



**UNITY IN ACTION TOWARDS  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC FREEDOM**



**ORGANISATIONAL  
REPORT**

**BY SECRETARY GENERAL,  
GWEDE MANTASHE**



# **ORGANISATIONAL REPORT**

## **OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE 53RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE BY SECRETARY GENERAL, GWEDE MANTASHE**

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# **1** INTRODUCTION

- 1.1. The National Executive Committee (NEC) elected by the 52nd National Conference of the African National Congress (ANC) was given the mandate and responsibility of managing the organisation for five years. This collective constituted the “the highest organ of the ANC between National Conferences” with the authority to lead the organisation for the period 2007 to 2012. This NEC has done relatively well in building organisational unity, growing the organisation and mobilising the broadest cross-section of society behind the policies and programmes of the ANC.
- 1.2. We have succeeded in ensuring that the presence of the ANC grows throughout the country at a time of significant internal and external challenges. We have done this through working with our people to address their needs. With stronger branches and tighter coordination at regional level we can do much better.
- 1.3. This organisational report is an account of the work of the NEC during the last term. It seeks to quantify the progress or lack thereof towards achieving the set objectives of the ANC. Reference will be made to other documents developed during the period under review, including the election manifesto for the 2009 National and Provincial elections and the 2011 Local Government election manifesto. Reference will also be made to the various NEC January 08th statements.
- 1.4. As acknowledged by the 2010 National General Council the 52nd National Conference was a watershed in many respects. That conference not only voted for leadership but also voted for organisational renewal and a programme for transformation as contained in the resolutions. In this regard, the 52nd Conference resolved to open the ANC more to the people of South Africa and strengthen it as a true strategic centre of power and a strong and uncontested leader of the alliance. Unity and cohesion of the movement is therefore paramount.
- 1.5. It would be incorrect not to highlight that this watershed 52nd National Conference was also marked by serious divisions. At the time, the organisation was polarised into two groups; those who mobilised for change and those who fought for a third term for the sitting president. The lobbying and mobilisation was so intense that the opposing group viewed each other almost as enemies, with very high levels of intolerance. This state of affairs continued beyond the conference and the report will set out, in detail, how this NEC worked to address the challenges of division and building organisational unity.
- 1.6. The report will remind delegates of the recall of President Thabo Mbeki and the breakaway group that constituted itself into COPE. The transition from the Mbeki administration to the administration, led by the Deputy President, comrade Kgalema Motlanthe, provided a point of learning on how to smoothly manage one of the most difficult periods in our governance history.
- 1.7. With the National and Provincial elections being so soon after all the upheavals the leadership had to move with the necessary speed to rebuild structures and capacity of the movement. The Alliance partners proved that a united alliance is of utmost importance in the face of adversity. Our performances in both the 2009 and 2011 elections are practical examples of unity being key to our success. The report will give a detailed account of alliance relations during the last five years.
- 1.8. The work of the Leagues will be summarised. The NEC will account for what members of the ANC could only relate to through public spats and negative me-

dia reports. The National Conference will be given a sense of whether the newly launched ANC Veterans' League is giving the movement the value that was expected at the point of launching it. Account will be given of the work of the Women's League and what is being done to address the organisational challenges in many of the provinces. Furthermore, Conference will be given an account of the work of the Youth League and the challenges that visited it for the better part of the term. Taking into account the capacity of its structures and Leagues, we should question whether the movement is operating optimally.

1.9. The collapse of discipline was raised as a major concern by the National General Council in 2010 and is being attended to. We must, however note that the depth of this collapse will require the constant attention of the leadership going forward. There is serious and ongoing work being done to curb incidents of ill-discipline. The successful NGC and Policy Conference helped the organisation consolidate its work for this term.

1.10. The year 2012 was the centenary year of the ANC. The Centenary celebrations over the weekend of January 08th, 2012 marked the beginning of the yearlong celebrations throughout the country. The movement of the centenary flame from one province to the other has contributed tremendously to our organisational renewal. The lectures have proven a valu-

able part of the political education programme of the ANC.

1.11. The new signs of divisions and factionalism are a source of worry and concern. The determination by some members of our movement to destabilise the organisation and disrupt meetings with the objective of achieving their goals in conferences or any other structure of the movement are clear signs of a revolutionary movement that is being infiltrated. This was clearly displayed during the centenary celebrations when serious attempts were made to disrupt even memorial lectures celebrating the lives and times of our past and living Presidents of the ANC. The scenes of disruption of the memorial lecture in the Western Cape and the running battles around the venue of the memorial lecture in Limpopo demonstrated how far some members of the ANC could go to advance factional battles.

1.12. The most important task of the National Conference is the assessment of the health, effectiveness and responsiveness of the structures of our movement. It is this state of the organisation that will give delegates a sense of the degree of success registered, failures and challenges confronted and the prospects of success moving forward. The ANC celebrates our centenary and it also marks the beginning of the second hundred years. The foundation we lay now will determine the future of our movement and its ability to celebrate another hundred years.

## **2 THE STATE OF ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES**

### **2.1 THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

2.1.1 The Conference Declaration of the 52nd National Conference captures the mood, ambience, spirit and commitment of the ANC to changing the lives our people for the better:

“Flowing from five days of constructive and, at times, intense engagement the integrity of the ANC and its democratic processes has emerged victorious. Eschewing dangers of division and discord that threatened to distract us from our historic mission, we emerged in unity to recommit ourselves to the task of reconstruction and development, nation building and reconciliation.” The declaration describes the resolutions as constituting “a mandate that will guide the actions of all the cadres of the ANC, wherever they may be deployed, and which will form the centre-piece of our policy agenda over the next five years and beyond.” The NEC must be assessed against the extent to which this mandate has been implemented.

2.1.2. The NEC was constituted as follows:

President:

Jacob Zuma

Deputy President:

Kgalema Motlanthe

National Chairperson:

Baleka Mbete

Secretary General:

Gwede Mantashe

Deputy Secretary General:

Thandi Modise

Treasurer General:

Mathews Phosa

2.1.3. The eighty directly elected members of the NEC were as follows:

Ruth Bhengu

Mnyamezeli Boozi

Lynne Brown

Zoleka Capa-Langa

Bheki Cele

Collins Chabane

Jeremy Cronin

Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma

Bathabile Dlamini

Ayanda Dlodlo

Jessie Duarte

Duma Ndleleni

Ebrahim Ebrahim

Malusi Gigaba

Enoch Godongwana

Derek Hanekom

Hazel Jenkins

Tina Joemat-Pettersson

Pallo Jordan

Ncumisa Kondlo

Charlotte Lobe

Janet Love

Brigitte Mabandla

David Mabuza

Rejoice Mabudafhasi

Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge

Dikeledi Magadzi

Ace Magashule

Sibongile Manana

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela

Trevor Manuel

Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula  
Billy Masetlha  
Joyce Mashamba  
Phumulo Masualle  
Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya  
Fikile Mbalula  
Nomaindia Mfeketho  
Zwelini Mkhize  
Nomvula Mokonyane  
Joyce Moloi-Moropa  
Valli Moosa  
Playfair Morule  
Angie Motshekga  
Mathole Motshekga  
Aaron Motsoaledi  
Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele  
Jackson Mthembu  
Nathi Mthethwa  
Thenjiwe Mtintso  
Sibusiso Ndebele  
Joel Netshitenzhe  
Maite Nkoana-Mashabane  
Nosipho Ntwanambi  
Siphiwe Nyanda  
Blade Nzimande  
Naledi Pandor  
Joseph Phaahla  
Fébé Potgieter-Gqubule  
Dina Pule  
Jeff Radebe  
Cyril Ramaphosa  
Ngoako Ramathlodi  
Tokyo Sexwale  
Susan Shabangu  
Sicelo Shiceka  
Lyndall Shope-Mafole  
Lindiwe Sisulu  
Max Sisulu  
Zola Skweyiya

Makhenkesi Stofile  
Thandi Tobias  
Sisisi Tolashe  
Manto Tshabalala-Msimang  
Sue van der Merwe  
Fikile Xasa  
Lumka Yengeni  
Tony Yengeni  
Lindiwe Zulu

2.1.4. Since the 52nd conference some comrades could not fulfil their responsibilities as members of the NEC for different reasons:

- Comrades Ncumisa Khondlo, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang and Sicelo Shiceka passed away. May their souls rest in peace.
- Ms Charlotte Lobe and Ms Lyndall Shope-Mafole defected to COPE.
- Cdes Bheki Cele and Janet Love were deployed to strategic state departments.
- Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge resigned from the NEC.
- Cde Valli Moosa asked to be relieved of his responsibility to comply with the rules of the international company whose board he chaired.

2.1.5. Of the nine vacancies that arose in the NEC only three were filled through cooption of the following comrades, leaving the NEC with a total of 80 members, including the six officials:

- Ellen Nana Molekane
- Salome Sithole
- Kgomotso “Bushy” Magau

2.1.6 The NEC was divided into various sub-committees were created in order to ensure the effective execution of its mandate. It was further divided into Provincial NEC teams were established so as to ensure visible presence of the NEC in the structures of the ANC at a provincial level.

2.1.7. NEC members are allocated to sub-committees as follows: -

**ORGANISATION BUILDING AND CAMPAIGNS**

Fikile Mbalula (Chairperson)  
Mnyamezeli Boozi  
Hazel Jenkins  
Tina Joemat-Pettersson  
Nomvula Mokonyane  
Nathi Mthethwa  
Thaba Mufamadi  
Dina Pule  
Makhenkesi Stofile  
Sisisi Tolashe  
Tony Yengeni

**COMMUNICATION AND DRAFTING**

Jessie Duarte (Chairperson)  
Pallo Jordan  
Jeremy Cronin  
Sankie Mthembu-Mahanyele  
Jackson Mthembu (spokesperson)  
Siphiwe Nyanda  
Joel Netshitenzhe  
Naledi Pandor  
Jeff Radebe  
Dina Pule  
Lindiwe Sisulu  
Lindiwe Zulu

**CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS**

Collins Chabane (chairperson)  
Janet Love  
Bridgette Mabandla.  
Sibusiso Ndebele  
Cyril Ramaphosa  
Zola Skweyiya

Nomaindia Mfeketho  
Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya

**COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS AND TRADITIONAL AFFAIRS**

Mathole Motshekga (Chairperson)  
Makhenkesi Stofile  
Pallo Jordan  
Janet Love  
Maite Nkoane-Mashabane  
Sicelo Shiceka

**ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION**

Max Sisulu (overall Chairperson)  
Enoch Godongwana (Chairperson: Policy)  
Thaba Mufamadi (Chairperson: SOEs and DFI).  
Jeremy Cronin  
Sibusiso Ndebele  
Collins Chabane  
Trevor Manuel  
Joyce Mabudafhasi  
Janet Love  
Derek Hanekom  
Ace Magashule  
David Mabuza  
Zweli Mkhize  
Valli Moosa  
Siphiwe Nyanda  
Dina Pule  
Joel Netshitenzhe  
Sankie Mthembu-Mahanyele  
Tina Joemat-Pettersson  
Susan Shabangu  
Joe Phaahla  
Thandi Tobias  
Lumka Yengeni



**EDUCATION AND HEALTH**

Zweli Mkhize (Chairperson)  
Malusi Gigaba  
Joyce Mashamba  
Sibongile Manana  
Angie Motshekga  
Aaron Motsoaledi  
Blade Nzimande  
Salome Sithole  
Naledi Pandor  
Manto Tshabalala-Msimang [Late]  
Fikile Xasa  
Ruth Bengu  
Phumulo Masualle

**ELECTIONS**

Ngoako Ramathodi (Chairperson)  
Nomvula Mokonyane (Deputy Chairperson).  
Jessie Duarte  
Bathabile Dlamini  
Ayanda Dlodlo  
Angie Motshekga  
Jeff Radebe  
Lindiwe Sisulu  
Nathi Mthethwa  
Tony Yengeni

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Ebrahim Ebrahim (Chairperson)  
Collins Chabane  
Bathabile Dlamini  
Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma  
Jessie Duarte  
Pallo Jordan  
Playfair Morule  
Maite Nkoane-Mashabane  
Tokyo Sexwale  
Nosipho Ntwanambi  
Sue van der Merwe

Thenjiwe Mthintso  
Lindiwe Zulu  
Zola Skweyiya

**LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNANCE**

Nomaindia Mfeketho (Chairperson)  
Sicelo Shiceka [Late]  
Ruth Bengu  
Zoleka Langa-Capa  
Hazel Jenkins  
Phumulo Masualle  
Nathi Mthethwa  
Max Sisulu  
Nosipho Ntwanambi  
Khomotso Magau  
Ace Magashule  
David Mabuza  
Zweli Mkhize

**SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

Lindiwe Sisulu (Chairperson)  
Duma Ndleleni  
Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge  
Winnie Madikizela-Mandela  
Phumulo Masualle  
Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya  
Joe Phaahla  
Maite Nkoana-Mashabane  
Makhenkesi Stofile  
Sisisi Tolashe  
Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula  
Aaron Motsoaledi  
Blade Nzimande  
Angie Motshekga  
Bathabile Dlamini

**PEACE AND STABILITY**

Siphiwe Nyanda (Chairperson)  
Mnyamezeli Boozi  
Ayanda Dlodlo  
Ebrahim Ebrahim  
Malusi Gigaba  
Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma  
Jeff Radebe  
Dikeledi Magadzi  
Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula  
Billy Masetlha  
Playfair Morule  
Nathi Mthethwa  
Fikile Mbalula  
Lindiwe Sisulu  
Sue van der Merwe  
Ellen Nana Molekane  
Ngoako Ramatlhodi

**NATIONAL DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE**

Derek Hanekom (Chairperson)  
Collins Chabane  
Ayanda Dlodlo  
Susan Shabangu  
Fébé Potgieter-Gqubule  
Playfair Morule

**NATIONAL DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE OF APPEAL**

Cyril Ramaphosa (Chairperson)  
Jessie Duarte  
Bridgette Mabandla  
Trevor Manuel  
Jeff Radebe

**POLICY**

Jeff Radebe (Chairperson)  
Billy Masetlha  
All Chairpersons of sub-committees

**POLITICAL EDUCATION**

Tony Yengeni (Chairperson)  
Jeremy Cronin  
Malusi Gigaba  
Enoch Godongwana  
Billy Masetlha  
Joel Netshitenzhe  
Angie Motshekga  
Fikile Mbalula  
Joe Phaahla  
Thenjiwe Mthintso  
Joyce Moloi-Moropa  
Fébé Potgieter-Gqubule  
Ellen Nana Molekane

**AWARDS COMMITTEE**

Pallo Jordan (Chairperson)  
Malusi Gigaba  
Hazel Jenkins  
Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula  
Lindiwe Sisulu

**NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE**

Treasurer General (Chairperson)  
Cyril Ramaphosa  
Tokyo Sexwale

2.1.8. The National Executive Committee was deployed to the provinces as follows:

**EASTERN CAPE**

Derek Hanekom (Convenor)  
Ruth Bengu  
Sibusiso Ndebele  
Phumulo Masualle  
Thandi Tobias  
Mnyamezeli Boozi  
Fikile Xasa  
Zola Skweyiya  
Fébé Potgieter-Gqubule

**WESTERN CAPE**

Trevor Manuel (Convenor)  
Dina Pule  
Tina Joemat-Petterson  
Joe Phaahla  
Lynne Brown  
Lindiwe Sisulu  
Pallo Jordan  
Nomaindia Mfeketho  
Jeremy Cronin

**NORTH WEST**

Thaba Mufamadi (Convenor)  
Naledi Pandor  
Nathi Mthethwa  
Lumka Yengeni  
Rejoice Mabhudafhasi  
Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele

**MPUMALANGA**

Malusi Gigaba (Convenor)  
Maite Nkoana-Mashabane  
Lindiwe Zulu  
Aaron Motsoaledi  
Dikeledi Magadzi  
Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma  
David Mabuza  
Ellen Nana Molekane  
Bathabile Dlamini

**FREE STATE**

Susan Shabangu (Convenor)  
Jeff Radebe  
Enoch Godongwana  
Ace Magashule  
Bridgette Mabandl.  
Angie Motshekga  
Nosipho Ntwanambi  
Joyce Moloi-Moropa

**GAUTENG**

Collins Chabane (Convenor)  
Cyril Ramaphosa  
Jackson Mthembu  
Winnie Madikizela-Mandela  
Max Sisulu  
Joel Netshitenzhe  
Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula  
Nomvula Mokonyane  
Sisisi Tolashe

**KWAZULU-NATAL**

Tokyo Sexwale (Convenor)  
Makhenkesi Stofile  
Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya  
Siphiwe Nyanda  
Zoleka Langa-Capa  
Zweli Mkhize

**LIMPOPO**

Mathole Motshekga (Convenor)  
Billy Masetlha  
Ayanda Dlodlo  
Sibongile Manana  
Joyce Mashamba  
Ebrahim Ebrahim  
Salome Sithole

**NORTHERN CAPE**

Duma Ndleleni (Convenor)  
Ngoako Ramatlhodi  
Sue van der Merwe  
Playfair Morule  
Jessie Duarte  
Tony Yengeni  
Kgomotso Magau  
Hazel Jenkins.

2.1.9 It is through these sub-committees and deployments to the Provinces that the NEC can effectively execute its mandate and fulfil the constitutional duties imposed on them. Members of the ANC should feel the presence of the NEC through the engagement in their respective provinces, particularly in lower structures. It must be emphasised that deployment to the provinces is not only about NEC members attending PEC meetings, but also about doing political work in the provinces.

2.1.10 The biggest challenges that confronted the NEC were:

- ❑ Few members of the NEC took their work in the provinces seriously. In all teams deployed in the provinces not more than half consistently serviced the provinces. There were also instances where provinces proved to be resistant to working with the NEC deployees.
- ❑ Few NEC members consistently attended sub-committee meetings, making the majority of sub-committees to be dependent on the invited members of committees.
- ❑ The unity that was witnessed, when the ANC was under pressure and threatened by the defections to the newly formed COPE, declines at other times.
- ❑ There are many NEC members deployed in cabinet, as presiding officers in parliament and as chairpersons of parliamentary committees, in the various legislatures and local government structures; leaving too little time for organisational work. The deployment of four NEC members to key Diplomatic posts, deprived them of the opportunity to participate fully in the organisational work. At the same time, this deprived the organisation of access to the critical capacity and experience embodied in these comrades. Now that one member of the NEC has been elected to the position of Chairperson

of the African Union, the number has grown to five. We must however emphasise that the benefits derived from these postings far outweigh the problem of being deprived of access to their skills and experience.

- ❑ The public spats among NEC members and among Alliance partners affect the organisation negatively. This has become more intensive in the run-up to this National Conference where actions and pronouncements are judged in terms of leadership preferences.
- ❑ The ANC is severely compromised by the leaking of documents, detailed briefing of journalists and spinning of information in favour of factional positions.
- ❑ Factionalism seems to have become institutionalised. We are seeing more boldness in the provinces, where factions even give themselves formal names. This kills objectivity, with comrades supporting or opposing each other not on the merits of ideas or strength or arguments but on the basis of who makes the proposal. This is extremely harmful to the ANC.
- ❑ Factionalism has also led to the virtual collapse of discipline in the structures of the ANC. The disruption of ANC meetings and gatherings is becoming a norm.

2.1.11 The tendency of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) to behave in a manner that is similar to that of forces opposed to the ANC, has translated itself into recklessness when dealing with the ANC as a mother body. This behaviour has cost the movement heavily over time. The incoming NEC must make it a priority to strengthen the relationship with the ANCYL and ensure that there is dynamic interaction with them. The reports of the National Disciplinary Committee and the National Disciplinary Committee of Appeals will speak to matters of disciplinary action in more detail.

- 2.1.12. In the face of these challenges the majority of the NEC's communication tended to be in defence of the organisation and aimed at clarifying distortions by sources. The consistency in defending the organisation contributed to ensuring that the organisation remains intact. The NEC then decided to be more proactive by initiating more media briefings so that there is more focus on positive communication. This is now coupled with regular interaction with various formations in all the sectors of society. We are beginning to see slight changes in the attitude and some of the coverage, but more work should be done in this regard.
- 2.1.13 We reiterate that the NEC has done relatively well; reflecting the benefit derived from what was described as the diversity of skills in the report to the NGC.
- 2.1.14 The call for unity that was started in the 52nd conference guided the NEC throughout the term. This guided the NEC even in cases of clear provocation by those who felt that they had lost the 52nd conference. The notion of purging those who did not support the leadership had to be dispelled through our actions, including the retention of all the comrades who were deployed to various responsibilities.
- 2.1.15 There were a few instances where drastic action was the only option left to the NEC, in the face of severe challenges and virtual inaction by those entrusted to address such challenges. After four visits to the Eastern Cape, the premier of that province was recalled. The province had no clear plan or vision to address the problems of poor service delivery. Allowing that administration to remain in place would have done a severe disservice to the people of the Eastern Cape. Even more glaring was the lack of any willingness and commitment to deal with the challenges. This decision received broad support in the province.
- 2.1.16 The factional battles in the Western Cape were another point of serious concern as they had grounded the province to a halt. The NWC recommended that the Premier should be recalled and the Provincial Chairperson and Secretary be asked not to avail themselves for election in the conference that was to be held. The NEC accepted the first part of the recommendation and rejected the recommendation that the Provincial Chairperson and Secretary must not stand. This decision reinforced the view that the leadership intervened in a way that weakened one faction and strengthened the other. The reshuffling of Members of the Executive Council that followed was seen as removing the weakened faction. The ghost of this decision looms large to this day as we are still battling to build stability, unity and cohesion. The climax of these divisions was marked by the provincial conference being held in the Cape Town Convention Centre and a parallel conference being held in kwaLanga. *(We will come back to the tendency of holding parallel conferences beginning to be a trend in the organisation).*
- 2.1.17 The NEC had to contend with the President of the organisation being recharged by the National Prosecution Authority, shortly after the 52nd National Conference. The NEC took a decision to support the President in a concrete way, by running a campaign and availing resources. A legal team was put together to deal with the technical aspects of the case. Judge Nicholson dismissed the whole case and gave a detailed judgement. In summary, the judgement confirmed the suspicion that the persecution of the President was political and conspiratorial. The NPA and the cabinet decided to appeal the judgement and the judgement was later reversed.
- 2.1.18 This judgement was handed down in an environment where there was a sense of two centres of power inhibiting progress. The view was that decisions of the NEC were contested in government and that every decision had to be negotiated before it was implemented. This judgement became the tipping point. In one of the longest discussions in the NEC it was decided that the President be recalled. This decision was very serious, painful and re-

verberated throughout the organisation and the country.

- 2.1.19 This was the most difficult period during the past five-year term. The resignation of the President of the country also triggered the resignation of eight Ministers and Deputy Ministers and one Premier. These vacancies had to be filled swiftly with the Deputy President of the ANC assuming the position of the President of the Republic. Some of the cabinet ministers who resigned led a breakaway to form the Congress of the People (COPE).
- 2.1.20 The threat posed by the breakaway faction was real and forced the movement to mobilise all its cadres. It was during this period that we witnessed maximum unity in the movement, with every cadre coming to the fore to defend the organisation. This unity helped the ANC fight the most difficult elections in 2009 successfully, repelled the threat and defied the negative predictions of commentators.
- 2.1.21. The early signs of cracks showed in the form of regular attacks on the Office of the Secretary General by the ANCYL with minimal reaction from the leadership. This continued for a long time before being graduated into an open offensive on the President, coupled with attacks on any leader of the ANC who spoke out against this deviant behaviour. In 2010 the officials charged the President of the ANCYL in his capacity as a member of the ANC. This case was settled amicably with a plea bargain. The worrying theme underpinning these ongoing attacks was the message that the ANCYL had put the president in his leadership position and that he should therefore follow their instructions. These divisions were exacerbated by the public spats between members of the NEC and the Alliance.
- 2.1.22 The period in the lead up to and during the 52nd National Conference, followed by the early stages of the term of the NEC, also saw rowdy Provincial and other conferences. The descent into rowdy conferences was marked by a series of events such as the flying objects, fisticuffs, unruly and disrespectful behaviour, days spent on credentials and parallel venues in respective conferences.
- 2.1.23 The period also saw rowdy regional conferences, where comrades would try to collapse conferences by boycotting them. The AmaThole Regional Conference where a group boycotted by staying in the East London City Hall. A similar split of delegates was witnessed in the Ngaka Modiri Molema Conference and more recently a group of branches boycotted the Nelson Mandela Bay regional conference. In the majority of cases members are misled to believe that if less than seventy percent of branches attend, that conference will not continue. It is important that members of the ANC understand that the seventy percent of branches is the threshold for convening the conference. Once delegates to conference are allocated the quorum is determined on the basis of more than half of the expected delegates being present.
- 2.1.24 The point we are making is that it borders on counterrevolution to deliberately sabotage an ANC gathering. All political battles in the ANC must take place in our structures; as such engagement enriches the movement and alerts it to whatever different view is held by others. The diversity of ideas and views has always been a source of strength for the ANC. Fearing and suppressing such diversity will ultimately weaken the ANC.
- 2.1.25 The rowdiness in conferences is now minimal. Despite many of the recent conferences being highly contested; they took place without incidents.
- 2.1.26 Elections based on slates have introduced a new dynamic into conference politics, that of every faction losing the elections appealing the outcomes as a group. When comrades are made aware that the organisation cannot institutionalise factions, branches are made to sign a letter typed with the same font, from the same ma-

chine, using the same language and thus flood the SGO with these letters of appeal. This is one challenge that the new NEC will have to pay attention to, as it constitutes a threat to the unity and cohesion of the movement.

2.1.27 The dangers of this block approach to conferences were evident in the block refusal to participate in the conference processes of the last Western Cape conference. In this instance comrades undermined the mandate of their respective branches and subsumed the interests of the branches to those of a group. A similar block appeal was received after the O.R. Tambo regional conference. The ANC must insist on dealing with its constitutional structures and refuse to legitimise lobby groups. Painful as this may be, ANC members must appreciate that the organisation will not formalise groupings or factions. It becomes more dangerous when NEC members take time to raise these queries and objections on behalf of a grouping. In that way NEC members become part of the problem instead of being part of the effort to find solutions.

2.1.28 The NEC reported to the National General Council the progress made in rebuilding the organisation. It was in the NGC that delegates appealed for the tightening up of discipline. The NGC was the point of consolidation and a point from which organisational processes had to be tightened. The period of persuading various groupings to work together and thus tolerating deviant behaviour was over. All the provincial conferences held in 2011/2012 went off without any disruptions. All of them, with the exception of KwaZulu-Natal, were heavily contested by clear groupings constituted into slates. In some provinces the groupings had names, like “regime change and ramkraal”, the “regime change –Northern Cape” and many others in the provinces. Regime change became the theme and a sub-movement that used different tricks to win conferences with a declared interest in using the results to determine the outcome of the “Mangaung” National Conference.

2.1.29 The question that conference must confront is not whether comrades have the right to lobby or not, but whether their approach runs the risk of blunting democracy as a tool into the future. Holding regular conferences and electing leadership must never be made to be a source of fear but a source of excitement with the focus being on policy formulation, organisational renewal and election of leadership. We must educate our membership and accept that holding elective conferences every five years is part of the old tradition of our movement and an integral part of our democratic processes. It is a tried and tested mechanism of running the organisation, and should never be weakened.

2.1.30 Mistakes that were allowed to go unquestioned in the period running up to Polokwane are fast developing into a sub-culture. A serious problem is that some members of the ANC behave in an extremely rude and disrespectful manner. This deviant behaviour must be confronted confidently and consistently in order to safeguard the sanctity, traditions and future of our movement. The ANC must make it unattractive to disrupt ANC gatherings, insult leaders of the movement and opponents, assault fellow comrades in meetings or manipulate processes. This can only be stopped if there are consequences to deviant behaviour.

2.1.31 The centenary celebrations and the monthly chapters in the provinces have contributed immensely in building the organisation, forging unity and cohesion and mobilising communities. The visits by the NEC teams to the regions, from time to time have proven a very useful exercise for both the branches and the NEC members themselves. There is deeper understanding among NEC members of the problems, programmes and dynamics in the regions of the ANC.

2.1.32 The NEC had to deal with a massive offensive on the movement and the National Democratic Revolution. This is being perpetrated by a range of forces, including among others, sections of the liberal

media and certain NGOs, some of which are led by disgruntled members of movement. Some sections of the intelligentsia, certain analysts, commentators and prominent individuals are also part of this offensive. The offensive takes different shapes and forms with the net effect being the delegitimisation of the ANC and the NDR. The theme of this offensive is that no change has happened since 1994, and more crudely that it was better under apartheid. The sub-theme is that the current ANC has moved away from the values and traditions of the ANC and its leadership has no vision and cannot drive organisational renewal. This offensive is, unfortunately, plugging into the announcements and pronouncements made by ourselves when we attack each other in public. This portrays our movement as a movement in crisis that can only be saved by those who subscribe to the notion that we are in crisis. Anyone who disputes this notion, of “ a movement in crisis” is labelled a denialist.

2.1.33 The lobbying in lead-up to the 53rd National Conference provided a fertile ground for this offensive. Leaders of the ANC lobbied on the basis of the need to change a leadership that has supposedly failed, and exempted individuals, who concurred with their approach, from such perceived failure. We must respect it when our branches demand change, but it is a wholly different matter and very dangerous for leadership to pretend to be outside the radar of criticism. In the process the principle of collective leadership was trampled on and failures were reduced to being the responsibility of individuals while successes were a product of the collective. It is more harmful when intellectuals of the movement, who are the product of the investment of the ANC, criticise the move-

ment as outsiders. We must emphasise that there is more value derived from intellectual engagement within the structures of the ANC than contesting each other in public. This is distinct from participating in the battle of ideas and therefore enriching the debates in the public discourse. ANC cadres must avoid at all instances hurting and bleeding the ANC. The NEC is obliged to own-up to both our failures and successes.

2.1.34 Having realised the tasks facing the movement the NEC agreed on a political education programme that would help the collective cope with the challenges. In addition to the induction that was conducted at the beginning of the term a four-day political discussion session was held, where every NEC member was given sufficient opportunity to express views on any subject. A four-day political school was also held for the NEC. An exchange programme with the Communist Party of China was agreed on and sixty five members of the NEC have been through it. The biggest challenge with both the political education and the exchange programme has been poor attendance. We were forced to postpone the last two sessions of the China programme because it was too close to the National Conference. We have negotiated that the programme continues with the new NEC, knowing that there will be more commitment from the newly elected members of the NEC.

2.1.35 The NEC did relatively well under the most challenging of circumstances. The ANC is more stable than it was five years ago. It has grown in membership and more structures are operational. We have outlined the challenges that need continuous attention from the incoming NEC.



## **2.2. NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE**

2.2.1. In its first meeting, after the 52nd National Conference, the NEC elected the National Working Committee, as required by the constitution of the ANC. In addition to the six national officials the following comrades were elected to serve on the NWC:

Collins Chabane

Bathabile Dlamini

Jessie Duarte

Tina Joemat-Pettersson

Pallo Jordan

Ncumisa Kondlo

Fikile Mbalula

Nomaindia Mfeketho

Angie Motshekga

Nathi Mthethwa

Maite Nkoane-Mashabane

Siphiwe Nyanda

Blade Nzimande

Dina Pule

Jeff Radebe

Susan Shabangu

Lindiwe Sisulu

Max Sisulu

Makhenkesi Stofile

Tony Yengeni

2.2.2. Comrade Ncumisa Kondlo passed away early in the term and comrade Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya was co-opted to the NWC. The NWC has processed all the work of the NEC and reported consistently to the NEC. This is one sub-committee that has consistently honoured meetings and taken the work seriously. The performance of the NWC improved during term with a few exceptional cases where they would not take full ownership of their report to the NEC. The leaking of information from NWC meetings was reduced and almost eliminated in the last eighteen months.

2.2.3. The NWC continued to visit provinces, with particular focus on areas where there are organisational problems. This approach has helped to stabilise some provinces, e.g. in the Eastern Cape, where there used to be chaos, ongoing engagement has helped the province stabilise. Mpumalanga was on the verge of organisational collapse when the NWC intervened. The province is now stable. Two provinces still need more attention, the North West and the Western Cape. The North West cannot even claim their successes as a result of being pre-occupied by infighting. The Western Cape has seen a decline organisationally with almost all the regions battling and unable to run comprehensive organisational programmes. A detailed analysis of the provinces is in the next section of the report. We are just highlighting progress made and where there are still serious challenges in some of the provinces.

2.2.4. With the majority of the members of the NWC being deployed to other responsibilities the organisational work continues to suffer. Ideally six members of the NWC should be in the ANC full time so as to enable the ANC to cope with the challenges highlighted earlier in the report.

## **2.3. NEC SUB-COMMITTEES**

2.3.1. The NEC formed itself into sub-committees for effective implementation of the programme. The work of these sub-committees was consolidated in reports to both the National General Council and the Policy Conference.

2.3.2. These are sub-committees of the NEC whose responsibility is to refine and monitor implementation of the various policies of the ANC. The volume of work of these sub-committees is consolidated into the reports to the National General Council and policy proposals that were discussed by the Policy Conference. The non-attendance of sub-committee meetings is a problem affecting almost all of them. The contributing factors to this reality are:

- ❑ Comrades who are deployed to other responsibilities become so busy that they cannot focus on sub-committee work.
- ❑ Comrades are deployed in a different cluster of work and their focus becomes blurred.
- ❑ There are, however, instances where comrades do not take the work of sub-committees seriously.

These sub-committees are very important in that they give content to the work of the NEC.

### **2.3.3. COMMUNICATIONS**

(i) The communications sub-committee has, since the 51st National Conference been grappling with two aspects of the scope of its work, communication as a means of democratic expression and communication as an important and growing sector of the economy. In the 52nd National Conference the ANC admitted to the challenges facing it and committed to rebuilding the necessary capacity and deploy the necessary resources to improve its impact in communication and propaganda. Guided by the resolutions of the National Conference the sub-committee agreed on dealing with five broad areas during the five years under review:

- ❑ Strengthening unity and coherence of the movement.
- ❑ Building ANC internal media capacity and strengthen government communication platforms.
- ❑ Media transformation and accountability.
- ❑ Establishment of quality broadcasting infrastructure and services.
- ❑ Utilisation of ICT to address poverty, underdevelopment and worldwide efforts to bridge the digital and knowledge divide

(ii) Coming out of the 52nd National Conference, the committee spearheaded the campaign on unity, renewal and action, invoking

the memories of the leaders of the movement. Communication had to deal with three major challenges almost immediately after the 52nd National Conference; the opening of the charges against the president of the ANC, this was followed by the difficult period following the recall of the President of the Republic and the formation of COPE. These three challenges pushed the communication unity of the ANC to the limit.

(iii) The ANC communication unit had to develop weekly messages and force leadership to stay on message. (One message many voices.) This pushed the media to shift from personalised attacks to trying to dig for weaknesses in the ANC. The Fifteen Year Review of the government helped in countering and balancing the media space.

(iv) The manifesto launch in East London in January 2009 gave the communication strategy a big momentum. Reinforced by the visible and active campaigning enabled communication to move away from responding and reacting to what is said by others. The ANC began to generate our own messages and reassured society of our commitment.

(v) In the first year in office the National Spokesperson appointed five members of staff to augment the capacity of the unit. A national communicators forum comprised of alliance members, provincial heads of communication, provincial and regional spokespersons and deployed cadres and activists was established. This structure continues to meet twice per annum to review implementation and progress made.

(vi) When the national spokesperson, comrade Jessie Duarte was deployed to the Presidency in government comrade Jackson Mthembu was deployed to the Head Office as the new spokesperson of the ANC. Two of the senior staff members in the unit left and joined government, posing a challenge of rebuilding the unit. We have since filled the vacancies and are operating close to full capacity. The centenary programme was another key programme for the communication unit. All the centenary lectures com-

memorating the lives of all the Presidents of the ANC were covered live, taking the programme into the homes of people. The flame of hope and freedom added an extra dimension to the programme.

(vii) The 52nd National Conference directed the NEC to investigate the possibility of establishing the Media Appeals Tribunal as an independent regulatory body for the print media. This was a response to the ineffective, toothless and varied weaknesses of the self-regulatory regime. The print media established its own Regulatory Review Mechanism that produced outcomes that did not address the problem sufficiently. This was met with resistance and serious objections. In response to these objections the Press Freedom Commission was initiated, chaired by the retired Chief Justice, Justice Pius Langa. The Press Freedom Commission recommended:

- Co-regulation.
- Exclusion of the state from regulatory structures.
- Increased number of public members in the Press Council of South Africa and the Appeals Committee.
- Employees of the Press not eligible to sit in the adjudication.
- Physical separation of the Press Council from premises used by publishers and editors.
- Scrapping the waiver forcing complainants to abandon legal route.
- Widening of the criteria for acceptance of third-party complaints.
- The Public Advocate is empowered to initiate cases in the public interest.
- Introduction of fines, suspension and expulsion to the jurisdiction of the Ombudsman.
- Introduction of space fines.
- Strengthening of the right to reply for articles involving serious individual criticism.

- Call for holistic coverage of children's issues.
- Press Council of South Africa to initiate talks with Digital Media and Marketing Association.

(viii) The ANC welcomed the recommendations and accept that they have gone a long way in addressing the objective weaknesses. Parliament has been asked to hold a public enquiry to ascertain the need or otherwise for the Media Appeals Tribunal.

(ix) The NEC sub-committee spent a lot of time trying to stabilise the SABC. The new board was appointed and soon got entangled in infighting with a number of the board members resigning. There is now a greater degree of stability, although a number of boardroom fights still surface in the headlines. Only a stable board can stabilise the SABC.

(x) The sub-committee grappled with the use of information and communications technologies in addressing the scourge of poverty and underdevelopment afflicting communities. Central to this effort was bridging the digital and knowledge divide in the country. Equally important is the internet governance that eliminates the cyber-threat, cyber-crime and cyber-based terrorism.

(xi) To maximise the value of the development of ICT the NEC needs to create a coherent and co-ordinated National Policy Framework and Strategy. Since the NGC the ANC has been working on a National ICT plan to position South Africa as a model user of ICT. This work resulted in the policy discussions in the policy conference which are before the National Conference for further discussions and adoption.

#### **2.3.4. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION**

(i) This is one sub-committee that continues to have a lot of work, with all formations of the movement, the alliance partners and broader society taking an active interest in its work. The committee accepted the

Freedom Charter as the starting point and sought to give practical expression to the demands of the people. The objectives of economic transformation as set out in the resolution of the 52nd National Conference provided the framework within which the sub-committee worked. The ANC continued to acknowledge that the biggest challenges facing society today are high unemployment, deepening poverty and growing inequality. The commitments made both in the conference resolutions and expressed in a programmatic way in the 2009 manifesto proved to be difficult to fulfil because the beginning of the term coincided with the global financial crisis. This translated into loss of more than 1 million jobs in 2009. Despite the South African economy registering negative economic growth for only three quarters; the positive growth that continues to be registered remains very moderate and therefore fails to dent the high level of unemployment. The creation of more jobs, decent work and sustainable livelihoods remains the most pressing challenge for our movement.

- (ii) The sub-committee initially divided itself into task teams for purposes of effective functioning. Having reported to the National General Council in 2010, the NEC directed the sub-committee to divide into two; one focusing on economic policy in its broad terms and the other paying more attention to the functioning of the Development Finance Institutions and the State Owned Enterprises. This resolution was implemented in full and the report will attempt to assess if this had any significant impact on the overall functioning of the sub-committee.
- (iii) The 52nd National Conference directed the NEC to build the strategic, organisational and technical capacities of government. In this regard the national conference resolved specifically that as part of strengthening the central organs of state an institutional centre for government-wide economic planning be created, with the necessary resources and authority to prepare and implement long and medium term economic and develop-

mental planning. The establishment of the National Planning Commission, headed by a minister in the presidency was a response to this call by delegates. It is heartening that the first twenty year National Development plan has been produced, released for discussion by all sectors of society. This conference should adopt this plan and commit the movement to drive the implementation thereof. This plan should be used as the tool for integration, harmonisation and alignment of planning across all spheres of government, DFIs and SOEs.

- (iv) The National Conference directed the NEC to ensure that the Developmental State maintains its strategic role in shaping the key sectors of the economy, including the mineral and energy complex. The overriding objective should be to drive growth, development and transformation of the structure of the economy. The state owned mining company was created as a vehicle for effective implementation of this resolution. The resolution of the ANCYL on the nationalisation of the mines gave urgency and seriousness about discussing how best can our movement ensure that society benefits from the richness of our mineral deposits. The NGC guided the NEC to do an in-depth research in this regard. A team of researchers was put together to do comparative studies on how best this objective can be implemented. After visiting thirteen countries recommendations were made and discussed by the policy conference. Recommendations that came out of the policy conference are before the National Conference for further discussions and adoption of reports. Delegates are therefore asked to assess progress made in the implementation of the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act, and what our movement must do to ensure full compliance with both the spirit and letter of the MPRDA.
- (v) The commission dealing with economic transformation must assess if putting industrial policy at the centre of economic policy has produced the necessary or desired results. This can be done by analysing

both IPAP II and the New Growth Path. The assessment should factor-in the impact of the Global Financial Crisis. This conference must continue identifying sectors that have the potential of creating more jobs, either because they are labour intensive or they can be developed further. Value addition to our minerals should be taken beyond being a good concept to the implementation stage. South Africa cannot afford to continue exporting jobs by exporting minerals in their raw form.

(vi) Rural development was identified as one of the five priority areas during the 2009 elections and captured as such in the manifesto. A new ministry was established to make this dream a reality. Rural development was coupled with land reform in the new ministry. Many rural projects were implemented, but the question that must be confronted is how best we can move with the necessary speed to ensure that rural development is sustainable, creates economic life in these areas and decelerate urbanisation so that government can plan better for the migration. The 2012 census reported that urban migration was out of control as reflected in the upward movement of population figures in both Gauteng and the Western Cape. The question is whether the long term solution lies in redirecting resources to these fast growth points or a balance of that and addressing underdevelopment in rural areas. The 52nd National Conference referred to this when it talked of overcoming spatial patterns of economic marginalisation and fragmentation and reversing the geography of apartheid in both urban and rural areas. The proposal on the land tenure system is aimed at creating an environment where land redistribution can be accelerated.

(vii) Not much progress has been made in three areas:

❑ Developing and supporting small and micro enterprises. Even the merger of Khula, SAMAF and the small business section of the IDC to form the Small Enterprise Finance Agency has not made visible impact in an area where there is potential to create more jobs

and improve the economic capacity of our country. The infrastructure that has been put together has created a lot of potential for the ANC to dent the high levels of unemployment.

❑ State Owned Enterprises are playing an important role in the infrastructure rollout but the committee has taken a hands-off approach in the monitoring of the work of these institutions. This is a contributing factor to the trend of boards that project a sector in disarray in the public domain.

❑ There is a similar situation with Development Finance Institutions that are left to shareholder departments with little attention paid by the sub-committee. Many changes that are happening are kept off the radar of the sub-committee and therefore of the organisation.

(viii) Otherwise the sub-committee is working hard and the report summarises the progress made in many areas. The ANC is under pressure to create more jobs with particular focus on the youth unemployment. The policy conference reached consensus that a single intervention like the youth employment subsidy will not dent the high levels of youth unemployment, and that the ANC would rather introduce a multi-dimensional strategy that will include; training and skilling of young people making more use of FET colleges, creation of employment centres where demand and supply of skills interact, cost sharing which will build-in aspects of youth employment subsidy, EPWP and effective use of internships in both the public and private sectors. The ANC should now move beyond fighting for concepts and implement the programme. We must remember that “development is an irrefutable argument”.

### **2.3.5. EDUCATION AND HEALTH**

(i) The 52nd National Conference identified education and health as national priorities and therefore areas that would require ur-

gent attention from the incoming NEC at the time. The NEC decided to establish a standalone sub-committee on Education and Health. This committee incorporated science and technology as it made sense and fit strategically to integrate the work of these three areas. The question at the time was whether the NEC was separating Education and Health from transformation. The understanding accepted by everybody was that the separation was informed by the urgent need to make education and health a priority in real terms, with a sub-committee that would pay special attention to these important areas of work. This has proven to be the correct decision with the volume of work done vindicating the NEC decision.

- (ii) The sub-committee worked tirelessly to convert the Polokwane resolution into a concrete programme. The programme of the sub-committee was converted into the government Programme of Action that was incorporated into the Medium Term Strategic Framework. The poor attendance of sub-committee meetings by NEC members and the absence of provincial, regional and branch sub-committees on Education and Health are the main weaknesses.
- (iii) The focus of the education programme was the improvement of the quality of education, increased access to education by children from poor households in the main and increasing the actual output of our education system. The division of education into two ministries, Ministry of Basic Education and the Ministry of Higher Education and Training was intended to ensure that there was more focus on each of these areas. Skills development had to respond to the much talked about skills shortage in the economy.
- (iv) The first step that was taken was the establishment of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement Ministerial Project Committee whose responsibility was the development of a single, comprehensive and concise Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement for each grade. The Annual National Assessment is a tool put in place to quantify progress being made in improving

the literacy and numeracy levels. The call to make education a societal issue has caught some fire but the lack of capacity to drive this as a campaign is an inhibiting factor.

- (v) 8,5 Million learners are benefiting from the National School Nutrition Programme (one meal a day in school every day) having expanded the programme to cover high schools in poor communities. This programme coupled with the increase in the number of no-fee schools, to the excess of the 60% target, has increased access and allows children from poor communities to remain in school for longer. This is part of the programme of moving towards free and compulsory education in our country. This will ensure that no child is deprived of the opportunity to be developed to his or her full potential because of the economic status of the child's household.
- (vi) To ensure that educators spend sufficient time in class the policy of prohibiting teachers doubling up as councillors has been enforced fully during this term. This will improve the performance of the ANC both in providing quality education to the learners and in service provision at local government level.
- (vii) All these efforts have seen a total of 10% improvement in the matric results over the last two academic years. We are hoping to see further improvement in the 2012 results. The interventions in both Limpopo and the Eastern Cape will be used to assess if our education infrastructure is properly positioned for such interventions. The non-delivery of books to schools in Limpopo was a travesty that must not be repeated. It drew deserved criticism but also attracted a lot of opportunistic commentary from those trying to benefit from this. We must draw lessons from this debacle and avoid such mistakes occurring anywhere in the country.
- (viii) The newly established Ministry of Higher Education and Training was mandated to establish and sustain a single, coherent post-school education and training system, which is integrated, differentiated, articulated and

responsive to the needs of the country. There was agreement that the higher education and training system should be flexible enough to allow for points of multiple entry and exit. This must not be at the expense of achieving and maintaining excellence and high level of research and innovation. A green paper on Post-School Education and Training has been published and will be finalised in 2013.

(ix) SETAS have now been brought closer to the public institutions, with governance structures having been transformed. Support for FET Colleges has been increased with bursary allocation for needy students having been increased from R310 Million in 2010 to R1,75 billion in 2012. NSFAS loans are now converted into bursaries for students who obtain a full pass in their final year at University. The number of students in FET colleges has increased from 332869 in 2009 to 657690 in 2012. The student population in Universities is also growing at a very fast pace putting the existing infrastructure under tremendous pressure. It has grown from 760889 in 2007 to 938201 in 2011. It is in response to this pressure and need for more space that two new Universities are being constructed in Mpumalanga and the Northern Cape. Construction work will start in 2013 on both sites. At the current pace of growth it is clear that more new universities will have to be built in the near future.

(x) The sub-committee adopted the Roadmap on health, which translated into the ten-point plan adopted by both the sub-committee and the Government. The biggest problem contributing to the near collapse of health services in a number of provinces was poor leadership and management capacity. The ministry working closely with the SGO did an analysis of the skills profile of the department. There was agreement that all strategic posts would be advertised and properly qualified professionals would be appointed to all the posts. The launching of the Health Leadership and Management Academy is taking this initiative a step forward.

(xi) The Green Paper on NHI (national health insurance) was produced in August 2011 and 11 NHI pilot projects were launched in April 2012. The project of developing the White Paper is nearing completion and it will be released early in 2013. The NHI primary objective is to ensure that every South African, irrespective of their socio-economic status, has “affordable universal coverage and access for all citizens on the basis of equity and solidarity, providing an adequate scope of health care and services and level of costs covered, as well as comprehensive and affordable preventive services through strengthening of equitable and sustainable financial resource budgeting” as provided for in the resolution of the 64th World Health Assembly.

The central core of NHI is going to be the re-engineering of Primary Healthcare—simply defined as the prevention of diseases and promotion of health.

Three streams of primary healthcare re-engineering have been agreed upon and are being piloted

- School Health System
- Municipal ward-based Primary Health Agents in each municipal ward; and
- A team of seven specialists in each district

The School Health Programme has already been launched by the President of the Republic in one of the NHI Pilot districts in October 2012.

(xii) To rapidly build Human Resources to sustain NHI, the Cuban Medical Training Programme has been expanded from 60 students in 2010 to 1000 students in 2012. In addition, a public health enhancement fund has been launched in partnership with the private sector and will provide for three (3) main programmes starting in 2013:

- Sponsoring 100 extra medical students from disadvantaged backgrounds to gain admission to one of the medical schools in the country

- ❑ The training of CEOs of hospitals and all health managers
  - ❑ The sponsoring of Masters and PhD students in the field of TB and HIV and AIDS research.
- (xiii) As a result of the HIV Counselling and Testing campaign launched in 2009 about 15 million people have been tested by end of June 2011. The cumulative total over the last 20 months is 20,2 million people who have been tested. The campaign also entailed testing for TB and chronic diseases. Access to ARTs has also been expanded significantly. The fruits of the campaign are beginning to be seen; life expectancy has increased from 56,5 years in 2009 to 60 years in 2011; child mortality rate has decreased from 56 deaths in 2009 to 42 per 1000 in 2011 for children under 5 years; infant mortality rate decreased from 40 deaths in 2009 to 30 deaths in 2011 per 1000 and mother to child transmission has been reduced from 8,5% in 2008, to 3,5% in 2010 and 2,7% in 2011.
- (xiv) Science, technology and innovation have been accepted as essential components of the strategy of creating the South Africa of our future. Although this remains a dream and ideal, the Department is working on developing and supporting a dynamic National System of Innovation.
- (xv) The 52nd National Conference directed the NEC to explore the possibility of establishing a state-owned pharmaceutical company that will respond to and intervene in the cutting of medicine prices. A joint venture, Ketlaphela, was established in February 2012, between Pelchem (PTY) Ltd, a subsidiary of NECSA, the IDC and Lonza Ltd. The priority is the manufacturing of Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients for Anti-Retroviral Medicines in South Africa. Once fully established the Joint Venture will set up a manufacturing facility in Pelindaba.
- (xvi) The department continues to enhance knowledge generation capacity in order to produce world-class research papers and turn some of the advanced findings into in-

novative products and processes. The bid to host the SKA was one such an initiative that started in 2003. In May 2012 South Africa was given the right to host 70% of the SKA telescope. The SKA human capital development programme is providing bursaries and research grants to technicians, undergraduates, postgraduate students and postdoctoral fellows.

- (xvii) We are submitting that this sub-committee is active and effective in implementing the resolutions of conference.

### **2.3.6. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

- (i) The International Relations sub-committee continues to do relatively good work. The sub-committee has been experiencing poor attendance by NEC members. Invited professionals, who take on the work of the committee, have sustained it. This has made reporting to the NEC by the sub-committee too irregular and reports having to be asked for before they are submitted. Staffing in the unit has improved, with the addition of three coordinators aimed at reducing the dependence on interns. The work of the unit has been divided into two with a manager heading each sub-unit, one responsible for South/South and the other responsible for North/South. There is some improvement in response time of the unit, with lack of resources remaining an inhibiting factor. The close cooperation with the Department of International Relations and Cooperation in government is supplementing our capacity to engage. More coordination is necessary if we are going to be optimal in our international work.
- (ii) Party-to-Party relations received a lot of attention in our work. This work was guided by the principle adopted by the 52nd National Conference of:
- ❑ Prioritising the relations with the former liberation movements. A programme was developed for regular engagement among liberation movements, wherein the parties met every six months and the heads of parties



meeting once a year. These meetings are hosted on a rotational basis, with every liberation movement having had the opportunity to host at least one meeting over the last five years.

- Establishing understanding of the ideological orientation and character of the parties in the continent and identify those that share the same political vision as the ANC. The informed programme of reviving relations with parties where the relations had collapsed and started new ones mainly in the continent and the rest of the world. Making an effort to strengthen relations with all progressive and like-minded parties in the region, continent and the world. This work also entailed persuading other parties to shift closer to our ideological and political vision and as we account for the work done we will highlight cases where specific parties have moved closer to us.
  - Relations with other ruling parties in the continent that might not share the same vision with the ANC must be promoted and such relations could be based on common interests. This has been one of the challenges in the continent as changes of parties in power on the continent have been regular. This made it difficult to keep pace with the changes.
- (iii) The regular meetings of former liberation movements have reduced the negative perceptions about one another, which was a result of distance between these parties. Our relations with FRELIMO Party, MPLA, SWAPO Party, Chama Cha Mapenduzi and the ZANU-PF has improved significantly over the last five years. We have honoured each other's activities, including conferences and congresses, on a consistent basis. Several bilateral meetings were held between the formal meetings of the liberation movements. All these parties have done well in the elections, with all of them being the governing parties. The exception is ZANU-PF which

ended up in a hung parliament after the last elections. The power sharing arrangement has created space for the people of Zimbabwe to draft their constitution that is not overseen by the British. More important is that space was created for ZANU-PF to recoup some lost ground. The next elections, possibly in 2013 will be the real test as to whether our sister liberation movement has indeed recouped the lost ground. The inclusion of the Leagues/wings in these meetings has added value in that there is now direct interaction with them.

- (iv) We have established new and strengthened our relations with a number of ruling parties in the continent. The historic relations with BDP have been strengthened, exchanging delegations regularly. As a result of the intensity of engagement the BDP itself has learnt to start appreciating the value of party-to-party relations. This has seen it beginning to interact with other parties in the region, particularly the former liberation movements. A more structured relationship has been started with the LCD. The split of this party in the run-up to the elections has caused confusion in a relationship that was still at its formative stage. Engagement has resumed again with the commitment that our relations should be strengthened. The relations with two ruling parties have created a competitive environment wherein parties who have long standing relationships with the ANC feel that these ruling parties are closing their space. The BNF in Botswana and the BNP in Lesotho are in this situation. We must continue to assure them that the ANC does not dump old friends, hence the revival of our relation with UNIP. The contribution of every party in our struggle for freedom will never be erased and forgotten. The relationship with both the Mauritius Labour Party and Mauritius Militant Movement can be strengthened beyond the interaction in multi-lateral institutional meetings.
- (v) The ANC has strengthened our relations with a few parties in East Africa. The ANC is very active, at both party-to-party and in government in Sudan and South Sudan.

Without trying to take any credit, it must be said that the ANC is proud of the role it has played in finding a solution to the conflict in this part of the continent. With the birth of the youngest democracy in the continent, South Sudan the ANC continues to share experiences with the SPLM within the framework of the MOU between our two parties. We have signed an MOU with the NCP of Sudan as well. This continues to give our movement space to intervene when there is conflict between these two countries. The ANC has revived the interaction with the EPRDF of Ethiopia with the aim of not only strengthening the relations but also to ensure that our two parties work together in the African Union and in dealing with the challenges facing the continent. The interaction with PDJ in Eritrea has just started and we hope that this relationship will be strengthened over time. The South African Government is actively involved in the efforts to find solutions to the problems facing Somalia and Somaliland. The party-to party relations remain weak.

- (vi) The wave of uprisings in the Northern part of the continent, the so-called Arab Spring, took the continent by surprise. One government after the other collapsed, in the face of popular uprisings. All of them were in power for about three decades. The resistance put up by Colonel Gaddafi had a disastrous ending, with Western Powers intervening militarily and Colonel Gaddafi ultimately being assassinated. The AU plan was totally ignored and undermined. The conference should discuss the best way Africa can assert itself when a member state is under threat. Attempts should be made to clarify the difference between military power and the continent being unwilling to act when NATO invades one of the member states on the continent. This debate is equally relevant in trying to understand the role of France in the Ivory Coast impasse after the elections delivered questionable results.
- (vii) The ANC intervention in the situation in Swaziland has been muted. The struggle for democracy in Swaziland needs more sup-

port from the ANC and the South African government.

- (viii) One of the most notable achievements of our work in the continent was the successful contestation of the position of the Chairperson of the AU by SADC. The SADC candidate, from South Africa, comrade Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma was put forward as the most qualified for the position. This is historic in that she is the first woman to hold this position and the first from Southern Africa. While celebrating this breakthrough our pre-occupation should be on how best we can support comrade Nkosazana to succeed. This will require more determination to provide material support. It is the support for the programmes of the AU that will remove the myth that the ANC has removed the continent from its political radar. The deadlock in the first round of voting was a clear indication that more work needs to be done to remove the colonial barriers between English and French speaking African countries. We must all work for unity of the continent. So that in the long term Africa can be a coherent political and trade bloc that can engage other regional trading blocs like the EU as an equal.
- (ix) The party-to-party work that has been started in West Africa can be a solid foundation for consolidating the work in the region. We have had a few exchanges of delegations with the PDP of Nigeria and the NCP of Ghana. Party-to-Party relations have been started with the GDP in Ghana. The relationship with ANC of TOGO is at its infancy stage. We are submitting that our work in the continent is solid and we can only improve.
- (x) We have to increase the pace of improving the South/South relations. The MOU with the Communist Party of China is quite comprehensive. The political exchange programme at NEC level, and some provincial delegations, has more content than many other international programmes we have. We have maintained a dynamic relationship with the Communist Party of Cuba. In both these countries the dynamic rela-

tions at party-to-party level makes the relations at government level more cordial. We continue to have a strong relationship with the Indian National Congress. The MOU signed between the two parties is guiding our work. The Australian Labour Party is working very close with the ANC. The highlight of our relationship was a workshop on election strategies, which was quite helpful for our elections team.

- (xi) We have maintained our relations with all the Social Democratic Parties in Europe. The funding for political education by both the Olof Palme Foundation (SPD- Sweden) and FES (SPD-Germany) is making a big impact in our programme and the region. Conditions that get added like running programmes with the opposition, both in South Africa and in the region interfere with the internal democracy of the party.
- (xii) We have a weak presence in both North and Latin America. This is an area where our relations should be expanded as a matter of urgency. The relations with all the parties should go beyond just attending conferences and focus on the political and ideological influence on each other. The ANC must be more active in the Socialist International. That we hosted the SI world conference provided a rare opportunity of broadening the understanding of the organisation. The most important lesson was that the voice of Africa is muted in SI. Attending council meetings must be prioritised, starting with the one that decides on the functioning of and the representation in both the Finance and Ethics committees. The ANC must put itself forward for consideration for the Ethics committee that deals with applications for membership to the SI.
- (xiii) In conclusion, it is important for the ANC to develop the details of the changes necessary for the transformation of the multilateral institutions, including the UN, the Security Council, the IMF, the World Bank, the AU and SADC. Our membership in BRICS must benefit the continent in a visible way. The establishment of the BRICS Development Bank must be supported, and South

Africa should be ready to take a financial stake in the initial capital needed otherwise it can easily be just a diluted Development Bank of China. This sub-committee must be encouraged to continue doing good work.

### **2.3.7. LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNANCE**

- (i) This sub-committee had a false start when it did not meet for almost a year. This forced the NEC to change the leadership of the sub-committee. Since late 2008 the sub-committee has been very active and effective with more leadership becoming more energetic. The Legislature and Governance has identified five areas of work that constitute the mandate:
  - Transformation of the judiciary. This area of work overlaps with that of Peace and Stability.
  - Transformation of the legislative institutions, including transformation of local government.
  - Transformation of the executive institutions of the state.
  - Conceptualisation of an inclusive governance system.
  - Integration of its work with that of other sub-committees.
- (ii) Having finalised the re-incorporation of Merafong into Gauteng the NEC decided that all the other proposed changes in the boundaries be shelved, de-emphasise boundaries and rather engage provinces to have soft boundaries that allow the people of South Africa to access services from the closest service point. This decision affected Moutse, Matatiele, GaMothibi and Balfour. The strongest message should be that of South Africa being a unitary state. For this message to be taken seriously the budget system should not only emphasise the population figure but also emphasise the development needs of the various provinces. This goes a long way in addressing the service delivery problems and lack of capacity to deal with them.

- (iii) The 52nd National Conference directed the NEC to maintain and strengthen the current electoral system. It directed the NEC to review the formula used to calculate the proportional allocation of seats in local government. This proved to be difficult as this formula remains in place despite it disadvantaging parties that perform well in the constituency component of election results. This remains a challenge that must be attended to by the incoming NEC. The floor-crossing legislation was repealed as directed by the 52nd National Conference. This has stabilised the legislatures and parliament as people need to take a political decision when deciding to switch parties.
- (iv) On the question of a single public service both the NGC and the Policy Conference confirmed the importance of this resolution but this task proved to be very complex and slow to implement. It therefore remains one outstanding task that the incoming NEC must conclude. The debate on the review of provinces and local government is raging on. The ANC Local Government Summit was organised as directed by the 52nd National conference but the position of the ANC remains unclear in this regard and this is one issue that cannot be debated forever without a concrete outcome. It must be emphasised that the suggested route is that of assessing the performance of these spheres of government so that any decision must be informed by the results of a scientific assessment. This is one area that can only be objectively analysed if independent research is conducted. This task can be delegated to the incoming NEC: conducting the research, discussing the results of the research, take the decision, implement and report progress to the NGC and the final report be tabled to the 54th National Conference.
- (v) The National Conference directed all the leaders and members of the ANC to lead society in the fight against corruption. Serious efforts have been made to fight corruption. The state institutions have been strengthened, with the Public Protector leading the pack. We have seen few leading cadres of the movement being affected by this drive. There are growing numbers of workers and managers in the public service being expelled from work for corrupt activities. Corruption can only be defeated if there is a visible increase in the arrest, prosecution and conviction of perpetrators. It is important for the leaders of our movement to appreciate that it is corruption when political office is used to influence decisions in favour of individuals. There is a reasonable expectation from society that revolutionaries should maintain high standards of behaviour. Engagements with various formations in society point to the growing belief that corruption is fast becoming systemic and embedded in government systems and in execution. Corruption must be fought whether it is real or imagined. Only when government is seen to be leading the way will the movement succeed in dealing with corruption in the private sector. At this point in time the focus is on the public sector with the private sector projected as being squeaky clean. The fact that a number of companies have been found guilty of anti-competitive behaviour imposes a responsibility on this government to be serious about corruption in the private sector as well. The call remains that public representatives and the broader public sector must lead by example.
- (vi) Two critical actions are still outstanding and need urgent implementation; putting together an ANC ethics committee as directed by the NGC in 2010 and developing rules for post-tenure/employment rules for both public representatives and senior public officials.
- (vii) The 52nd National Conference directed the NEC to consider seriously the establishment of a Women's Ministry. The Ministry of Women, Children and People with Disabilities has been established. This ministry has to be strengthened and demystify the criticism from many sectors of society that this is a superfluous ministry, basically projecting it as a nice to have.
- (viii) The ANC should improve the political over-

sight of government work, particularly at local government level, where the Auditor-General observed weak political oversight as the main reason for slow progress in the clean audit campaign. The wrong appointments that open up the ANC to criticism are a direct outcome of this weak political oversight. Comrades regularly appoint friends and associates without taking into account the need for deployment of skills to posts. The poor audit results are but a consequence. The high turnover of public representatives at all levels is having a negative impact on the overall performance of the ANC. There must be a renewed effort to retain experience and ensure that change is gradual and systematic.

- (ix) The biggest challenge facing the ANC today is building capacity of the state to do the basic tasks that are reasonably expected from the state. This entails granting of bursaries for students studying the scarce skills needed by the state, recruitment and ongoing training at the government academy, PALAMA in this instance and partnering with the various institutions of higher learning. Public representatives must also be encouraged to continue improving their skills as well. Wrong deployment of skills is costly to our movement in terms of the image and to the country in terms of failure to deliver the basic services. The offers by friends internationally must be taken up keeping our strategic objectives in mind.
- (x) The Legislature and Governance sub-committee is doing relatively well. The incoming NEC is encouraged to strengthen this sub-committee as governance will continue to be an area of focus for the ANC.

### **2.3.8. NATIONAL DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE**

- (i) The committee has worked tirelessly and has had to deal with varied cases of ill-discipline by ANC members. The committee dealt with 3 cases, involving 5 different comrades, during this term and all of these cases involved public representatives or leaders of ANC structures. The comrades,

who serve on this committee, were subject to more scrutiny than usual during 2011 and 2012 as a result of the few 'high-profile' cases, but they equipped themselves well under intense pressure from sectors of the movement and society at large.

- (ii) The NDC, having dealt with these cases, recommends the following to National Conference for discussion and debate:

- ❑ The matters considered by all the disciplinary bodies at all levels underlines that consistent political and organisational work at all levels of the organisation is imperative to ensure that all members uphold the fundamental goal of the ANC to construct a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.
- ❑ Induction of new members must include the understanding of the rights and responsibilities of members and the processes that are followed in the event of the violation of the Constitution.
- ❑ The Conference must ensure that mechanisms are in place to deal with ill-discipline in a consistent and decisive manner.
- ❑ The NDC recommends that leaders desist from representing or giving evidence for charges members to avoid any real or perceived conflict of interest.
- ❑ Allow constitutional amendments that prohibit paid lawyers from being engaged as representatives of charged members. ANC disciplinary proceedings must be guided by principles of fairness and equity and not be bogged down by technical legal arguments or take on the character of courts of law.
- ❑ The ANC must embark on training programmes to equip members with the tools to distinguish between robust debate and competition and ill-discipline. As part of organisational renewal, emphasis must be placed on identifying and developing comrades with leadership skills and capabilities.

**2.3.9. NATIONAL DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE OF APPEALS**

- (i) The National Disciplinary Committee of Appeals (NDCA) had quite a busy schedule during its term and its members gave serious and dedicated attention to the matters before them.
- (ii) The NDCA dealt with the following matters:

No	Provinces/ Leagues	No. of Members Involved	Nature of Case	Outcome
1	Eastern Cape	114	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Activities of another organisations opposed to the ANC;</li> <li>➤ Deployment issues;</li> <li>➤ Defiance of ANC structures.</li> </ul>	Sanctions ranged from Suspension of membership to expulsion.
2	Free State	9	Defiance of ANC structures	Expulsion
3	Western Cape	8	Defiance of ANC structures	Expulsion
4	Mpumalanga	10	Defiance of ANC structures	Expulsion
5	North West	1	Defiance of ANC Structures	
6	Northern Cape	4	Defiance	Expulsion
7	Limpopo	1	Defiance	Expulsion
8	Gauteng	2	Assault	Expulsion
9	KZN	2	Fraud, Defiance	Expulsion
10	Youth League	4	Bringing ANC into disrepute	Expulsion and Suspension
		156		

- ❑ An overwhelming number of cases before the NDCA involved public representatives, which points to the fact that there is a general diminishing of discipline at especially local government level. Such a lack of discipline has adverse effects on the ANC’s ability to deliver effective services to our people and we must continue to place greater emphasis on electing and retaining ANC representatives who serve our people and our organisation with discipline and loyalty.
- (iii) The NDCA observed that, after the 2010 NGC, there was a decrease in the number of cases before the disciplinary structures and this showed that ANC members largely adhered to the call for greater discipline. This augurs well for the organisation.
- (iv) Another disturbing trend that emerged was that the number of disciplinary cases would increase in the run-up to major events, which points to the importance of contestation for positions in the organisation. This trend could also indicate that comrades perceive access to positions as a means

to access power and subsequent enhancement of personal wealth. The NDCA recommends that the ANC embark on training programmes to equip comrades with the tools to distinguish between robust debate, competition and ill-discipline.

(v) The NDCA, together with the NDC and the provincial disciplinary bodies, held a workshop in October 2012. The workshop recommends the following constitutional and capacity building amendments for consideration:

- ❑ There should be sufficient members appointed to serve on PDC's, the NDC and the NDCA, to allow the relevant committee to quorate with 3 members, so that cases can be dispensed with expeditiously, and the responsibility spread among more comrades.
- ❑ Investigative units should be established to assist the Chief National Presenter and the Chief Provincial Presenters. Such investigative units would be responsible for gathering and collating information about possible wrong doing so that information is readily available in the event of charges being initiated by the relevant structure. Such a unit could also forward information to the relevant Secretary to consider the possible initiation of charges. This would ensure that there is thorough preparation for disciplinary proceedings and that there is consistency in initiating and dispensing with disciplinary proceedings.
- ❑ It is proposed that pre-hearing conferences be held in appropriate cases to narrow the issues in dispute. This would help expedite disciplinary proceedings.
- ❑ A major weakness in the system is the lack of understanding of the ANC Constitution by members and the inability of many branches and regions, through lack of training, to conduct disciplinary proceedings, as envisaged in the Constitution. In addition to the proposed amendments to the Consti-

tution, it is recommended that induction for BEC's includes training regarding disciplinary proceedings.

- ❑ It is recommended that decisions of the NDC and NDCA be used to generate a manual with specimen charge sheets, reports and judgements to assist disciplinary committees with the evaluation of evidence and other useful matters.

### **2.3.10. PEACE AND STABILITY**

- (i) As reported in the National General Council the Peace and Stability sub-committee is working well. During the time of the NGC the question of inconsistency in its performance was raised but it was reported that the sub-committee was picking itself out the complacency. It is heartening to report that this is one committee that has improved and has become more responsive to the demands thrown in its direction. It has worked hard to implement the resolutions of the 52nd National Conference.
- (ii) The 52nd National Conference directed the NEC to implement the long-standing resolution of unifying the Police Service into a single police service. This was a directive to merge the South African Police Service and the various municipal police services into a single service. This has not been achieved and is proving as complex as implementing the resolution on establishing a single public service. Despite closer coordination in a number of municipal areas the conference must revisit this resolution and reassure itself that it is implementable. The conference directed the NEC to dissolve the Directorate of Special Operations and members of the DSO performing policing functions must fall under the South African Police Services. In this case the relevant legislative changes have been effected. This was informed by the objective of revamping the criminal justice system in such a way that a seamless interconnection is established in how we investigate and prosecute cases in our country. The resolution has been implemented fully the Directorate of Prior-

ity Crime (the Hawks) has been established. Attempts to get the courts to reverse this action have not succeeded. The determination that the HAWKS is not independent enough from the executive must be addressed.

- (iii) In response to the resolution that a Military Veterans Ministry be established, a military veterans department with a Director-General has been established. Its mandate is that of addressing matters relating to the welfare of military veterans. MKMVA has expressed unhappiness with the progress made in the area of welfare for military veterans, with many being indigent. The establishment of the South African National Military Veterans Association has helped the various military formations to share their experiences and act collectively in dealing with them. The biggest challenge is that the Military Veterans database is not reliable and inadequate, and thus delaying the processes towards delivering the benefits of military veterans.
- (iv) The deployment of SANDF to patrol the borderline has been strengthened along the various borders, a programme that will be completed in 2015. The Rural Safety Strategy has been put in place to address the safety concerns of the farming communities. This combination is critical at a time when cross-border stock theft has reached a stage of being a nuisance. The National Conference further directed the NEC to establish Community Safety Forums that should be located within the Provincial Safety and Security Department. The additional responsibility of the CSFs will be school safety and tourism safety. The National Policy Framework on implementation of CSFs has been finalised and implementation has begun. To date 44 Community Safety Forums have been established and 77 additional ones are plan for 2013. The involvement of SALGA in this programme is commended.
- (v) One of the biggest challenges facing society is the growing trend of lawlessness and violence that characterise protests and strikes. The COSATU survey that confirmed the use of violence as part of the strategy dur-

ing strikes, with more than 50% of COSATU members believing that violence is critical for them achieving their demands, was really revealing. In the recent and current wave of strikes violence became more institutionalised. Dealing with lawlessness and violent strikes is not a labour relations matter but a law enforcement challenge. The sub-committee must develop a more coherent strategy of dealing with this challenge.

- (vi) Immigration has always been a thorny issue that has to find the balance between free movement of people and the documentation thereof. The 52nd National Conference directed the NEC to ensure that the Immigration Act is revised to ensure that while promoting development it should also address national and regional security. The conference called on ANC members to lead the fight against Xenophobia and ensure integration of refugees in society while ensuring security of children, women and the elderly. During the last five years there were developments that pointed to the need for a more comprehensive approach to the question of management of foreign nationals entering South Africa. Few of those are:
  - ❑ The relatively high number of cases of crime involving foreign nationals is a source of concern.
  - ❑ The number of undocumented foreign nationals who have jobs in certain sectors in the face of high unemployment, particularly leisure and hospitality and the agricultural sectors.
  - ❑ The negative impact on small businesses by competition from nationals from Asian countries in the main.
  - ❑ In brief the ANC must boldly deal with questions of competition for limited resources and opportunities in a country where the main challenges are high unemployment, poverty and growing inequality. The question is what lessons can be drawn from the Zimbabwean Dispensation Project which was managed successfully and



registered 275762 Zimbabwean nationals. The ANC should therefore be bold in finding a fine balance between being politically sensitive and developing policies that address national concerns and the challenges facing the South African citizens in real life.

- (vii) The transformation of the judiciary is ongoing with renewed emphasis on the poor having access to the courts. The distribution of High Courts to all the provinces is part of the programme to ensure that South African citizens have more access to the courts. This is reflected in the improvement in the number of cases being finalised by the courts.
- (viii) The 52nd National Conference directed the NEC to ensure that the legislative and regulatory framework within which the private security companies operate is strengthened. The Private Security Bill is currently before parliament trying to address the concerns raised in the resolution and the foreign ownership in the Private Security industry.
- (ix) The sub-committee was tasked to deal with the conflict within the structures of the MKMVA. At the centre of the conflict was the Commissariat that in the eyes of the NEC of MKMVA was undermining the leadership and the Commissariat feeling that the leadership was not representing the structure properly and accused it of corruption. As a result of the intervention a framework to work within was developed which entailed the following:
  - ❑ Suspension of some MKMVA members.
  - ❑ Clarification of the role of the commissariat.
  - ❑ An all inclusive effort to prepare for the 50th anniversary celebrations of Umkhonto We Sizwe.
  - ❑ The verification of members and dealing with the perception that MKMVA continues to recruit new members.
  - ❑ Preparation for the National Conference of MKMVA and agreement to bring it forward.

- (x) This sub-committee has worked hard to implement National Conference resolutions. In this report we have highlighted some aspects of the resolutions that need to be reviewed informed by practical experience that we continue to accumulate as a movement, particularly in the area of governance.

### **2.3.11. POLICY**

- (i) Despite this committee being constituted of chairpersons of all the sub-committees the attendance of meetings was the biggest headache during the last five years. The work of this committee was guided by the resolution of the 52nd National Conference on policy formulation, monitoring and evaluation. For easy reference for delegates the resolution confirmed the centrality of ANC structures in the policy formulation process and the ongoing need for the ANC to give leadership to society and the state. The following recommendations are from the Organisational Review discussion document:
  - ❑ The utilisation of the policy Institute and the Political School to build more capacity for the branches.
  - ❑ Improve the capacity of ANC structure to monitor and evaluate the implementation of policy.
  - ❑ The Policy Institute should be actualised as a matter of utmost priority
  - ❑ The Policy Institute should be linked closely to NEC committees, as well as the physical infrastructure of the Political school.
- (ii) We can report that the Policy institute was secured in 2009 with minimum staffing allocated to it. The research capacity of the institute remains the biggest challenge although an appreciation should be expressed for the work the policy institute does with minimal resources and a shoestring budget. Public funding remains elusive, but a process has been set in motion to develop legislation providing for public funding of political parties, basically trying to improve on the existing legislation. The process of

establishing the physical infrastructure of the political school as directed by the 52nd National Conference has been started, with the farm having been purchased, but building the actual school has not started. The availability of resources will determine the pace at which the incoming NEC will move to finalise these two projects.

- (iii) The monitoring and evaluation unit has been established in the head office. It has reported on its first project of evaluating the state of local governance in a sample of 18 municipalities run by the ANC. The results were confirmed to a great extent by the findings of the Auditor General. The assessment tool for public representatives has been reworked to improve it. Shortage of both financial and human resources made us move with a slow pace.
- (iv) The state intervention and mining sector research was directed and coordinated from the policy institute. The results of this project are covered in more detail under the Economic Transformation Committee report. The point being highlighted is that there is progress made in trying to actualise the two institutions as directed by the 52nd National Conference but the incoming NEC must take the process forward.
- (v) The Policy sub-committee leads all the processes of drafting the Manifestos of the ANC. The quality of work in this regard is evidence in both the national/provincial elections manifesto and the local government manifesto in 2009 and 2011 respectively. The support committee provides research and policy support to communications during elections. It coordinates development of policy documents for both the National General Council and the policy conference in 2010 and 2012 respectively.
- (vi) It is not easy to coordinate a committee of chairpersons of sub-committees who only get serious when the issues from their respective sub-committees are being discussed. The poor attendance of meetings points to this problem and a way must be found to ensure that members are serious

about their work. Despite all these challenges this sub-committee has done relatively well during the last five years.

### **2.3.12. POLITICAL EDUCATION**

- (i) The 52nd National Conference directed the incoming NEC to establish and institutionalise the political school with more energy directed to cadre development and accumulation of knowledge for cadres to contribute to the battle of ideas and ideological renewal of the movement. As reported under policy the site for the political school has been secured but the next stage of building the actual school remains outstanding. This is more a function of the scarcity of resources rather than the lack of will to move with the necessary speed. The policy on funding of political parties, which will include funding of political education has not been finalised. Induction of all elected structures is taking root and provinces have been consistently encouraged to induct branches. It is important that the conference re-emphasise the importance and urgency of building the physical infrastructure for political education. The incoming NEC must be reminded that institutionalisation of political education entails the programme, the content thereof and the physical infrastructure and the latter aspect should not be de-emphasised.
- (ii) As reported in the NGC, the political education sub-committee was dysfunctional for eighteen months following the resignation of the chairperson who defected to COPE. When the sub-committee was re-constituted it invested time and energy in developing a comprehensive programme. The committee has agreed on the core curriculum with ten modules:
  - The history of the ANC and national resistance.
  - Ideological training and tools of analysis.
  - Theory and practice of development.
  - State, government and transformation.
  - Introduction to economic concepts and theories.

- Organisation theory and tools.
- Communication, battle of ideas and the media.
- Basic research skills
- International relations.
- Revolutionary ethics.

Material has been developed for all the modules.

- (iii) The political education sub-committee has run three roundtable seminars targeting different sectors of society. The Political Education and Training Unit started an induction programme since November 2009. It started with ten trainers per region who would constitute a core team that would take the Induction and the Political education programme to the branches that have just been launched. This programme has been rolled out to all the branches except Gauteng, which has a consistent and ongoing programme of induction. Following a proposal from the organisation building and campaigns sub-committee PETU started a programme of branch discussions guided by notes that are circulated. An experiment was conducted around the twentieth anniversary of the release of comrade Nelson Mandela from prison. The programme could not be sustained by the Political Education sub-committee and collapsed.
- (iv) All the Leagues are part of the Political Education sub-committee but the attendance of both ANCWL and ANCYL is inconsistent. The only formal engagement with the ANCVL was when a member of the committee guided the discussions on the Strategy and Tactics in preparation for the Policy Conference. Working with the ANCWL the Political Education and Training Unit conducted the political education strategy workshop and developed the ANCWL branch manual. Induction of the Provincial and Regional task teams from Mpumalanga, Western Cape and North West was conducted. There was little interaction with the ANCYL as it ran and coordinated its own political education.

- (v) PETU working with the Elections Training Unit ran the training programme for all the structures of the ANC in preparation for both the national and local government campaigns. After the local government elections the ANC negotiated time with SALGA to induct newly elected ANC councillors. Provinces allocated different time slots for the induction, varying from 6 to 16 hours.
- (vi) A pilot programme on political education has been started targeting 7 trainers per province. Three modules have been concluded to date covering the history of the ANC, practical arrangements with participants and presenters and recording the session. Two additional modules will be implemented in 2013 covering organisation – theory and practice and revolutionary ethics. Three provinces have started implementing the political school programme; Free State, KZN and Limpopo. Gauteng has consistently implemented the political school programme at provincial and regional level and should be commended for this outstanding work.
- (vii) In addition to the induction for the NEC the first NEC political school was conducted over three days in March 2012. The programme covered the following:
- History of the ANC.
  - Africa in the current world- challenges and opportunities.
  - Brief history of the Leagues, their role and relations with the ANC.
  - The ANC as a centre of Political and Economic Power, now and in the future.
- (viii) The Political Education committee has been established at the national parliament and is also represented in the NEC sub-committee. The caucus holds political education one Thursday per month. Six ANC history books have been published and are available to ANC members and the public in general. The scope of the programme has been expanded to include parliamentarians being enrolled for academic courses. 42 students have enrolled for the second intake

in a university course. Enthusiasm that was shown at the beginning of the programme is showing signs of decline with attendance not what it used to be.

- (ix) The ideal situation is for Umrabulo to be published every quarter. The funding challenges led to Umrabulo being published only three times in five years, one edition in 2008 and two editions in 2010 and none thereafter. The effect of this reality is that regular contributors to Umrabulo have found alternative avenues for expressing their views, which threatens the quality of articles into the future.
- (x) PETU took an active part in the training of the Sudanese People Liberation Movement (SPLM) in preparation for the first ever elections. It also participated in the elections programme sharing the ANC experience with SPLM. This support is still needed and the incoming NEC should continue with the support. The SADC policy forum attended by many ruling parties in the region is part of the international programme facilitated by PETU.
- (xi) The Political Education Sub-Committee can do better, but resources are limited for the sub-committee to do everything that needs to be done. There is however a marked improvement in the work of the sub-committee. Using the facilities owned by the alliance partners and partnering in programmes can improve the capacity to deliver more.

### **2.3.13. SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

- (i) This sub-committee has been more consistent in its execution of its mandate. This is one sub-committee that has focused on ensuring that government departments implement policies, with the ANC being at the centre of social transformation. This is one sub-committee whose mandate included focusing on reducing and ultimately defeating abject poverty in society. In a society where unemployment, poverty and inequality are the pre-eminent problems facing society, the social wage becomes more important

for ameliorating the impact of these challenges.

- (ii) Government has made significant progress over the last 17 years in the provision of the social wage; the provision of about 3 million subsidised houses, including provision of free houses to the indigent and those who earn poverty wages, achieving relatively high level of access to basic services like 93% access to clean drinking water, 84% having access to electricity, 15 million South Africans having access to social grants and many other basic services. The ANC has been criticised for what is described as creating a welfare state. This criticism gets repeated by members of the ANC as if a welfare state is of necessity a bad model, whereas in the Nordic countries, this is one of the best practices of social democracy. The argument for investing money and energy in the creation of more jobs and decent work is a correct argument on its own, but cannot be used as a de-motivation for the government taking the responsibility of ameliorating the impact of the triple evils facing society.
- (iii) There has been a lot of progress in the fight for women emancipation and leadership in all sectors of society. In the majority of cases the ANC is ridiculed for adopting a resolution that at least 50% any elected structure should be women. Our critics see this as an artificial propping up of women. The results and progress made points to a different direction where women are playing critical roles in society. The increase in the number of girl children in school and the achievement of gender parity index in schooling, 36% of senior management in the public service being women, more access to primary healthcare for women and girls is concrete progress. The ANC must push harder for gender parity in all sectors of society. These gender based indices have placed South Africa in 6th position in the Global Report Index. There has been an added effort to ensure that in every elected structure at least 50% are women. This has been extended to adding political content

to it that even in deployment the objective of the resolution should be enforced. This informed the decision of ensuring that in appointing mayors provinces should consciously ensure that at least 50% of the Mayors are women. This was by and large achieved except in one province, the Free State. The debate is now about the levels of municipalities that have women mayors, i.e. local, district or metro municipalities. Appointing women mayors only in small municipalities with no revenue base looks like setting them up for failure. The appeal is that this should be elevated to the level of a political debate rather than being about numbers.

- (iv) The role of sport in building social cohesion and as an economic activity deserves more attention from the ANC. The fact that South Africa hosted a very successful world cup that was reported on in details in the National General Council proved to the world that this country has the capacity to be a major sporting destination. This informed the decision of AFCON to ask South Africa to host the African Cup of Nations at short notice when Libya was dealing with the political crisis. The performance of team South Africa in both the Olympic Games and Paralympic games continues to improve. The revival of school sport is a welcome development and will contribute to our future sporting success.
- (v) The movement has not been very vocal on sport transformation. As a consequence there is no or little progress in all the major sports. What is very revealing is that there was only one African player in the national cricket team for a long time and the next African player only emerged when the previous one had retired. The number of black players in the playing eleven continues to hover between four and five since re-admission. The situation is not much better in rugby.
- (vi) The Social Transformation sub-committee is dealing with issues that talk directly to the plight of our people. Its work is important for the visibility of the ANC in society.

## **2.4. THE HEAD OFFICE**

2.4.1. The 52nd National Conference instructed the NEC to do three key things to strengthen the headquarters of the ANC:

Strengthen the SGO so that it can carry out overall coordination and organisational management of the entire movement. As reported in the NGC we found the SGO being almost a shell without the necessary staffing. The few staff members who were there resigned and left within the first year of this term. The headquarters operated without the General Manager until the last year of the term when one was employed. The policy coordinator in the SGO was employed in the first year of the term and is doing well in terms of coordination of policy work. The information and communication coordinator post was also filled early in the term and is doing well. This comrade was key in supporting the centenary team for the bigger part of the term and the SGO appreciates this contribution.

The NEC/NWC coordinator was employed and the committee office was set up. This is one office that still needs a lot of attention to improve its effectiveness. This requires a skills needs assessment for this office to ensure that it is the correct deployment. The SGO has improved in many respects but it can still improve a great deal.

2.4.2. The 52nd National Conference instructed the NEC to streamline our communications machinery to ensure that the SGO is the main communicator of ANC organisational positions. This is one area where there was visible improvement. As reported under the Communications and Media sub-committee, all the decisions of the National Structures of the ANC were communicated from the SGO with the unit taking up the day to day engagement in the public discourse. One challenge that must receive attention on an ongoing basis is that of leaks and informal media briefings undermining the formal communication of the ANC and the collective wisdom of the structure.

2.4.3. The 52nd Conference also mandated the re-organisation of the various departments of the ANC such that full-time NEC members head key departments and institutions. These include Organising, the Political School, the Policy Institute, Communications and the treasury. The National Chairperson of the ANC was based in the headquarters full-time. She was given the responsibility of running the International Relations and took full responsibility of the Centenary celebrations project. This gave the headquarters additional capacity. The IR unit is building internal capacity to deal with the growing demand for international solidarity and strengthening of relations. A full-time NEC member headed the communications unit with sufficient capacity to engage. The gap opened by the sub-committee operating at sub-optimal level continued to be felt until the committee became more pro-active. A full-time NEC member also heads the Political Education unit, but his appointment to the military review committee kept him away from the headquarters. The opening of the Monitoring and Evaluation unit headed by full-time NEC member added value to the work of the Head-Office. We must emphasise that the Treasurer General is full-time in terms of the constitution. This is not a luxury but one of the greatest needs for the ANC to be fully operational and effective, with resources to do its business. It became impossible to have to have full-time NEC mem-

bers in a number of the positions identified by the National Conference. As long as it is optional for NEC members to be full-time in the headquarters the ANC will have to settle and allocate these responsibilities on the basis of availability rather than deploying the best comrades.

2.4.4. The Deputy Secretary General was also full-time until November 2010 when she was deployed to the North West as the Premier. There was a serious debate whether this was not in contradiction to the provisions of the constitution. There was agreement that this was a serious intervention necessitated by the state of governance in the province. This was therefore a deliberate resolution of the NEC taken in the interest of improving ANC capacity to govern in the North West.

2.4.5. The staffing of the Leagues has also been taken close to compliment. There is ongoing engagement with the Secretaries General of all the Leagues so that staffing should not be about numbers but skills needed. The work of the HO is complimented by the work in the provinces. Many of the provinces have been staffed to full complement.

2.4.6. The ANC can improve faster if more resources are invested in the development of skills by having programmes that give ANC staff access to academic development. This is another area where the ANC must improve.

## **3** MEMBERSHIP AND PROVINCES

### **3.1. MEMBERSHIP**

3.1.1. The 52nd National Conference instructed the NEC to “take steps to practically implement the target set by the 1942 Conference of 1 million members by the time of centenary celebrations. This must be accompanied by intensive branch political education programmes to improve the quality of members.” Having launched the *Imvuselelo* campaign in Mpumalanga in 2010 provinces were nudged to adopt membership drive programmes.

3.1.2 The organisation building and campaigns sub-committee was instrumental in the launch of the campaign and the President was declared the recruiter-in-chief. The bigger credit should, however, go to the provinces that took the campaign very seriously. They must be commended for continuing to drive the campaign beyond the centenary celebrations. Let us hope that the driving force behind the campaign was not just a desire to have more delegates to the national conference.

3.1.3. The political education programme remains relatively weak and few of our provinces are doing all they can to improve in this area. The majority of branches do not even make new members take the oath when recruited. This is reflected in the quality of membership, and the ease with which this membership gets manipulated. Having introduced workshops to train branch representatives on the membership audit there is visible improvement in the keeping and maintenance of branch membership records. There are provinces that are still lagging behind in this regard. This is more glaring where gate-keeping is prevalent. Where branches are more conscious gate-keeping has been resisted. Empowering the branches and members will ultimately save the movement. The provision of the Constitution that “members who fail to pay their subscriptions for three

months and having been reminded of their lapse will not be regarded as members in good standing until they pay their arrears” is not implemented in full. When we audit for conferences some take pleasure in excluding members on the basis that their membership has expired. The obligation on the leadership structures of the ANC to remind members of the possible lapse of membership is generally ignored. This should be enforced in future, so that members are not punished for the recklessness of leaders. The massive growth of membership requires a more structured and systematic political education. The growth since the 52nd National Conference is as follows: (see figure on page 38).

3.1.4 There is an ongoing debate as to whether the ANC needs a big membership instead of the focus being on quality of membership. Quantity and quality are not mutually exclusive. Active political education and involvement of membership in the political life of the organisation can transform the quantity into quality. In the report on the electoral performance of the ANC delegates will notice that despite our good performance there are signs of the decline and penetration of our traditional base by the opposition in general and the DA in particular. Those early signs of tight competition must be a reminder that there will be need for a bigger machinery and visible presence in all the wards. Growing membership is a necessary step in building the necessary capacity for taking on any competition in future. A 2 million member ANC that is only 4% of the population has a chance of knitting together a bigger and better machinery into the future. A good party must have a membership equal to five percent of the population. The ANC should ideally have 2,5 million members to be competitive. This require of all of us to invest a great deal in political education, where every ANC meeting is educational.

Province	2007	2010	2012: January	2012: June
Eastern Cape	153 164	161 161	225 597	187 585
Free State	61 310	41 627	76 334	121 074
Gauteng	59 909	70 305	121 223	134 909
KwaZulu Natal	102 742	192 618	244 900	331 820
Limpopo	67 632	101 971	114 385	161 868
Mpumalanga	54 913	46 405	98 892	132 729
Northern Cape	37 262	37 122	42 342	36 428
North West	47 353	57 911	60 319	75 145
Western Cape	36 497	40 427	43 397	38 499
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>621 237</b>	<b>749 112</b>	<b>1027 389</b>	<b>1220 057</b>

***Growth of membership since 52nd National Conference***

3.1.5 During the audit and soon thereafter it became clear that a lot of membership is falling through the cracks, either as a result gate-keeping or mere inefficiency in the capturing of membership. There is a huge risk of continuing to understate the membership of the ANC. Gate-keeping is not a technical problem but a political one, wherein members of the ANC are deliberately excluded from processes. This is more glaring when we go to conferences when comrades try to have more members who are likely to support them in the elections and seek to marginalise those who are likely to support a different candidate. The NEC committee that was tasked to investigate the problems that almost derailed the local government election campaign confirmed this problem as being at the centre of the problems encountered.

3.1.6. The membership system proved to be one of the challenges that were very difficult to resolve. We are now convinced that we are

on the way to finding a lasting solution. The backlog in the production of membership cards is about 90% resolved with cards produced and delivered to the provinces. Unless the ANC invests sufficient resources in the appropriate IT system, problems of membership management will visit us from time to time. There is enough goodwill out there from companies to help us find the solution to our problems. Modern technology is not a luxury and there should not be any reluctance in investing in it. We cannot allow the system to be switched off because the service provider is demanding payment. The ANC must also be in a position where it demands value for money.

**3.2. BRANCHES**

3.2.1 The 1220057 members of the ANC are in 4307 branches of which 3687 are represented in this conference. This means that 620 branches have not qualified to attend



the conference, which is a high number as it constitutes about 14% of the branches. The concentration of branches that did not qualify to come to the conference is in three provinces, the Eastern Cape, the North West and the Western Cape. This is a reflection of other organisational problems that will be highlighted further down in the report. In the main, the most serious problem is the fact that in the majority of branches there is little or no political life. Branches get revived when we are heading for conferences and elections. Basically our branches are driven by the need to either nominate delegates or candidates for local government elections in the main. This is at the centre of a membership that is not politically conscious and therefore susceptible to manipulation. These branches have no capacity to lead campaigns in their respective wards, creating space for other formations to lead these campaigns that end up being violent protests that reinforce the theme that nothing is happening. This has killed the culture of activism at branch level, making the ANC almost absent in community activities.

3.2.2. This talks to the question that is regularly raised as to what kind of a member do we have as a movement. This at the heart of the discussion about the quality of the member and that of the branch that make the ANC continue to be a leading movement in society. One suggestion that has been put forward is that of targeted recruitment and thus improving the quality of members at the point of recruitment. The issue, however, is that the ANC should be the home for all South Africans and therefore cannot deliberately stop people from joining it. The real challenge is the inability of the structures to convert quantity into quality. We must assume that every South African has the potential of becoming a good member of the ANC and we should not assume otherwise. Branches must make every member take the oath as prescribed by rule 4.15 of the constitution. New members must be inducted and therefore start political education at the

point of recruitment. This is where developing an active and politically conscious membership should be emphasised.

3.2.3. There are pockets of excellence where branches are really active and take up issues affecting society. These good branches are very few and far apart. One area where there has been some general improvement is in the area of branch membership administration and maintenance of branch files. This is a result of the workshops conducted for branches about auditing. This is making it easier to identify areas of gate-keeping, with the stealing of branch files from the regional office being the highest level of membership fraud. With branches being more conscious auditing is much easier and membership fraud becomes minimal. We must however emphasise that where membership fraud and manipulation is a conscious exercise it becomes almost impossible for the audit team to deal with. The examples exposed by the work of the team that dealt with the problems of the local government selection process are shocking. (This will be dealt with under elections). The number of these centres of excellence can be increased if the leadership is doing more of what they were directed to do by the 52nd National Conference, that of:

- ❑ Intensifying the branch work in each community through *Imvuselelo*.
- ❑ Allocating resources to support branch work, including 100% return of the membership fee to the branches.
- ❑ Making branches the focus for political and ideological work by senior leadership and cadreship.
- ❑ Implement a nationally driven branch political education programme.
- ❑ Sharing good practice and experiences.

3.2.4. There were more demands for political and memorial lectures from regions and branches this year. Thanks to the cente-

nary celebrations. More attention should now be paid in developing the capacity of branches to mobilise. The branch is the basic unit of the ANC.

### **3.3. PROVINCES**

3.3.1 The 52nd National Conference confirmed the role of provincial structures as that of implementing the programme of the ANC, including transformation of society and ensuring that structures and organs of the movement with their respective jurisdiction are dynamic and operational. The provincial executive committees should design and implement campaigns and political programmes. It is the 52nd National Conference that extended the term of office for PECs to four years. The majority of the provinces held two conferences during the last five years. The time has arrived for the ANC to assess whether it is not appropriate to align all the structures and have terms of three years. In that instance the conferences and Branch elective general meetings could be organised such that they are graduated and used as the build up to the national conference. In this case these conferences can be appropriate platforms for the discussion of policy proposals that could ultimately be discussed and adopted at the national conference.

#### **A. EASTERN CAPE**

- (i) It was reported in the National General Council that the Eastern Cape was not required to hold a provincial conference immediately after the 52nd National Conference as they had done so in the run-up to the conference. The NEC had to handle the province with care taking into account that it was one of the most vocal in support of the third term. The province itself acknowledged that it has been trying to rescue itself from divisions that have been haunting the province for over a decade. Attending national gatherings as a fragmented force is developing into a culture in the province. Individuals in the province are ready to trade with dividing the province.
- (ii) The province held the 6th provincial conference in September, 2009. The conference was heavily contested with block voting characterising the conference and beyond. The leadership that emerged from the 6th provincial conference committed itself to working for unity and cohesion. The NWC spent many weekends in the province trying to help it in its endeavours. We can report that the province is relatively stable with clear pockets that continue to thrive. It is better to focus on identifiable areas that need more energy from the PEC. At least three of the NEC deployees to this province have been consistent in supporting the PEC. In addition to the constitutional ex-officio members the PEC has a standing invitation for the Provincial chairperson and secretary of the MKMVA, the Premier of the province and the Chief Whip of the ANC in the provincial legislature. It can safely be assumed that this is another effort by the PEC to unify a broader base in the province. All the sub-committees of the PEC are in place and work relatively well.
- (iii) All the regions, except Amathole, have gone through their regional conferences. The relationship between the province and the REC of O.R. Tambo can be better, if both structures can commit more to working for unity and cohesion. The organisation must work tirelessly to instil the understanding that unity is the foundation of a strong organisation and no individual should derive pleasure from divisions even where they promise instant benefits.
- (iv) The ANCYL went to its provincial conference in 2010. The PEC elected in this conference is fully functional and has launched regional structures even in regions where the structure never existed, like Chris Hani and Joe Gqabi. The resolution of the provincial conference to campaign for the disbandment of the PEC of the ANC created unnecessary tension between the two structures. The relationship has now improved dramatically after a few years of engagement. The province has experienced an anomaly of the ANCYL and SASCO con-

testing each other in SRC elections, resulting in some of the campuses being lost unnecessarily.

- (v) The ANCWL held the third provincial conference in September 2008. With the 4th provincial conference being due the ANCWL has been battling to complete the audit process. The programme of visiting the regions is contributing to the building of the organisation, the provincial conference cannot be delayed unduly as this will begin to impact negatively on the organisation. The ANCWL is actively involved in all organisational programmes of the province. It is not active in many sub-committees, an area that requires urgent attention.
- (vi) The ANCVL was launched in December 2009, and has a fully-functional PEC. It is now running a programme of setting up regions. This programme is delayed by the reality of the shortage of the necessary resources. The challenge that must be addressed is the temptation of taking shortcuts in accepting members of the ANCVL, putting emphasis on the 60 years of age and de-emphasising the requirement of 40 years of unbroken service. This is beginning to complicate the status of credentials in conferences. The assumption is that this is a challenge the Veterans' League itself must confront at national level. The value of having the Veterans' League was fully appreciated during the elections in the first instance and during the centenary celebrations.
- (vii) The MKMVA was launched towards the end of 2010, and its PEC remains fully functional. It has established regional structures in all the regions of the ANC. This structure played a prominent role in the centenary programme. It was also very active in the elections programme.
- (viii) The Alliance relations are good in the province based on candid and robust engagement whenever there are disagreements on specific issues. This is a function of a conscious programme of building a strong alliance following a period of suspicions and mistrust among alliance partners. The

engagement goes beyond the alliance structures to bilateral meetings among the alliance partners. Following the alliance summit in July 2010 the alliance has an alliance programme, including working together in elections programmes. It is worth mentioning that the province developed a special relationship with the NUM, working together in political education and the Elijah Barayi detachment being deployed to the province during all the elections. The alliance is, however, weak at regional and branch level, with the relations being acrimonious in the Nelson Mandela Region in particular.

- (ix) The PEC is working hard and has implemented a strong organisational programme. Having been inducted, the PEC held a provincial general council and a special provincial general council. Two makgotla have been held focusing on the programme of governance in the province. The province has held a local government summit and a provincial alliance summit. The centenary celebrations constituted a programme that helped the province organisationally and in terms of political education.
- (x) The province is now looking forward to the provincial conference in 2013.

#### **B. FREE STATE**

- (i) The Free State held the 6th Provincial Conference in 2008, following a series of court cases during the period leading up to the 52nd National Conference. The province came out of the provincial conference more united and cohesive. The province was impacted heavily by defections following the formation of COPE, with their provincial secretary and a few regional leaders defecting. The impact of this was reflected in the election results in 2009.
- (ii) By 2010 signs of divisions in the PEC were visible, with the provincial officials beginning to be divided into three on the one hand and two on the other. This division flowed over to the PEC where positioning for the next provincial conference was evident. Regions were also affected as observed

- during the mobilisation for the centenary celebrations. The NEC members communicated the observation that in the regions chairpersons and secretaries are pulling to different directions, an observation that was denied until it played itself out. More curious was the disbanding of two regions, Lejweleputswa and Thabo Mofutsanyana, following the mass resignation of members to a point where there was no quorum. Basically these RECs collapsed themselves. Factionalism deepened, with factions giving themselves names, "regime change and ramkraal." This extreme form of division characterised both regional conferences and the provincial conference. The two court cases seeking nullification of the provincial conference reflected the determination to destabilise the ANC whenever a grouping loses a conference, a tendency that the ANC must confront. The degree and depth of tensions and divisions was evident in the processes preparing for the conferences in the Free State.
- (iii) Every conference was heavily contested with BGMs being disrupted. One regional conference was re-done to close even the slightest gap that would lead to a successful challenge of organisational processes. It was clear that the intention was to block processes and delay the provincial conference. The provincial conference was held successfully, with one grouping boycotting it. The biggest surprise was that of the provincial secretary and provincial treasurer boycotting the conference. Of interest was the fact that the provincial secretary prepared the PEC report to the conference but apologised and the deputy provincial secretary then delivered the report. The group that boycotted the conference took the ANC to court twice without success. The new PEC has been inducted and all the committees have been put in place. The PEC has been charged with the task of uniting the province and to even reach-out to the group that remains aggrieved. All the sub-committees have been formed but it is still too early to make a determination about their effectiveness or lack thereof.
- (iv) The ANCWL is very vibrant and has the capacity to mobilise communities in all the corners of the province. The ANCWL has recruited more than 10000 members during the period 2008-2011, with the women's league uniform a symbol of popularity of the movement. The provincial conference of the ANCWL was held in December 2011, and is therefore a structure in good standing.
- (v) The ANCYL has been actively involved in the provincial factions and conflict in their quest to be king makers in the province. This has impacted negatively on the working of ANCYL with many of their structures disbanded. The tendency of insulting ANC leadership from public platforms is fast developing into a sub-culture in the province. This imposes a duty on the ANC to build strong ANCYL structures in the province.
- (vi) The ANCVL was launched in 2009 and the second conference was held in 2012. The standing of the individual veterans have been verified. The ANCVL is adding value to the work of the ANC in the province, and participate in the compilation of the history book as part of the centenary work. The veterans have tried hard to intervene in the conflict that characterised the last two years.
- (vii) The MKMVA has a standing invitation to the PEC. It has verified all the members of MKMVA to ascertain that all are ex-combatants. Their focus is on the welfare of ex-combatants, despite the challenge of lack of resources.
- (viii) The relationship with alliance structures is constructive but robust. There is ongoing engagement on all issues and participation in each other's programmes. The Alliance secretariat and the political council (officials) meet regularly to discuss issues and consult each other on all matters including deployment.
- (ix) The Province hosted the centenary celebrations on January 08, 2012, with the ANC tracing its roots to its birthplace. Notwith-

standing all the challenges the centenary celebrations were a success, ushering in the year-long programme. The province hosted the first memorial lecture celebrating the life and times of President Langalibalele Dube. The centenary flame remained in the province for the whole month of January 2012.

### **C. GAUTENG**

- (i) The Gauteng province held its 11th provincial conference in May 2010, making it one of the two provinces that held only one provincial conference during this term. The advantage of this was that the province had space and time to prepare for the national/provincial elections in 2009. Gauteng was one of the provinces targeted for destabilisation by the founders of COPE, with the erstwhile Gauteng premier being the “volunteer-in-chief” for the splinter group. The province did well in the elections with comrades more united around the movement under siege. Tensions built up around the deployment of the premier but the PEC resolved to rally around comrades who were deployed to government. The tensions again played themselves out in the contestation in the provincial conference. The PEC invested time and energy in building unity, healing the province and strengthening the relationship between the PEC and the government executive.
- (ii) Since the provincial conference 20 PEC meetings, three PEC Makgotla, three PGCs, three PEC political schools and two assemblies of cadres have been held. Regions are relatively stable in the province, following the disbandment of two RECs and reconstitution thereof; the Ekurhuleni and the Johannesburg RECs. This was an intervention necessitated by divisions that led to these two regions being totally dysfunctional. Teams that held the fort during this difficult period in both regions must be commended and the relative stability that prevails in these regions reflect that hard work of these teams. Tshwane has now been merged with Metsweding to form the biggest Metro in the country. The cost of the creation of this mega-Metro is that it has inherited a very big under-developed area that will consequently absorb a lot of resources. The conference must note that the move to undo the merger is not in the interest of the people of Metsweding but driven by the ambitions of a few individuals. This should not be allowed to derail development programmes that have started. The West Rand has been stable for a considerable amount of time. Sedibeng is relatively stable with pockets of problems that were handled decisively by the province.
- (iii) The alliance is working together in dealing with political, organisational and governance challenges and tasks. It has run a number of campaigns together, including among others public transport, education, healthcare and service delivery campaigns. The Alliance summit held in September 2011 focused on economic development, public transport and public sector transformation. The PEC is working closely with the PEC of MKMVA. The main focus is on the integration of ex-combatants into the structures of the ANC.
- (iv) The sub-committees of the PEC are working with the national political committee and the political education and ideological work being done can provide invaluable lessons for other provinces. The province has made progress in setting up the Walter Sisulu Leadership Academy. The curriculum for piloting the political school has been adopted by the political education sub-committee. Application for accreditation of its work has been submitted to the ETDP SETA. The school is in the short term being run out of the SOWETO campus of the University of Johannesburg. The province is trying to identify and acquire land for building the academy. This programme is supplemented with regional schools and sectoral programmes. This is one programme that other provinces can draw lessons from and replicate.
- (v) This province is another example of organisation and functional structures having no substitute in withstanding any challenges

facing it. It is the strong organisation and the robust debates and discussions in the structures that sustains the province even when there are difficulties.

**D. KWAZULU-NATAL**

- (i) The province held two provincial conferences during the last five years, one in June 2008 and the other in May 2012. After the first provincial conference the province decided to deploy the provincial secretary, comrade Senzo Mchunu, to the provincial legislature and later as the MEC for education and therefore asked him to resign as the provincial secretary. The deputy provincial secretary cde Sihle Zikalala was asked to act as the provincial secretary. The PGC held in July 2009 confirmed him as the provincial secretary and elected comrade Nomsa Dube as the deputy provincial secretary. This is one of the most stable provinces of the ANC with a good political and organisational programme. It is the organisational structures and content that has helped the province withstand the assassination of the individual comrades in various regions. The assassination of high profile comrades causes a great degree of suspicions among comrades. It is the political and organisational capacity that helps the organisation discuss these problems openly and continue to instil confidence in the organisation. The wave of arrests makes communities have confidence in security forces and faith in the criminal justice system.
- (ii) It is unity and cohesion that kept the PEC united in the face of the arrests of some of its members and the strong rumours that were spread intended to divide the PEC. The organisation can learn an important lesson that closing ranks in the face of adversity is not undermining the diversity of ideas and views. The PEC rotated its meetings to the regions and combined such a programme with outreach programmes. This gave the PEC an opportunity to interact with the various communities and sectors and also exposed the PEC members to the political and organisational dynamics.

This has knitted the PEC into a collective. The PWC also rotates its meetings to the regions and meets with branches and council caucuses.

- (iii) All the regions have held their regional conferences. The build up to regional conferences was used to consolidate the organisation. Emalahleni region had to deal with disruptions but they opted for rehabilitation programmes to help those who showed remorse. The death of the regional chairperson of the eThekweni region and the assassination of the regional secretary and a member of the REC paralysed the REC for some time. The PEC had to take a hands-on approach, deploying the Deputy Provincial Chairperson to work with the REC. The region is now stable and growing. It is also necessary to highlight the instability that characterised Umsunduzi for some time including the crisis during the period leading up to the local government elections, the sit-in and the fire that engulfed the regional offices. The province has grown in terms of membership, performance in both the National/Provincial and local government elections. This growth has slowed down since the emergence of the NFP, requiring the province to develop a new strategy to further penetrate the difficult areas of the province. The massive growth in membership captures the momentum derived from the overall good performance of the ANC in the province.
- (iv) The PEC is actively managing the relations with the Leagues. The ANCVL was launched in December 2008 and has played an active role in the province. The health of many of the veterans is proving to be an inhibiting factor for them to be fully active and effective. Few PEC members, including the Deputy Secretary, have passed on. There are signs of divisions of late resulting from confusion about the role of PEC members and NEC members residing in the province. This has translated into parallel programmes and parallel structures in the province. The PEC of the ANC and the NEC of the Veterans League are intervening in the situation.

- (v) The PEC of the ANCWL is functional and participates fully in ANC structures and programmes. It remains a strong voice on women's issues within the structures of the ANC raising consciousness. It has taken up many campaigns including mobilising young women. The ANCWL has held the Young Women Indaba every year since 2009. The programme of supporting women deployed is proving very helpful and empowering.
- (vi) The ANCYL was working well until October 2011 when the PEC was disbanded by the NEC of the ANCYL. The disagreement revolved around:
- Divisions and public spats among the PEC members,
  - Disagreement with the NEC on the preferences for leadership at the 53rd Conference
  - Refusal to support protest actions at the Head Office during the disciplinary hearings involving some of the national leaders of the ANCYL.
  - Refusal to meet the NEC when there were disagreements.

Since then there is a vacuum in terms of youth programmes and mobilisation of students. The relationship is now cool and dysfunctional.

- (vii) The Alliance relations are good with effective structures that meet regularly. The alliance partners have joint programmes and meet at bilateral level. All the sub-committees of the PEC are in place and work hard guided by the programmes of the NEC sub-committees.

## **E. LIMPOPO**

- (i) Limpopo held the sixth provincial conference in July 2008, a conference that reaffirmed building a strong ANC and good governance as the key focus areas. The chairperson was deployed in the Executive Committee in preparation for the smooth handover. The chairperson was deployed as the Premier after the sitting Premier defected to COPE. There was appreciation

that the NEC deployees were available to the province and contributed to the stability of the province. Their availability for deployment in the structures and contributing to political education was highly appreciated as it contributed to raising political consciousness and ideological awareness. The twofold growth in membership reflected this stability in the province. In the middle of the term signs of division began to emerge, despite the efforts of the PWC and the deployees. These cracks became stronger in the run-up to the 7th provincial conference, which was ultimately held in December 2011. This conference was very robust and heavily contested. The outcome of the conference was disputed. The NEC investigated the dispute and the provincial conference was declared free and fair.

- (ii) The tensions continued beyond the conference as the PEC was suspected of purging those who had different preferences when they reshuffled the provincial cabinet. This suspicion was deepened by further reshuffles of the municipalities. The deep mistrust continues to this day and the NEC must confront this challenge and reassure those who feel helpless in the situation. The ongoing tensions between the province and the Waterberg Region inhibit organisational work. This region was disbanded, a RTT put in place and a fresh conference was then organised. Even after the latest regional conference the relationship remains tense and characterised by suspicions.

- (iii) The ANCVL structure is operational and work closely with the PEC. The ANCWL has improved since the provincial conference in 2010, with the paralysis that characterised it before the conference being something of the past. The NEC of the ANCWL has acknowledged the massive improvement in the provincial structure. This is a campaigning structure that has waged a lively campaign against violence against women and children. The ANCYL is working well with the PEC of the ANC. This is after a long period of conflict in the structures of the ANCYL with a couple of leaders being expelled from the structure, including the provincial

conference that was marred with violence in 2010. This is another campaigning structure in the province.

- (iv) The province is building a strong property portfolio, including the France Mohlala House opened as the provincial head office in January 2011, officiated by the President of the ANC. The construction of Norman Mashabane House, the head office of Mopani Region is almost complete. The vision is that all the regions must build modern party offices.
- (v) The relationship with the Alliance Partners was good for the bigger part of the period under review. This relationship was so close that the SACP was accommodated by the ANC for a long time. This relationship has now almost collapsed, to a point where the alliance partners ran an anti-corruption campaign that targeted the provincial government in a way that was seen as being personal. In the run-up to the 7th provincial conference both the SACP and COSATU expressed their preferences openly, further weakening the alliance relations. SANCO has been rendered moribund by parallel structures. The alliance relations need urgent attention in this province.

## **F. MPUMALANGA**

- (i) In the report to the NGC we highlighted the weakness of structures in the province with infighting cited as the dominant factor in depriving the ANC of the opportunity to lead in communities. The violent protests that engulfed the province at the time led to the removal of some mayors from their responsibilities. More worrying at the time was the fact that many of these protests were led by ANC members who positioned themselves to takeover leadership positions in the municipalities and the structures of the ANC. We reported that the ANC had taken a decision to pay more attention to this province.
- (ii) During the last five years the province has held two provincial conferences, the 10th conference in March 2008 and the 11th

conference in April 2012. The PEC of the 10th conference worked well and confronted the challenges facing the organisation. It held five Makgotla, two summits and PGCs every year. This helped in consolidating the organisational work in the province. The performance of the province in both the National/Provincial elections and the local government elections reflected the loyalty of the constituency and the hard work of our structures. Signs of divisions became more glaring in the latter part of the term caused by a serious fallout among comrades who worked closely in the past. The membership has grown dramatically in the province but has the potential to grow further. A lot of attention was paid to the instability in the regions where the infighting was done openly. The series of alleged political assassinations led to the NWC spending some time in the province. The province has stabilised visibly with protests being in clearly identifiable areas with the province being visibly responsive to these problems.

- (iii) As emphasised throughout this report slate politics tends to weaken the ANC with good cadres of the movement getting sidelined. The province paid some price for this practice with some of the finest cadres of the movement in the province being left in the wilderness. This is a challenge the movement should confront as it is not just a provincial problem, but a national one. The ANC should never discard investments made in individual cadres on the basis of political disagreements. Diversity of views has always been a source of strength for the movement. All sub-committees were put in place and have been working with varying degrees of success. More political education work is needed for the province to deepen the understanding of the culture and traditions of the movement in the province, particularly in the face of massive growth in membership. The new PEC was elected in the 11th provincial conference and has been inducted. It is aware that it has the responsibility of unifying and leading the province.
- (iv) The province interacts with the Leagues on a regular basis. The ANCYL elected the



PEC in July 2010, which came out with a lot of energy and enthusiasm. They worked hard in preparation for the ANCYL national congress. They mobilised the youth for local government elections effectively throughout the province. This enthusiasm was short-lived with serious conflicts and disagreements leading to mass resignation of the majority of PEC members from the structure and the disbandment of two regional structures, Ehlanzeni and Nkangala. The PEC finds it difficult to work with an ANCYL structure that is not representative. Discussions with NEC of the ANCYL have not succeeded in resolving the problems.

- (v) The ANCWL has gone through a very difficult period where the structure had become totally dysfunctional. The structure has now been revived and is vibrant. The PEC has resolved to support the ANCWL administratively and organisationally. The ANCYL has not been launched in the province but efforts are being made towards this objective. Mpumalanga must be commended for not accepting membership of veterans who do not meet all the requirements of being a veteran.
- (vi) The Alliance started off well in 2008 working together in executing the political programmes in the province. The success of the election campaign in 2009 was an effort of all alliance partners. A successful alliance summit was held in 2010. The alliance has been participating in all the summits, makgotla and other activities in the province. The national Alliance Secretariat had to intervene twice during this term in serious public fights among provincial Alliance leaders. Out of those engagements the leadership of the alliance in Mpumalanga was advised to give time to discussing their disagreements rather than attacking each other in public.
- (vii) The province is now in better shape and there is relative stability. We must build on the foundation that is there now without taking things for granted.

## **G. NORTH WEST**

- (i) The North West was among the first provinces to hold provincial conferences after the 52nd National Conference. It is in this provincial conference that the culture of physical fights in ANC meetings was ushered in and then spread to other structures of the movement, with the Sun City Provincial Conference broadcasted as a war zone. The outcome of that conference was contested from day one, despite the NEC delegation that supervised it declaring it free and fair. This contestation destabilised the province with loud voices calling for the disbandment of the PEC.
- (ii) This is another province where the threat of COPE denting the ANC and the serious allegation that a sizeable number of PEC members were defecting were used. Despite this threat the results of the 2009 elections proved the threat to be fake, as the North West ended up being the third best performing province of the ANC after Limpopo and Mpumalanga, and third lowest performance of COPE. After the elections the NEC disbanded the PEC and put in place a Provincial Task Team. The PTT remained in place for longer than the normal nine months prescribed by the constitution.
- (iii) The Provincial Conference was held in February 2011. In an attempt to eliminate factions delegates elected the PEC in a way that mixed the known factions, with the hope that these groupings would be integrated into a coherent team. The cracks in the PEC began to show almost immediately, affecting all the structures, including the officials and the PWC. This reality has been confronted from time to time, with the membership of ANC being very frustrated by these divisions. In an attempt to accommodate each other the PEC decided to expand the PWC to fifteen, a decision that was unconstitutional. The extreme of this situation was when tit-for-tat actions were taken, with one group convening an unconstitutional PGC and deciding to recall officials whom they saw as their own on one hand and the PWC deciding to charge

the Provincial Secretary. The province was advised to go back and work for unity.

- (iv) In an attempt to build unity and cohesion the PEC developed two discussion documents; “Managing the escalating tensions in the province” and “The need for Political Stability in Province. The Provincial Chairperson and Secretary of the ANCVL in the province have also taken it upon themselves to facilitate discussions for unity and cohesion.
- (v) The PEC is deployed to the regions and each PEC member is allocated to a sub-region to provide political guidance. The NEC deployees are working well with the PEC, with the Convenor being readily available to provide guidance to the officials. More than 80% of the branches are in good standing and the membership has grown. More work needs to be done to strengthen the organisation in the province, and convert the quantity into quality. Parallelism is prevalent in the province, causing serious tensions and accusations and counter-accusations between the PEC and RECs. In two of the regions tensions between the RECs and their regional secretaries is costing the ANC dearly. The third region, Ngaka Modiri Molema, was disbanded and an RTT put in place. This reflects the depth of organisational weaknesses in the province.
- (vi) Local governance is in disarray in this province, with mayors being removed at will. The most extreme case was not just following the trend in removing the mayors, but donating an important municipality to the DA. This is the same municipality where seven councillors were not registered during the 2011 local government elections. About 90% of the municipalities had not submitted financial reports by the time the Auditor General released the audit report for local government.
- (vii) Our submission is that the North West is not out of the woods, and requires constant attention. If nothing drastic is done urgently the electorate will lose confidence in the ANC.

## **H. NORTHERN CAPE**

- (i) The Northern Cape held two provincial conferences during the term of office under review, one in September, 2008 and the other one in August, 2012. As reported in the National General Council the 2008 provincial conference was held at the height of polarisation and divisions in all the structures of the movement. As a consequence that conference was highly contested with the two contesting sides seeing themselves as victors and vanquished. It is history that those who felt they lost the conference initiated the mass defection to COPE. The province has stabilised and compensates for its size with quality contributions in all political debates in the ANC. The challenge however is in ensuring that more comrades display high quality of ideological clarity and political consciousness.
- (ii) The province has held the second provincial conference with minimal contestation. The environment in which leadership was contested was conducive and positive. The newly elected PEC has been inducted and set on a path to run the province more effectively. All sub-committees are now in place creating the necessary capacity for the province to have focused programmes in the various policy areas. The resolution of the PEC to have a standing invitation to the premier to all the structures in the province has now been affected by the heavy stroke that almost incapacitated the premier for a long period. The calm and patience with which the province handled this complex situation reflected political maturity and real features of a caring organisation.
- (iii) There was a serious effort to forge unity and cohesion with very few public spats in the province. Loyalty to the decisions of the structure was a lesson repeated all the time for comrades to accept and live the principle of democratic centralism. Like many structures in the movement the PEC was not spared of the tendency to leak discussions and decisions of the structure. As observed in the Provincial General Council the provincial leadership was more visible at all

levels of the organisation of the province.

- (iv) The regions are all operational and are relatively stable. In the NGC we reported a situation where four of the five regions were in bad shape, Francis Baard riddled with factions to a point of being dysfunctional, Siyanda having come out of two years of being disbanded, the Namaqualand regional conference was marked by violent protest and John Taolo Gaetsewe needing direct intervention of the PEC to run its regional conference. The stability that now prevails in all the regions is the direct opposite of what was the situation at the beginning of this term. There is organisation in the Northern Cape now. Pixley ka Isaka Seme was and remains the most stable region in the Northern Cape.
- (v) The province is working well with the Leagues. The ANCYL held their Provincial Congress in December 2009. The ANCYL is active with ongoing programmes. The congress was fiercely contested but without physical fights. The contribution of the Northern Cape to the national structures has improved dramatically. The ANCWL has championed many campaigns, mainly focusing on fighting sexism and violence against women and children. The unveiling of the statue of Ma Frances Baard was the climax of the work of the women's league in the province. Unity and cohesion has led to visible growth in the membership of the ANCWL. The Northern Cape has won the Charlotte Maxeke national award for two consecutive years. The ANCVL structure was launched in 2009, with 67 eligible veterans. Since then, both the provincial Secretary and the Deputy Provincial Secretary have passed on, having a negative impact on working of the structure.
- (vi) MKMVA is active in the province but the PEC must support the structure and assist them in managing some internal dynamics that threaten to be thrown into the open from time to time. There is visible improvement in COSAS with the weakness of not having a presence in many schools. SASCO is being resuscitated in the province with

dynamic leadership that is working hard to strengthen the structures in the province.

- (vii) The Alliance participates in the various structures in the province, including in matters of deployment. The two areas of focus are those of cadre development and building a strong state. The alliance participated fully in the provincial makgotla and the alliance summits. The challenge, however, is strengthening the alliance at sub-provincial level and having joint programmes at that level. The alliance witnessed pocket of alliance partners supporting candidates who contested ANC candidates, either as independent candidates or, in extreme cases, candidates of opposition parties. The other challenge is the weakness of SANCO as an organisation in the province.

#### **I. WESTERN CAPE**

- (i) The PEC of the Western Cape went to the 52nd National Conference being one of the most divided. Although the province took a formal decision to support the third term there was a big body that was actively working against this position. Coming out of the National Conference the NEC had no illusion about the situation in the province, hence the decision to spend many days and hours in the province. The voice demanding the removal of the premier was getting louder by the day, backed up by volumes of information. After a number of visits the NWC came to the conclusion that the premier had to be recalled and the provincial chairperson and the secretary be asked not to stand for election in the provincial conference. The NEC amended the recommendation and only the premier was recalled.
- (ii) The provincial conference that was subsequently convened was so divided that it was held in two venues, one officially sanctioned and the other in defiance. After the conference problems persisted with the Western Cape being one province that was seriously affected by the defections to COPE, with some regional leaders, councillors and former provincial leaders defecting in numbers.

- (iii) Councillors who defected to COPE were relieved of their responsibility, creating a number of vacancies. When by-elections were held the province failed to register a number of candidates, basically giving away those wards. The performance of the ANC was even worse in the elections that followed. Having analysed the results, the NEC disbanded the PEC and put together a PTT.
- (iv) The PTT convened the provincial conference in February 2011. This conference was seriously contested between two identifiable groups. One of the groups decided not to participate in what they saw as a fraudulent process. A flood of appeals from the branches followed this. The NEC recognised the outcome of this conference with the PEC committing itself to renewing the organisation based on the organisational strategy titled "Path to Power 2014." The PEC resolved to establish a permanent elections nerve centre. The weakness though is that the province does not take responsibility but expects the Head Office to pump resources into this programme. Staffing in the Western Cape is at full complement, the most important resource at the disposal of the province. The recent census report pointed to the fact that population growth in the province has taken it to being the fourth biggest province in the country. The biggest immigration is from the Eastern Cape, a province known to be the home of the ANC. The membership of the ANC is moving to the opposite direction having declined from 43000 during the centenary to 38000 in the run-up to the National Conference. 253 branches qualified for the provincial conference and only 170 qualified for the National Conference. The Path to Power 2014 will remain a dream if there is no organisational machinery in the province.
- (v) The ANCWL is weak in the province and the PEC has been disbanded since the PGC in October, 2011. The provincial conference has been due for some time now without success. The ANCYL is equally weak with a PTT that failed twice to call a provincial conference. The PTT has now been disbanded with the NEC taking full control of youth activities in the province. The ANCVL has participated in a limited way in ANC programmes. The provincial secretary has been the only leader of the Veterans League who has been consistent in participating in ANC programmes.
- (vi) MKMVA is active and visible in the province. The provincial conference held in April 2012 was a resounding success. The main focus is on addressing the socio-economic needs of the ex-combatants as many of them find themselves on the margins of society.
- (vii) The province is more visible in a number of campaigns ranging from save our schools campaign, campaign against gangsterism and drugs, the farmworkers struggles and many other campaigns. The challenge, however, is converting this visibility into organisational presence in all communities.
- (viii) Both the PEC and the PWC are working and meet as required by the constitution. All PWC sub-committees are in place and are working. The regional structures were affected by the factions and divisions as described in the report. All of them were taken through the regional conferences in preparation for the provincial conference. The dysfunctionality of the West Coast has led to it being disbanded. The REC was so divided that any discussion would have two sides of the story. The RTT is hard at work to rebuild the organisation which is a difficult task indeed. All the other regions are functional but are still battling to recover from the historic divisions.
- (ix) The alliance relations are not what they should be given that not a single meeting of the alliance was held. Bilateral meetings with the alliance partners have not translated into an alliance programme. SANCO is close to implosion where the leadership infighting is weakening the organisation badly. The national leadership of SANCO has been alerted to this reality. The reality is that the alliance should work together in rebuilding the congress movement in the province. A strong organisation and a strong alliance can rescue the Western Cape.

## 4 THE LEAGUES

### 4.1. THE ANC VETERANS' LEAGUE

4.1.1. The 52nd National Conference directed the NEC to do three things specifically:

- ❑ To establish the Veterans' League of the ANC, finalising their constitution and uniform, which must be fully functional by the time of the Centenary.
- ❑ To define a veteran as someone who is sixty years and above, and with 40 years of uninterrupted and unbroken service to the movement and the people of South Africa.
- ❑ The constitutional amendment be done to give effect to the establishment of the Veterans' League as a constitutional structure of the ANC.

4.1.2. The Organisation Building and Campaigns sub-committee of the NEC was tasked with the implementation of this resolution. As a consequence the ANC Veterans' League was launched in December 2009. It was emphasised in the inaugural conference of the Veterans' League that the league would reinforce the efforts of the movement in reviving and strengthening the traditions, values, history and unity of the movement. Not all provinces had launched the structure at the time of the conference.

4.1.3. The induction conducted by the Deputy President clarified the scope and the role of the Veterans League in that it is a structure of old members and cadres of the movement with a long history with the movement and therefore a structure that does not need to recruit. What has proven almost impossible is the verification of the standing of individual members of the league. The Veterans League resisted and rejected the establishment of an independent body to do verification of the involvement of the individual members both in exile and internally. No progress has been made in this regard and as a result the structure is drifting toward being the home of senior citizens with no



verifiable involvement in the movement for 40 years or longer. The NEC of the ANC will have to do this verification as this is the Veterans' League of the ANC. The Veterans League must have the necessary authority in the structures of the ANC. This problem is beginning to have a negative impact on the work and involvement of the Veterans' League in the other levels of the structures of the movement.

4.1.4. The structure is active in almost all the provinces of the ANC. The biggest challenges facing this structure are ill-health, age and deaths. As we lose these stalwarts of our movement we are losing the living history and the benefit of accessing anecdotes thereof. This will create a gap in the organisational renewal efforts of our movement. The ANCVL is confronted specifically by the following challenges:

- ❑ Lack of office space despite consistent engagement with the relevant structures.
- ❑ Lack of financial resources with no budgetary allocation for the Veterans' League leaving their accounts with a negative balance. Even to hold structural meetings the ANCVL has to plead with the office of the Treasurer

General of the ANC to get resources. This has resulted in an absence of meetings for long periods.

- ❑ The shortage of administrative capacity at all levels of the organisation.
- ❑ Divisions, pettiness and involvement in public spats have characterised the Veterans League.

4.1.5. Having established the structure the incoming NEC will be required to actively participate in strengthening the ANCVL and ensure that it is a structure of veterans as defined by the constitution of the ANC.

## **4.2 THE ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE**



4.2.1. The 11th National Conference of the ANC Women's League was held in July 2008. The NEC was inducted in September of the same year with the intention of firmly grounding the newly elected leadership of the ANC Women's League. The Women's League continues to be the critical voice in the fight for the emancipation of women, against sexism and representing the clear voice of women in organisational matters. We must, however, emphasise that the Women's League can be more vocal and play a more prominent leadership role in these matters in a country where sexism remains a serious contradiction. The Women's League is expected not to limit itself to women's issues only but also be more engaged with broad organisational matters.

4.2.2. There has been renewed emphasis on building vibrant branches of the league alongside every ANC branch. The number of branches has increased from 1504 in 2008 to 2534 branches in 2012. The biggest challenge is that many of these branches keep the branch membership at the barest minimum requirement for a branch to be established. Many of the branches have no coherent programmes. Like many structures of the ANC the tendency of fighting for positions and grouping members into firm lobby groups is stifling progress in the league. The weakness of regional structures and absence of full-time organisers at regional level is a major to the small growth of the women's league.

4.2.3. The membership has grown in all the provinces of the Women's League, but the growth has been minimal in two provinces, the Western Cape and the North West. The membership has grown from 130642 in 2008 to 176309 in 2012. There are administrative and political challenges in managing the membership, for example bulk buying of membership to recruiters forging signatures in membership forms. Membership renewal remains a serious problem for the league resulting in the league understating its membership. There are still four regional conferences that are outstanding, the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape, the North West and the Northern Cape. These regional conferences are an important part of the preparations for the national conference in 2013.

4.2.4. The ANCWL has been active in many campaigns, with particular focus on gender based violence. The organisation has been visible outside courts where cases of rape and violence against women and children are heard. Mobilisation of women during elections has been identified as an important campaign as women constitute the majority of the population. The relationship with the Progressive Women's Movement, Pan African Women's Organisation and Socialist International Women has been strengthened. The question of office

space and resources for the secretariat of PAWVO remains a thorny issue, with South Africa being the host country. The Women's League is active in a number of policy sub-committees of the ANC. There is room for improvement in this regard.

### **4.3 THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE**



4.3.1. The ANCYL has held two National Congresses over the last five years one in 2008, which had two legs, Mangaung and NASREC and the other one in June 2011. The 2008 congress was rowdy and anarchic, with polarisation and divisions visible as was the case in many structures after the 52nd National Conference of the ANC. The conference had to be adjourned after the outcome of the elections of the officials was heavily contested. The business of conference was only completed six weeks later. The leadership was affected by defections following the formation of COPE at all levels of the organisation.

4.3.2. This term started off well in terms of the relations with the mother body, with the Youth League appreciating the leadership of the ANC and the complimentary role of the ANCYL to work and campaigns of the ANC. Emboldened by the space given to it to make remarks on almost everything, the Youth League started a trend of preempting the ANC on every announcement, including decisions of structures in which they participate as ex-officio members. This was beginning to undermine the ANC as it

was seen to be tailing its Youth League. The most dramatic instance was the premature pronouncement by the Youth League on the recall of the President, which almost de-legitimised the decision in eyes of the South African society. This trend continued and changed character and became attacks on the integrity of any ANC leader who dared to question their behaviour. This graduated into hurling of insults at individual leaders of the ANC.

4.3.3. The ANC engaged with the Youth League and its leaders in order to address this behaviour and also to discuss various organisational matters. However, this behaviour continued, escalated and eventually led to the charges being laid against the President of the ANCYL, in his individual capacity as a member of the ANC, in 2010. This case was settled with a plea bargain, wherein the comrade accepted the charges in exchange for a very light sentence. In the run-up to the NGC the ANCYL turned on this outcome and projected it as witch-hunt with a stated objective of taking it to NGC, which ultimately did not happen. The behaviour changed for the better, for a short time, but soon deteriorated again and the ANCYL eventually became very confrontational towards the mother body and, in particular, the President of the ANC.

4.3.4. By the time of the last ANCYL conference in June 2011 tensions were already running high. A notable incident was when an NEC member of the ANCYL howled the ANC President during his keynote address thereby intentionally trying to disrupt the address. The conciliatory note marked in the opening address of the President of the ANCYL was totally cancelled by the closing remarks. This marked the beginning of another season of public insults. Ultimately three members of the ANC who were also serving in the leadership structures of the ANCYL were charged and different verdicts were given. The NEC of the ANC should have done more to engage with the ANCYL, during this difficult time, in order to facilitate greater understanding within

the ANCYL of its role as an autonomous structure of the ANC. Since then the engagement between the ANC and the ANCYL has improved and is showing new signs of maturity. We must however highlight that the ANCYL had pronounced its intention not to recognise the outcome of the disciplinary proceedings and to remain defiant, something that has not materially happened. There is a growing understanding that militancy and anarchy are not the same and that they each bring different results to an organisation. The acrimonious relations have overflowed to a few provinces and these need to be attended to.

4.3.5. For the first time the ANCYL held its first National General Council in 2010 to review policies and assess progress in the implementation of congress resolutions. This was used to refine the programme of the Youth League. Many of the programmes raised with the broad theme of Economic Freedom in our Lifetime” forced a necessary debate on the ANC. The policy debates on the role of the state in the economy in general and mining in particular, the land question, youth unemployment and joining other campaigns has helped the ANC think through these is-

sues. If they were not clouded by instances of anarchy and antagonistic engagement more value could have been derived from them.

4.3.6. Equally important is the active involvement of the Youth League in international youth structures and the influence they have. Hosting the 17th World Festival of Students and Youth in December 2010 is but one example of this active involvement. The education campaign is an important one. It would be more beneficial if it is coordinated with SASCO within the context of the Progressive Youth Alliance. In instances where components of the PYA contest each other in SRC elections campuses get donated to independent candidates and more recently to DASO.

4.3.7. The membership of the ANCYL is now standing at 366535 in 3517 branches. This is additional capacity for the ANC. The ANCYL must continue to generate fresh ideas to remain a “critical body of opinion” within the ANC. The NEC must continue engaging the Youth League and guide it on how best it can campaign for and persuade the broader movement to its policy positions.



## **5** THE ALLIANCE

5.1. The ANC is in an alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO) is our natural and close partner in achieving our goals. Each Alliance partner is an independent organisation with its own constitution, membership and programmes. The Alliance is founded on a common commitment to the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution, and the need to unite the largest possible cross-section of South Africans behind these objectives.

For the delegates to understand the context within which we describe the alliance it is necessary to do a brief analysis of the state of each of the alliance partners. It is the relative strength of each of the alliance partners that determines the effectiveness or lack thereof of the alliance. The public posture each alliance structure takes has a direct impact on the alliance relations.

### **5.1.1. THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

5.1.1.1 The SACP has continued to be a reliable ally and displayed its commitment to the programmes of the alliance and those of the ANC except where there are specific disagreements. It has grown its membership to the highest ever level. The Party is becoming younger overall in terms of the demographics. There is a sizeable section of the party membership that is not in the ANC. What used to be taken for granted that every party member was an ANC member is no longer automatic. There are even questions when it is explained that not every ANC member should be a communist. This goes to the heart of the question of a “mass vanguard” communist party, a description that continues to be debated. An open party working under conditions of legality will have some kind of being a mass party. As a

campaigning party the SACP has seen fast political growth of this young membership whose theory is applied in practice. It is this understanding that makes it possible for the leadership of both parties to understand and manage the contradictions whenever they manifest. The impact of these young activists makes a big difference within the structures of the ANC. Due to lack of experience they sometimes fail to interpret the notion of communists not constituting themselves into a communist faction within the ANC.

5.1.1.2 It is this gap in their political development that makes some of these activists lead protests and even support independent candidates who contest ANC candidates. Hostilities become clear when there is intervention trying to reconcile our forces. It is in extreme situations like this that we come across ANC membership that is hostile towards the red t-shirts. This is a problem that both the ANC and the SACP must try to address, through political education. Even at national level when the party does its independent analysis there were regular disagreements whenever there was a feeling that the analysis ended up being labelling. In certain instances, these disagreements take the form of public spats. The lower structures then assume that it is normal to insult each other in public. The relationship is working at national level with capacity to engage when there are problems. In a number of provinces the relationship is sub-optimal with leaders of the ANC and the Party fighting openly. There are provinces that have invested in ensuring that the alliance relations are good.

5.1.1.3. The recent Party congress was very informative and educational. The content of the congress was rich and the discussions captured the ideological growth. The weakness is that there is very little cross-pollination among the cadres of our respective organi-

sations. The management of elections can be a point of learning for all other alliance partners.

5.1.1.4. The Party has grown to appreciate the need to avoid populist rhetoric in response to very critical questions. This is adding value to the engagements in the alliance structures and reduces tensions that characterised the interaction for the better part of the last fifteen years.

### **5.1.2. COSATU**

5.1.2.1 The relationship with COSATU has mainly been stable. The many instances of tensions arose mainly around the public posture the Federation took. Ideologically and politically there are few disagreements and that is why the main cause of tensions is the Federation's public posture. It is the failure on the part of the Federation to internalise that any attack among the alliance partner causes more harm than the opponents of our movement put together. It is the liberal interpretation of the right of each partner to express their views publicly. It is always awkward when any alliance partner pronounces negatively and the other alliance partners only discover the problem in the media. Alerting the other alliance partner is not tantamount to giving away the right to take independent decisions.

5.1.2.2. When there are disagreements COSATU tends to get so angry that it becomes reckless with its pronouncements. COSATU is the only alliance partner that from time to time sees the democratic government as worse or the same as the apartheid regime. Saying this government is worse than apartheid regime is not the same as COSATU diagnosing "apartheid faultlines in the economy". The ease with which COSATU pronounces the possibility of "Zille" taking over power also tends to foster acceptance of this possibility in the minds of our people.

5.1.2.3. The other awkwardness is the ease with which the Federation calls for strikes while there is engagement, making the engagement and any results that come out of the

engagement to be seen as succumbing to the political pressure. This may make COSATU appear bold and strong in the short term but it weakens the governing party in the public eye and indirectly weakens COSATU itself.

5.1.2.4. In the majority of cases issues raised by the Federation are in line with policy positions of the ANC and could help in the acceleration of the implementation. Once the public articulation is such that the Federation is projecting itself as the custodian of ANC policies and publicly accuse the leadership of the ANC of lacking the will it will block dialogue. Direct engagement is always better than attacking one another from public platforms.

5.1.2.5. The ANC honoured all the invitations from COSATU, be it Congresses, the central committee or the May Day Rallies and other engagements nationally and in the provinces. The articulation is critical for firming up the relations among the alliance partners.

5.1.2.6 The recent COSATU National Congress was an important platform for positive engagement. The management of the elections saved the Federation from a bruising contestation that could have gone a long way towards weakening it. It can be a point of learning for the alliance partners that open engagement about leadership should be part of the organisational processes. Our observation is that the Federation did not spend sufficient time in doing trade union analysis, as the bias and excitement was reserved for analysing the ANC.

5.1.2.7. The current attack on the NUM in particular and other COSATU affiliates is a sign that more in-depth analysis on the state of the trade union movement is necessary and urgent. There are many signs that this wave of strikes can be an entry point for other forces seeking to dislodge the Congress movement.

### **5.1.3. SANCO**

5.1.3.1 SANCO is reactivating its structures in all the provinces. It is still battling because many of these structures are weak and the majority of provinces are very divided. We must commend the national leadership of SANCO for being bold with interventions in the provinces where the ANC has indicated when encountering problems with SANCO structures. South Africa still needs a strong progressive civic movement but the gaps left by SANCO are closed by local initiatives, many of which are a bit hostile to both SANCO and the congress movement in general. In the majority of cases disgruntled members of our organisations start these initiatives. It may be helpful if SANCO could start engaging these civic formations for cooperation and ultimately mergers.

5.1.3.2. SANCO was hit hard by the defection of a few national leaders, including their president to COPE. It is recovering from this near-crisis as many of these leaders are returning to the movement. The call for the alliance partners to help SANCO in the efforts to rebuild their structures must be taken serious at all levels of the organisation. The threat of the space being occupied by other forces makes SANCO nervous and it tends to be populist under pressure. The easy target for attack in these instances will always be the ANC, the governing party.

## **5.2. THE FUNCTIONING OF THE ALLIANCE**

5.2.1 The alliance remains relevant as a movement for unity and the realisation of the objectives of the National Democratic revolution. It is working relatively well at national level, with four alliance summits having been held over the last five years. The year 2012 was an exception in that it was the year of conferences for three of the four alliance partners. The reality of the alliance being an inter-class alliance is practically experienced when the views on specific issues are divergent as was the case with e-toll, the Protection of Information Bill and the approach to

dealing with labour brokers. The differences on these matters proved once more that the alliance is better-off when talking instead of fighting in public. Every time there was a fight opposition forces would join in and suspicions among the alliance partners started translating into conspiracies.

5.2.2 The drafting of the manifesto was an example of how best the alliance should work in that there was consensus on the content. The consultation with alliance partners on a range of issues minimised the intra-alliance conflict. The debate on the alliance being the Political Centre of Power proved to be complex in that it was informed by fears of marginalisation rather than being ideological. It became clear that the underlying fear was that the alliance had no veto power on issues of governance. All the alliance partners agree on the need for ongoing, genuine and comprehensive consultation among alliance partners. There is also an agreement on the alliance being strategic and not tactical. The debate is about the concept of the centre of political power when historically it was accepted that the ANC as the leader of the alliance is the strategic centre of power. The question therefore is; what has changed? Is it the level of trust or it is the political environment that requires a different approach? If the latter is true what has changed in material terms? The demand for signing a social pact that arises from time to time seems to be capturing the mood and the real essence of this debate and therefore indicates that levels of trust is at the centre of this debate. Even more crude is the regular articulation by one of the COSATU affiliates that the ANC leadership has let down the working class. This conference provides space and opportunity for delegates to interrogate these strange concepts that are beginning to dominate our political lexicon.

5.2.3. If all the alliance partners can internalise the class character of the alliance there will be no surprises when there are differences in positions with a class content. This depth of understanding will almost

eliminate the need for insulting each other in public. We will focus on what unites us and therefore accept that any alliance programme is a minimum programme, wherein each alliance partner accepts the need to compromise to achieve their different long term objectives and focus on what the allies agree on, namely the NDR. This approach will help the alliance consolidate the gains of the revolution.

5.2.4. The alliance is working relatively well but it can do better. The focus should be on trying to deal with the weaknesses in the structures of all the alliance partners. Where the chemistry is bad among alliance leaders that must be confronted as such.

## **6** THE ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE *of the African National Congress Over The Last Five Years*

- 6.1. We have characterised the ANC's 52nd National Conference as a divided and fragmented conference. By the time we went to the 2008 January 8th Celebrations, the next National/Provincial conference was eighteen months away. As we were trying to develop our campaign, the organisation found itself facing a number of challenges, including the defection and formation of COPE by a number of leaders. This represented a serious challenge; the threat of our base being invaded and a high degree of suspicions among comrades coupled with wild accusations of comrades being about to defect or being planted by COPE to remain in the ANC. This made the 2009 elections one of the most difficult. Many commentators predicted that the ANC was going to lose control of at least five provinces and the coalition of opposition would deprive the ANC the majority nationally. It is this threat that galvanised all our forces into action.
- 6.2. Our message was not coherent at the beginning of the campaign, with leaders of the ANC saying different things in different places. The process of developing the manifesto helped the ANC communicate a coherent message, and led to the fine-tuning of the 'one message many voices' strategy. This strategy and message were perfected during the campaign and the slogan of "Working together we can do more" resonated with our people. Voter contact and the visibility of leadership improved. Branding added momentum to the campaign. The 97th Anniversary celebrations in East London, Eastern Cape, where the manifesto was launched was a convincing display of our strength. The Siyanqoba Rally in Johannesburg, Gauteng proved that the performance in the Eastern Cape was not a fluke. The commentators changed the tune from "no win for the ANC" to "no two-thirds majority for the ANC." The ANC received 65,9% of the votes, with the number of actual votes for the ANC having increased from 10,8 million in 2004 to 11,6 million in 2009. The support of the ANC was reduced in percentage terms but increased in terms of the head count.
- 6.3. The ANC remains the majority party in parliament and eight of the provinces, having gained outright majority in KZN for the first time since 1994. We are the official opposition in the Western Cape. The DA was the biggest beneficiary in the 2009 general elections, with about 1 million more votes, an outright control of the Western Cape, official opposition in parliament and in three provinces. COPE established itself as the third biggest party with 1,3 million votes, the official opposition party in five provinces and had a presence in all nine provinces.
- 6.4. There is a measurable correlation between the decline of the ANC and the establishment of COPE. (See figure 1 on page 60).
- Although the numbers are not exactly the same, it is clear from these numbers that in establishing itself, COPE mainly attracted former members of the ANC.
- 6.5. The ANC still received a strong mandate in 2009 and the electorate has reasonable expectations that the ANC will make good on our commitments made during the elections.
- 6.6. The local government elections were held in May 2011 and proved to be very difficult for the ANC. The NEC had to imple-

PROVINCE	COPE 2009 PERFORMANCE	ANC GROWTH/ DECLINE
Eastern Cape	13%	9% decline
Free State	11%	10% decline
Gauteng	8%	4% decline
KZN	2%	16% growth
Limpopo	7%	4% decline
Mpumalanga	3%	1% decline
Northern Cape	16%	10% decline
North West	4%	6% decline
Western Cape	9%	3% decline

**Figure 1  
ANC vs COPE**

ment the resolution of the 52nd National Conference that “we should strengthen list guidelines and processes for public representatives to enhance democratic participation, ensure that we select and deploy the best cadres for public office and involve the broader community in our candidate selection processes. We also need to ensure that we attract people with skills and ensure the broadest possible sectoral spread in our public representative corps.” Guidelines were developed and distributed to the structures of the ANC. The testing of the views of communities on ANC candidates was interpreted in many ways. Many communities that believed that their preferred candidates were not confirmed felt aggrieved. Several of these communities threatened not to vote in protest. The President appealed to those communities to vote and promised that their problems will be attended to after the elections.

6.7. Very soon after the election a team chaired by comrade Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, supported by two NEC members, comrades Naledi Pandor and Ellen Molekane and four long serving cadres of the movement; James Steward, who did not participate in the work of the team, Lehlohonolo Moloi, Nonzwakazi Sigxashe and Archie Whitehead were appointed to investigate irregu-

larities that occurred during the nomination process. The team took more than a year to investigate all the complaints submitted. Without getting into details we will summarise findings and recommendations. The report will be handed over to the new NEC for implementation. The NEC committed the ANC to implementing all the recommendations made by the Task team.

6.8. The Task Team found that in many instances one or more provisions of the guidelines had not been complied with. In a number of cases the team collected cogent evidence that:

- ❑ There was substantial non-compliance with one or more of the guidelines.
- ❑ There was deliberate manipulation of, or disregard for guidelines in order to achieve a predetermined outcome .
- ❑ The non-compliance or deliberate manipulation of the process was of such a nature and extent that:
  - (a) The ANC will be brought into disrepute if it is seen or perceived to be endorsing such behaviour or
  - (b) Allowing such a situation to remain unattended will undermine the organisational integrity of the ANC.

6.9. The team recommended that such processes be set aside or redone:

- ❑ Where the incumbent councillor is nominated again through such a process s/he should remain in office.
- ❑ Where the incumbent councillor is not re-nominated it is recommended that s/he be asked to resign and by-elections be held.
- ❑ In certain instances the task team recommends disciplinary proceedings be considered, and in other instances that matters be referred to appropriate state institutions for investigation of possible criminal offences.

6.10. Specific recommendations were made in respect of the Candidate Selection Process: 2011:

- ❑ In wards where there has been gross violation of the guidelines internal nomination and selection process should be redone. Where the incumbent Ward Councillor does not emerge from the processes, by-elections should be conducted.
- ❑ Appropriate disciplinary action should

be taken against leaders and members who were responsible for gross violation and manipulation of the guidelines.

- ❑ Where changing of the candidates was justifiable, rationale for the changes should be communicated to the branches and communities as a matter of urgency.

6.11. The team made other recommendations in respect of selection guidelines, membership system, organisational intervention on governance and general organisational interventions. The whole report will be handed over to the new NEC for urgent attention and action.

6.12 Despite all these challenges the ANC performed relatively well in the local government elections. We got 3% less than what we got in the national elections. When the trend was analysed it became clear that in local government we always lag behind national performance by about 4%. The ANC should, however, pay attention to the various flashpoints in the country.

Our performance can be summarised in figure 2 below:

<b>PROVINCE</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2009</b>
National	63%	66%
Eastern Cape	70%	72%
Free State	72%	72%
Gauteng	61%	65%
KZN	58%	64%
Limpopo	83%	85%
Mpumalanga	79%	86%
Northern Cape	64%	61%
North West	74%	75%
Western Cape	34%	33%

**Figure 2 ANC electoral performance**

6.13. Negative movements in the big provinces and where we have traditionally done well have a bigger impact than positive movements in smaller and marginal provinces. Declines in KZN, Gauteng, Mpumalanga and Limpopo cancelled the increases in the five other provinces. We must analyse the impact of the establishment of NFP on the performance of the ANC in KZN. Although the main victim was the IFP it also attracted the less committed newly recruited members of the ANC.

6.14. Our resources and energy must be directed to our strongholds and we must tighten our grip in these areas. The work in frontiers must be treated as a long-term project and patience and dedication are required in rebuilding some lost ground.



## **7** CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

- 7.1. On January 08th, 2012 the African National Congress turned one hundred years old, an important milestone for the ANC as a liberation movement. The 52nd National Conference resolution guided the NEC in the preparations and the actual celebrations. The National Conference resolved, “Conference notes that the ANC will celebrate its anniversary on 08 January, 2012. The centenary will also be the year of the 53rd National Conference of our movement. Conference further mandates the incoming NEC and all leadership collectives and membership of the ANC to mobilise the vast majority of our people over the next five years to take fully in the build-up activities towards the centenary celebrations. Central to these activities must be the focus on building vibrant and dynamic branches and unifying the movement at all levels so that it can tackle the social and economic problems facing the overwhelming majority of our people. The ANC must continue to strive to be the moral, intellectual and political leader of our people and put in place mechanisms to vigorously combat negative tendencies occasioned by being a ruling party. Conference therefore mandates the incoming NEC to develop perspectives for discussions in the structures on the most appropriate manner of celebrating this momentous occasion.”
- 7.2. This resolution is quoted to remind delegates that important as the actual centenary rally in January 2012 was, the assessment of the celebrations must be based on what was done for the whole year. The year-long celebrations must be assessed against the resolution of the 52nd National Conference. The question is whether the ANC succeeded in using the celebrations to mobilise the majority of our people. The National General Council in 2010 further strengthened the resolution of the National Conference by observing that “The centenary is a great moment to pause and ponder how far progressive humanity has come in its mission to build a just, equitable and more humane world. It is a moment to celebrate the proud history and traditions of a worldwide struggle against apartheid. It is also the right moment to pause and ponder the future of the ANC over the next fifty to hundred years. We must answer difficult questions about the future of our country and the longevity of our movement.”
- 7.3. In a serious attempt to implement the conference resolution the NEC decided that:
- ❑ An ANC history book should be written and a project team comprising of ANC veterans be established.
  - ❑ The participation of women in the struggle for freedom should be made a priority.
  - ❑ Living former Presidents of the ANC would act as a resource that could be referred to whenever necessary.
  - ❑ The project team would be convened by the National Chairperson and should develop and define the process and the way forward.
- 7.4. The National Centenary Task Team presented the centenary concept document to the 3rd National General Council which approved the comprehensive programme and 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.” The NGC also supported the establishment of the ANC Heritage 2012 Institute”
- 7.5. One of the most important aspects of the centenary celebrations was to reposition the ANC among the people of South Africa and to rally membership that might have lost interest for whatever reason/s. The celebrations help to ANC return to its core values,

which have seen it growing throughout the years of its existence. These celebrations offered the ANC and the people of South Africa an opportunity to memorialise and celebrate whilst focusing on the future. It was the moment of renewal and recommitment to the core values, principles and traditions of our movement. The celebrations did not only serve to reconnect the ANC with the people of South Africa but also to reconnect with the people of the continent and the world.

- 7.6. In presenting the memorial and centenary lectures and interacting with our people the ANC heeded the caution of Amilcar Cabral against triumphalism; “Hide nothing from the masses of our people, tell no lies...mask no difficulties, mistakes and failures, claim no easy victories.” The January 08th statement, 2012 recounted our history and demonstrated why and how the ANC could celebrate hundred years as a liberation movement. The lectures presented our leaders and the movement in their correct and appropriate context.
- 7.7. Various sectors found space to participate, and this demonstrated the pride and seriousness the people felt and wished to express about their association with the ANC and the struggle. Through the flame of hope many families were touched and reminded that their movement has not forgotten them. Political activism and commitment were rekindled.
- 7.8. Our allied formations complimented our programme, the Bua Thursdays of the Young Communist League, the dialogue sessions by SASCO and the various political seminars organised by the trade unions are examples of this support.
- 7.9. Provincial structures, the Leagues and the MKMVA were active in driving the programme with the carrying and transporting of the flame. All the provinces had a month to host the celebrations and thus host the flame of hope. The provinces celebrated throughout and not only wait for their respective months for hosting the celebrations and the flame.
- 7.10. Through paying tribute to all the Presidents of the ANC the history of our country and our movement was told in details. Little known facts about the successive presidents and our history were told, enriching the public understanding about these leaders.
- 7.11. The celebrations rekindled the interest in writing and reading, particularly about our history, that of the ANC and other liberation movements which sought to claim their space and role in the struggle for freedom. Discussions about the ANC and its leaders were robust, candid and even hostile in some instances.
- 7.12. Planning of the National Heritage Institute, which will be the repository of archives, memorabilia and miscellany of the ANC has begun. Digitisation of ANC archives has started and the interest of both National and International researchers has been awakened. Both the University of Fort Hare and the University of the Western Cape must be commended for hosting these archives.
- 7.13. The National Centenary Task Team was assembled in August 2009, briefed and project formally handed over to the National Chairperson as the convenor. The team of veterans augmented by a pool of younger comrades kept the project going throughout. Despite many of these comrades being stretched and others being old and not so well the team put everything in the project. Three members of the team passed on and were lost to the project; comrade Chris Dlamini, comrade Henry “Squire” Makgothi and comrade Bertha, “MaBertha” Gxowa. We salute them individually and collectively for their contribution. May their souls rest in peace.
- 7.14. We must thank the National Centenary Task Team for their commitment and hard work. We must also thank all the structures of the ANC for their dedication and unwavering support for the project. Staff members that had to improvise, in some cases, must be commended. All alliance structures

and allied formations are thanked for their support and active involvement. The support by the people of South Africa is highly appreciated. The support by the international community has reminded us of the importance of solidarity for any struggle to succeed.

- 7.15. A more detailed report of the National Centenary Task Team is circulated separately. All members of the ANC are encouraged to read it. The decision to publish all the memorial lectures will help the structures of our movement understand the ANC better.

## **8 CONCLUSION**

- 8.1. The report of the NEC for the period 2007-2012 is presented for discussions and adoption. The NEC is tabling a report of the organisation that has stabilised having gone through a very turbulent period. The organisation is now more united, more stable and a foundation has been laid for building a much stronger and militant organisation. A lot of work has been done but much more can be done.

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