

26. The NGC acknowledged progress with implementation of these policy positions:

26.1 Targeted efforts to improve literacy and numeracy from grade R upwards have been implemented. It is accepted that

- South Africa's learning outcomes continue to be unsatisfactory. Especially African learners do not perform at the required level.
- 26.2 Initiatives aimed at strengthening the Foundation Phase are supported. The Foundations for Learning Programme is being implemented and learning and teaching support materials and workbooks have been distributed
- 26.3 *Action Plan to 2014: Towards Schooling 2025* prioritises Grade R and ECD for expanded coverage and quality improvement. Clear targets have been set in this regard.
27. The NGC acknowledged the need for the alignment of policies in the ECD sector for provision of integrated quality ECD from birth to Grade R.
- 29.3 The DBE and all provinces are embarking on intensive support for Grade 12, including intensive study centres, resource-based support and Saturday classes.
- 29.4 Annual national assessments (ANA) will focus on the critical foundational skills of literacy and numeracy that we know are fundamental to all learning. The ANA will be set nationally so they will provide a benchmark for all schools in the basic education sector.
- 29.5 There will be national and provincial learner performance targets and district and school targets. These targets will take into account the history and socio-economic circumstances of individual schools.

30. The NGC agreed that consideration should be given to the introduction of additional curriculum options that cater for more practical and vocationally-oriented skills across the FET band.

Improving the quality of schools, particularly performance in mathematics, science, technology and language development

28. The NGC affirmed the commitment in the 2009 Elections Manifesto to continually improve the quality of schools, particularly performance in mathematics, science, technology and language development. The NGC affirms the promotion and importance of history as a vehicle to educate about the history of our struggle.
29. The NGC acknowledged progress with implementation of these policy positions:
- 29.1 A review of the implementation of the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) has been undertaken to improve the quality of teaching and learning in our schools. The review highlighted a number of constraints, such as an overload on teachers brought about by assessment requirements of the NCS, knowledge gaps in some subjects, especially in the transition from the Foundation to intermediate phase, and curriculum overload, among others. The ANC has come out in full support of these measures.
- 29.2 Immediately after the National Senior Certificate (NSC) exams in 2010, government set up a *Rapid Assessment and Remediation Initiative* as a short term measure to address challenges at under-performing schools.

Social compact on 'non-negotiables' in education

31. The NGC noted that in order to ensure that all education stakeholders and role players take responsibility for education as enjoined by the President, that "*education is a societal issue*". The Department is working closely together with teacher unions, school governing bodies associations, parents, principals, teachers and learners through the Quality Learning and Teaching Campaign.
32. This campaign aims to mobilise not only our traditional partners but to reach out to all members of society with the message that quality education is our key priority.
33. The key messages of our campaign are on hard work, responsibility and commitment to excellence. This campaign continues to call on all individuals, organisations and communities to assume responsibility for improving the quality of education.

Strengthen management capacity to ensure working districts and schools

34. The NGC noted and supported the following measures taken to strengthen management capacity in education:

- 34.1 Government has developed a national framework for improvement of district capacity.
- 34.2 Partnerships with the private sector are being coordinated to more effectively channel support to districts.
- 34.3 NGO capacity is also being mobilised
- 34.4 There is an E-Education Strategy linked to the district capacity improvement strategy.

National procurement of textbooks

- 35. The NGC noted the Ministerial Committee that was established to look at the matter of the procurement of textbooks, and that the committee has produced a report, which is now subjected to consultation.
- 36. The NGC believed that the Department must develop, design and provide quality textbooks for every child in every subject.
- 37. The NGC affirmed the importance of textbooks and workbooks and supports the approach for national procurement of Learner Teacher Support Material (LTSM) textbooks.

Social support for children

- 38. The NGC noted that social support to children in school has been an area of weakness in our policy, yet is critical to the performance of learners in schools.
- 39. The NGC further notes that this is being addressed in the *Action Plan to 2014*, which has already resulted in closer collaboration between the Departments of Basic Education and Health, and with work underway to similarly strengthen the relationship with Social Development with the ultimate goal of providing health and social support to all schools through sharing of human resources.
- 40. The commission further recommended that we must expand the provision of psycho-social and health support to schools to include psychological and counseling support.
- 41. As part of our campaign towards inclusive education we must improve access to and resources in special schools.

Conclusion – steady progress and challenges

- 42. Since the Polokwane Conference we have taken positive steps to address the mandate in the 2009 elections. We focused on challenges that could be addressed immediately and made considerable progress towards setting in place the necessary pro-poor policies that address issues such as improving access to schooling through increasing the number of no-fee schools and extending the provision of nutrition programmes.
- 43. National and provincial departments are working closely in order to increase the coordination of the sector. We have set national and provincial targets in the *Action Plan to 2014* and all in the system are working together to ensure that these are met.
- 44. We have entered into a social compact with our key stakeholders (teacher unions, SGBs, parents, learners) committing all in the sector to a set of non-negotiables. This commitment to the non-negotiables is absolutely critical to all our efforts to turn the education system around. However, the 2010 public sector strike has rolled back some of our earlier gains. We will have to work hard to recover. All cadres of our movement are encouraged to participate in the activities of School Governing bodies. The Department must capacitate members of the SGBs.
- 45. Key among the challenges that require ongoing and deliberate attention are:
 - 45.1 literacy and numeracy levels across education;
 - 45.2 the number of learners in schools with inadequate physical infrastructure, and overcrowding;
 - 45.3 credible teacher development to address teacher challenges (content and pedagogy);
 - 45.4 availability of appropriate LTSM textbooks that address real needs of learners;
 - 45.5 the development of quality workbooks and textbooks for Grades 1-6 and their distribution to schools by the beginning of the 2011 school year;
 - 45.6 the social and political context of schooling – especially labour, peace and stability, and the challenges of poverty.

Further programmatic issues towards 2010

46. The *Action Plan to 2014 - Schooling 2025* should be noted as a turnaround strategy for the Department of Basic Education, and the ANC should monitor progress towards the achievement of the following targets:
- 46.1 Increasing the number of Grade 12 learners who pass the national examinations and qualify to enter a Bachelor's programme at a university from 105 000 to 175 000.
 - 46.2 increasing the number of Grade 12 learners who pass mathematics and physical science to 225 000 and 165 000 respectively;
 - 46.3 increasing the percentage of learners in Grades 3, 6 and 9 in public schools who obtain the minimum acceptable mark in the national assessments for language and mathematics (or numeracy) from between 27% and 38% to at least 60%.
 - 46.4 achieving universal access to Grade R for all age appropriate children;
 - 46.5 ensuring that adequate learning and teaching materials are developed and distributed, particularly to all identified schools.

ON HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Polokwane resolutions and Elections Manifesto 2009

47. The National General Council noted the following resolutions on higher education from the **52nd National Conference**:
- 47.1 A policy on affirmative measures for Historically Disadvantaged Institutions with specific emphasis on infrastructure, access and staff provisioning.
 - 47.2 To review Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) so as to ensure that it better responds to the skills demand.
 - 47.3 Progressively introduce free education for the poor until undergraduate level.
 - 47.4 The ANC to focus rigorously on the quality of education.

- 47.5 Education must be prioritised as one of the most important programmes for the next five years.
- 47.6 The NEC should critically consider the outcomes of the recently held education summit with a view to implementing the proposals that emerged.
- 47.7 Investing in priority skills and education, including by:
 - Significantly expanding the resources devoted to our capacity as a people for knowledge production and expanding the resources devoted to innovation and research, including through an innovation management framework which includes the promotion and development of indigenous knowledge.
 - Reviving the role [of] state-owned enterprises in skills development and training, and building partnerships between the state, parastatals, the union movement and the private sector in the quest to improve skills.
- 47.8 Investing in priority skills and education, placing Further Education and Training colleges at the centre of a popular drive to transfer skills to our people, providing these institutions with more resources, and scaling-up dedicated bursary schemes to popularise and subsidise attendance at FET institutions.

48. The NGC further noted the **Elections Manifesto 2009** commitments to give effect to these resolutions during the 2009-2014 term of office:
- 48.1 Increase graduate output in areas of skills shortages. This will include measures to streamline Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAS) and other institutions to addressing existing and forecast skills shortages.
 - 48.2 Embarking on the re-opening of teacher training colleges where appropriate.
 - 48.3 Revive the role of state owned enterprises in skills development and training.
 - 48.4 Place Further Education and Training colleges at the centre of a popular drive to develop skills development for the economy.

- 48.5 Encourage students from working class and poor communities to go to tertiary institutions by reviewing and improving the National Student Financial Aid Scheme.

49. The NGC reflected on the current challenges facing the sector:

At universities

- 49.1 Participation rates in universities are not adequate for our development growth path. Targets are needed for participation and investment over the next 20 years.
- 49.2 Too many young people of ability are not gaining access to higher education.
- 49.3 Too many are not succeeding because of poor education foundations and poverty. These students are disproportionately black.
- 49.4 Many students who do gain access cannot afford basic necessities.
- 49.5 Many universities need infrastructural investment to sustain their development. Many of these serve predominantly rural areas and African students in particular.

At Further Education and Training (FET) colleges

- 49.6 The number of students in public FET colleges is less than the number at public universities. This needs to be corrected by planned increases in enrolment:
- starting from 2011 at colleges which are functioning well and which maintain quality in teaching and learning;
 - on an ongoing basis by addressing problems at all colleges.
- 49.7 Many young people have completed the academic part of occupational training but have not had the opportunity for workplace experience in order to complete their qualifications.

WORK IN PROGRESS SINCE POLOKWANE

50. Strengthening the Skills Support Infrastructure

- 50.1 Steps to strengthen the National Skills Authority.
- 50.2 National Skills Development Strategy (2011/12 – 2015/16).
- 50.3 Addressing problems at Trade Testing Centres.
- 50.4 The Quality Council of Trades and Occupations (QCTO) established.
- 50.5 National Skills Fund being strengthened as a developmental grant-making body.

51. Focused attention on the SETAs

- 51.1 Improving SETA performance and a new SETA landscape.
- 51.2 Improving governance, management and accountability of the SETAs.
- 51.3 Decisive action on non-performing SETAs.
- 51.4 Strengthening Sector Skills Plans.

52. Intensive focus on Artisan Training

- 52.1 Establishing the National Artisan Moderating Body to focus on quality of artisan training.
- 52.2 Working with the Department of Defence and Military Veterans, state-owned enterprises and private industry to accelerate artisan training.

53. Exploring transforming ABET Centres into Community Training Centres

- 53.1 Primary target is youth and adults, out of school without matric.
- 53.2 Increase access to short-term skills programmes, including adult matric, entrepreneurial and cooperatives training.

54. FET Colleges

- 54.1 Task Teams established do detailed diagnostic work in all areas of improving colleges.
- 54.2 FET Summit held with all stakeholders to identify and agree on challenges and strategies to address them.

55. On Universities

- 55.1 Review of funding formula for universities, with particular focus on recapitalisation and strengthening historically-disadvantaged institutions (HDI).

- 55.2 Establishment of two new universities in Mpumalanga and Northern Cape. Task Teams already set up to drive this process.
- 55.3 Addressing the problem of student accommodation. A committee has already been established to look into the problem of student accommodation across the system, and make recommendations on models for expanding university residences.
56. **National Student Financial Aid Scheme**
- 56.1 Recommendations of Ministerial Review to go to Cabinet.
57. **Teacher Development**
- 57.1 Establishment of the joint DBE-DHET-Stakeholder Steering Committee.
- 57.2 Model for an integrated institutional framework for both production of new teachers and professional support for existing teachers.
- 57.3 Strengthening the current system, opening colleges where appropriate, and ensuring a coordinated response to teacher development needs.
- 57.4 Key principles: improved quality, increased access and equity.
58. **Higher Education Summit Stakeholder Summit**
- 58.1 Stakeholder Forum and annual summit.
- 58.2 Differentiation working group.
- 58.3 A charter on learning and teaching.
- 58.4 Focused recapitalisation of HDIs.
- 58.5 Development of new generations of academics.
59. The National General Council welcomed the progress made in implementing the Polokwane resolutions, and further mandated the Education Committees at various levels to ensure that the responsible department focus on the following, leading up to 2012:
- 59.1 The need for dedicated focus on the approximately 3 million 18-24 year olds not in employment, education or training (NEET) to address the crisis, including expanding the FET sector, and the college sector as a whole. Government to increase funding to address this situation.
- 59.2 Transforming and strengthening the ABET centres, including looking into the conditions of employment for ABET workers.
- 59.3 Building capacity to research and analyse the labour market in order to determine skills development needs.
- 59.4 National-provincial coordination will be strengthened through Provincial Skills Development Fora to improve skills development.
- 59.5 Drastically increasing the number of artisans qualifying every year.
- 59.6 Expansion of the FET College sector to 1 million students by 2014, and the college sector as a whole.
- 59.7 Introduction of a maths and science foundation programme for school leavers with poor symbols in these subjects, but wanting to get into engineering, etc.
- 59.8 Curriculum review, with focus on strengthening the National Certificate (Vocational), and continuing National Technical Education (NATED) Course.
- 59.9 Improving the quality of all courses at FET colleges.
- 59.10 Improving governance and management of colleges.
- 59.11 Active participation of ANC structures in strengthening FET colleges and the college sector as a whole.
- 59.12 Strengthening the links between FET colleges and the SETAs for improved placement of learners in workplaces.
- 59.13 Development of a Rural Development Skills Strategy and promotion of rural skills development hubs.
- 59.14 No Council Member, university management or student leader should have any financial interest in the university in which they work.
- 59.15 Management or governance difficulties have necessitated intervention at several universities.

Programmatic Activities Towards 2012

- 59.16 The expansion of community service to graduates from all disciplines.

Conclusion

60. The NGC supported the commitment by the education sector to fight corruption at all levels of the system. There was also overwhelming support for provinces to convene Education Summits within the next six months.

HEALTH

1. The National General Council noted the presentations to the commission on the Mid-Term Report and the National Health Insurance (NHI).
2. The NGC further noted the resolution of a meeting between ANC Officials and all the Premiers, MECs, ANC Provincial Chairpersons and the Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee, that provinces should prepare ANCQuarterly Health Monitoring Reportsthat must include information on:
 - (a) appropriate appointment of HODs, CFOs, hospital CEOs, district health and clinic managers, with relevant competency and qualifications;
 - (b) financial expenditure patterns of provincial health departments;
 - (c) the Infrastructure Delivery Improvement Programme and capital projects (under-spending will not be allowed);
 - (d) increase in employment of doctors, nurses, health technicians and other health professionals;
 - (e) integration and increase of Community Health Workers;
 - (f) the re-introduction of nurse training and re-opening of nursing schools and colleges;
 - (g) increased training of doctors and other technicians;
 - (h) monitoring of the availability of medicines, especially on antiretrovirals (ARVs), anti-TB drugs and chronic medication;
 - (i) mortality trends on stillbirth rate, infant mortality rate, maternal mortality rate and avoidable deaths.

Health as a national priority

3. The NGC identified the following ongoing deficiencies and challenges:
 - Delays in the referral system.
 - Ineffective complaints systems.
 - Lack of cleanliness.
 - Insufficient communication between the public and the Department of Health.
 - Inconsistent compliance with the National Health Act.
 - Lack of space in clinics, especially in KwaZulu Natal and Eastern Cape.
 - Unavailability of emergency services, which contributes to infant mortality.
 - Competition among provinces, especially in attracting health workers
4. The NGC re-emphasised resolutions of the 52nd National Conference, of making health a priority, and the following principles:
 - 1.1 Capacity building and training of Hospital CEOs, District and Clinic managers and HODs.
 - 1.2 Appointments of managers subject to signing of performance agreements.
 - 1.3 Emergency medical services should be de-centralised.
 - 1.4 Strengthen the monitoring systems in the ANC.
 - 1.5 Political education for health workers to enhance service delivery.
 - 1.6 Equitable distribution of resources.

- 1.7 Review the funding formula to consider previously disadvantaged areas.
 - 1.8 Improve disaster management in hospitals.
 - 1.9 Extend services hours for clinics and community health centres, which should be standardised in all provinces.
 - 1.10 Batho Pele principles should be upheld by all, including clerks, porters, cleaners and gardeners.
 - 1.11 Ethics should be taught to social, health and education workers.
 - 1.12 Attitudes of health workers is of great concern and must be improved.
 - 1.13 Provision of food vouchers for people who are taking TB and ARV treatment.
 - 1.14 Supervisors should do their work.
 - 1.15 The infrastructure in some clinics and hospital in rural areas is dilapidated.
 - 1.16 Extend coverage of immunisation.
 - 1.17 Offenders to be looked after properly to avoid high defaulter rate.
 - 1.18 Shortage of appropriate drugs in clinics.
 - 1.19 Clinics should be fully staffed with all relevant professionals.
 - 1.20 Provincialisation of municipality clinics must be concluded.
 - 1.21 Sick bays in schools should be utilised to promote relevant health campaigns like contraception and a service point for various health needs.
 - 1.22 Re-visit the resolution on the “creation of a single public service”.
 - 1.23 Toll free number for emergency services.
 - 1.24 Availability of officials of DoH for engagement with stakeholders.
 - 1.25 A healthy nation with a bias to rural and poor areas.
 - 1.26 Collective bargaining in the public sector should be done in time and include multi-year agreements instead of annual agreements.
 - 1.27 Environmental Health Officers or health inspectors should be relocated to provinces.
 - 1.28 Nurses and doctors in rural areas be provided with accommodation.
5. **Community Development Workers (CDW)/ Home Based Care Workers (HBCW)/ Community Health Workers (CHW)**
 - 1.1 Training of CDWs should include accredited certificates.
 - 1.2 CDWs should be integrated into the public sectors.
 - 1.3 Ensure that CDWs are paid their stipends on time.
 - 1.4 CDWs should be paid salaries not stipends.
 - 1.5 There should be a flagship programme that integrates the work of social development, health and rural development at the level of the ward.
 - 1.6 Community Health Workers do a lot of work, and as such need to be given necessary recognition. They should be paid their stipend in time.
 6. **Public participation, mass mobilisation and campaigns**
 - 1.1 Encourage health volunteers, who should also be trained in basic life-support skills.
 - 1.2 Strengthen hospital boards and clinic committees.
 - 1.3 Redistribute the pamphlets on the health and education campaigns.
 - 1.4 Branches should organise health awareness campaigns.
 - 1.5 Educate the communities about the referral system.
 - 1.6 Integration of CBOs/NGOs in the provision of comprehensive health care.
 - 1.7 Popularise exclusive breast feeding.
 - 1.8 Encourage all households to have First Aid kits.
 - 1.9 Popularise the healthy lifestyle campaign.
 - 1.10 Provide free sanitary towels to all women, especially to girls and young women.
 - 1.11 Stricter enforcement of the Liquor Act, which provides for age restrictions.
 - 1.12 Ban alcohol adverts on TV and radio.
 - 1.13 Promote a gun free South Africa.
 - 1.14 Organise HIV Counselling and Testing at all major events of the organisation.

- 1.15 Protect community facilities like clinics and schools.
- 1.16 Promote primary care health principles.
- 1.17 Simplify the Patients' Rights Charter and translate it into different languages.
- 1.18 Femidoms should be made available freely to all women.

7. Human Resources Challenges

- 1.1 Utilise retired professionals.
- 1.2 Encourage trained doctors from rural areas to return to their area.
- 1.3 Remuneration of health workers should be improved.
- 1.4 Nurses' salaries should be improved to curb moonlighting.
- 1.5 Recruit health workers who have emigrated to other countries.
- 1.6 Consider recruiting Cuban professionals who have been laid off, as part of our solidarity work.
- 1.7 Address the skills and deployment mismatch.
- 1.8 Develop a common understanding and agreement of the definition of what constitute essential services.
- 1.9 Restructuring should be in line with Occupation Specific Dispensation (OSD).
- 1.10 Train more researchers on different fields, which are important in health care.
- 1.11 As part of research work a group of three African scientists have developed a Nanotechnology capsule for the treatment of TB.

8. Nursing Training

- 1.1 Evaluate broadly the training of nurses.
- 1.2 Reopening of nursing schools and colleges should be uniform across all provinces.
- 1.3 Training of nurses should be hospital-based and decentralised.
- 1.4 An holistic approach has been neglected by the health worker.
- 1.5 Nurses should be more practical.

- 1.6 A nursing directorate should be established.

9. Health cost drivers

- 1.1 Review the National Health Laboratory Service (NHLS), as it's one of the cost drivers.
- 1.2 Establish a state owned pharmaceutical company.
- 1.3 Promote renewable energy.
- 1.4 Establish partnerships with cooperatives.

10. Priority groups

- 1.1 Develop targeted approaches to the health of women, children and the elderly.
- 1.2 Address the situation in provinces where health is combined with other mandates, so that it can be a stand-alone mandate.
- 1.3 Environmental health be prioritised as part of health campaigns.

11. National Health Insurance

Support and implementation

- 1.1 The NGC noted the overwhelming support for the National Health Insurance (NHI). The implementation of NHI should be fast-tracked, but done correctly within a reasonable time frame.
- 1.2 Widespread publicity on the NHI needs to be undertaken, involving road shows, TV and radio adverts e.g. "NHI is here, feel it".
- 1.3 The ANC must lead the implementation of the NHI and its promotion among the general populace. The involvement and support of the Alliance is crucial.
- 1.4 The roll out should begin in the rural areas.

Service providers

- 1.5 There should be freedom of choice of service providers
- 1.6 Accreditation shouldn't disadvantage under-resourced hospitals and clinics.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

INTRODUCTION

1. The NGC, deliberating on social transformation, endorsed the NEC Committee report, including the recommendations made to advance the resolutions.
2. The participants, after having raised important questions of clarity, suggested amendments and programmes of action to accelerate service delivery towards the 2012 Centenary Conference.
3. These resolutions are captured together with a list of the Polokwane Conference resolutions, progress made to implement those resolutions, and the challenges the ANC faces in the fight towards *a better life for all*.
4. The deliberations were concluded with a brief, but poignant, presentation in the commission on the importance of branches as the building blocks of a strong African National Congress.

QUESTIONS FOR DELIBERATION

5. The guiding questions that the NGC grappled with were:
 - What lessons have we learned in meeting people's expectations in general in the last 15 years and in particular in the last 2 years?
 - Have the policies adopted by the ANC government helped to narrow the divide between the rich and the poor over the past 15 years?
 - What worked and requires concerted government investment to maximise impact?
 - What must be prioritised in the short-, medium- and long-terms – over a defined period of time as our resolution and political commitment to address?

Service delivery challenges

6. The Commission affirmed the organisational issues raised by the President and the Secretary General, and engaged with the challenges related to service delivery protests, particularly with regards to inter-governmental relations and the role of the ANC

Noting that:

7. Although, there may be elements of mischief at play in these service delivery protests, we should not un-

deploy the genuine concerns and grievances around service delivery and the high levels of poverty.

8. The ANC needs to be reflective on this issue, as service delivery protesters are by and large our own members and supporters and we need to respond appropriately to the challenges.

Further noting that:

9. The challenges of inter-governmental relations impact on local governments' ability to deliver services.
10. Corruption among local government officials, including ANC employees, exacerbates poor service delivery.

On programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012, the NGC agreed to:

11. improve the alignment between plans and promises of all spheres of government and the ability of local government to fund and implement such plans and promises;
12. elect and appoint competent people as councilors and local government officials and ensure ongoing skills development of this cadre;
13. intervene to deal with the extent to which protests have become destructive;
14. introduce a system of accreditation of high quality municipalities, and introduce measures to support poor performing municipalities;
15. use the funding allocation from national and provinces to address social infrastructure backlogs;
16. explore the option of means testing for free basic services;
17. assess the extent to which military veterans, retired civil servants and ANC members can assist in construction of public infrastructure;
18. explore the extent to which the legal punitive measures are sufficient to deter intimidation, the destruction of property and bodily harm to councilors and other community members;
19. ensure branches improve communication to prevent service delivery protests and work with com-

- munity stakeholders to ensure protests are peaceful;
20. undertake a comprehensive assessment of the extent to which people fall through the cracks of public and private service delivery as a result of the application of income thresholds and ceilings that are aimed at targeting service provision, but are exclusionary and create poverty traps;
 21. undertake a review of investments by the Public Investment Corporation in private and public service and assess the fiscal incidence thereof.

HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND HOUSING

Polokwane Resolutions:

- There should be housing cover for veterans of the struggle.
- There should be interventions in the housing industry and residential property market to curb the spiraling cost of construction input prices - including the cost of material development and supply.
- We must develop appropriate legislation to prevent the mushrooming of informal settlements.
- Provision of housing needs should include alternative measures such as the provision of rental stock.
- We should adopt a centralised approach to planning so as to direct resource allocation, distribution and an overall coordinated response to human settlements.
- We must restructure the funding mechanism and consolidate all housing-related grants and funding streams.
- A Housing Development Agency must be established to accelerate land acquisition in specific areas.
- A once-off injection of resources and an extraordinary effort be considered for fast-tracking delivery of housing to make a visible impact on poverty.
- Government considers assisting people with building material to encourage involvement in the provision of housing needs. This will respond to specific conditions that prevail in rural areas, for example.

The NGC noted that since Polokwane:

22. A Department of Military Veterans was established and a veterans housing policy is being implemented

23. Government mandated that research be undertaken into warehousing of building materials. However this matter raises the extent to which interventions to control prices of building material would contravene competition law.
24. An affordable rental housing strategy has been approved.
25. A central planning framework has been developed to direct resource allocation for housing but requires the support of all departments.
26. The Housing Development Agency is accelerating land acquisition in specific areas.
27. After engagements with the private sector on their commitments, the Human Settlement Department received R4.5 billion from the private sector through the Housing Charter
28. The President announced a R1 billion fund for those with no access to bank financing as a guarantee to assist prospective homeowners earning between R3 500 and R9 000 to access home loans.
29. The Rural Housing Loan Fund continues to provide financial opportunities for rural families and a rural housing subsidy voucher scheme was finalised.

Further noting that:

30. Over 3 million houses were constructed since 1994. Notwithstanding the unprecedented success of the delivery of housing, South Africa still has over 2 700 informal settlements. Moreover, housing delivery for 2010 to 2014 is projected at roughly 230 000 per annum.
31. Due to high levels of migration and other push and pull factors, the need for housing increases, despite our delivery record.
32. Polokwane resolved that shelter provision on its own is not sufficient, but that a more holistic approach to human settlement must guide government's housing programme.
33. Litigation prevents introduction of legislation to constrain informal settlements.
34. There is also a need to focus on the quality of structures provided to guarantee their integrity over a period of time.

Programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012

35. New areas of funding, both through the public and private sector, should be explored to provide a sustained fiscal injection over the MTEF cycle to address the housing backlog and growth in informal settlements.
36. There is an urgent need to revise the current funding model, as well as technical and programmatic options to produce the desired impact of increased human settlement delivery.
37. There is a need to re-visit the centrality of the state in human settlements delivery and that there is a need for a reconsideration of the human settlements mandate and its alignment in terms of powers, policy development, funding and related responsibilities.
38. A renewed effort must be made to eliminate apartheid settlement patterns, also reflected along class lines.
39. The state should discourage the formation of unplanned settlements, avoiding or limiting the provision of services to such unplanned sites as they tend to over-ride the rights of people who have been on housing waiting lists for long periods of time.
40. There must be a link between the information systems of the Human Settlement Department and that of traditional landowners to reduce the extent of double benefits and home ownership for those who rely on public-provided housing benefits.
41. Explore how the state can enhance its internal capacity in the building of houses.
42. We should move towards a 'serviced sites' mode of delivery so that local people can build their own houses in the mode of the People's Housing Projects as this can stimulate local development and result in better quality homes.

WATER AND SANITATION

Polokwane Resolutions

- Water allocation reform and the allocation of water licenses to historically disadvantaged persons must be reviewed with regards to water rights and should occur as part of the land reform programme.
- A transformation plan for the forestry sector should be developed.

- The infrastructure construction timelines should be increased to allow more labour-intensive construction.
- Water resources management must be integral when planning municipalities.

The NGC noted that since Polokwane:

43. South Africa has made significant progress with regard to improving access to water supply and it is reaching universal access in the improved water source in urban areas. In 1994, 15 million people were without safe water supply and over 20 million without adequate sanitation services.
44. In rural areas the share of those with access to water increased from 62% to 82% from 1990 to 2006.
45. The assessment of progress since Polokwane involved a discussion of water infrastructure, options of funding model proposals and pricing. The Commission endorsed the proposal to establish an economic regulator to manage the water infrastructure.

The NGC noted the challenges going forward:

46. The lack of transformation in the water sector requires intervention.
47. Government must ensure that measures are put in place to secure the country's water sufficiency.
48. More than 35% of South Africans do not have access to proper human waste disposal.
49. The cholera epidemic of 2000 reawakened government to address the slow rate of progress in sanitation provision. The 2008 cholera outbreak, resulting in acute cases of diarrhoea, was a reflection of the sanitation infrastructure.
50. Water borne infections such as typhoid in Delmas point to deterioration of human waste disposal infrastructure.
51. By March 2009, more than 9 000 households were still using the bucket system.

Programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012:

52. A water summit should be held to concretise a strategy for water management.

53. Water should be declared a scarce resource and measures explored, including importing, to secure long-term provision of water resources.
54. In view of the concern that water tariffs are too high, NGC resolved that there is a need to establish a Water Regulator to set the guidelines for water tariffs and provision.
55. There is a need to review the role of the executive *vis a vis* the many Water Boards who set inequitable tariffs.
56. A legislative review must be undertaken to address barriers to broadening access to water.
57. Government must ensure improved linkages between water provision and the land reform agenda.
58. There is a need to review the issuing of water licenses for mining activities abstraction and the discharge of such water in relation to mining activities.
59. The efficiencies of current water boards require review.
60. There is a need to address the challenges faced by natural monopolies.

COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Polokwane Resolutions:

- We develop a minimum common standard for all social security interventions.
- Child support grants be gradually extended to 18 years.
- Pensionable age must be equalised and be set at 60 years.
- Equalisation of opportunities, lifelong learning, economic opportunities for persons with disabilities.
- Grants must not create dependency and should be linked to economic activity.
- Establish a mandatory system of retirement contributions and establish a broad-based retirement fund that covers low-income groups.
- Strengthen collaboration between the departments of Education and Social Development and others in providing Early Childhood Development.

- Coordinated national drug campaign is intensified to fight substance abuse.

Progress since Polokwane:

61. The Social Transformation Committee (STC) has spent a considerable amount of its time interrogating social security policies presented by the Inter-Ministerial Committee (IMC) for Social Security. The Commission is pleased to indicate that the STC gave resounding support for the comprehensive review of the current system of social security and supports the strategic framework.
62. The Inter-Ministerial Committee for Social Security will soon announce a far-reaching programme, which will have profound implications and address the gaps in the social security system.
63. The Child Support Grant has been extended up to 18 years and is linked to conditions of school attendance.
64. Pensionable age has been equalised at 60 years for men and women.
65. Collaboration on Early Childhood Development has been achieved by the Departments of Social Development and Education and a joint strategic plan was rolled out.
66. The Unemployment Insurance Fund has improved its operations through significant extension of coverage to domestic and farm workers and taxi drivers, reduction in service delivery costs and the modernisation of its systems.
67. Policies have been developed for a fully-fledged contributory system of social insurance to be presented to Cabinet soon.
68. The Cabinet has approved a new policy framework for the reform of the Road Accident Fund to bring it in line with social security principles.

Noting that:

69. Significant gaps remain in the system of social assistance and in the absence of employment, there will be continued pressure to explore policy options of income support for employable adults.
70. The area of comprehensive social security is complex and requires trade-offs between income for the elderly, employed people or children and other government priorities.

71. Despite the significant progress of government to reduce social grants fraud, the perception remains that fraud is still endemic in the grants system.
72. The R30 billion reserve of the UIF raises the question of what social benefits are obtained from such reserves in the context of high levels of poverty and unemployment.
73. The gaps in the contributory system increases the burden on social assistance.
74. Social security policies lack coherence, are duplicated to meet the same contingencies, and are developed in a number of departments. Several agencies deliver benefits, such as SASSA, UIF, Compensation Fund and Road Accident Fund.
75. There is no reason to believe that South Africa is making sufficient headway in the war against substance abuse and drug trafficking.
83. To improve targeting of social relief for those in distress and the temporary social assistance benefit, and together with social grants, enhance links with economic activities, and building self-reliance.
84. It is necessary to assess the extent to which the Polokwane resolution on free access to education up to the undergraduate level has been progressively introduced.
85. Access to the child support grant must be linked to free health care, as it is to education, for children over the age of 6 years.
86. The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) must continue to eradicate fraud and generate efficiencies and savings in the social grants system by using financial institutions for grants payments.

Programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012:

76. To address the ongoing uncertainty about social security reform, government is urged to expedite the publication of the *Consolidated Government Document on Social Security and Retirement Reform* to initiate the process of public consultation.
77. Government must extend the period for unemployment benefits to provide support for prolonged periods of unemployment.
78. Government must move with speed to introduce the National Social Security Fund, which will manage and administer a contributory pension fund for all South Africans.
79. There is also a need to now explore the provision of a contributory retirement system for sport personalities, performing artists and related categories of persons in irregular employment.
80. The old age pension and other social grants should be progressively universalised to address the negative and disincentive effect of means testing.
81. To achieve coherence in social security policy development and address the policy gaps in the system, social security policy must reside in a new Ministry and a Department of Social Security.
82. With a view to achieve delivery efficiencies, integrate customer services and avoid double dipping, government must establish a common platform and single social security outlets in a modernised social security administration and payment arrangement.
87. A share of such savings generated by SASSA should be invested in the improvement of service delivery, improve accessibility to service offices, reduce long queues at pay points, and reduce the amount of people on its appeals backlogs.
88. There is a need to review the oversight model of the relevant social security policy department and SASSA.
89. The reform of the Road Accident Fund must be expedited to reduce the resources flowing to the legal system.
90. The Economic Transformation Committee must expedite employment creation plans to reduce pressure on the social grants system to avoid risks of creating an underclass.
91. Government must undertake a study into the socio-economic implications of alcohol abuse and review the extent to which current legislation should be reviewed to address this societal evil, especially among the poor.
92. The state must enforce the law that prohibits liquor outlets from being closer than 500 metres from schools and places of worship.
93. Government should develop a reporting system that measures progress towards the universal provision of Early Childhood Development.

94. ANC members and structures must volunteer to support the implementation of community development programmes, especially those of the Department of Social Development.
95. All government departments must contribute to the expansion of the National Youth Service programme by employing and training youth for a fixed period.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND LAND REFORM

Polokwane Resolutions:

- The state must regulate but not prohibit ownership of land by non-South Africans.
- The state and mandated entities must exercise their legal right to expropriate property in the public interest for public purpose. Compensation shall be awarded in accordance with the constitution with special emphasis on equity, redress and social justice. All legislation pertaining to expropriation must be aligned with the constitution.
- The market-driven land reform should be discarded and the principle of willing-seller, willing-buyer reviewed so as to accelerate equitable distribution of land.
- The adequacy of post-settlement support in all land reform programmes should be reviewed.
- The management and control of state land must be under one department.
- The 51st Conference resolution on a land audit is reaffirmed.
- The allocation of customary land should be democratised and should not only be the preserve of the traditional leaders.
- Redundant land belonging to SOEs and municipalities should be transferred for low cost housing.

Progress since Polokwane:

96. In excess of R170.8 million has been allocated to provinces for the acquisition of land.
97. The Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Department has completed integrating all existing funding programmes under one development funding model which aims to increase access to funding in a coordinated and holistic manner.

98. Higher numbers of farmers and extension officers now access post-settlement support.
99. The Social Transformation Committee held deliberations in respect of the proposed amendments to the Expropriation Act of 1975 to meet the commitment to redistribute 30% of land by 2014. The proposed Expropriation Bill shifts the emphasis away from the “willing-buyer-willing-seller” principle as the only determining factor in government’s acquisition of land for redistribution.
100. The Housing Development Agency is already working with SOEs and municipalities to manage the transfer of redundant land for low cost housing and residential development purposes.

Noting:

101. The slow and unsatisfactory progress in land redistribution;
102. the leakage, corruption and fraud by government officials, land owners and land evaluators;
103. the imminent publication of the Green Paper on Land Reform;
104. that the War on Poverty Campaign has been integrated into rural development.

Programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012:

105. The sector should engage the range of stakeholders on government’s plans for land redistribution and rural development.
106. Government should expedite and implement legislation that enables it to acquire land more expeditiously for distribution.
107. Programmes must be put in place to support beneficiaries of land reform and systems put in place to assess the productive use of land after it has been transferred.
108. The rural development programmes must be holistic and include arts and culture, sports and recreation, benefit young people and be biased towards the poor.
109. A moratorium on the sale of land to foreigners must be implemented.

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL COHESION

Polokwane resolutions:

- Integrate Ubuntu principles into public policy so as to comprehensively correct the distortions and imbalances not only in our heritage landscape but also in our social, economic and industrial relations.
- Move away from conservation language to development.
- Develop a policy that clarifies the ANC's approach to the naming and renaming of geographic places such as streets, towns and public facilities.
- Local government must provide funding for arts and culture.
- The tourism levy should also benefit our heritage.
- Indigenous languages should be promoted at all schools with an intention that learners be taught in their mother tongue.
- We review the ANC's draft cultural policy.

Progress since Polokwane:

110. The 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup:
- (i) demonstrated better relations between South Africa's race groups;
 - (ii) reawakened a spirit of patriotism, a sense of national pride and confidence not witnessed in South Africa since 1994;
 - (iii) enhanced national consciousness.

Noting that:

111. the process of building national identity and social cohesion has been slow and that there has been a lack of a sense of common belonging;
112. the violence against foreigners of 2008 reminded us of the need to build a caring and prosperous nation, one that is tolerant of all people. The grievances registered during this period related to growing disparities between South Africans with respect to material possessions, standards and living conditions;
113. racism remains a major challenge not receiving sufficient attention.

Programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012:

114. Government must expedite efforts to support programmes that improve national pride such as the Liberation Heritage Route Project.
115. The ANC must provide strategic support to guide organs of the state to strengthen *Ubuntu* values.
116. Investment in Arts and Culture must be increased to build national heritage and pride.
117. Indigenous languages must be promoted and name changes to places of interest explored to further engender inclusiveness.
118. The introduction of a third language as compulsory at all schools must be explored.
119. The national anthem should be played more regularly on television and presented in all forms of media.
120. The ANC needs to lead dialogues on race, culture and identity to erode all forms of prejudice and promote tolerance including towards fellow Africans and foreign nationals.

SPORT – FOR NATION-BUILDING

Polokwane resolutions:

- Affirm the 51st Conference resolution on the establishment of the sports desk at the ANC Head Quarters.
- One emblem for all sports national teams be adopted.
- All schools must offer a minimum bouquet of extra mural, mass participation in sport activities.
- Physical education must be offered as a compulsory subject for learners from grade R-12.
- Mass participation, physical activity and sport programmes must prioritise the involvement of girls, women and people with disability with a view to promoting equity.
- Funding currently under the Municipal Infrastructure Grant, which is aimed at sports facilities, should be diverted to the departments of Sports and Recreation and Education.
- The ANC must ensure that the country's investments in 2010 should result in a lasting legacy for our communities and our people.

Progress since Polokwane:

121. The bringing about of the use of one emblem for sport has been achieved.
122. The School Sport Regulatory Framework is 50% completed. 5 657 schools have been mobilised through the school 2010 mass mobilisation programme. The facilitation of the development of provincial school structures is nearly 50% completed with four provinces having school sport structures.
123. The Department of Basic Education will give effect to compulsory physical education at schools.
124. 14 679 people were trained in sport and recreation as administrators and over 4 520 000 people participate in sport and recreation.
125. *Nine Norms and Standards documents for Sport and Recreation infrastructure* were distributed to municipalities, with 164 municipalities engaged in infrastructure development.
126. Sport and Recreation South Africa managed 12 contracts on funding agreements for stadium building and reports on their legacies have been drafted.

Noting:

127. the spectacular success of the 2010 World Cup;
128. that the limited progress in sport integration remains a issue of concern.

Programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012:

129. Greater attention must be given to support sport development in townships and securing investment in sports mostly played by non-Africans.
130. Given the successes of 2010 FIFA World Cup in nation building, similar initiatives should be expanded to other major sports events.
131. Building on the successes of cooperative governance, Sport and Recreation SA should take the lead in focusing on areas such as social cohesion, nation building, tourism, peace and development, etc.
132. Serious consideration must be given to ring fencing Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) funding for the building of sport and recreation facilities or to allocate a percentage of the grant to Sport and Recreation SA.

133. The ANC must implement an earlier Conference resolution to establish a sports desk to coordinate sports development and transformation.

WOMEN, CHILDREN AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

Polokwane resolution:

- In considering the matter of establishing a Women Ministry, the commission recommends that a thorough assessment be undertaken by the ANC to analyse current instruments and their relevance, strategies and areas of focus and programmes on matters of women and the impact these programmes made.
- These assessments should then advise on comprehensive recommendations on the form and content of whatever institutional mechanisms to be put in place in pursuit of women emancipation and broadly addressing gender matters.

Progress since Polokwane:

134. The Ministry and Department of Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities has been established.
135. The STC considered and debated the format and structure of a Ministry for vulnerable groups.
136. Since then, the institutional form and mandate emerged as a department for vulnerable groups agreeing that there was a challenge of getting political direction for integrated action for the protection of women, children and persons with disabilities.

Noting that:

137. there is a need for extensive debate on integrated action for the protection of women, children and disabilities rights in government, within civil society and between the two sectors;
138. there are still high levels of violence against women and children;
139. insufficient attention is paid to addressing the needs of persons with disabilities.

Programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012:

140. There should be proper resourcing for Chapter 9 institutions, such as the Commission for Gender Equality.

141. The status of the gender machinery at all levels of government should be elevated.
142. There is a need to provide special assistance to young women in poor communities, including the provision of free sanitary towels.
143. Resources for more overnight shelters for abused women and children should be provided to reduce the incidence of secondary abuse.
144. All government officials and organs of state should be conscious of disability matters and about the needs of persons with disabilities.
145. There should be investment in training programmes for persons with disabilities so as to prepare them for better participation in the labour market.
146. The governance and institutional arrangements for the Women Ministry must be provided through the political processes.
147. Overlaps and parallels between the Ministry for Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities and other government departments and statutory entities needs to be clarified.

CONCLUSION

148. The Commission concluded its deliberations by reaffirming that the building blocks of the ANC are the branches.
149. The Commission restated the need for ANC branches and members to be responsible for pushing the social transformation agenda by implementing the programme of action as we move towards the ANC's Centenary.
150. The Commission welcomed the idea of the arrangement between Parliamentary Constituency Offices (PCOs) and the branches of the ANC as reported in the SG's report.
151. There must be maximum use of resources from the Caucus fund to ensure a close relationship between public representatives and the branches of the ANC. In this regard the Treasurer General must make a full report on Caucus funds and further ensure its proper functioning.
152. There is a need for ANC branches to ensure the protection of councillors as they are the first victims in service delivery protests.

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

1. The National General Council received a report on the implementation of Polokwane resolutions and the state of the economy, especially the impact of the global financial crisis. The NGC agreed that the NEC must be furnished with a comprehensive report on achievements, obstacles and blockages.
2. The National General Council affirmed the Polokwane resolutions on Economic Transformation. It further endorsed the call in the Political Report for an urgent discussion on the elements and details of a new growth path, and how it will sustain economic recovery and inclusive growth.
3. Of particular importance is the decent work agenda in the context of placing our economy on to a new job creating and more equitable growth path. There must be a detailed analysis of where jobs will be created. The NGC was of the view that the 10 sectors outlined in the new growth path proposals must be expanded and the fisheries sector be used as a starting reference point with measurable targets.
4. In addition, the NGC instructed that there must be a report on Industrial Policy Action Plan 2 (IPAP2) performance to the ANC, Cabinet and Parliament within the next 90 days, so that consideration be given to the resourcing of this industrial strategy.
5. The NGC noted that special attention must be given to the distortions created by non-economic issues such as education outcomes (all the way from ECD). Special attention must be paid to the FET sector, with emphasis on the artisanal sector. It should be noted that the report on Education deals in detail with this matter.
6. The discussion on labour markets, in the context of the decent work agenda, included attention to the 2009 Elections Manifesto position on labour brokers. The NGC noted the parliamentary hearings on this matter, and mandated the NEC to be engaged with this process.
7. On black economic empowerment, the NGC expressed a profound concern that the existing approach has led to narrow empowerment and a series of unintended consequences. The NGC agreed that all sector charters should be aligned with the Department of Trade and Industry scorecards. If needs be, the policy should be revisited on such review, and this should also take into account the need to build a productive stratum of black entrepreneurs. Among the issues of review should be how supply chain management and preferential procurement can more effectively contribute towards small business and cooperative development.
8. The NGC noted that Strategy and Tactics (2007) defined a developmental state in the South African context as a state that is able to deliver effective basic services and with the capacity to direct national development. It thus should have the following attributes:
 - a. A commitment to people-centred and people driven change;
 - b. The capacity to lead in defining a common national agenda; and
 - c. The organisational and technical capacity to translate broad objectives into programmes and projects.What is required is further elaboration on the measures to be used by such a state to develop and expand these attributes.
9. The NGC agreed that particular attention should be given to the process to reverse apartheid spatial patterns and take back the responsibility of government on spatial planning and development that appears to have been ceded to developers.
10. The NGC reaffirms the ANC's approach that the transformation of the South African economy should always be holistic and comprehensive, covering all sectors of the economy. In this regard, the ANC should ensure greater state involvement and control of strategic sectors of the economy, such as mining, energy, the financial sector and others.
11. There was greater consensus in the commission on the nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy. The NGC therefore mandated the NEC to ensure further work be done, including research, study tours and discussions, and to report to the Policy Conference for decision at National Conference in 2012.
12. The NGC urged government to expedite the

establishment of a state mining company to consolidate all assets of the state in mining. The mining company should be given a mandate to consider various forms of ownership including partnerships with the private sector.

13. The NGC called on government to develop a mining sector strategy within 12 months, which takes into account the country's developmental needs and which should also help clarify the state's role in the sector. Among others, the state must ensure an increase in beneficiation of all mineral resources and increase beneficiation targets from the current 10% to about 50% in the next 20 years.
14. The above will require consequential amendments to the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act in order to support the objectives of our mineral sector strategy.
15. The NGC discussed the matters related to rural development and agricultural support systems. It was agreed that these matters must be pursued with greater vigour and that the obstacles to progress must be enunciated and acted upon.
16. On resource application, the NGC noted that the state has limited resources with which to address the various challenges that exist in South Africa. The ANC must therefore create a mechanism so that government can account within the context of the broader policy decisions exercised.
17. The NGC agreed on the creation of a state bank, either as a new institution or a retooled Postbank, which would require intensive capitalisation.
18. The NGC agreed that greater attention should be paid to jobs and economic growth opportunities that could be gained from new technology and the knowledge economy. In this regard, the NGC pledged support for South Africa's bid to host the Square Kilometre Array, the largest radio telescope in the world.
19. In line with the Polokwane resolution, the NGC confirmed that we should pay greater attention to the job creation potential of infrastructure development and maintenance.

PEACE AND STABILITY

Background

A report was presented on progress made in achieving the following critical outputs identified by the 52nd National Conference in the area of peace and stability:

- Reduce overall levels of serious crime.
- Establish an effective, efficient and integrated Criminal Justice System.
- Eradicate corruption within the JCPS Cluster.
- Manage and improve perceptions among the population that crime is increasing.
- Improve investor perceptions, trust and willingness to invest in SA.
- Establish an effective and integrated border management system.
- Secure the integrity of identity and status of citizens and residents.
- Combat cyber crime effectively.
- Introduce legislation enabling transformation of the judiciary.

The National General Council commended the report and noted that implementation of the Resolutions of the 52 Conference are on track.

On programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012:

The transformation of the judiciary and the legal system

1. Introduce community service for newly qualified law graduates to ensure that basic legal services are afforded to the poorest of the poor; and ensure that new graduates gather the requisite experience.
2. Gender issues need to be mainstreamed and be put high up on the agenda of transformation of the judiciary and the legal system.
3. Review the funding model of Legal Aid South Africa to enable it to attract highly skilled and experienced litigators and provide assistance in civil matters, especially where women and children are affected.
4. Prioritise the location of high courts to ensure access to justice to all, especially the poor, taking into account local economic development imperatives.
5. Promote greater use of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms by empowering and capacitating communities to deal with matters in a non-adversarial manner, thus avoiding litigation.

6. Implement the best practices identified during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in the dedicated courts model in the justice system.
7. Transformation of the judiciary should include changing mindsets, attitudes, and orientation.
8. There is a need for a discussion on the most appropriate model of court administration, which not only enhances judicial independence, but will confer on judicial officers the authority to take charge of cases brought before them and thereby enhance efficiency and expeditiousness, which are essential elements of access to justice.
9. Fast-track the processing of the Traditional Courts Bill to ensure consistency in the processing of cases in current traditional courts.

Policing and the fight against crime

10. Prioritise the upgrading of police stations, especially in rural communities and align demarcation of police stations with local government demarcation.
11. Create a single command of the police services, speed up the integration of municipal police with the South African Police Service (SAPS).
12. Deployment of police officers, especially station commanders, should be sensitive to the needs of communities.
13. Senior appointments in the police should consider understanding of and commitment to the transformational agenda of government.
14. There is a need to integrate training with patriotism, improve the image of the SAPS, and to attract the best students to join the police force. Police stations that can be used for training should be identified and strengthened to execute that task.
15. There is a need to ensure better coordination between Provincial Commissioners and Provincial Executive Committees of government.
16. We should strengthen and capacitate forensic laboratory services.

17. Victim protection centres should be rolled out to cover all police stations.
18. In order to reduce social fabric crime, we must intensify the campaign to break the silence, have safe homes for victims, and for the state to take responsibility on behalf of rape or abuse victims in ensuring that justice is realised.
29. Branches should be vigilant in Community Police Forum (CPF) structures and operations, ensure the agenda of CPFs remain focused on the fight against crime, and combat infiltration and hijack by counter revolutionary elements.
30. Branches should form an integral part of programmes to integrate non-nationals into communities.

Home Affairs

19. There is a need to educate and conscientise our communities on the risks of contracting marriages of convenience.
20. Benevolence towards non-nationals should be balanced with national interest.
21. Patriotism should form part of the school curriculum.
22. Border control management should be strengthened to limit illegal entry into the country.
23. Immigration officers and other strategic components, such as those dealing with death registration, should be declared as essential services.

MKMVA and 50th anniversary of the formation of Umkhonto weSizwe

24. The MK Military Veterans Association (MKMVA) should be utilised as a resource, considering their skills and expertise across the spectrum of the security cluster.
25. All MKMVA structures should be invited to sit in the PEC and all levels of organisational structures.
26. Preparations to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the formation of MK on the 16th of December 2011 should be started early.

Role of ANC branch in combating crime

27. Develop guidelines and fast-track the roll-out of street committees.
28. Branches and alliance structures should be at the centre of crime prevention: they should be in the forefront of crime intelligence gathering and whistle blowing.

Private security services

31. We must speed up the governance and regulatory framework for the private security industry, which often possesses and has access to more dangerous weaponry than necessary, in the interest of national security.
32. A time frame of two years should be set to deal with the regulation of the private security industry.

Correctional Services

33. The parole boards should be inclusive in composition and involve communities in granting parole to offenders.
34. There should be criminal offences that can be categorised as falling outside the parole framework.
35. Offender labour should be strengthened, ploughing back to communities to enhance self sufficiency and skills development

LEGISLATURES AND GOVERNANCE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Background

The key political mandate of the ANC in Legislatures and Governance is to advance the national democratic revolution, building a developmental state in pursuit of our vision of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

The preparations for the 52nd National Conference were informed by a discussion document, which outlined a strategic approach in dealing with matters of Legislatures and Governance from 2007 to 2012. The objective of that paper was to provide enduring and useful guidance for the ANC as a whole, but in particular for those cadres deployed to government and the legislatures whose responsibility it is to implement ANC policy.

Since the NGC is a mid-term review the discussion document on Legislatures and Governance anchors itself on the four attributes of a developmental state:

- Its strategic orientation that is people-centred and people driven change;
- its capacity to lead in defining a common national agenda;
- its organisational capacity that its structures and systems facilitate the realisation of a set agenda; and
- its technical capacity to translate broad objectives into programmes and projects.

Progress since Polokwane:

At Polokwane in December 2007 discussions revolved around: the nature of our electoral system; floor crossing; the single public service; transformation of the judiciary; a review of provincial and local government; and ethics and integrity. In addition there were four other key issues referred to the incoming NEC for processing.

The progress report to the NGC submitted in June 2010 reflects that substantial progress has been made since Polokwane and that a number of our resolutions have in fact either been completed or are in process given the complexity of some of the resolutions. Our achievements since Polokwane include:

- The development of a clear programme of action to implement both Polokwane decisions and post Polokwane NEC decisions.
- Ensuring the political efficiency and effectiveness of

the political governance arm of the NEC, the sub-committee on Legislatures and Governance, which included refining its role and scope.

- Preparing for the National General Council through discussion documents that both reflect progress but equally raise questions derived out of the experiences over the past two and half years and crafting recommendations to the NGC.

This has meant among many other activities:

- political assessment of the state of local government;
- transformation of legislative institutions (which remains an ongoing process);
- review of the report and recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee into Chapter 9 and associated institutions;
- legislation that abolished “floor crossing”.

The NGC informed by the above noted as follows on current and urgent challenges:

Cadre Development in the Public Service and Local Government

1. Cadre development for all spheres of government and organs of the state must be enhanced by a broader approach, which includes political education, training in ethics and training on the constitution and relevant legislation.
2. Cadre development must be informed by the ANC principles and norms enshrined in Political Education.
3. That a targeted cadre development programme should aim at building minimum standards for deployment in government structures.

Local Government

4. There is need for assessment of Ward Committees along with an assessment of community development workers.
5. On the local government turnaround strategy the NGC further instructed the NEC sub-committee to apply its mind to the strategy and ensure that the constitutional structures of the ANC are fully conversant with its recommendations.

6. To ensure service delivery and sustainable municipalities, the executive system chosen by municipalities must reflect the will of the voters. The NEC sub-committee must ensure necessary mechanisms and guidelines to give effect to this principle.
7. The separation of powers at local government level must be implemented, in particular the strengthening of the legislative function to ensure effective oversight. This matter should form part of the Local Government Review Summit.
8. Where there is national intervention in a municipality, there must be due process in respect of the constitution, appropriate legislation, and the involvement of the MEC. No intervention should take place without consultation.
9. The NEC must review the current interventions and consider their implications for the next local government elections.

Legislatures

10. With regards the Parliamentary Constituency Offices (PCOs) there is a need to review structures of the PCOs to enhance the one-stop model. The location of public representatives at different PCOs needs to be reviewed and streamlined instead of creating new structures.
11. Capacitating of both human and technical capacity needs to be addressed.

Integrity Commission

12. The NGC supports the formation of an Integrity Commission to ensure a coordinated approach in dealing with ethical conduct and corruption in all spheres of government.

Gender

13. It is necessary to enhance the gendering of programmes across local government and in national departments whilst at the same time involving key stakeholders.

Convening the Summit of Provincial and Local Government

14. There is an urgent need for the implementation of the Polokwane resolution on the Review of Provincial and Local Government and in particular the implementation of a summit as part of the

process in the development of a White Paper on Provincial Government and to review the Local Government White Paper.

15. The Municipal Systems Administration Bill and all key legislation affecting local government must be presented to the summit.
16. The Summit will be held within three months of the NGC. A discussion document must be prepared for the summit and circulated to ANC structures. The ANC structures and alliance partners must be properly represented and ensure quality inputs to the summit.

Demarcation

17. On demarcation boundary disputes it was acknowledged that there are processes in place and procedures that need to be followed in resolving these disputes. The NEC is urged to speed up the finalisation of these matters.
18. The Commission expressed unhappiness with the Municipal Demarcation Board. Further, the Demarcation Board must be informed by a principled approach on demarcation, which takes into account not just a numbers ratio approach but a philosophical appreciation of what underpins the human settlements approach.
19. The role, functions and location of the Demarcation Board must be reviewed.

Service delivery

20. Service delivery audits must be done in all three spheres of government. This must be completed before the elections.

Programmatic issues and recommendations towards 2012

Single Public Service

21. There is support for the continuing process.

Local Government

22. There is an urgent need for a review of local government legislation. This would entail a comprehensive review of local government legislation, specifically the Municipal Systems Act, Municipal Structures Acts and the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA).

23. On the two tier system of local government there were views expressed for and against. This will further be discussed at the summit. It was agreed that criteria must be developed, informed by an integrated approach; redistribution; access to services; and an approach to shared services. These criteria should inform the configuration of a new structure of local government. Further this process needs to be linked to the future of provinces.
 24. There is an urgent need to review the current funding model of local government. This would include a review of the equitable share formula with the poverty index being used rather than outdated population figures.
 25. That the entire intergovernmental fiscal relations need to be reviewed. This would include conducting an impact assessment of the abolition of the Regional Services Council (RSC) levy and its consequence on the ability of district municipalities to deliver on their mandate. Further, the Municipal Infrastructure Grant must form part of this review.
 26. Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) must include the financial implications of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Provincial and National government must play a meaningful role in informing the IDPs.
 27. With regard to working relations at local government level, there was consensus that these working relations must be harmonised, in particular between Chief Whips, Municipal Mayors and Speakers.
 28. The Proportional Representation (PR) system must be retained. Public opinion can be sought but within the context of an ANC process. Further, that leadership and local government experience are essential criteria in determining who is elected.
 29. There was consensus that the ANC at its next Policy Conference moves toward a retention policy, with respect to councilors, to ensure continuity and institutional memory.
 30. There was strong consensus on the need for full time councilors.
 31. Migration issues must be taken into account when planning at local government level. This would include implications on provincial and local government finances and human settlements.
 32. We should support and promote cooperatives as primary sources of employment and producers of goods and services, and an integral part of local economic development.
- ### Political office and senior management positions in government
33. The NGC agreed as a matter of principle that political office bearers in the ANC should not hold senior management positions in any sphere of government. This principle must ensure no contradictions of accountability nor conflicts of interest.
- ### Provinces
34. On the future of provinces it was resolved that there is a need for a deeper analysis and examination of the balance of evidence before any final decision be taken. Views within the Commission were expressed on doing away with provinces but in a phased approach.
 35. The relationship of the future of the two tier system of local government must be linked to future reconfiguration of the provinces.
- ### Legislatures
36. The role of the SA Local Government Association (SALGA) in the National Council of Provinces must change with SALGA receiving full voting rights
 37. All Bills of strategic importance must go before the relevant NEC sub-committee for processing prior to them being submitted in Parliament. The same principle applies for provincial legislatures and PECs.
- ### 2011 Local Government Elections
38. There is need for deployment from national structures to particular provinces backed with resources. The resources for local government elections must be made available as a matter of urgency.
 39. The tasks in Phase 1 and 2 of the presentation were endorsed.
 40. The 2006 local government elections reflected over 30% of youth not registered to vote. The ANC branches must attend to this as a matter of urgency. A dedicated registration campaign with targets must be set.

Know your neighbourhood campaign

41. Conceptually the role of the ANC must be expanded way beyond the confines of ANC government. As a liberation movement the role of the ANC outside of government is to reintroduce the “Know your neighbourhood campaign” especially in the rural areas

Simultaneous elections for all three spheres of government

42. The Commission agreed that we should towards holding national, provincial and local government elections at the same time. This must not be based only upon financial considerations, but rather political considerations. A broader perspective needs to underpin the approach.
43. The ANC undertake research into the likely impact of simultaneous elections.

Coalition governments

44. There needs to be guidelines laid down by the ANC on participation in coalition governments and the framework that will govern this.

Electricity distribution

45. On electricity distribution at local government level, the Regional Electricity Distributors (REDS) must be relocated under the municipalities. Electricity infrastructure funding must follow the relocation of function.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Background

1. *As stipulated in the Freedom Charter “there shall be peace and friendship”. International Relations is utilised by the ANC to form friendships and to work towards peace in the continent and the world. This also means forging and maintaining relations with like-minded forces to take forward a progressive agenda for a better Africa and better world, without hunger, disease, oppression and underdevelopment.*
2. The six pillars of international work are:
 - (a) Contributing to building a better Africa and better world
 - (b) Continental and international solidarity
 - (c) Party-to-party, intra-lateral party and multilateral
 - (d) Transformation of global governance institutions
 - (e) Policy development issues
 - (f) Campaigns

Progress and challenges since the 52nd National Conference:

3. Since Polokwane, the ANC has done work on the continent and in the world through party-to-party relations, participating in certain international fora, conflict resolution on the continent, limited involvement in campaigns, dealt with some of the transformational global governance issues, and ensured ongoing policy development.
4. The capacity of the International Relations sub-committee at ANC headquarters is a matter of concern as it is not nearly adequate to respond to all the issues we face. Therefore, the ANC has not been able to implement many of the resolutions, as reflected in the NEC Sub-committee on International Relations Report to the National General Council .
5. The current international balance of forces have seen a shift from a unipolar world where the United States was a hegemonic power towards an emerging multipolar world with the increased presence of Asia, in the process decisively tilting the international balance of forces. China and India are emerging as key players in geopolitics and we have seen the emergence of several regional groups of

the ‘South’ like BRIC, IBSA, etc.

6. South Africa plays a role in many global forums such as the G20, which has eclipsed the G8 configuration of developed countries. This is an important platform for our international work.

Programmatic tasks and recommendations towards 2012:

7. Strengthening African institutions

- 7.1 Continue to strengthen the regional integration of SADC.
- 7.2 Strengthen the African Union (AU) and its organs, encourage strong regional bodies and reinvigorate NEPAD.
- 7.3 The Pan African Parliament is a critical instrument for the continued democratisation of the Continent.

8. Sudan

- 8.1 Delegates raised concerns about the situation in Sudan, and the NGC thus proposed that the President should consider appointing a Special Envoy to Sudan to enable South Africa to contribute to achieving a peaceful Sudanese referendum reflecting the will of the people.

9. Africa Day

- 9.1 Promote Africa Day (not necessarily a public holiday) and the African Union anthem in the broader South African society to assist South Africans identify with the African continent.

10. Foreign Policy Review and the issue of National Interest

- 10.1 Conduct a review of South African foreign policy, including such matters as South Africa’s national interests, international migration, and strengthening of the Region.
- 10.2 Our definition of the national interest should

advance the NDR, and be informed by the Strategy and Tactics document of the ANC. We also need to balance our national interest between our emphasis on human rights, political issues and economic interests. The ANC should further debate and develop an ANC position paper on what it regards as our national interest and popularise it.

- 10.3 Foreign policy should incorporate the current challenges of human trafficking and migration, in addition to human rights and worker rights issues.
- 10.4 The ANC should further develop a position paper on migration, immigration and xenophobia as contained in the 52nd Conference resolution, which should be taken to the provinces for further discussions.
- 10.5 The ANC should debate and develop a position paper on if, when, under what circumstances and where South Africa should deploy SANDF soldiers in countries at war, such as Somalia. There was consensus in the commission that South Africa should not send troops to Somalia but continue to engage on the issues.
- 10.6 The response on AFRICOM should be informed by strategic considerations and not only a campaign.

11. Business Code of Conduct

- 11.1 The Business Code of Conduct should ensure that South African companies doing business in Africa and further abroad conduct themselves in a manner consistent with South African norms and standards, such as upholding labour relations standards, ethical conduct and so forth.

12. South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA)

- 12.1 The South African Development Partnership Agency should advance a progressive agenda and not act like traditional aid agencies.
- 12.2 The work already done on the South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA), National Interests paper and the Business Code of Conduct should be processed

through the NEC Sub-committee on International Relations and be submitted to the ANC NEC for approval before being implemented.

13. Training, coordinating structures and institutional capacity

- 13.1 Many provinces raised concerns about our internal coordinating mechanisms around international relations. All provinces that have not established International Relations (IR) Sub-committees should do so by the end of 2010 with the assistance of the NEC Sub-committee. Furthermore, IR desks should also be cascaded to regional level.
- 13.2 Branch databases should be used to identify IR practitioners that could serve as volunteers in the ANC, employees in government eg. cadets. This should assist the ANC to build capacity and expand its International Relations programme. The ANC should look at its deployment to international institutions and ensure that this is broadened. DIRCO should establish a database on its website which indicates all available employment in multilateral institutions, to enable comrades and others to view and apply for these positions.
- 13.3 The institutional memory from other countries, our international friends, and veterans of the movement need to be identified, coordinated and consolidated for the purposes of archiving and recording the history of our movement in international relations as we move towards our centenary anniversary.
- 13.4 DIRCO need to publicise the national guidelines for the coordination of international relations work in all spheres of government, which was adopted by Cabinet. Government officials at all levels should adhere to these guidelines.
- 13.5 DIRCO should explore the possibilities of using their expertise and facilities of their Diplomatic Academy to provide training for members of civil society in international relations.
- 13.6 Protocol training should be provided in all ANC structures, for deployees and Alliance

structures to ensure that comrades behave and conduct themselves professionally when embarking on ANC international relations work.

13.7 The ANC should open an International Relations Office in Tshwane as the city hosts one of the largest diplomatic communities in the world.

13.8 We must encourage debate on international relations as part of promoting South African foreign policy.

13.9 The ANC should engage the SABC on reinstating the African and international channels to promote debate on continental and international issues in the domestic arena as well as the broader continent.

14. Party to party relations

14.1 The ANC should develop clear guidelines for already existing relationships and forging new party-to party relations, informed by the ANC's values, including our commitment to democracy. Party-to-party relations go beyond Africa, we therefore need to establish relations with the progressive forces across the world to take forward our national and continental endeavours. Further to this we need to identify and engage with progressive parties on the continent to enable us to take the progressive agenda forward.

14.2 In engagement with progressive parties on the continent, we should share experiences and where possible, assist each other with party building.

15. Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO)

15.1 South Africa currently hosts PAWO, and holds the position of Secretary General through the ANC Women's League.

15.2 Programmes between PAWO and ANC International Relations should be coordinated and strategic support provided.

15.3 We must ensure that the resolution on the formation of a Young Women's structure within PAWO is expedited.

16. Alliance programme on international relations

16.1 A combined programme on IR with our partners on the Alliance was proposed, around identified issues such as:

- Climate change, trade, and transformation of multi-lateral institutions.
- Solidarity campaigns: Cuba, Western Sahara, Palestine and Swaziland. In particular, the Alliance needs to undertake a full discussion on our approach to the situation in Swaziland.
- There is a meeting of the World Social Forum in Senegal in 2011. We therefore need to establish a Southern African Chapter of the Forum towards the end of 2010.

16.2 The Alliance should convene an International Forum to strategise and plan joint campaigns.

16.3 The Alliance should share critical information on international relations as the information arises.

17. ANC participation in international organisations

17.1 The ANC needs to urgently develop clear policy on international participation to ensure that proper international protocols and conduct is followed by comrades in spheres of government and in the ANC when conducting their international work. Secondly we need to strengthen affiliation to like-minded international organisations and participate actively in them, including strengthening our proactive participation in structures like the Socialist International, Sao Paulo Forum, Non-Aligned Movement, etc.

18. Cuban solidarity and the release of the Cuban Five Campaign

18.1 ANC members are urged to sign the petition initiated by the Ex-Political Prisoners Association available at ANC Headquarters. A march will be organised to deliver the petition and a memorandum to the President of

the United States, with the call for the release of the Cuban Five who were incarcerated defending the Cuban Revolution.

- 18.2 The NGC declared its support for the campaign to ensure that the campaign for the Release of the Cuban Five is profiled and reiterated its commitment to the cause of the Cuban people. The NGC agreed to increase the trade between South Africa and Cuba as a reinforcement of our foreign policy and international solidarity with Cuba.

19. **World Youth Festival, December 2010**

- 19.1 South Africa is hosting the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WYFDY) World Youth Festival from 13 – 23 December 2010, with the participation of 30 000 young people from more than 160 countries. In previous festivals held in Venezuela and Algeria the host country organised free chartered flights to bring the participants from Cuba to the event. The NGC strongly encourages government to assist and facilitate the participation of the Cuban youth delegation in the festival.

MEDIA DIVERSITY AND COMMUNICATIONS

1. The National General Council in commission deliberated on progress made towards the implementation of the 52nd National Conference resolutions. The deliberations took place against the backdrop of progress in the revival and strengthening of the NEC Communications sub-committee, which is tasked with the implementation of conference resolutions.
2. To this effect, the ANC established a National Communications Forum, an ICT Task Team, a Media Diversity Task Team and the Communications Strategy Task Team. Since Polokwane, various meetings have been held to strategise, formulate work plans and implement conference resolutions as far as possible.
3. During the period under review, the Communications sub-committee developed a discussion paper on media diversity and a report dealing with ICT policy issues as part of the implementation of Conference resolutions. These documents were discussed in ANC structures and tabled at the NGC for consideration.
4. Guided by the 51st and 52nd Conference Resolutions, the discussion document on media diversity and the ICT policy report, the commission discussed the following key issues:
 - a. Challenges facing the broadcasting industry in general and the role of the public broadcaster (SABC) in particular.
 - b. Advocacy for a review of journalism ethics and curriculum to include developmental communication.
 - c. Investigation of anti-competitive behaviour in the print media value chain (publishing, printing, advertising and distribution).
 - d. Effective communications in all spheres of government to ensure that it reaches all citizens, in all official languages.
 - e. Development and adoption of a media charter, media diversity and transformation (as regards to broadcast, print and new media).
 - f. General media freedom, advertising and its impact on society.
 - g. Continuation and conclusion of discussions on the enquiry on the desirability of establishing a Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT).
 - h. The allocation of frequency spectrum to support developmental goals.
 - i. Strengthening and increased funding of ICASA, SABC, Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) and SENTECH.
 - j. Development of languages to be in line with our developmental priorities on public broadcasting, including funding, governance, management, content and programming.
 - k. Information and Communication Technologies as tools for development.
 - l. Global governance of the internet.
 - m. Transformation of gender relations in and through the media including dealing with the stereotyping of women in media.
 - n. Creating an environment that is sensitive to and affirming of the needs and rights of people with disabilities.
 - o. Measures to protect and safeguard children and youth against negative effects of harmful advertising and media.
 - p. Strengthening of internal organisational communication
5. The NGC noted efforts and progress made towards the implementation of conference resolutions as well as the outstanding tasks. Progress achieved by the time of this NGC, include:
 - a. Publication of a discussion paper on media diversity and transformation. The document has gone through internal ANC processes including discussions in the NEC, branches and provincial general councils.
 - b. Production of various ANC media products such as *NEC Bulletin* and PEC Bulletins in some provinces, journal *Umrabulo*, *ANC Today* and the upgrading of the ANC website, to ensure effective communications within the organisation and the broader democratic movement.
 - c. The development of a media interaction programme and extending the submission of

- articles originating from members for publication in ANC Today beyond members of the NEC.
- d. Engaged social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter, which have proven effective during major campaigns especially elections
 - e. At a policy level progress has been made with regard to the rollout of community radio stations in the majority of district municipalities
 - f. Work has been done in respect to auditing trends regarding media ownership and control in South Africa. A research report was published in this regard.
6. With regard to ICT policy, the commission noted achievements in the following areas:
- a. Research and development strategy has been finalised and implemented.
 - b. Every district municipality has a community radio station.
 - c. NEMISA and Meraka Institute established to facilitate skills development and capacity building in the sector.
 - d. Strides have been achieved regarding universal access to ICTs and broadcasting. However a lot still needs to be done to achieve full access by all citizens.
 - e. The ANC Media Forum and Media and ICT Task Teams have been established and are meeting regularly.
 - f. Local content development and digitisation strategy is under review.
 - g. A new spectrum and broadband policies have been introduced
 - h. Progress has been made in the transformation of global internet governance.
7. The following resolutions are yet to be implemented:
- a. Further financial support to critical institutions in the sector such as Sentech, ICASA and MDDA.
 - b. Funding of the SABC to the level resolved by Polokwane Conference (and previous Conferences) has not been done. Instead the SABC continues to rely extensively on commercial revenues to discharge its public service mandate. This situation militates

- against the SABC meeting its public service obligations as per its license. Currently, the SABC is faced with a financial crisis that has necessitated the issuing of a government guarantee of R1.4bn.
- c. The national youth radio station has not been established.
 - d. Parliamentary radio and television channels have not been established.
 - e. SABC regional TV services have not yet been established.
8. Informed by the considerations above, the NGC affirmed the recommendations as presented including those from the PGCs, and further made additions as follows:

On the ANC and media freedoms and democracy

9. The ANC should communicate the fact that South Africa enjoys ICT and media freedom as a result of the implementation of the ANC policies. Since its inception in 1912 the ANC has consistently fought for freedom of expression and freedom of the media. Our history and the Constitution of the Republic attest to this reality.
10. The ANC has to advance and defend the existing rights and ensure that all South Africans equally enjoy these rights.

On ANC Internal Communications

11. The National Communication Forum and NEC Sub-Committee Task Teams should be strengthened. Effective communications strategies and interventions should also be introduced in all structures of the organisation. Interventions in this regard should include the participation of our cadres in the community media platforms and initiatives.
12. New media and digitisation provides opportunities for enhancing ANC communication. The ANC needs to make creative use of a range of mechanisms to communicate with the widest spectrum of South Africans. Cadres should utilise the existing space provided by alternative and community media in the battle of ideas.
13. ANC literature, publications and documents should be distributed to all libraries and community centres across the country to ensure that members of the public have access to the ANC public documents.

The ANC further needs to establish an information desk in all its structures to analyse news, and must use arts and culture to enhance communication, eg. sculptures, etc.

14. The ANC should effectively monitor progress related to media diversity, ownership and content.
15. All structures of the ANC must be online, in order to facilitate and strengthen direct flow of information to all structures and the general public. The ANC communications unit must be equipped with video, audio and photography.
16. Acts of indiscipline, including cadres leaking stories and making irresponsible public statements to the media, is a contributory cause for the generation of negative perceptions that undermine the standing, unity and stability of the ANC in the public eye. ANC cadres in general and in particular leaders should be circumspect when making public statements.
17. The ANC should proactively and effectively coordinate its various policy and legislative interventions and the communication thereof, to avoid mixed messages and sending wrong signals.
18. Communication links should be strengthened among all ANC structures including the leagues.
19. The ANC should strengthen its communication linkage with its Alliance partners.

On Media Diversity

20. The print media must be transformed and diversified in terms of ownership and control. Transformation must include language diversity, gender mainstreaming, equity in respect of race and class, and sensitivity to children and people with disabilities. A media transformation charter should be introduced to facilitate changes in the media.
21. There should be a Competition Commission inquiry into possible anti-competitive behaviour in the print media value chain (publishing, printing, advertising and distribution).
22. An enquiry should also be conducted on the transformation of the advertising and marketing industry.

On Media Accountability Mechanisms

23. The existing self-regulatory system (Press Ombuds-

man and Press Council) is ineffective and needs to be strengthened to balance the rights of the media and those of other citizens, guided by the values enshrined in our Bill of Rights, ie. Human Dignity, Equality and Freedom.

24. According to the Constitution, the National Assembly is elected to represent the people. The Assembly is also mandated to provide a national forum for the public consideration of issues. Media accountability, as now it is a matter of public importance, should therefore be a matter for consideration by the Assembly.
25. The South African Constitution is premised on the values of human dignity, equality and freedom. In addition human dignity is enshrined as a fundamental right in Section 10 of the Bill of Rights. This is an indication of the primacy of human dignity in the South African situation.
26. Freedom of expression is also an important right enshrined in our Constitution, but we should fight hard to prevent the campaign to elevate it above the right and value of human dignity.
27. The NGC affirmed the call for Parliament to conduct a public inquiry on:
 - 1.1 Balancing of the rights enshrined in the Constitution, like the rights to dignity, freedom of expression and media, guided by the values enshrined in our Bill of Rights, ie. human dignity, equality and freedom.
 - 1.2 Transformation of the print media (media charter, ownership and control, advertising and marketing and the establishment of media accountability mechanism, *the Media Appeals Tribunal*).
 - 1.3 A media accountability mechanism in the public interest, including an investigation into the best international practices without compromising the values enshrined in our Constitution.
 - 1.4 What regulatory mechanisms can be put in place to ensure the effective balancing of rights. This may include self-regulation, co-regulation and independent regulation.
28. Any media accountability mechanism should be independent of commercial and party political interests, should act without fear, favour and prejudice, should be empowered to impose appropriate sanctions and must not be pre-publication censorship.

29. In preparation for its submission to this inquiry, the ANC should put together a team tasked with preparing the ANC submission to parliament.

Public broadcasting

30. The ANC should convene an Indaba on Public Broadcasting to define and outline the role of the Public Broadcasting Service as soon as possible, and should learn from other developmental states. Discussions in this regard should also include the governance challenges of the SABC.
31. There must be the political will to implement the resolution of the 51st and 52nd conferences in respect of funding the SABC with a minimum of 60% through public funds.
32. Government should commit to a plan towards this objective, including indicating the amount of percentage increase in every financial year towards the achievement of this objective, with timelines.
33. National Treasury should prioritise the funding of the SABC as the basis of a drive to introduce effective public broadcasting. National Treasury must also prioritise the funding of the parliamentary channel and youth radio in terms of the Conference Resolutions.
34. Regard should be given in respect of access to all public broadcasting radio stations nationally.

On Regulatory capacity and strengthening state enterprises

35. Public entities like the communications regulator (ICASA), signal distributor (SENTECH) and MDDA should be strengthened through the injection of additional financial and human resources, capacitated to fulfil their mandate as enshrined in their founding legislation.
36. Officials at these entities should be conversant with the objectives of the ANC-led government, including its policies.

On Government Communications

37. Government communication should reach all citizens and in all languages. It recommends that GCIS be strengthened in order to coordinate information

flow among different departments and among all three spheres of government (local, district and provincial).

38. The NGC recommended the strengthening of local government communication through enhanced training programmes. The commission further recommended that GCIS should further offer communication support to parastatals in order to properly profile work of these institutions.
39. Government needs to strengthen effective communication using media platforms serving the targeted communities like community broadcasting and public broadcasting services (radio and print) in the battle of ideas.
40. Our government is one of the biggest advertising spenders. All spheres of government should advertise in the community and small commercial media that produce media in the languages spoken by communities, to assist the sustenance and growth of these media.
41. In view of the advent of digitisation and new media, government needs to investigate possible options of unmediated government communication systems. The new opportunities provide a paradigm shift in government communications.
42. GCIS should support the communication of work done by other public and state owned entities which does not get media coverage. We must use arts and culture to enhance communication and convey the values of our democratic society, eg. sculptures, murals and other forms of public art. Officials at GCIS should be conversant with the objectives of the ANC-led Government.

On Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs)

43. The ANC should develop and adopt ICT policies that take into account the strategic role of ICTs in socio-economic development, government administration, democratic governance and service delivery. Such development of policy should be inclusive of all structures of the ANC.
44. There should be public sector interventions to roll out infrastructure, and services in schools, libraries, health centres, public offices and community centres must be prioritised. Policy should incentivize SMMEs and cooperatives to take advantage of ICT innovations.

45. The national backbone and infrastructure should be extended to reach all communities and households in the medium to long term. The ANC should introduce formal and informal education and training opportunities to ensure effective utilisation of ICTs.
46. The ANC should canvass the ministries of Education and Higher Education and Training to ensure that ICT and technology education are integrated in the school and higher education curriculum.
47. There should exist a single ICT national plan to maximize the value and impact of existing investments and initiatives. This plan should inform the reconfiguration of state interventions and institutions where necessary. The national broadband plan should emphasise high speed, affordable and quality services to all South Africans
48. The new spectrum policy should identify frequencies to be set aside to facilitate empowerment, universal access and SMME participation. The national plan should further include a digital migration plan for the digitisation of government services; initially each government department should identify at least three services to be offered online.
49. Current state interventions (Sentech, Infracore, Telkom, municipality services, SITA, SANReN, etc) should be harmonised to prevent duplications and to improve service delivery. Regard has to be taken of the 52nd National Conference resolution in respect of a review of state owned enterprises.
50. South Africa's approach to convergence should not compromise the strategic role of broadcasting as a cultural sector; there needs to be more investment in the creation of broadcasting content, including film, that is reflective of the South African realities.
51. The independent regulating authority, Icasa, should be capacitated adequately (including additional funding and human resource). New ways of levying the sector to fund the regulator should be considered without compromising Icasa's accountability to Parliament and the public.
52. The governance of state owned enterprises should be streamlined and should be coordinated through a single authority to ensure a coherent implementation of national policy, effective coordination and oversight.
53. The NGC highlighted concern about the delays in the implementation of broadcasting digitisation due to the review or otherwise of the Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT) standards.
54. An ANC task team should be established to look into the realignment, planning, access and bridging the digital and information divides. An integrated and comprehensive ICT strategy and plan should be prioritised. An audit of the different rollouts (by all spheres of government) of ICT infrastructure and harmonisation should be conducted.
55. The NGC stated a need to reprioritise universal access and service. There should be integrated infrastructure planning and rollout targeting rural areas, ie. RDP houses, electrification and ICT services.

General remarks

56. The NGC noted that a number of resolutions emanating from 51st Stellenbosch Conference that were also affirmed by the 52nd Polokwane Conference have yet to be implemented. In the light of this, we should ensure:
 - 1.1 That NEC should account for the non-implementation of Conference resolutions, like on SABC funding, funding of other public entities like ICASA, MDDA, SENTECH, etc. Less than 25% of resolutions were implemented. These funding resolutions will enable the realisation of the key priorities of our government, rural development, education, health, fighting crime and corruption and job creation.
 - 1.2 Implementation of resolutions must be monitored by an ANC structure.
 - 1.3 Government should revisit the question of MDDA, retain the initial concept in respect of establishing a strong agency to advance a media diversity and development agenda that will make a real impact in the mainstream media, whilst supporting community media, including legislated contributions by the print media, as broadcast media do.
 - 1.4 Monitor and evaluate the performance of deployed cadres in the media and communication sector, and develop the proposed database of cadres in good standing. We must ensure discipline among our cadres, and cadres must attend meetings when called by the ANC.
 - 1.5 Establish coordination and a link between the ANC Deployment Committee and deployed cadres.

STATEMENT OF THE ANC VETERANS LEAGUE TO THE NGC

1. BACKGROUND

It is befitting to open this statement with the remark that the ANC Veterans League has been charged with the task of assisting the organisation to be able to draw and infer from its rich and tested history those experiences and values which are relevant to emulate now and in the future.

There was a time in the ANC when to a member, holding no position of responsibility at all, belonging to an ANC branch mattered the most. It was also a time when decisions made at the highest level of the organisation emanated from the branches.

The ANC is a people's organisation. It belongs not to individuals but to the membership. It is committed to unite all the people of South Africa and it is to this end that in Polokwane, it was taken out of the pockets of individuals, back to its members, where it belongs. The members must defend that victory so that the ANC remain their organisation! In this way, it can never be bought or sold and it can never be stolen or removed from its roots in the hearts of the people.

Realising this truth, the ANC has expressed its grave concern over what is happening to its credibility as from 1994, for without its branches embedded in the communities, the ANC ceases to exist. The needs of the members of the ANC and ordinary people in all walks of life and in communities must be a priority for the organisation and the government which is elected by them to serve their interests.

To most of our people and to the true character of our organisation, these are very painful times. We are told that Luthuli House has been trying to correct all the wrong activities that are happening in the provinces. We also know that success in this regard has been limited; instead the rot of corruption is getting worse. We are convinced that with the present approach, the situation is destined to worsen with every passing day until corrupt practices become endemic, whereupon the fight will be lost. Sadly for us, the tried and tested veterans of the ANC we have,

during the many struggles and many battles, seen comrades tortured to death, killed or simply dying from exhaustion and we are now saying enough is enough – before our organisation becomes another casualty. It is time to do things differently.

Our people can no longer stand the pain of poverty that has no end in sight. As we approach our centenary, we must do so with a sense of urgency and purpose. It also means that we must be decisive in dealing with our present challenges.

The leadership must lead by example, and at the first sign of any deviation from policy, or anything that could bring the ANC into disrepute, they must act decisively in defence of the movement. Leaders must do so without fear or favour. They have been elected for that.

The fact that comrades no longer regard morality and the Code of Conduct of the ANC with respect and instead rely on the court system of justice is a cause for concern. This practice must be stamped out among deployees at all levels. We need to have ORDER reigning supreme and in that, we must not fail. Comrades, the ANCVL is calling you to ORDER! The Freedom Charter tells us that this country must be governed through the will of the people. The courts to which you so frequently run have a different role to play. Give them a chance to play it. As revolutionaries, as cadres of this movement, we must put our people first and deliver on their needs. This does not require a magistrate, a judge or any of those people.

One of the critical challenges necessary for the implementation of the Freedom Charter is the transfer of the wealth of the country to the people as a whole. The natural resources and wealth of this country must be used to eradicate poverty and uplift our people. The traditional way of life of our coastal people, to cite an example, must be restored. The government must assist them to improve their fishing projects. In general, that same approach must be applied to other natural resources that occur within the borders of our country. This will be nothing new to them,

here, we are only re-emphasising what was first stated in Kliptown at the Congress of the People.

The transfer of wealth to the communities of this country should not be construed as nationalisation in the classical sense but is directly linked to creating a better life for all.

2. THE ANC AND ITS LEAGUES

The ANC has been a militant organisation from its inception as characterised by the nature and types of campaigns it embarked upon over the years leading to the era of armed struggle. As a movement with vision and determination, the ANC saw it important to establish the Youth League and Women's League in the 1940s. The purposes of setting up these Leagues continue to be the mobilisation and uniting of the respective constituencies into the ANC and attend to the respective welfare and challenges of these respective sectors. Later the ANC has established the Veterans League with the same mandate.

None of these Leagues has a mandate to speak on behalf of the ANC; each League is autonomous and can only speak on matters dealing with its constituency. Traditionally each League operates in accordance with its mandate. All the Leagues operate within the ANC's strategy and policy framework including issues of expulsion and disciplinary measures taken against ill-disciplined members.

Presently issues raised in the ANC discourse include the autonomy of the leagues but traditionally, the Leagues' autonomy does not mean divergence of policies and practices from those of the ANC. This issue about autonomy of the Leagues and their integration with the mother body needs to be understood even if it means recovering lost ground in political education.

3. THE ANC AND ALLIANCE PARTNERS

For most of us, the Alliance is a given. It is necessary now as it was yesterday. The history of the struggle of the people of South Africa has worked itself out such that whenever the ANC speaks of Alliance partners it speaks of its own and to its own. This is due to the fact that each Alliance partner has been an integral part of the struggle of the people of South Africa. In the past, when there were more ups and downs characterised by greater intensity, volunteers were asked to step forward and they responded whether they were women, workers, communists, intellectuals or people of religion or this or that race. They suffered extreme brutalities of exploitation, oppression and repression, and today when we talk about the achievements of the liberation struggle we talk about a collective achievement of the ANC and its Alliance partners. In this struggle it is impossible to measure individual contributions of each partner in terms of lives sacrificed and casualties suffered.

The heroes of the struggle are the collective heroes of the Alliance as a whole.

In the cause of the liberation struggle the Alliance converged towards shared goals as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. The Alliance has a shared determination to unite all the people of South Africa in the fight to eradicate all vestiges of exploitative and oppressive system. The alliance partners should mutually reinforce each other and influence each other so that the masses of the people must obtain the maximum benefit they deserve out of their heroic efforts.

The nature of the common objective in the current phase of our struggle demands a closer working relationship. At the start and close of speeches we always raise our voice in salutation of ourselves: Long Live ANC, ANCWL, ANCYL, COSATU, SACP and so on, but we forget to salute the idea of unity itself.

This statement has been about unity: long live unity overall!

This statement has been about unity of purpose between the Leagues and their mother body: long live the hegemony of the ANC in that unity!

This statement has been about an economic revolution, which has hardly begun: long live the economic emancipation of the people of South Africa!

This statement has been about unity of purpose among the Alliance partners in accomplishing their economic revolutionary mission: long live the Alliance!

DECLARATION

of the 3rd National General Council



This National General Council of the African National Congress, attended by over 2 500 delegates from branch, regional and provincial structures of the ANC, its Leagues as well as the Umkhonto weSizwe Military Veterans' Association, Cosatu, SACP, Sanco, Contralesa and other broad democratic formations, assembled in Durban, rises today, on Heritage Day, having met the objectives of its strategic theme: *"Towards 100 years of selfless struggle: Working together to create a national democratic society."*

We gathered over five days to undertake a comprehensive review of our work in transforming South African society and building a better world, in pursuit of the strategic objectives and programme we set ourselves at the historic 52nd National Conference of our movement held in Polokwane in December 2007.

The National General Council was the culmination of an intense process of engagement by ANC structures, Alliance partners and other sectors of society resulting in unprecedented levels of public debate and participation on key issues facing South African society.

In keeping with our traditions of self-reflection and self-correction, the deliberations were characterised by frank,

robust and lively debates among delegates. These debates were marked by rigorous exchanges and the willingness to influence and be influenced. In this regard, the National General Council has, yet again, served as the most comprehensive mass political school for all cadres of our broad movement, young and old, women and men.

The NGC took place in the aftermath of a very successful 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, the first to be hosted on the African continent. Delegates commended the people and the government of South Africa for the unity, cohesion and efficiency that characterised the World Cup. Central to this success, for our country and our continent, was the spirit of *ubuntu* evinced by our people and the practical manifestation of healthy competition and human solidarity among players and supporters of the sport of football and different nations of the world.

The NGC received a report on and enthusiastically supports South Africa's bid to host the Square Kilometre Array – the largest and most powerful radio telescope in the world. This is a scientific global facility that will help world scientists conduct unique investigations of the universe from African soil.

Delegates drew immense inspiration from the fact that the Centenary of the ANC on 8 January 2012 is drawing nearer and that it represents a solemn and historic moment for the people of our country, our continent and indeed progressive humanity in general. In this regard, the NGC was further inspired by the fact that, in as much as our endeavours as the ANC are primarily about transformation of South African society, they are also a humble contribution to the efforts of humanity to fashion a world in which ignorance, disease, want and greed are banished from the family of nations.

Accordingly, the NGC adopted a detailed programme that will ensure mass participation in the centenary celebrations and festivities in keeping with the character of the ANC as a parliament of the people and a tributary of global progressive forces.

The NGC also took place as the United Nations General Assembly was considering the progress made in achieving the Millennium Development Goals. These goals mirror the priority areas identified by the African National Congress in its government programmes and overall work in society and they are a clarion call for us to redouble our efforts to improve people's quality of life in our country and further afield.

While we do recognise that the process of change is in itself a protracted struggle, the National General Council approached its tasks cognisant of the fact that our people expect steady but faster progress in the transformation of our society. In this regard, they expect of the ANC firm, decisive and purposeful leadership, as together we undertake the mission of fundamental change with a sense of urgency and determination.

To meet this legitimate expectation, the ANC will not shirk its responsibility in dealing with the present challenges.

The NGC dedicated sufficient time to discuss the state of our organisation informed by the understanding that, without a strong and united ANC that has the ability to give inspirational political and moral leadership to a broad range of social forces in society, our vision of a national democratic society will remain a pipedream.

In this regard, Council had extensive discussions on the urgent steps that need to be taken to deal decisively with negative tendencies that are threatening to erode the character, culture and core values of the ANC as a loyal servant of our people and agent for progressive change in South Africa.

Council affirmed the need to intensify the Imvuselelo and One Million Members campaigns, inspired by the example of the President and Deputy President. It reaffirmed the centrality of the branch as the basic unit of the ANC, and the importance of grassroots activism in ensuring that the ANC fulfils its mission.

Delegates stressed that unity remained the bedrock upon which the long-term survival and success of our movement depends. Such unity should be aimed at facilitating the central objective of building a better life for all.

Council was frank in acknowledging that tendencies of ill-discipline and misconduct had set in within various structures of the movement. This 3rd National General Council, the delegates resolved, should mark a decisive turning point in addressing all the negative tendencies that eroded and pose the danger of eroding the organisational integrity and the very character of the ANC.

In this regard delegates stated without equivocation that there should be no confusing signals and messages from the leadership on matters of discipline.

The responsibility to assert the core values and principles of our movement rests with every leader, every cadre, every member and every supporter of the ANC. These are, among others: a steadfast adherence to the interests of the people, unity, selflessness, sacrifice, collective leadership, humility, honesty, discipline, hard work, internal debate, constructive criticism and self-criticism and mutual respect.

It is our responsibility, wherever we may be located, to embrace the core message of renewal and live the values of our movement at all times.

Only through the force of example can we provide political and moral leadership to our people in the ongoing quest for a caring society based on values of human solidarity, equity, justice and fairness.

Delegates embraced the wise counsel of ANC veterans in their statement to the NGC that the ANC is, first and foremost, a people's organisation. It belongs not to individuals but to the membership and the mass of South Africans who supported and continue to support it in pursuit of fundamental change. Nothing should be allowed to divert the ANC from its historic mission and the strategic objectives of the national democratic revolution. Nobody should be allowed to turn the movement into an instrument to pursue an exclusive or narrow group or class agenda or vassal to be auctioned to the highest bidder.

As delegates to the NGC, we reaffirm the important contribution of the ANC Veterans' League, Women's League and Youth League as autonomous organs of our movement that operate within the policy framework, Constitution, discipline and Strategy and Tactics of the ANC.

Delegates also agreed with our veterans when they said that, "For most of us, the Alliance is a given. It is as necessary now as it was yesterday". NGC therefore reaffirmed our understanding that the Alliance was formed out of struggle, and out of a shared vision as articulated in the Freedom Charter. It is based on the understanding that each Alliance component enjoys political independence from the other, but also acknowledges the central role of the ANC as the leader of the Alliance and the strategic political centre.

Council recognised the steps taken to improve the performance of government through greater integration and coordination of structures as well as the implementation of performance monitoring and evaluation.

The importance of active participation by the people in the realisation of our priorities of creating decent work and sustainable livelihoods, health, education, rural development, peace and stability, land reform, and local government was stressed. The NGC therefore adopted detail programmatic tasks in each of these areas towards 2012.

We recognised the progress made in the areas of social transformation, education, health, peace and stability, economic transformation, international relations, legislature and governance, and communications.

Whilst acknowledging progress made, the NGC signaled its unwavering commitment to redouble efforts to address the persistent poverty and inequality that continue to characterise our society.

In this regard Council called for the urgent finalisation of the new growth path, and the resourcing and monitoring of the Industrial Policy Action Plan. There was also greater consensus in the economic transformation commission on the nationalisation of mines and other strategic sectors of the economy. The NGC therefore mandated the

NEC to ensure further work be done, including research, study tours and discussion, and to report to the Policy Conference for decision at National Conference in 2012.

We reiterated the ANC's historic commitment to the freedom of expression and that of the media. We believe that freedom of the media goes with the responsibility to inform, reflect the diversity of voices in our society, and ensure the protection of the rights and dignity of other members of society.

The NGC notes that the existing self-regulatory system is ineffective and needs to be strengthened. The NGC therefore calls on Parliament to conduct a public inquiry on media diversity and freedom, including balancing the rights enshrined in the Constitution like freedom of expression and the right to dignity, the transformation of the print and electronic media, and a media accountability mechanism that will be in the public interest. It affirmed that any media accountability mechanism should be independent of commercial and party political interests, should act without fear, favor and prejudice, should be empowered to impose appropriate sanctions and must not be pre-publication censorship. In this regard, the NGC calls for further investigations into best international practice with regards these and the proposal for a media appeals tribunal.

The National General Council recommitments the ANC to the pursuit of the African agenda. In the spirit of internationalism and solidarity that has always characterised the history of the ANC we once again call for the release of the Cuban Five, the speedy resolution of the Palestinian question on the basis of a two state solution, and the right of self-determination of the Saharawi people. Noting the situation in Sudan, the NGC called for the appointment of a special envoy.

As this National General Council rises, we leave here reinvigorated and committed to redouble our efforts to build the organisation and to start reaching out to all corners of the country to mobilise our people to once again renew the mandate of the ANC in the 2011 local government election.

24 September 2010

NGC... in pics

NGC Delegates singing the “Solomon” song ▼



Veterans at the NGC ▼



CLOSING ADDRESS



by **ANC President Jacob Zuma**

We have come to the end of a very successful and inspiring National General Council of our glorious movement.

When we opened this NGC we reminded delegates of the principle that the final power lies with the branches and that nobody is above the ANC. Indeed that principle has been re-affirmed. The branches have spoken on various policy questions. Building on the successes of Polokwane, this NGC was very much about the renewal of the organisation and the restoration of its character and values. The question of cohesion, unity, discipline, respect and the restoration of order in the organisation were the common themes in the NGC. The branches have spoken out eloquently on issues affecting the organisation. They have provided directives to the leadership on how to move forward to restore the dignity and integrity of the organisation.

As we end this NGC we proudly proclaim that indeed, the ANC is stronger, stable, more focused and united now than it was two years ago. We had on Monday at the start of this NGC, said that every delegate must make sure that by the time we leave here, the ANC would be stronger than it was when we started the NGC. That goal has been achieved, thanks to the commitment and dedication of our branches. The determination to restore the dignity of the ANC was visible in every delegation from the beginning until the end, and that augurs well for the future.

This has surely been an important week for the ANC and the country.

We have agreed that the conduct of ANC members must never consciously or unconsciously undermine the standing of the ANC in public or its unity. In this regard, the NGC has directed the ANC leadership to be firm, decisive and consistent in the application of discipline and in rooting out factionalist and divisive tendencies, including within the NEC itself.

The NEC will duly implement this decision of the NGC. Anyone who crosses the line will face the consequences.

We must however add that this is not the end of robust debate, nor are we stifling the culture of openness within the ANC. The NGC has set the rules of engagement. Robust debate must continue, but has to occur within the appropriate structures and forums, so that the necessary decorum can be maintained in the organisation. In engaging in these robust debates, members of the ANC should use the art of persuasion to win people over. That is the essence of the organisation's internal democracy. We must seek to influence and be ready to be influenced.

This is the true culture which has earned our movement dignity and respect, from its members as well as its friends and foes. The manner in which we advance points for discussions and evaluate new ideas is important.

It is the force of logic, based on scientific analysis that guides the ANC decision-making process, and not rowdiness. It is important to appreciate this. Therefore, there is no need for intimidation and disruption of meetings simply because you do not agree or want to push a particular position. That kind of behaviour undermines unity and also constitutes ill-discipline. It is certainly an alien culture and an unwelcome tendency in our movement. It must not be tolerated.

We welcome the Veterans League to this NGC, which was their very first. Their conduct and contribution to this NGC has reaffirmed the correctness of the decision of the Polokwane conference to establish the League so that it can be part of the movement and assist in building the organisation. They made their intervention in the NGC in a dignified manner, demonstrating that they truly understand how a cadre of the ANC should behave.

We dare not fail the wishes of our veterans and elders, who have called the organisation to order. They are talking from experience. They have been at every level of the ANC. They started in the school of the ANC, the ANC Youth League, they went to the mother body, while others passed through the MKMVA and others were in prison.

What they were talking about were not epic stories from books. They were talking about their own experiences which made them participate in the process that finally delivered our revolution.

The Veterans League turned the NGC into a real political school. *Ongezvwanga kusbo ukuthi akanazindlebe.*

There are various other resolutions relating to the renewal, strengthening and rebuilding of the ANC that must be implemented without delay. The decisions around the rebuilding, development and strengthening of branches are critical, as branches are basic units of the organisation and are central in the implementation of these resolutions.

All provinces and structures will implement the decision of the NGC that the *Imvuselelo* campaign, which is currently being run by the President and Deputy President, should be undertaken by NEC members and other senior leaders throughout the country. This will ensure the sustained political education of our membership.

We agreed in this NGC that the success of our revolution has in the past, and will in the future, depend largely on the strength and cohesion of the ANC-led Alliance. We have agreed that an Alliance that is seen to besieged with tension, squabbling and conflict does not inspire public confidence. The ANC and its Alliance partners must focus on the primary task of uniting our people and uplifting them from poverty and inequality.

We have achieved the objectives of this NGC. We have strengthened the ANC and refined its policies and their implementation.

We have reasserted the centrality of discipline and cohesion in the organisation and that violations will be dealt with.

The resolutions provide clear marching orders on what we must do to implement the NGC decisions, which are an enhancement of Polokwane resolutions. We congratulate the delegates for their intensive work and dedication this week to restore and promote unity in our movement. This watershed NGC provides the much needed foundation and momentum to take us from the pain and division of Polokwane, to an ANC that is ready to unite all our people behind building a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

Going forward, we have to ensure that Government improves its implementation of ANC policies. The NGC has strengthened our resolve to improve the performance of the State, and has provided direction on various policy areas in the manifesto.

We are pleased that this NGC reaffirmed the centrality of education, our apex priority, and the programme of action identified by the ANC and adopted by government. The NGC has underscored the need to mobilise society in support of our education goals. This will include a National Consultative Forum dedicated to clarifying the *non-negotiables*, which include that teachers must be in school, in class, on time, teaching for at least seven hours a day. We also need a discussion with Alliance partners as well as trade unions in the education sector.

On higher education, we need to widen access to tertiary and further education for children of the poor and the working class. In the Polokwane resolutions and the election manifesto we mention the need to revive the role of state owned enterprises in education and skills development, a point that was emphasised in this NGC. We all remember the role of these enterprises in the past in training artisans such as welders, electricians, plumbers, boilermakers and a host of technicians. That should be revived to enhance skills development. We are also determined to meet the ANC undertaking to build new universities in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape, to decentralise access to higher education to other provinces.

A very innovative and ground-breaking decision was taken recently between the top six ANC Officials and the Premiers, MECs, ANC Provincial Chairpersons and the Chairperson of the Health Portfolio Committee, that provinces should submit quarterly health monitoring reports to the ANC. These will include reports on the appropriate appointment of Heads of Department, Chief Financial Officers, hospital chief executives, as well as district and clinic managers, with relevant competency and qualifications. They must also report on the financial expenditure patterns of provincial health departments. This hands-on approach indicates the seriousness with which the ANC takes the improvement of health care in the country. This is an example of the organisation taking a keen interest in the implementation of its mandate.

Our people, who are affected by long queues caused by staff shortages, will surely welcome the decision to increase the training and employment of doctors,

nurses, health technicians and other health professionals and the re-opening of nursing colleges.

We will also forge ahead with the finalisation and implementation of the National Health Insurance programme, the details of which were released this week.

We emphasise that the ANC should be visible in the fight against AIDS, and also in providing care and support to those who are affected.

We are well on track to meet the goals set out in the Polokwane resolutions and the Election manifesto with regards to peace and stability. The recent crime statistics indicate that we are doing something right in the fight against crime. We now need to work further especially to mobilise society in the fight against crime. We must therefore implement the NGC resolution for guidelines to be prepared for street committees, which can play a key role in the fight against crime.

We have said that the ANC should lead the fight against corruption in our society and the prevention of this scourge. The NGC has correctly directed that we curb possible abuse of power and corruption among ANC members at all levels, through the establishment of an ANC Integrity Committee. The structure must be mainly composed of long-serving members with a proven track record of integrity and self-discipline. We will develop guidelines without delay for the Integrity Committee so that it can start functioning.

There is agreement as well that in preparation for the 2012 National Conference, the NEC should review the ANC Constitution and develop a detailed Code of Conduct that should be adopted at that Conference. The movement has to lead by example in this regard.

Within government, all law enforcement initiatives directed at the fight against corruption will be supported and strengthened.

The NGC has reaffirmed our resolution from Polokwane on economic transformation. We noted that we have a long way to go before we can say that the economic transformation spoken about in the Freedom Charter has been achieved. Serious challenges of inequality, poverty and unemployment still remain.

Polokwane outlined our policy of promoting a mixed economy, where the state, private capital, cooperative

and other forms of social ownership complement each other in an integrated way, to eliminate poverty and foster shared economic growth. Our Polokwane resolution also states that the State must play a central and strategic role, by directly investing in underdeveloped areas and directing private sector investment.

We announced a comprehensive growth path framework in the Political Report, which will help us to deal with the recovery following the economic recession and to grow our economy and create decent work. There is a lot of work to be done to flesh out the growth path within government, which is going to be done in a special Cabinet meeting to be convened soon.

There is a lot of work to be done also within the organisation as well to support this process. We also need to follow up on some issues that were raised at this NGC. For example, the ANC Youth League tabled the issue of nationalisation and the possible establishment of a state mining company. They had been directed to raise this issue within the structures and to follow procedure. Now that they have tabled it correctly, it has become an issue to be processed by the whole organisation, and is no longer just a Youth League issue. The NEC will undertake research in this regard as part of the recommendations to the National Policy Conference in 2012.

The NEC must be broad in its outlook, and look at a number of other issues that will take forward our growth path and economic recovery, as our approach must be holistic and comprehensive. It will also look at existing solutions, for example the fact that mineral resources already reside with the State according to law. Mineral and petroleum wealth are recognised by law as national assets, a common heritage that belong to all in South Africa, with the State as a custodian.

Let me emphasise that there is no policy shift or change arising from this NGC, with regards to our economic policy and other policies. Therefore, there should be no ambiguity and confusion around this matter. All the policies adopted at Polokwane remain ANC policies, and these are the policies that are being implemented by the ANC government.

That is why I am happier now after the NGC, that when the special Cabinet meeting takes place to discuss the growth path, it will be informed by the discussions and wisdom arising from this NGC.

The NGC discussed various proposals to improve local government. Sixteen years into our democracy, there must be a visible improvement in this sphere of government. We must seriously work on strengthening basic administrative systems which are absent in some municipalities. We must therefore find ways of attracting the best technical, managerial and financial minds to our municipalities, even the most remote.

Other proposals put forward by this NGC includes separating the executive functions from the administrative ones in municipalities. Unlike in other spheres where there is a separation, in municipalities a council is both an executive body as well as a legislative one. We look forward to the provincial and local government summit that will be convened after this NGC, which will assist us to deal with these issues. It will also enable us to discuss coordination between the various spheres of government.

The ANC has led the country for decades in fighting the triple oppression of women, and putting women at the centre of development. The Polokwane Conference took a resolution on the establishment of a Ministry for Women. The NGC, in welcoming this development, has called for this Ministry to be capacitated without delay, to ensure that it meets its objectives. This NGC has been exemplary with regards to the discussion of issues of gender, and has provided direction on the need to take the Polokwane victory of a 50-50 parity forward, in ANC structures as well as the public sector.

We urge the private sector to follow this example.

We should acknowledge the achievements of the ANC government, even though we still have some way to go. The representation of women in Parliament has increased from 25% after the first democratic elections in 1994, to 44% after April 2009 elections. The number of women Ministers and Deputy Ministers increased from 18% in 1994 to 40% in last year's elections. In addition, women constitute 42% in provincial legislatures and 40% of all elected councillors at the local government level.

As the NGC directed, the mainstreaming of gender across all sectors and spheres is critical. As we move towards the centenary of the ANC, we have to ensure that the advancement of rural women, working class women and all marginalised women is promoted throughout our structures and government. The Gender Equality Bill introduced by the Women's

Ministry will further help the country to reduce gender-based discrimination in all areas of life and promote gender equality in line with the provisions of the Constitution. The Bill will, among others, oblige authorities and employers to promote equality between men and women. It will define what we mean by gender equality, explicitly prohibit direct and indirect discrimination; and lay down relevant measures that need to be taken against cases of discrimination. It will deal with equal treatment at work and place obligation on all organisations to promote gender equality. Our parliamentarians should look out for this landmark Bill and support its processing.

The wide-ranging resolutions on the print media, broadcasting, information and communications technology and others will help us to promote the transformation of this critical industry.

The NGC has correctly pointed out that the country enjoys media and communications freedom due to the correctness of ANC policies, which have always promoted and protected media freedom and freedom of expression.

The ANC, however, has a responsibility to extend the enjoyment of these rights to all South Africans. We also need to ensure that we balance the freedom of the media with the right to human dignity and privacy.

It is an accepted fact that all institutions, including the media, need to undergo transformation in line with the new democratic order in the country. We trust that the industry will look at this intervention positively and take forward the call for the development of a media transformation charter, as has been done by other sectors.

The problems relating to quality in South African journalism caused by among others the juniorisation of newsrooms has been raised by the media organisations themselves as a problem.

The South African National Editors Forum, through its corrective action committee has raised the need for transformation within the industry. The independent Media Monitoring Africa organisation has also strongly criticised the quality of reporting in the media and has produced a useful analysis of this subject, while stating that they disagree with the ANC position. The media would do well to read the MMA report.

We will support Parliament in conducting a public inquiry on the transformation of the print media, and the possible establishment of a mechanism such as a Media Appeals Tribunal. We have called for the proposed mechanism to be independent of commercial and party political interests, unlike the current self-regulatory mechanisms which are run by the print media themselves, for example the Press Council and Press Ombudsman. We have also called for investigations into how other countries deal with this matter, so as not to compromise the values enshrined in our Constitution.

We emphasise that the ANC has no intentions of muzzling the media. Our objective is to promote the human rights ethos of our Constitution and to ensure that even the poor and the vulnerable enjoy the right to human dignity and are protected from abuse.

The strengthening of the public broadcasting sector to ensure sustainability and wider access will be promoted by the ANC, as will be the development of the country's information, communication and technologies sector in general.

This NGC has reminded us that our foreign policy should be informed by the national interest, and that in defining the national interest, we must balance our humanitarian and economic interest. We have been cautioned by the NGC that our peacekeeping missions for example, must include the promotion of our economic interest and long-term relations with the countries we are involved in.

The spirited discussion and review of policies in this NGC were clearly driven primarily by the need to improve service delivery, and deliver on the mandate that the ANC was given by the electorate.

Let me therefore remind you of the undertaking we made in the 2009 election manifesto. We said:

"In the period ahead, South Africa will need a government with both the experience and political will, a government that fully understands what needs to be done to address our apartheid past, a government that puts people first and builds a participatory democracy. The ANC, working together with the people, can form such a government".

Therefore we emphasise that laziness, lack of commitment and failure to deliver by those entrusted with serving our people, will not be tolerated.

We refer also to this year's January 8th Statement referring to the need for first class service from public servants as well as our deployed cadres:

"There is.....another equally worrying aspect of a lack of service delivery that must be swiftly tackled. This is where those placed in positions of responsibility, either through incapacity or unwillingness, do nothing to address the concerns of the people they are meant to serve.

"Where people are found to be incapable of performing the tasks assigned to them, we must work with speed to either capacitate such people or replace them with more capable people".

This NGC has indeed been a resounding success. It has demonstrated the capacity of the ANC to revive itself, be self-critical and work out ways and means to go forward. In this NGC we have also learned a lot from one another as comrades and as cadres of the movement.

As part of taking forward the work of this biggest political school, and the *Imvuselelo* campaign, all of us from branches and other structures must go back and report accurately the proceedings of this historic NGC.

From today onwards, we must ensure that nobody doubts the fact that this oldest liberation movement in the continent, which led South Africa to freedom, is the one that can be trusted to defend and advance our democracy, and also successfully lead the national democratic revolution.

The ANC is the guarantor of our human rights and our democracy. We are a movement of the people.

The ANC lives, the ANC leads.

We wish you all well on your journey home and enjoy National Heritage Day!

Amandla!

