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NGC2015

MID-TERM REVIEW

STATE OF ORGANISATION: 2012–2015

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THE ORGANISATION SINCE MANGAUNG	3
■ The National Executive Committee	
■ Membership – System and Management	
■ Cadre Development	
■ Integrity Commission	
■ Organisational Design	
■ Alliance	
3. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NEC)	9
■ National Working Committee	
■ Subcommittees of the National Executive Committee	
□ Archives	
□ Communications	
□ Economic Transformation	
□ Education and Health	
□ Elections	
□ International Relations	
□ Legislation and Governance	
□ Peace and Stability	
□ Social Transformation	
□ Political Education	

4. THE STATE OF THE PROVINCES	35
■ Eastern Cape	
■ Free State	
■ Gauteng	
■ KwaZulu-Natal	
■ Limpopo	
■ Mpumalanga	
■ Northern Cape	
■ North West	
■ Western Cape	
5. THE LEAGUES	58
■ African National Congress Veterans' League (ANCVL)	
■ African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL)	
■ African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL)	
6 THE ALLIANCE	61
7 CHALLENGES GOING FORWARD	68
■ Unity and Cohesion	
■ Factionalism	
■ Social Distance	
■ Communication and the Battle of Ideas	
8 CONCLUSION	70

1 INTRODUCTION

- I.1 This report is an overview of the state of the organisation for the period since the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung, December 2012. It seeks to determine progress made in the implementation of the conference resolutions, and assess the ability of all our structures to unite our movement and lead society.
- I.2 The 53rd National Conference was an important event in the history of our movement. It occurred in the year in which we marked the centenary of our organisation, marking a remarkable and unparalleled achievement by a liberation movement in the African continent. Conference provided the ANC with an opportunity to assess progress made towards achieving its mission, review its policies and elect a leadership collective to guide it over the next five years as it sets off on a journey to reach its second century.
- I.3 The 53rd National Conference recalled what made the ANC survive the previous century. It urged leadership and members to recall the basic ways of executing political work and mandate, these are:
- **Deep roots and connection with the people.** The ANC has always been known for being rooted among the people. We must engage communities on an ongoing basis, even when there are protests and no pending elections. As the NEC itself does mass political work, there are cases where communities complain of poor service and non-availability of ANC councillors and that even public meetings are not called. These cases must be followed through and the relevant structures must be directed to correct such omissions.
 - **Vibrant internal democracy and collective leadership.** This should go with the ability of all members of the ANC, guided by the leadership at all levels of the organisation, to accept the outcomes of democratic processes. The ability of lead-

ership structures to desist from being angry and purge those who disagreed with them after every conference of the ANC. This tendency is prevalent in the lower organs of our movement where members are engulfed in fear depending on whether their preferences prevailed in the conference or not. Both these extreme practices have the potential of destroying the democratic culture of the ANC.

- **Readiness and willingness of our members to make sacrifices in pursuit of the cause of the people as a whole.** The crisis at local government level is a testimony to the failure to take up this challenge. In the majority of cases our own cadres are accused of being involved in corrupt activities, including doing business with the municipalities in which they are councillors. As we do door to door work we are picking up that our people pay particular attention to what is happening in their locality. This does not mean that what is happening at national and provincial level is of no consequence. But regular cases raised are those closest to the affected communities, with water supply by privately owned companies and individuals, mainly owned by councillors are fast becoming widespread.
- **Readiness to acknowledge weaknesses and decisively address them in order to escalate the people's struggle.** The question we must ask ourselves is whether we are not overly defensive when issues are raised about the organisation. As part of mobilising and leading society it is important to report progress that has been made but equally own up when there are challenges and problems. Therefore, balance between problems and challenges without understating progress made.
- **Ability to adapt to changing conditions and rise to the occasion at**

critical moments. This is a reminder that challenges require of us not only to draw lessons from history but to use tools of analysis to resolve current problems. Our glorious past is important but can only add value if we use it to understand what can be the source of strength moving forward, and what we should avoid.

■ **Ability to uphold and build unity of a cross section of South Africans and progressive forces** in the world in pursuit of the cause of humanity.

- 1.4 The 53rd National Conference also resolved, in what it termed the second phase of the transition, that there should be a radical transformation of the socio-economic conditions towards the realisation of economic freedom for the majority of our people. In this context we should seek to overcome the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.
- 1.5 Organisational renewal should continue to anchor our work in organisation-building and political education. We should, in the context of renewal, seek to understand the resolution on establishing an integrity commission to assist the movement curb negative tendencies, which drain our energies and dent the image of the ANC. In the same vein we are directed to nurture a cadre with the intellectual, ethical and skill capabilities to serve our people; steer the movement in the desired direction; provide adequate service in government and grasp the challenges of an ever-changing global environment. Political education sub-committee has paid particular attention to the implementation of aspects of this resolution, which are within its responsibility.
- 1.6 The ANC continues to offer hope to the majority of South Africans. We won a majority victory in the 2014 national general elections. These were difficult and challenging elections. We faced challenges from some within the Congress Movement, as evidenced by NUM-SA declaring that it was not going to campaign or support the ANC, from the opposition parties and the formation of the EFF by some of the former Youth League leaders who were expelled from the ANC. As a movement we have a mandate to unite our movement, the alliance and all our people behind the objectives outlined in the ANC's 2014 elections manifesto. We approached the 2014 General Elections with confidence that we have Good Story to Tell. Today, even our detractors concede that South Africa is a far better country than it has ever been. We are on a journey with many challenges but there is readiness to confront them all the time from our movement.
- 1.7 We have continued to face an onslaught on our movement from the opposition forces. Chief among the issues the opposition has used was the attack on our movement by attacking the President at a personal level, in a very pointed way. The matter of the security upgrades at the President's homestead was used as an entry for attack. Recently, some in the media have publicly confessed to the collusion of the media in this onslaught.
- 1.8 Corruption is a big challenge facing our movement, both in government and inside the party. Whether this is a perception or reality, the movement should confront it seriously. There is a growing general public concern that the movement is corrupt and is protecting those within our ranks who are corrupt. This reality, if not reversed, poses a threat to us whereby the people will lose trust and faith in our leadership and our organisation. We are called to take lesson from the Indian Congress experience in this regard because, as in India, we will lose our mandate to govern society and, thereby, be unable to bring about the radical change we intend. The ANC cannot wait for the time it is out of power to engage in serious organisational renewal.
- 1.9 The report will therefore cover the work of the NEC, the NEC sub-committees, the work in the provinces, the state of the Leagues and that of the Alliance.

2 THE ORGANISATION SINCE MANGAUNG

- 2.1 The ANC has, once more, won an overwhelming victory in the 2014 general elections. To have gained a 62.15% majority in the difficult conditions we confronted is, by no means, a small measure. Our overwhelming majority reaffirms the position of the ANC as the leader of the South African society.
- 2.2 Our victory was made more significant by the fact that we are twenty years into our freedom and have enjoyed a twenty-year mandate in government from an overwhelming majority of our people. Historically, most liberation movements find it difficult to go beyond the twenty years, post independence, intact and with a significant majority to govern.
- 2.3 Our election campaign was effective and penetrating. The ANC was successful because of hard work from the leadership and volunteers that pulled the organisation through. We must also recognise the positive role played by all the Alliance partners. The booklet: *Why workers must vote for the ANC*, was very helpful in the campaign, particularly in the context of the challenges brought to bear by some affiliates in COSATU. The role of the Leagues of the ANC, in particular the Women's League and the Youth League, was commendable. We must continue to assess our election campaign strategy and the campaign itself so we can build on its strengths and eliminate the weaknesses.
- 2.4 We must, however, pay attention to the decline of our support in two general elections. The maturing of democracy is a contributing factor as it enables society greater choice and plurality in its political life, and places a burden on our government to meet the needs and aspirations of our people in their daily living. In addition to a burgeoning democracy, we should also pay greater attention to our own mistakes, which could cause the people to have less trust in us to deliver on our commitments, as stated in the

election manifesto and our policy objectives of bringing about a non-racial, non sexist, democratic, united and prosperous South Africa.

The National Executive Committee

- 2.1 The National Executive Committee that was elected by the 53rd National Conference was as follows:

Officials:

President – Jacob ZUMA
 Deputy President – Cyril RAMAPHOSA
 National Chairperson – Baleka MBETE
 Secretary General – Gwede MANTASHE
 Deputy Secretary General – Jessie DUARTE
 Treasurer General – Zwelini MKHIZE

Directly Elected Additional Members of the National Executive Committee

Obed BAPELA
 Nozabelo Ruth BENGU
 Lynne BROWN
 Zoleka Rosemarry CAPA-LANGA
 Bhekokwakhe Hamilton
 (Bheki) CELE
 Collins CHABANE
 Siyabonga CWELE
 Rob DAVIS
 Thoko DIDIZA
 Nkosazana Clarice DLAMINI-ZUMA
 Bathabile Olive DLAMINI
 Sidumo Mbongeni DLAMINI
 Ayanda DLODLO
 Beauty DLULANE
 Ebrahim EBRAHIM
 Lungi GCABASHE
 Malusi GIGABA

Enoch GODONGWANA
Pravin GORDHAN
Derek HANEKOM
Tina JOEMAT-PETTERSON
Zweledinga Pallo JORDAN
Zizi KODWA
Dipuo LETSATSI-DUBA
Pule MABE
Sisi MABE
Rejice MABHUDAFHASI
Nocawe MAFU
Dikeledi MAGADZI
David MAHLOBO
Fikile Slovo MAJOLA
Nomzamo Winfred (Winnie) MADIKIZELA-MANDELA
Jane MANGANYE
Kebby MAPHATSOE
Nosiviwe MAPHISA-NQAKUL
Philly MAPULANE
Billy Lesedi MASETLHA
Joyce MASHABA
Sam MASHININI
Tito MBOWENI
NomaIndia MFEKETO
Humphrey MMEMEZI
Nomvula Paula MOKONYANE
Pinky MOKOTO
Ednah MOLEWA
Joyce MOLOI-MOROPA
Pinky MOLOI
Angie MOTSHEKGA
Aaron MOTSOLEDI
Sankie Dolly MTHEMBI-MAHANYELE
Jackson MTHEMBU
Nathi MTHETHWA
Thenjiwe MTHINTSO
Joel Sibusiso NDEBELE
Joel NETSHITENZHE
Maite NKOANA-MASHABANE
Gugile NKWINTI
Sefora Hixsonia (Sisi) NTOMBELA

Nosipho Dorothy NTWANAMBI
Thulas NXESI
Blade NZIMANDE
Mildred N OLIPHANT
Naledi PANDOR
Joe PHAAHLA
Jeff RADEBE
Ngoako Abel RAMATLHODI
Miriam SEGABUTLA
Rosinah Machwene SEMENYA
Susan SHABANGU
Lindiwe SISULU
Max Vuyisile SISULU
Stone SIZANI
Mcebisi SKWATSHA
Sisisi TOLASHE
Pam TSHWETE
Sue VAN DER MERWE
Fikile XASA
Tony Sithembiso YENGENI
Senzeni ZOKWANA
Lindiwe ZULU

2.2 Chairpersons and Secretaries of all the nine provinces and Presidents and Secretaries General of all the three Leagues are ex-officio members of the National Executive Committee. The full complement of the National Executive Committee is 110. The eighty directly elected members of the NEC are deployed to the sub-committees of the NEC and to the various provinces for effective implementation of the programmes of the NEC.

2.3. In the first meeting of the NEC the National Working Committee was elected from among the directly elected members of the NEC. In addition to the six National Officials the following comrades were elected to the National Working Committee:

- Collins Chabane
- Bathabile Dlamini
- Malusi Gigaba
- Derek Hanekom
- Tina Joemat-Pettersson
- Sisi Mabe

Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula
 Nomvula Mokonyane
 Aaron Motsoaledi
 Jackson Mthembu
 Nathi Mthethwa
 Maite Nkoana-Mashabane
 Blade Nzimande
 Naledi Pandor
 Jeff Radebe
 Susan Shabangu
 Lindiwe Sisulu
 Fikile Xasa
 Lindiwe Zulu

2.4 During the period under review three members of the NEC passed-on and one resigned, thereby creating four vacancies. These comrades are:

- Nosipho Ntwanambi
- Sisi Mabe
- Collins Chabane, and
- Comrade Pallo Jordan (who resigned).

2.5 Two of these comrades were members of the National Working Committee; that is, comrades Collins Chabane and Sisi Mabe. In the March, 2014 NEC meeting all these va-

cancies were filled. In the case of the NEC we opted to fill the vacancies with those comrades who were on top of the residue list of the 53rd National Conference. The replacements were:

- Mathole Motshekga
- Fikile Mbalula
- Dipuo Pieters and
- Reginah Mhaule.

2.6 In the same meeting the two vacancies in the NWC were filled and the two replacements made were:

- Sisi Ntombela and
- David Mahlobo

Membership and its Systems and Management

2.7 The life of the organisation depends on our ability to recruit new members from all walks of life, so we can ensure our continued influence in the broader society. The table below reflects membership trends since the 2007 National Conference.

2.8 Our membership indicates growth. At the same time, it reflects some inconsistencies as

Table 1: Membership Breakdown since 2007

PROVINCE	52 nd National Conference (2007)	3 rd National General Council (2010)	53 rd National Conference (2012)	4 th National General Council (2015)
Eastern Cape	153 164	161 161	187 585	124 050
Free State	61 310	41 627	121 074	51 088
Gauteng	59 909	70 305	134 909	87 759
KwaZulu-Natal	102 742	192 618	331 820	158 199
Limpopo	67 632	101 971	161 868	84 413
Mpumalanga	54 913	46 405	132 729	96 799
North West	47 535	57 911	75 145	78 922
Northern Cape	37 262	37 122	36 428	38 680
Western Cape	36 497	40 427	38 499	49 960
TOTAL	620 964	749 547	1 220 057	769 870

a result of fluctuations in between conferences, peaking when we approach the national conferences. Another related challenge is that of members not renewing their membership when it lapses.

- 2.9 Another feature in the membership trends reflects that some provinces show an increased growth between the 2005 NGC and this present one. These changes possibly indicate the challenges and/or gains of the organisation in each of these areas. For example, the increase in the Western Cape is probably indicative of the attempts to revive the organisation, including the improvements in the recent elections. The same can be said about the stability or instability and how it impacts on membership growth and recruitment. It would be important to consider these trends against the chapter on the state of the provinces.
- 2.10 The administration and systems of our membership have presented challenges over time. This necessitated the overhaul, which we undertook with UNWEMBI with the aim of developing, testing and deploying a new and improved membership management and administration system. The aim is to provide a digital membership solution to streamline the entire membership lifecycle and allow new people to join the ANC. The new membership system will provide a secure platform to house our ANC database and shall enable our regional and provincial Membership Officers to convert membership records (forms) into digital records in a National system. This will enable the ANC to now print and dispatch membership cards within a short period of time. Members' details can be stored securely and updated regularly. Significantly, the new system shall entail the devolving capacity to regional and provincial levels to capture and manage the system. The system is currently going through its final accreditation to ensure all the required security features are in place. UNWEMBI has developed the system and aligned it with the ANC's constitution and membership workflow. This Master Database belongs to the ANC and now number about 1.4 million members.
- 2.11 Presently, a total of 1 270 000 membership

cards have been produced. 670 000 of the printed cards have been distributed to all the provinces and regions. The remaining 600 000 is yet to be distributed.

Cadre Development

- 2.12 The 53rd National Conference directed all of us to focus on ideological, political, academic and ethical education. The conference urged us to ensure that this precedes deployment. There are serious efforts to subject cadres of the movement to one form of training or the other. There are provinces that have a standing arrangement with institutions of higher learning for the academic training of those deployed as councillors. There are similar programmes for parliamentarians and members of the various legislatures. The weakness is in quantifying this work and being able to use it in deployment to technical positions. The impact of the effort is visible in the improvement in audit results, particularly in municipalities. There must be more resolve in ensuring that deployment of those not qualified for positions is outlawed by the ANC. If we are strong in enforcing compliance and re-deploy those who acquire appropriate qualifications to technical positions we are going to see more progress. There will be more harmony between the work of government and the state. There are few good examples and they are far apart.
- 2.13 The political education curriculum is in place in order to ensure political education. A ten year programme has not been developed to concretise progression in the political education of cadres.
- 2.14 Another aspect that is regularly highlighted is that cadre development has been neglected and the movement is getting poorer by the day. Is this factual or a function of comparing different phases of the revolution without making a detailed analysis of the changed environment the movement is operating in? When we report on the work done by political education it will be clear that a lot of work is being done, including a number of memorial lectures being delivered by members of

the NEC. The question is whether there is any change in the behaviour of those who go through these classes. Is the political education system codified?

Integrity Commission

- 2.15 The 53rd National Conference noted that *“the gradual erosion of the core values of the ANC threatens its continuing existence in the second century”*. There was further acknowledgement that promotion of the core values of the ANC should take place within the context of the *“ideological struggle to cultivate progressive values among all South Africans as part of building a national democratic society”*. The space in which our movement must try to cultivate these progressive values is highly contested, with various ideological streams in society trying to win the hearts and minds of our people.
- 2.16 For the ANC to continue earning the respect of society and having the moral authority to lead society its image and standing must be protected. The 53rd National Conference directed the NEC to establish Integrity Commissions at all levels of the organisation. The National Integrity Commission was established in 2013. The majority of provinces have established provincial integrity Committees. These committees are at different levels of development, also depending on the environment they operate within.
- 2.17 The purpose of establishing the *“Integrity Commissions at all levels of the organisation”* is clear in the resolution. It is *“to protect the image of the organisation and enhance its standing in society by ensuring, among others, that urgent action is taken to deal with public officials, leaders and members of the ANC who face damaging allegations of improper conduct. In addition measures should be put in place to prevent abuse of power or office for private gain or factional interests. The ANC can no longer allow prolonged processes that damage its integrity”*.
- 2.18 The NEC has not implemented many of the recommendations of the integrity commission because comrades feared admitting guilt

by stepping aside. The debate about the Integrity Commission processes and the legal principle of being innocent until proven otherwise has become the stumbling block for the implementation of the recommendations of the Integrity Commission. The emphasis on *“the ANC can no longer allow prolonged processes that damages its integrity”* has been put aside and leaders closed ranks in defence of individual leaders who have appeared before the integrity commission.

Organisational Design

- 2.19 Of the departments that conference directed the NEC to have full-time NEC members to head, only the Publicity and Information is headed by an NEC member. There is commitment to have Organisation Building headed by a full-time NEC member. The bigger bottleneck is that the movement does not have the resources to do all the programmes it is planning.
- 2.20 The NEC is committed to implement the commitments made by our structures, aware of the scarcity of resources. The reports of the sub-committees elaborate on the work of the NEC and the challenges it continues to try and resolve.

Alliance

- 2.21 The alliance has been relatively intact. We have managed to convene a week-long alliance summit in June/July 2015. The main focus of this meeting, in line with the call of the President, was the unity and cohesion of our movement.
- 2.22 COSATU has been severely weakened in the recent period. Many attempts were undertaken to ensure that the federation remains together. The ANC constituted a Task Team to work and assist COSATU through these turbulent times. The Task Team presented the federation with various recommendations on what it thought could be done to avoid a further, and crippling, crisis.
- 2.23 The CEC has since expelled NUMSA, with

the understanding that this affiliate can only be readmitted if it rescinded its decision of extending its scope, which is a violation of the founding principles of the federation. NUMSA, in addition to the extension of scope, has been organising an opposition to the movement through what it calls the United Front. The General Secretary of COSATU, who supported NUMSA and made public statements slating the leadership of the federation, was also expelled. These matters will be discussed in the National Congress of the federation.

2.24 We should continue to support COSATU with the aim that all workers are united and are under its banner. The ANC will continue its work of helping the federation overcome the current challenges.

3 THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (NEC)

- 3.1 The work of the NEC brings together tasks and responsibilities carried out by its National Working Committee, its Subcommittees, the Provinces and the Leagues of the ANC.
- 3.2 The NEC in all the debates and discussions was guided by the declaration and the resolutions of the 53rd National Conference. This report provides a detailed account of what has been achieved and also the challenges that have been encountered. We will repeat certain aspects of the discussions of the sins of incumbency that are persistent in our organisation. The fact that the leadership structures are slow and – sometimes - reluctant to act against transgression we only end up with pronouncements while bad behaviour proceeds unabated.
- 3.3 The National Executive Committee works relatively well. It is fully functional with isolated problems. Among the problems being that of the full complement of deployees not readily available to do organisational work in the provinces and in the sub-committees where they are deployed. The matter has been discussed repeatedly in both the NEC and NWC, leading to some improvement, but further improvement is needed.
- 3.4 In the context of renewal, the NEC started its term of office by setting aside time for its own induction. The induction, which was the first of its kind in our organisation, sought to develop an understanding of what it means for one to be a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, the responsibilities it imposes and the implications when a member does not live up to what is expected of them. The content of the induction was based on the Constitution, Strategy and Tactics and the Freedom Charter.
- 3.5 The induction of the NEC set the foundation for unity and cohesion. It was followed by a political school, which was intended to consolidate the work begun in the induction. The induction conducted for all elected Provincial Executive Committees (PEC) reinforces the political education programme of the NEC. It is expected that as NEC members are deployed to provinces they apply tools acquired and increase their individual capacity to provide leadership in all the structures of the organisation.
- 3.6 The NEC elected in Mangaung comprises of a significant number of former members of the ANCYL. This outcome continues the experience of the ANCYL to develop leaders who could later lead the ANC. In this regard, it promises a bright future for our movement. The infusion of youth has also brought in the required levels of energy. This is evident during our discussions in the NEC. But this also further reinforces the need to deepen our understanding and principles of our movement and of its leadership organs, in particular the NEC. It is also quite clear that, this burgeoning leadership must be accompanied by much-needed experience. Experience is gained through guidance from comrades who have served in the NEC for long and also from the new members' own willingness to be immersed in action. This will ascertain an effective leadership at the most complex time where and when our movement needs it.
- 3.7 The National Executive Committee has worked relatively well, meeting as required by the constitution. There is an evident positive spirit and good camaraderie in and among members of the current NEC. This has fostered a greater sense of common purpose and working together among comrades.
- 3.8 There is a strong core of experienced comrades who continue to serve the ANC in dif-

ferent positions and, among them, some who have been in the past NECs. These comrades, individually and collectively, bring strength to the work of this important leadership structure of our organisation. This valuable experience is required to assist in accompanying young and new NEC members.

3.9 The NEC has been hard at work to fulfil the mandate derived from the 53rd National Conference. It has insisted on implementing fully the instruction it received, that is, to address and resolve specific areas of weakness and challenge that impacted adversely on the movement. Critical among these tasks were: the establishment of the integrity commission as part of restoring the image of the ANC; and the resolution of the challenges in the province of Limpopo and the ANC Youth League, respectively. The commitment to act on the instructions of the 53rd National Conference resulted in, among others:

- *Integrity Commission* – The Commission was established in the early part of 2013. The NEC developed and agreed on the framework document for the establishment of the Commission. It also endorsed the initial twelve names of the Commissioners, consisting of six females and six males, and the secretariat. The Commission has since started its work. We, however, need to increase support and research capacity of this important organ of our movement.
- *Limpopo* – The NWC conducted three visits to the province, after which it recommended to the NEC that the PEC of the province should be dissolved. After the dissolution of the PEC by the NEC a PTT was put in place. The provincial report will highlight lessons that can be drawn from the experience of rebuilding the provincial structures of the organisation. We will also highlight what should be avoided in future. One important lesson is that the disbandment of any structure requires a seriously considered decision. Related, and most important, there should be serious thought given to the composition to the interim structure tasked with rebuilding the disbanded one. Where

members of the interim structure position themselves for election, rebuilding the structures suffer. It is commendable that the PTT, supported by the NEC deployees, has delivered a successful provincial conference.

- *The North West* – the NWC visited the province on numerous occasions to address the challenges faced there.
- *The Western Cape* – this is also another province that received great attention of the NWC and NEC in the period under review.
- *ANCYL* – After a thorough-going discussion, the NEC decided to disband the NEC of the ANCYL and put in its place the NTT to: mobilise all youth; rebuild the structures and prepare for the League's congress. As part of re-building the structures all provinces and the majority of regions were disbanded. The intention to create new and effective machinery has impacted on the speed of rebuilding the structures.

3.10 The NEC has the duty and responsibility to build unity and cohesion. Collective leadership is the key for the movement to be optimal in its operation. In this context the national leadership has sought to knit together provinces where there were glaring divisions and weaknesses. In most of these there are indications that there is progress.

3.11 Since its election, the NEC convened several makgotla. These focused on the work of government and the implementation of the five priority areas in the ANC's 2014 election manifesto. This has led to the consolidation of government work and an appreciation of a good story to tell. This helped the movement in its preparations for the 2014 elections.

3.12 The theme of a good story to tell has impacted positively on our build-up work for the elections. It is this refinement of our work that was reflected in the State of the Nation Address that left the opposition parties lost and confused. This message was further enhanced in the Budget Speech, which outlined the medium-term priorities and sought to

entrench the implementation of the National Development Plan in the work of government. This received acclaim from national and international finance and economic institutions. This coherency should translate into our elections message. Every NEC member should be confident and be on message.

3.13 Also flowing from Conference and the makgotla, the NEC has invested greater energy on addressing the weaknesses and capacity issues in the area of local government. Local government has proven to be our persistent challenge, hence attention on various municipalities that manifested the biggest problems throughout the country. Among the numerous interventions made was the NEC decision that municipal managers and all Section 56 and 57 managers should be barred from being elected to the leadership structures of the ANC. The NEC has further recognised that weak leadership at this level of government is the main contributing factor to the apparent state of crisis. We should gain a grip of local government to ensure it operates effectively and efficiently. The NEC is also capable of rectifying the mistake of the appointment of unqualified bureaucrats to critical positions in local government. It is evident that local government requires some radical changes in our approach.

3.14 There are, however, critical challenges facing us:

- Of great concern are the NEC members who are either charged or have pending cases of corruption against them. As the number of these comrades grows we will be unable to sustain the technical argument of innocent until proven guilty. We must appreciate that these cases diminish the standing and dent the image of the organisation. The established Integrity Commission has dealt with some of these cases.
- Our comrades are, however, reluctant to step down voluntarily when facing allegations. Equally, too, the leadership structures are reluctant to avoid prolonged processes that further harm the integrity of our movement. This responsibility is mainly residing within the leadership

structures, the NEC and the NWC. Officials should process decisions of structures. When comrades step down from positions voluntarily, it does not mean or imply guilt. It also helps improve the standing and image of the movement.

- Poor attendance of sub-committee meetings. Basic tasks should be taken serious and executed with the necessary precision so as to ensure the whole programme set out by the 53rd National Conference is realised. This work must go beyond attending PEC meetings and should be felt in the PECs, where members are deployed, and reflected in the work of the regions and branches. Every NEC member is an organiser and a political educator. Every meeting of the ANC must be a political school.
- Not honouring deployments to provinces or to carry out other work of the organisation. This is also manifest in the deployments of the elections campaign. When NEC members do not show they disappoint the communities and leave a long-term negative impression.
- Together with the challenges facing us, are the risks we should pay attention to, if we are to build a strong NEC and a united ANC. These are risks have the potential of weakening the organisation and deprive it of many of its capable cadres:
 - An appeal should be made to NEC members to avoid being attracted to groupings within the structures. These groups can sometimes grow too powerful and end up overwhelming the organisation. Adversely, those NEC members who are not in these groupings retreat and avoid taking full responsibility. When others perceive the presence of a strong, fearful caucus could potentially lead the NEC to unwittingly err in decision-making, and then find itself managing the consequences at a later stage.
- There is a lack of written reports for purpose of accounting. In some instances reports are brought late, which makes it difficult to have them processes in time

for meetings. The NEC should insist on receiving formal written reports as part of decision-making.

- Organisational structures being undermined by groupings in provinces and regions, which are emboldened by lobbying individual members of the NEC. The support that is derived from lobbying emboldens these groupings to exist parallel to the formal structures. Resultantly, leadership in the affected provinces is weakened, and causes it to doubt itself and its decision-making.
- In most cases groupings emerge in the run-up to conferences. However, they end up outliving their lobby groups and become unofficial arbiters when there are critical debates in structures.

THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

- 3.15 The National Working Committee is functional and working hard. Two of the members of the NWC passed away during the first half of the term and have been replaced as reported in the section above.
- 3.16 The NWC rotates its sittings as directed by the 53rd National Conference giving itself the opportunity to understand in detail the state of the organisation in each province. The NWC has visited all the regions of the ANC and engaged branches of the challenges and led specific programmes of the ANC.
- 3.17 The NWC meets every second week. In the period between May 11th 2015 and August 17th 2015 the NWC could not meet because of failure to form the quorum. This was reported to the NEC for action to be taken.
- 3.18 The NWC processes the work of the NEC. It has analysed in detail the challenges confronting our movement. The NWC has visited all the fifty three regions of the ANC more than once. In every region visited NWC/NEC employees are involved. In the regional visits branches are always invited to be part of the discussions. In few instances cadres forums were organised where the leadership inter-

acted with members beyond the formal structures. Only in a few isolated cases were branch grievances against the Regional Executive Committees entertained. In all such instances the grievances were in the form of appeals against decisions affecting the representation in conferences. The undertone of these being the factional divisions, motivated by what numbers a faction would have to be decisive in conferences. During visits delegates are called upon to assist with constructive ideas as to how best can the organisation get views of members undiluted, with the sole intention of getting to organisational solutions.

- 3.19 The work of the NWC in the regions has exposed it to the most difficult challenges in various provinces. The challenges in Nelson Mandela Bay were a point of learning. Organisational problems in the Western Cape took the NWC members to all the regions. The NWC experienced directly the fluidity of the situation in Limpopo and the North West, and it fully understands the conflict in a number of regions in KwaZulu-Natal.
- 3.20 An activist NWC with an active team of the National Officials is critical for the success of the NEC. The NWC can do even better if it can interrogate more the work of the sub-committees. The sub-committees must be made to account more to the NWC.

SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- 3.21 It is always important to remember that the volume of work of the NEC is executed in the sub-committees. They implement the resolutions of the conference.
- 3.22 We expect the National General Council to direct the NEC to accelerate pace of implementation, amend the strategy where it is not working and stop implementation where value is not derived. It is important to be reminded that makgotla, held twice per annum, in January and in July, are there to assess progress made in implementing the resolution of conferences and the priorities set up in the elections manifesto.

3.23 One of the urgent challenges is to ensure that the work of the ANC government and the ANC internal committees talk to each other. Whenever there is a vacuum in this regard other interests and forces close it.

ARCHIVES

3.24 In the preparations for the ANC centenary celebrations, the NEC revived the Archives Committee under the leadership of the National Chairperson of the ANC.

3.25 The archives are an important repository of the memory of our people's and our organisation's liberation heritage. They are a record from which the future generations can learn from and link up with the past. Historical materialism



ing, and retrieving of struggle archives in the US. This is an important and strategic partnership.

- 3.31 This report summarises a lot of work that is being done by this sub-committee.

COMMUNICATION

3.32 The sub-committee is very active in a difficult space where various interests are at play. These create tensions between the committee and what is happening in government. The communication between the two sometimes goes close to the point of collapse. In the area of the battle of ideas we remain relatively weak with very few cadres of the movement actively participating in public debates, including radio talk shows and keenness in writing feature articles in the print media. Every time there is an effort to participate in public debates, issues get clarified, with the ANC being able to display the superiority of its policies in the debate. This also applies to contested terrains like parliament where forces opposed to our movement focus on ensuring that there is no debate but anarchy. When the cadres of the movement focus on content it makes a big difference. Fielding comrades to engage must be one of the pre-occupations of the sub-committee, and comrades given space to make their contribution. ANC Today and the regular NEC Bulletin provide the necessary information to equip every comrade to engage. More training is essential for the ANC to improve its capacity to engage.

3.33 The ANC continues to engage various sectors of society, particularly those that are critical of the ANC. All the sub-committees can do more in this regard and in that way influence society to understand our policies and views in all the aspects of the debate. If this work is done diligently our position as the leader of society will be re-asserted.

3.34 Greater interaction between the communication departments of the various alliance partners has reduced the sniping of each other that was fast becoming the norm. At least even in areas where there are disagreements the engagement is civil with no hostility dis-

played in public. This is important in displaying a united face in public and disarming our opponents. We will give further details when dealing with the alliance relations. There is some improvement in the ANC and the movement broadly in responding to issues instead of leading debates in public. Every time the movement raises any issue a healthy debate follows. We are however late in that a negative narrative is very strong against our movement.

3.35 In the area of public broadcasting there is no visible progress made in funding as proposed by both the 52nd and the 53rd National Conferences. The debate has, however started. Governance in the SABC remains the biggest challenge. The Board is unstable with no single board finishing its term since 2008. This is also reflected in the management structure of the SABC where the turnover of top management is worrying. If we take longer to get governance and management right it will be an uphill to get our strategy implemented in this important area of transformation of our society. If the strategy is overpowered by the sector interests it will be impossible to implement it.

3.36 The delay in digital migration and the conflicting message that come from us is negative for South Africa. The monopoly of one company in pay television remains a matter of serious concern and a threat to public interest. The debate on local content of set top boxes has gone quiet, opening the space for importation of these gadgets. This is exporting of the much needed jobs in South Africa. Whenever this debate is opened there is serious temptation of wanting to relegate it to personalities. It will serve the movement better if we keep this as a policy debate driven by the desire to improve the lives of our people.

3.37 Transformation of the sector is going at a snail's pace, with the ownership patterns not visibly changed. Editorial policies of many a media house remain hostile to the "common enemy", the communist influenced ANC. The regulatory framework for print media remains marginally changed. The co-regulation has impacted positively on print media. The

debate on the regulation of the print media like the other sectors remains one the questions regularly raised. There is need for investment in media skills, with particular focus on research and development. Allocation of Masters and PhD bursaries to this sector is critical for the development of the much needed skills.

- 3.38 Community radios are making information more accessible to society. Leaders of our movement are still reluctant to engage these stations and prefer the prestigious ones with limited listenership compared to the community radio stations.
- 3.39 No progress can be reported in the licensing of the Post Bank and developing it into a bank of first choice for government. The Post Office is also battling to be the leader in the area of postal services. This is being attended to with specific focus on improving both governance and management.

Information and Communication Technology is an enabler of innovation. It is a fundamental resource for a developing economy. If we are to keep pace with the rest of the world the spread of broadband must be accelerated and a comprehensive broadband policy be developed and implemented.

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

- 3.40 The 53rd National Conference reminded all of us that *“the ANC’s economic vision rests in the Freedom Charter’s call that the people shall share in South Africa’s wealth. Through economic transformation we intend to build an equitable society in which there is decent work.”*
- 3.41 The second phase of the transition from Apartheid/Colonialism should entail radical economic transformation. This resolution was taken at the height the global financial crisis which coincided with the beginning of the previous term. Despite this reality the National Conference made this commitment and concretised it in the 2014 election manifesto. We are at the stage where low growth is the *“new normal”*, with the economy shed-

ding jobs instead of creating new ones, and therefore translating into the apparent failure to deal with the challenge of high unemployment. The high unemployment is linked to the deepening poverty and growing inequality. The ANC government has made a number of interventions that sought to deal with this reality. The NEC had long discussions on the economic performance and sought to assess if we are making any progress.

- 3.42 After 21 years of political freedom and democracy the focus is now on economic freedom. Slow as the progress may seem, based on the reality facing our people and the impatience that is natural after 21 years, there have been advances. Any radical economic transformation will remain a dream until the ANC effects fundamental change in the structure of the economy. The National Development Plan is the visionary blueprint underpinned by a number of strategic policy frameworks; the National Growth Path, the Industrial Policy Action Plan and the National Infrastructure Plan. The question we must confront in the National General Council is whether these policy frameworks are enabling enough for the country to prosper and the economy to grow and create a high number of jobs.

- 3.43 At a macro level we must acknowledge that the GDP growth of between 1% and 2% is below the projected 4% to 5% if we have to absorb new entrants in the labour market. Low levels of investment translate into low tax revenue, growing national debt, low business confidence and growing trade deficit. In addition to the internal factors there are external factors that contribute to the situation we find ourselves in. They include low global economic growth and low growth in countries that are our major trading partners and thus decline in the demand for our major exports. Long labour disruptions in the economy, as was the case in the five months platinum strike, contributed to the reduction of the disposable income. We must commend our government for all the interventions that stopped the economy from drifting into the recession:

- Counter-cyclical fiscal policy,

- Expanded public investment in infrastructure,
- Active industrial and trade policy, and
- Policy guidance provided by the National Development Plan.

Despite these interventions the cumulative effect has not given us sustained results in growth and employment.

3.44 Private sector investment has not been crowded-in either. We must emphasise that the ANC must find a way of encouraging the private sector to be part of the solution in the economy. The private sector has not come to the party up to now. They are blaming government and expect the government to create unspecified conducive investment environment.

3.45 Investment level that is below 20% of the GDP is low in terms of international standards. The NDP is expecting it to reach at least 30% of the GDP if our economic growth is to be sustainable. Rising administered prices impact negatively on investment in the country. This is at the backdrop of a growing public sector since 2008. Public sector investment on its own can never be sufficient when 70% of the economy is in the private sector. The fundamental issue is that inclusive reconstruction and development of South Africa requires a vibrant mixed economy in which there is a synergistic and mutually re-enforcing relationship between the public and private sector. Effective cooperation between the public and the private sector is then critical for the economy to function optimally. This requires a number of areas where agreement has to be forged:

- Need to increase investment level to 30% Of the GDP,
- Local content for the infrastructure programmes,
- Development of black industrialists with the state infrastructure programme being the anchor market,
- As the South African government invest in relations with other countries business must identify and exploit opportunities.

- Government and business must work together in developing investment and trade with rest of the continent,
- Power generation capacity must be improved, including acceleration of the development of IPPs.
- Potential of both onshore and offshore gas production should be quantified,
- Mining output and investment must be improved.
- Land reform must be accelerated with black farmers participating more in food production and food security and agricultural economy.
- Ocean economy must be built and grown.
- There must be focus on improving the tourism industry.

3.46 The capacity of the state is critical as it influences the behaviour of the economy as a whole. Not enough attention has been paid to this important area of the economy. It is the capacity of the state that will ensure that cost of doing business in South Africa is effectively managed and more investment is attracted to our economy. The public sector must invest more in its planning capacity and project management capabilities. Public infrastructure projects must show positive returns on investment. Wastage and corruption are serious constraints on the performance of the state.

3.47 Membership in various multi-lateral institutions must provide an opportunity for the South African economy to diversify.

3.48 The importance of small business and cooperatives has been elevated to the right level, with a focused ministry created. It is now government policy that invoices of these enterprises should be settled within thirty days so that they are not collapsed by lack of cash flow. If they are sustained small business can be the engine of job creation. Cooperatives are not only centres of economic activities but also training ground for entrepreneurship. Government procurement can be used effectively in promoting and development of small businesses, and supporting the industrial pol-

icy framework.

- 3.49 The 53rd National Conference urged the leadership of the ANC to strengthen the State Mining Company through which the state can capture a share in mineral resources rents and equity. To be able to do what the National Conference urged us to do management of the company must be qualified and experienced. So far we have not done enough in this regard. Following this failure not much progress has been made in ensuring that the state mining company impacts in the industry, despite the potential.
- 3.50 Discussions about the developmental pricing (discounted pricing) of particular minerals, that are critical for beneficiation, has been under way for some time. The legislation amendment is expected to make provision for this development initiative but the industry is resisting this trajectory. The complication at the moment there is drastic decline in commodity prices all round. This deprives the country of the mobility of interventions in this sector.
- 3.51 The state has completed the downstream mineral value chain strategies on ferrous minerals, PGMs, polymers and titanium. In addition to the developmental pricing policy the amendment to the legislation includes Resource Rent tax and mineral export tax.
- 3.52 The question of SOCs preferring cheap Chinese steel over local products on the basis of price should be addressed. Local companies like Scaw Metals, which is 74% owned by the state through the IDC, need to have uptake agreements with various SOCs with clear conditions. One such condition could be setting competitive price with ten year contract. There must be an effort to ensure that we do not export jobs through importing inputs to major investment projects when there are domestic alternatives that can create or save jobs in South Africa.
- 3.53 During the period under review oil and gas have emerged as potential game changers. The political-economy of this important sector must be understood instead of purely dealing with it as the extension of the min-

ing sector. The sector must be created and developed with policies that respond to its realities. Shale gas exploration must be accelerated instead of creating uncertainty about the direction the country will take in this regard.

- 3.54 Transport costs have significant impact on performance of the economy. Inefficient rail transport is a bottleneck in the very competitive commodity trade. The high cost is reducing foreign earnings for exports and inflate the cost of imports. This problem can only be addressed if silos are broken down among the economic sectors and ministries. Rail transport should claim back the market share taken by road transport in the logistics service provision. The hidden cost of heavy freight on our roads is in the high price of maintaining road networks.
- 3.55 In public works the focus has been on cleaning the image of being synonymous with corruption and inflation of prices. The second area of focus has been the improvement of the skills profile of this important area of work. When these two areas are corrected public works will play its rightful place in the provision and maintenance of infrastructure. This capacity will provide government with the opportunities to invest on projects with long term benefits and thus directly create conditions for greater and sustainable economic development. Public works is more central to liberating the government's overdependence on tenders in rolling out social infrastructure. The commitment we made in the manifesto of creating six million job opportunities is heavily dependent on the capacity of public works to effectively manage the EPWP programme.
- A comprehensive register for immovable state assets is now 95% complete, with the state assets having been verified.
- 3.56 In 2012 tourism contributed 3% to the GDP and 9.7% if we add indirect impact. More focus is now being given to the transformation of the industry. Benefits accruing from tourism should benefit the people of South Africa as a whole. This requires a focused investment in skills and entrepreneurship development.

Domestic tourism remains the greatest potential for growth of this sector. This sector can create more jobs as it is labour intensive.

3.57 Agriculture has been identified as a priority sector as it is one of the most labour intensive productive sectors. The vision developed for the sector is based on three pillars:

- Food security for all; emphasis is on ensuring that no South African sleeps without a meal in any day
- Increasing the contribution of agriculture in economic growth expressed in percentage of the GDP.
- Production of 1 million decent jobs by 2030.

The agriculture policy action plan was approved in 2013. Strengthening the extension services, through recruitment, re-skilling and re-orientation, is critical for the success of the programme.

3.58 Development and strengthening of the ocean economy is another pillar of job creation in agriculture.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

3.59 This sub-committee is very active and aggressive in implementing the resolutions of the National Conference. Its work is guided by the relevant clauses of the Freedom Charter; *“the doors learning and culture shall be open”* and *“a preventative health scheme shall be run by the state... and free medical care shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children.”* All the work directed by this sub-committee is aimed at achieving and exceeding these provisions of the Freedom Charter. The sub-committee has also engaged itself in finding a formula of ensuring that education, health and science and technology contribute positively to the radical socio-economic transformation.

3.60 Provincial sub-committees have been established in the Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo. Gauteng has functional regional sub-committees. Where there are structures the work

of engaging various stakeholders in society is better executed. It is within this context that meetings are being held to promote quality of learning and teaching and promotion of healthy lifestyles in communities.

3.61 The ANC is not actively promoting the singing of the National Anthem and sometimes calls the *Nkosi Sikelela* of Sontonga the National Anthem. The ANC is the governing party and leader of society and therefore has the obligation of leading the campaign of promoting national symbols.

Basic Education

3.62 The 2009-2014 ten point plan was translated into the government programme of action. In line with the programme external tests are conducted for all grade 3 and 6 learners every year, and parents are provided with the results. Textbooks are now procured centrally to ensure national-provincial alignment. A social compact for the quality of education has been developed. Poverty combating measures have been implemented.

3.63 Improvement on the quality of early childhood and primary education can be classified as work in progress. Recruitment of quality teachers and strengthening teacher development remains a challenge. There is more focus on strengthening of management capacity at both district and school level. The use of ICT in education remains an exception than a norm. The following areas are still resisted, mainly by the trade unions:

- Teachers in class, on time and teaching.
- Use of textbooks by teachers in class,
- Ensuring effective evaluation of all teachers based on the extent to which learner performance improves.

3.64 The Presidential Commission to review salaries and conditions of employment for education and health professionals has been established and will report in due course. Guidelines of the roles, responsibilities and functions of School Governing Bodies have been developed and distributed.

3.65 The number of grade 12s and university entrance passes have increased and the quality of the National Senior certificate is improving. Annual National Assessment is standardised and continues to improve. The Ministerial Task Team on National Senior Certificate has submitted its report and the sub-committee is still discussing it. Partnership programme wherein schools are linked to police stations is being implemented as part of promoting safety in schools.

Higher Education

3.66 Higher Education has implemented its plans and programmes despite the shortage of skills and resources. This was mainly driven by the desire to implement the elections mandate of the ANC. Two universities, the University of Mpumalanga and the Sol Plaatje University are established. Construction is now underway while some courses are being offered.

3.67 SETAs have been streamlined with their work aligned to the developmental agenda of the ANC. Their governance structures are now standardised and reduced, releasing some resources directed to skills development instead of administration. National Skills Development Strategy 3 was adopted and is being implemented. All government departments are now paying their skills development levies, with the Western Cape Premier campaigning for non-payment of the skills levy. The National Skills Fund has funded the following:

- 95000 learners benefited from priority skills,
- R404 million funded medical and veterinary sciences in the University of Pretoria,
- On the job training for Diploma students in UJ have benefitted to the tune of R213 Million,
- R1.8 billion supplemented NSFAS benefiting 11000 students.
- South African Renewable Energy Training Centre in partnership with Cape Peninsula University of Technology was supported to the tune of R108 million.

3.68 MEDUNSA has now been unbundled from the University of Limpopo, with incorporation of Sefako Makgato Health Sciences University due on 1st January, 2016. The medical school linked to the University of Limpopo will admit the first 50 students in January 2016.

Health

3.69 The health sector has executed its work guided by the 2009-2014 Ten Point Plan and the 2014 lekgotla programme of action. Both these programmes were translated into the government programme of action. The following deliverables were completed among others:

- Policy proposals on the National Health Insurance were finalised.
- The Office of Standard compliance as a National Quality management and Accreditation body was set up.
- Quality improvement plans in 18 identified districts were implemented.
- Norms and standards for Human Resources for all levels of the health system were developed.
- Programmes focusing on persons with disabilities, Maternal, children and women's health were strengthened.

The following issues are work in progress:

- Evaluation and strengthening of the District Health Systems and Primary Health Care in preparation for NHI.
- Strengthening programs against TB with special forums on MDR TB and XDR-TB.
- Ideal clinic Operation Phakisa in preparation for NHI.
- The former Chief Justice, Sandile Ngcobo's commission into the cost of private health is eagerly awaited.

Science and Technology

3.70 The various makgotla of the NEC have emphasised that science and technology should

be at the cutting edge of innovation driven economic development and growth. Progress is being made in a number of areas and projects, such as:

- *South Africa winning the bid to host the Square Kilometre Array (SKA) was announced in 2012. Meerkat telescope is now recognised as a critical component of the SKA project.*
- *Sun Space (Pty) Ltd has been absorbed into Denel Dynamics complements the National Space Strategy.*

All this is within the framework, accepted by both the ANC and Government, of mainstreaming Science, Technology and Innovation in the ANC and government, and even extend it to the private sector.

ELECTIONS

A majority victory

3.71 The ANC won a 62.15% overwhelming majority in the general elections. These results fell slightly below those in 1994. Our 60% victory was both politically and psychologically significant considering the public commentary that had predicted that the ANC would not even gain 60% support in the polls. Politically, it was important against the backdrop of most progressive and left movements,

globally, not gaining such a majority. We also gained this victory in a context that was very difficult and, at times, hostile to our movement. The anti-majoritarian, liberal and ultra-left offensive was very heavy on the ANC. All opposition parties were openly hostile to the ANC with some institutions and NGOs doing everything to weaken the ANC. This offensive is likely to be intensified. The victory, therefore, reaffirmed the position of the ANC as the leader of South African society.

ANC decline

3.72 The ANC's electoral support has been declining since the 2004 elections. Between 2009 and 2014 we significantly lost our voter share. For example, 2014 Limpopo and Mpumalanga, which count among our strongholds, fell below the 80% support of previous elections.

3.73 In addition to this, we have experienced decline in support for the ANC in the four Metros we govern, that is, Nelson Mandela Bay, Tshwane, Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni. We should, therefore, consider that if these were local government elections these metros would have been lost to our opposition. Such a realisation would make us appreciate what the implications of such an outcome could mean for changing our local communities, and advancing a radical socio-economic transformation.

Table 2: A comparative of the 2009 and the 2014 election results

National/Province	2009	2014	Movement
National Results	65,9%	62,15%	3,75% decline
Eastern Cape	69,70%	70,75%	1,05% growth
Free State	71,90%	69,72%	2,18% decline
Gauteng	64,76%	54,92%	9,84% decline
Kwazulu-Natal	63,97%	65,31%	1,34% growth
Limpopo	85,27%	78,97%	6,30% decline
Mpumalanga	85,81%	78,80%	7,01% decline
North West	73,84%	67,79%	6,05% decline
Northern Cape	61,10%	63,88%	2,78% growth
Western Cape	32,86%	34,0%	1,14% growth

Table 3: Top 6 Opposition Parties in 2009 and in 2014

PARTY AND SHARE OF VOTE			
2009		2014	
DA	16.66%	DA	22.23%
COPE	7.42%	EFF	6.35%
IFP	4.55%	IFP	2.40%
UDM	0.85%	NFP	1.57%
FF Plus	0.83%	UDM	1.0%
ACDP	0.81%	FF Plus	0.90%

3.74 The 2014 decline can be understood from the following trends, which have become a feature of our elections since 2009:

- EFF took mainly from ANC, but also from COPE
- DA took from ID and COPE (most of which came from ANC in 2009)
- ANC, COPE and ID losses went to DA and EFF
- It went in stages: two thirds of COPE's 2009 support came from ANC
- In 2011 ANC retook enough from COPE and ID to boost our share in some provinces – but DA took more, especially in Gauteng
- DA grew in ANC metro strongholds from 2% in 2009 to 5% in 2011

Election trends

3.75 Emerging from the picture [presented in table 3 above] are the following aspects:

- Two of the parties that were in the top six in 2009 were not there in 2014.
- Both parties – COPE and EFF – that end up being the second largest opposition are breakaways from the ANC. In a similar manner that we lost votes to COPE in 2009, the emergence of the EFF in 2014 was at the expense of the ANC. The extent of its impact was reduced by the decimation of COPE, when some of their members returned to the ANC.

However, of critical concern is that our voters have experienced voting for parties other than the ANC, which increases their appetite to do so in the future.

- The smaller parties have suffered severely in these elections.
- The NFP – a breakaway of the IFP - has halted the 2009 growth of the IFP.
- The growth of the DA is at the expense of the smaller parties in the main. There are, however, indications of the DA penetrating our base. The growing number in our base that is migrating to the DA should be of great concern to us.

3.76 Critically, though, we should recognise that together with the decline there has been growth in some of the provinces. For example, three of the four provinces – KZN, Northern Cape and Northern Cape – registered growth in both percentage terms and in actual numbers of voters for the ANC. The Eastern Cape grew in percentage terms but declined slightly in terms of the actual voters.

3.77 Our surveys also indicate that the following are critical issues we should concern ourselves with, if we are to halt the decline and realise an upward trajectory in our share of votes:

- We should ensure that the majority of our supporters are registered. Although there was growth in registration in hotly contested provinces, registration tended to advance least where the ANC has

Table 4: Indication of growth and decline

National/province	2009	2014	Movement
National	11650748	11436921	213827 decline
Eastern Cape	1609926	1587338	22578 decline
Free State	756287	721126	35161 decline
Gauteng	2814277	2522012	292265 decline
KwaZulu-Natal	2256248	2530827	274579 growth
Limpopo	1319659	1202905	116754 decline
Mpumalanga	1152698	1091642	61056 decline
North West	822166	763804	68362 decline
Northern Cape	253264	278540	25276 growth
Western Cape	666223	737219	60996 growth

strong support. Therefore we should develop an active means of registering our voters, and do so aggressively.

- Voter turnout in ANC strongholds was below that of the opposition in all provinces, except one – KZN. Indications are that 40% of our vote comes from the four provinces with a low voter turnout.
- Related to the above, urban voter turnout has grown more than rural turnout over 10 years. The implications of this are that the rural votes weigh less in the national total than they used to. This should be a matter of real concern to the ANC since the rural masses constitute our solid base, which has continued to hold. Also, the implications are that the movement is not keeping abreast with urbanisation and the urban voters.

Organisational challenges

3.78 The consistent decline between national and local government elections, which is a 3% decline, is a global norm. However, of critical importance to us is that if the ANC decline below 60% in 2016, this would represent a psychological and political turning point that would be interpreted as an indication of the demise of the movement.

3.79 ANC voter turnout will, potentially, continue to decline in our base areas. The DA, on the other hand, is unlikely to progress further having decimated COPE, UDM, IFP and ID. However, complacency of our voters is a real threat, as is the threat of choosing wrong candidates.

3.80 In addition to these, the ANC should confront and overcome various dynamics at play, both at the national and provincial levels, particularly in relation to:

- Use all its talented cadres as part of the elections machine, together with the retention of trained comrades to manage the campaign
- Adherence to the national campaign strategy, slogan and face of the campaign
- Avoid duplication of strategic interventions in terms of sectoral work.
- Tight and centralised coordination in the deployment of leadership, in order to ensure a centralised tactical approach to the campaign. This should go along with employees honouring their deployments to critical events.
- Avoid running other organisational processes – such as conferences and change of leadership – parallel to the election campaign.

- Ensure synergy between organisational and government deployees, and ministries should contribute to a common message.
- The ANC needs to pay attention to voter education. It may also be prudent to introduce civic education introduced at schools to enable young people to engage on the responsibility that goes with living in a national democratic society.
- Minimise the potential for protest action in communities and continue to be closer to the people. In addition, address those issues that could impact negatively on our campaign, for example, allegations of corruption. This also refers to errors that could be committed by government departments, which may anger or alienate voters and may be exploited by opposition.
- Develop an approach and strategy to address the urban vote and the black middle class, demonstrating that they are the beneficiaries of change.
- We should, together with the above, develop and understanding of, who and what are the characteristics of the South African electorate today in comparison to 1994? In doing so consider the voting patterns, the make-up of the electorate in terms of age, outlook and social status; including the minority communities. We should factor into this assessment the youth who constitute the majority of voters, and why they find other parties more appealing than the ANC.
- Greater effort should be placed on the four metros we govern, with specific and particular focus on Tshwane and Nelson Mandela given the opposition's publicly stated intention to wrestle these from the ANC.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

3.81 This sub-committee in executing its work is guided by the Freedom Charter's "there shall be peace and friendship", and the policy framework as adopted by the successive National

Conferences of the ANC.

3.82 The ANC is actively engaging in the Party-to-Party work, which complements the work of DIRCO in government. Part of party to party work is the attendance of conferences of sister and fraternal parties. Many of these parties attach a lot of importance to this and are quite critical of failure to attend. The ANC has sent delegations to the following conferences, among others:

- Norwegian Labour Party,
- The Swedish Social Democratic Party,
- Botswana Democratic party,
- Botswana National Front,
- EPRDF of Ethiopia,
- Cuba Communist Party,
- MPLA of Angola,
- SWAPO of Namibia,
- CCM of Tanzania, and
- ZANU-PF of Zimbabwe.

The ANC has formalised the relations with the *United Russia Party* by signing the *Memorandum of Understanding*. As a consequence exchange programmes have been implemented, with delegations undertaking study programmes to Russia.

The *Memorandum of Understanding with the Communist Party of China* been renewed. The first study tour was undertaken in 2012. This year in June was the sixth study tour undertaken by members of the NEC, where 27 comrades spent two weeks in China. This time the NEC delegation was supplemented with delegates from the provinces.

FRELIMO hosted an FES sponsored training programme in 2014. This was followed by a visit by a small party delegation that shared experience with the new Secretary-General of FRELIMO in Maputo. It is important to mention that *FES and Olof Palme Foundation* hosts annual seminars with the liberation movements in Southern Africa. The seminars are organised on a rotational format among the countries in the region.

During the period under review the ANC has *met and exchanged ideas with many parties and formed new relations in the process*. It is worth mentioning few of the parties that have been engaged:

- CNDD-FDD of Burundi,
- PNRF Libre Honduras,
- SPD Denmark,
- PAIGV Cape Verde,
- PAIGB Guinea Bissau,
- PDS Benin,
- PDS Niger,
- MLSTP Sao Tome and Principe,
- NDP Ghana,
- PPRD DRC,
- PCT Congo Brazaville,
- SPLM South Sudan
- SPLM North Sudan,
- Workers Party of Korea,
- Labour Party Netherlands,
- Labour Party Australia,
- Labour party UK,
- Communist Party of Vietnam, and
- Many others.

We must however highlight that our party to party work remains relatively weak in West Africa and Latin America.

Former Liberation Movements

3.83 The former liberation movements continue to meet every six months. The meetings are rotated to the various countries. The ANC hosted the last meeting of the Secretaries General and Heads of Parties Summit at the Freedom Park in Pretoria. When FRELIMO was to host both the Secretaries General and Leaders of the Parties Summit, there was change in the party leadership. This has resulted in the meeting being delayed by more than a year. This meeting has now been extended to also allow the Leagues to meet as well.

3.84 The project of the regional political school of the former liberation movements is on the table. Tanzania has provided the liberation movements with land and the Communist Party of China has committed to assist in the project. The ANC hosted the meeting on this project, which was urgently called by the CCM, in Johannesburg on September 22nd 2014. All, except Frelimo, the Secretaries General of the former liberation movements were present.

Socialist International

3.85 The ANC hosted the Socialist International Congress on August 30th, 2012, in Cape Town. In this congress comrade President Jacob Zuma was elected one of the Vice-Presidents, Secretary General comrade Gwede Mantashe was elected to the Council and NEC member comrade Ebrahim Ebrahim is the deputy chairperson of the Africa region of the Socialist International.

3.86 Meetings of the SI Presidium and Council are rotated, with meetings held in London in 2013, Mexico end of 2013 and Geneva in 2014. The last meeting held in 2015 was held in the United States. We objected to this because there is no member party of the Socialist International in the United States.

3.87 There are discussions about the focus of the Socialist International being redirected to issues like the electoral performance of member parties, the ideological and political balance of forces in the world, particularly in the face of the neo-liberal ideological crisis that has dragged the world into a serious crisis since 2008, and the transformation of the multi-lateral institutions. When Europe did not get the position of Secretary General in the Cape Town congress they formed a new organisation called the Progressive Alliance. We continue to engage those who migrated to this new formation wherein they describe it as just a networking structure, not an organisation.

Transformation and Global Governance

- 3.88 As part of this campaign it is important that South Africa is active in global and continental multilateral structures and avail its best cadres to serve in strategic positions. The difficult campaign and ultimate election of comrade Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as the Chairperson of the African Union Commission must be seen within this context. The importance of our consistent support for her is therefore critical.
- 3.89 Transformation of the United Nations and its institutions is urgent. It is generally accepted that the Security Council must be transformed with regions of the world represented. The biggest challenge is lack of unity and cohesion in the African continent with a number of countries expressing interest to be the permanent members on behalf of the continent.
- 3.90 The International Criminal Court has been an item for discussion in the continent for some time now. The main concern is the bias against Africa, and the cases brought almost solely against African leaders. War crimes by leaders from the developed countries go unpunished. The majority of the permanent members of the Security Council are not signatories to the Rome Statutes. Of the five members of BRICS only two are signatories of the Rome Statutes. The court battle around the attendance of President Al-Bashir brought this debate to the fore. The NEC directed comrades deployed in government to review South Africa's membership of the ICC, with a strong recommendation that Africa consider withdrawing its membership. The NGC is asked to endorse this decision of the NEC.

International Solidarity Campaigns

- 3.91 These campaigns require a high level of consciousness to be sustained. It is this consciousness that impose the responsibility on the movement and its cadres to pledge solidarity as a matter of duty to fight injustice wherever it happens.
- *Cuba solidarity*; working with the Alliance partners and the Friends of Cuba

Solidarity (FOCUS), has been kept alive. We prioritised the campaign for the release of the Cuban Five. We must express our appreciation for our parliament for adopting a resolution in this regard. It is with pride to confirm that the release of the Cuban Five from USA incarceration is once more living evidence that international solidarity works. The Cuban heroes (Cuban Five), together with their families, visited South Africa for thirteen days. This was both fulfilling and also evidence of the value the Cuban government attach to our bilateral relations. The campaign continues, recognising progress in: strides in the normalisation of the relations between Cuba and the United States of America, with embassies having been opened in the two countries must be appreciated; Cuba has now been removed from the list of countries regarded as sponsors of terrorism; and taking a stance on: the lifting of the economic blockade against Cuba, being the remnant of the cold war and closure of the Quantamo Bay as a military base and prison of the USA on the Cuban soil. We must make our contribution in this campaign.

- *Swaziland*; remains a police state with political activism being banned. In the 53rd National conference the ANC made specific commitments that we have not fulfilled, that is, joining hands with the alliance in the campaigns for the democratisation of the political system in Swaziland, engaging the Swazi monarch to open the space for free and open dialogue, and campaign for the unbanning of political parties.
- *South Sudan*; efforts to find solutions to the conflict must be supported. The deployment of the Deputy President as the envoy to South Sudan must be supported. We must appreciate that without stability development is almost impossible.
- *Solidarity with Polisario Front* remains important as self-determination and independence of the people of Western Sa-

hara cannot be delayed. Morocco must be nudged to ensure that the UN peace process is concluded. It was a serious disappointment to see the Ambassador of Western Sahara being hosted by the EFF in the celebrations of the second anniversary.

- *Palestine* remains occupied by Israel with Jewish settlements fast making the two states solution academic and unviable.

Ongoing wars in the Middle East, North Africa and Central and West Africa need our attention. The party must consciously complement the efforts of the government in striving for peaceful solution of the conflicts.

LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNANCE

3.92 The work of this sub-committee is at the heart of ensuring good governance, preparedness to serve and transformation of the state from an apartheid/colonialism to a democratic state. The state should serve the entire society and thus embody the principles of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism and unity. This is the committee that captures the party/state relations and therefore ensures that the ANC is the strategic centre of power without micro-managing governance. The question is whether the ANC has the capacity to direct and monitor governance.

3.93 Transformation of the state is captured well in the Strategy and Tactics, *“building a developmental state that provides effective basic services and with capabilities to take forward a far reaching agenda of national economic development, whilst at the same time placing people and their involvement at the centre of this process.”*

The work of consolidating the state to serve the whole society is going on with the legislature, the executive and the public service now being more representative of our country. This progress is challenged everyday and projected as lowering the standards within the narrative that black is incompetent and corrupt.

Democratic institutions that have been creat-

ed and developed over the last twenty years continue to be strengthened to serve our people. Governance is more participatory than ever before with the opposition forces exploiting this reality and pushing for co-governance and undermining of the democratic state.

Transformation of local government is critical for effective delivery of basic services.

The 53rd National Conference resolution on Organisational Renewal recognised that renewal is principally about building the ANC resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capacity and its ability to adapt to changing situations so that it can continue to serve and lead the people.

The resolution on a single public service is being implemented but is happening very slow. Gender mainstreaming in the public service is also very slow with set targets not met.

3.94 The new Demarcation Board has been appointed without reviewing the mandate. This is at the heart of many municipalities being financially unviable and unsustainable. Reviewing the role and scope of the demarcation board is outstanding. The sensitive issue of municipal demarcation must be debated extensively within the structures of the ANC. The starting point though is the structures of the movement appreciating the importance of active involvement of and consultation with the communities.

3.95 There was a serious effort to retain not less than sixty percent of serving MPs, MPLs, and Councillors in the last elections. There was relative success in this regard, with the question remaining on the quality overall of ANC public representatives. On the one hand there are ANC public representatives with no experience but many with a lot of potential to grow. There are those who have grown but this growth is not recognised, even as they prove themselves in action. This highlights the importance of the ANC focusing on development of the cadreship all the time.

The 2014 national and provincial elections were difficult with the results having de-

clined further to 62.15%; a 3% decline from the last elections. There was marginal growth in four provinces, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Northern Cape. We registered serious decline in support in five provinces, Gauteng, Free State, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and North West. The net effect was the 3% decline overall.

3.96 The fifth parliament has been characterised by anarchy following the entrance by the EFF, who are using anarchy and destruction as their strategy of destabilising parliament. There have been serious efforts to mobilise the opposition forces into a block against the ANC.

The 53rd National Conference resolved that parliament should be more activist and developmental. This is possible every time the ANC parliamentarians have focused on the content of the debates. Taking parliament to the people campaign is important but we have failed to profile these activities. Our public representatives can be more assertive without being derailed by anarchists into denting the image of parliament as an institution.

Many bills go to parliament without the necessary political discussion in the sub-committee and the NEC. This opens the ANC up when some of the bills are returned to parliament by the President due to aspects not meeting the constitutional requirements.

3.97 The legislature forum established by the sub-committee is intended to facilitate coordination of work among the legislatures. The question of separation of executive and legislative powers at local government level is taking shape in Metros and bigger cities, but proves to be impossible in small municipalities.

The 52nd and the 53rd National Conferences resolved that Provinces should be reviewed. The resolution further concluded that such a review be undertaken by the Presidential Commission. The sub-committee has put together a task team to assist ANC structures in the process but the commission has not been appointed.

3.98 There is an ongoing attempt to implement resolutions on local government, understanding that it is the closest sphere of government to the people. Delivery of services to the people is visible and appreciated, but equally the public narrative is one of understating the progress being made and exaggerating problems and weaknesses.

Little progress has been made in ensuring that district municipalities provide shared services to local municipalities that are, in the majority of cases, weak and have no capacity and no revenue base. This is one area that needs a lot of refinement. Our cities are growing in confidence and ability to interact with people directly but the movement is not taking full advantage of the capacity provided by our cities and metros.

The adoption of the Back to Basics programme is an attempt to ensure that we focus on providing basic services to the people and thus improve the lives of the people.

The allocation of resources on the basis of developmental needs in addition to the consideration on the size of the population remains elusive. The direct result of this failure on our part is that the municipalities that are weak remain trapped in poverty and underdevelopment. Such municipalities struggle to get properly qualified people in management.

Despite our commitment to cooperative governance federal tendencies are getting stronger, with coordination, integration and alignment being weak. This is the case despite structural mechanism in place, and backed by legislative framework.

Over-reliance on consultants reflects the state of weak capacity. When the state is weak political leadership is weakened in that adopted programmes are not fully implemented or implemented at a snail's pace. There could even be instances where some programmes are even sabotaged and undermined. We have not paid sufficient attention to this challenge. In the July, 2015 Iekgotla we have, for the first time, tabled the capacity of the state for discussion and agreed on a follow-up process.

3.99 The remuneration commission for public servants that has been established should not only focus on the remuneration but link that debate to building the capacity of the state. It should also contribute to the building of a single public service. The Public Administration Bill passed by parliament does deal with some of the issues contained in the conference resolutions.

Gender equity in the public sector remains a challenge with set targets not achieved. These targets are set and not achieved at departmental level. These targets are not just numbers but must be allocated within the context of building the capacity of the state. The capacity of the state is critical for building a developmental state. The high turnover of senior managers in the public service has to be arrested so that continuity is maintained.

3.100 There is complexity in developing a framework for a modern democracy co-existing with the traditional leadership system. There are extreme views within the structures of the ANC wherein identity is confused as tribalism. This is happening at a time when there is a drive to restore the dignity of our people that was destroyed by colonialism. It is the project of restoring dignity to our people that underpins the debate to recognise the Khoi and San. The cultural diversity in our society is at the heart of “unity in diversity”.

The role of traditional leaders in the respective communities is being clarified. The coronation of the King of AmaXhosa was the first since 1994 and displayed the beauty of our traditions and cultures. The role of traditional leaders should include development of communities without undermining or competing with local government structures. If these roles are integrated at local level more progress can be made. The closeness of these traditional leaders to communities should be an advantage to the ANC. Our people should not be made to think that we want them to make choices, but to benefit from the collective efforts of all the structures in society. The ongoing engagement is necessary and must be sustained. The traditional leaders’ forum

established within the L&G sub-committee is facilitating the engagement.

3.101 The discussion of the allocation of PR seats in local government and the review of the approach on demarcation are work in progress.

PEACE AND STABILITY

Policing Services

3.102 The work of this sub-committee is clearly articulated in the National Development Plan that in 2030 “people living in South Africa feel safe and have no fear of crime. They are safe at home, at school, at work, and enjoy an active community life free of fear. Women can walk freely in the streets and children can play safely outside”. The vision outlined here cannot wait for 2030 hence the committee is hard at work.

3.103 The annual crime statistics for the period 2008/09 to December 2013 have indicated a general decrease in serious crime. This is a result of huge investment by government in policing and the criminal justice system, translating into improved police to population ratio. The reduction of serious crimes was slight during the 2013/2014 year. There was an increase in the number of contact crimes during this same period. Contact crimes include murder, attempted murder, sexual offences, assault and robbery.

3.104 The apparent infighting at the leadership level of the SAPS in particular and the Security Services in general is not helpful either, as it tends to confuse society. When there is confusion at that level, criminals become more confident and begin to target law enforcement officers for attack. This is the most serious attack on the state and therefore undermines its authority. Lawlessness and anarchy when there are strikes and protests reflects the disrespect for authority and must be curbed. The confidence of society in the law enforcement agencies is critical for the success in fighting crime. Tip-offs via Crime Stop and Crime line have led to a high number of arrests and successful

convictions. Drug Watch Campaign in both the Western Cape and Gauteng is further proof of the value of collaboration between law enforcement agencies and communities.

3.105 Community Safety Forums have been established in all the provinces except the Free State. Many of these structures have been established at local municipal level. There are 126 of these CSFs country-wide.

Instances of violence against women, children, LGBTI and the elderly attract negative attention to personal safety in society. There is no aggressive media campaign to highlight the achievements in fighting crime. The fact that crime statistics are only released once per annum is attracting negativity in that the trends announced are for a long period. Society is kept in the dark for a long period and negativity is actually a function of lack of information.

There are no street committee in the majority of communities and ward committees are weak in many areas. Therefore, they do not augment the work done by community policing forums and community safety forums.

3.106 A concrete roadmap towards the Single Police Service is being implemented. A technical legal team has been put together to ensure that there is legal compliance in implementing the resolution. One option being considered is that of the municipal police function being kept by the municipalities but be a division of the SAPS, with a Deputy National Commission responsible for this division. This will ensure that there is a reporting line to the National Commissioner.

Justice

3.107 The promulgation of the Superior Courts Act was a major step in the restructuring of the judiciary and integrating the courts. The 17th Constitutional Amendment Act paved the way for the Constitutional Court becoming the apex court. In this way the independence of the judiciary and the separation of powers have been enhanced. Magisterial and municipal districts are being aligned.

3.108 The promulgation of the Legal Practice Act is making entry into the legal profession easy. It also strengthens the independence of the profession but also ensures greater accountability. It also introduces a single regulatory body for the legal profession. Community service is now part of the practical vocational service. From September 2014 administrative functions and staff attached to the superior courts has been transferred from the Department of Justice to the Office of the Chief Justice. The Minister of Justice remains the Executive Authority in terms of the Constitution. Court efficiency has improved as measured by the improved case finalisation and high conviction rate.

Poor investigations at the point of arrest, coupled with shortage of foreign court interpreters, Legal Aid South Africa representatives and unavailability of judicial officers at the same court are impacting negatively on progress.

Since 2013 Sexual Offences Courts have been re-launched to address sexual offence cases more effectively.

The race and gender breakdown of judges is of interest. {See table below.}

Table 5: The race and gender breakdown of judges

<i>African male</i>	<i>African female</i>	<i>Indian male</i>	<i>Indian female</i>	<i>Coloured male</i>	<i>Coloured female</i>	<i>White male</i>	<i>White female</i>	<i>Total</i>
62	16	10	8	12	4	79	14	205
30%	8%	5%	4%	6%	2%	38%	7%	100%

Table 6: The race and gender breakdown of magistrates

African male	African female	Indian male	Indian female	Coloured male	Coloured female	White male	White female	Total
416	285	62	88	82	61	421	233	1648
25%	17,2%	3,7%	5,3%	4,9%	3,7%	25,5%	14,1%	100%

55% of the judges are black and 45% is white. With the vocal complaint of the slowness of transformation of the judiciary a question must be asked as to whether the emphasis on the racial and gender composition, without paying sufficient attention to the outlook and socio-political mindset of the individuals, is completing transformation.

The composition of the magistrates is even more interesting:

60.3% of the magistrates are black and 39.7% are white. All this reflects progress made in demographic terms and presents an opportunity to focus on the content of transformation work. [See table 6 above].

This is a lot progress compared to the rest of the public service which can be summarised as follows in the top four levels of the public service:

- Level 13: female 41,5%, male 58,5% (Director)
- Level 14: female 39,6%, male 60,4% (Chief Director)
- Level 15: female 35,5%, male 64,5% (DDG)
- Level 16: female 27,8%. male 72,2% (DG)

This is the snail pace of transformation in the public sector. The picture will be worse in the private sector.

Correctional Services

3.109 The number of Remand Detainees from 50511 in 2010 to 4100 in 2014 reflects overcrowding of the prisons. The number of detainees detained for more than 24 months

has been reduced from 2200 in 2013 to 1889 in 2014. Overcrowding remains a problem that requires policy coordination on bail, diversion, sentencing and parole.

3.110 Rehabilitation and restorative justice initiatives are at the heart of the correctional services programme. This entails improvement of skills, educational programmes and victim-offender mediation and dialogue programmes.

Parole Boards and Case Management Committees have been reviewed and strengthened. There is a serious problem in dealing with pardons involving certain individuals with high media profile.

The private prisons present operational challenges that must be attended to urgently.

Corruption

3.111 The ANC as a national liberation movement cannot be said to be corrupt, especially to the extent that it is regarded synonymously with corruption. The ANC must lead in being harsh when dealing with corruption irrespective of who is involved. There should be visible action and communication of harsh action against corrupt individuals, so as to address the perception that nothing is being done and that the ANC is soft on corruption.

3.112 Since 2010 169 criminal cases, involving 945 people have been investigated, leading to the conviction of 54 people. 7 of these cases are in terms of the OECD Foreign Bribery Convention. Asset freezing orders to the amount of R1811 million were obtained. Assets to the value of R1.039 million were seized.

Criminal assets amounting to R105 million were forfeited. These cases must be publicised so that society appreciate the work underway and demystify the focus on trying to implicate politicians even when they are not involved.

- 3.113 In June 2014 the President formed the Anti-Corruption Inter-Ministerial Committee to coordinate and oversee the work of state organs aimed at combating corruption in both the public and private sectors.

Home Affairs

- 3.114 National and personal security depends on the state knowing and protecting the identity and status of every citizen and every foreign national who enters the country. The strategy to achieve security in the country entails early registration of all births and establishing a secure and comprehensive National Identity System, and risk-based management of immigration.
- 3.115 The issuing of the smart ID card is but part of an unfolding comprehensive, integrated National Identity System. The biometric data system will reduce fraud and cost of service in the country. 12500 smart ID cards were issued during 2013/2014. More than 230000 smart ID cards were issued between April and August 2014 and more 250000 are being processed.
- 3.116 Home Affairs is the lead department in the establishment of the Border Management Agency which should be launched in December 2016. A project team has been set up by Home Affairs with a clear work programme. Inter Agency Clearing Forum at Borderline and Ports of Entry, has been established. The Port of Entry Control Centre in the Port of Cape Town was opened in May 2014. The Control Centres will be rolled out to selected harbours including Saldanah Bay, Richards Bay, Mossel Bay and Durban. The operational part of the centre comprises of Joint Command Centre which will be supported by an Intelligence Coordinating Centre. Migration is a global phenomenon and the immigration crisis facing Europe and experienced in the

Americas illustrate how important it is to have a coherent policy in this regard. The increased number of unaccompanied minors who cross borders is growing into a global crisis. Broad public discussions are ongoing in this regard but the policy document as directed by the 53rd National Conference has not been developed.

- 3.117 Births and Deaths Registration Amendment Act, 2010 toughened the penalties for contravention of the Act and criminalised fraudulent use of vital documents. Prevention of smuggling and trafficking of children is enforced by such culprit being prevented from entering South Africa. The requirement of a full birth certificate for children entering and leaving South Africa is a necessary security law but has been attacked heavily by business and ministries whose portfolios cover the movement of the people. Something we are ignoring is the class content of this debate and likelihood of a black working class child being the main victim of child and human trafficking. The economic and business interests are important but must never dwarf the national and personal interests in our country. The immediate benefit though is the increased awareness in society about the importance of protection of children.

Defence and Military Veterans

- 3.118 The objective of the Department of Defence is the creation of a balanced, flexible and modern force capable of using advanced technology.
- 3.119 The Defence Review focused on the revitalisation of the country's armed forces; development of a measurable implementation plan; stabilise, restore and advance the capability of the SANDF.
- 3.120 Following the 2009 General Elections the Department of Military Veterans was established. A ministerial Task Team was created to manage the establishment of the department and develop its policy framework. The Military Veterans Act was promulgated in 2011.

- 3.121 One of the fundamental problems facing the department is misalignment between the organisational design and its mission. Since its inception the Department of Military Veterans has struggled to put in place the necessary structures and financial systems that can enable it to become a proper stand alone department with its own budget vote. The poor service delivered has led to widely recorded frustration among military veterans and their families.
- 3.122 Following the Military Veterans Indaba in July 2015 a turnaround strategy has been developed and a Steering Committee, with a Resource Persons Panel having been appointed and a full-time Program Management Office has been set up. The focus is on addressing both the structural and policy matters affecting the department's ability to fulfil its mandate.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

3.123 There is a growing tendency and a developing narrative that seeks to reduce social transformation into free gifts and food parcels. It is important to anchor it in the articulation of the Strategy and Tactics of 2007 which states that "our strategies for social transformation must seek to empower people to lift themselves out of poverty while creating adequate social nets to protect the most vulnerable in our society." The ANC manifesto calls for the implementation of a broad and inclusive social protection system, alongside the effort to alleviate poverty and eradicate inequality.

Social Cohesion and Nation-Building

■ The South African society remains characterised by racial and ethnic divisions, based on the inherited apartheid racial classification of the population. These divisions continue to exclude the majority from participating socially and economically, with "the numerical minority remaining the cultural majority" that determines the content and direction of the national public debate. This

is the case despite the constitution defining the ideal society we seek to build. This is not a submission that nothing is happening but reflects the state of our society despite the serious efforts at change. Economic and social development programmes, quality of education and health services, human settlement programme, access to land and rural development, promotion of arts and culture, including indigenous culture and preservation of our heritage will accelerate nation-building and social cohesion.

- The immediate task going forward is to continue building the ANC as the embodiment of our society by mobilising all social forces to work together to build a caring nation, proud of its heritage, based on shared values and a vision informed by, constitutional democracy, human rights and equality, non-racialism and non-sexism, social solidarity and unity in diversity.
- The primary objective of the sub-committee is to work on programmes intended to eliminate poverty and inequality. Despite the positive impact of the social security system, including social grants, in the reduction of poverty, inequality and unemployment remain.
- Progress made in ensuring access to water (94%), access to sanitation (84%), electricity (81%), refuse removal (71%) and more than 3 million households having been provided with formal dwellings, has improved the lives of millions of South Africans.
- The framework for the comprehensive Social Security Strategy has been developed and is now up for discussions at NEDLAC.
- Social grants have reduced the number of South Africans without cash transfers from 40% to 25%. The system is recognised by the World Bank as being among the best unconditional transfers in the world.
- The Disability Grant covers 1120419 and the Care Dependency Grant covers 120632 beneficiaries. There is a lack of facilities to support the disabled, including development of Braille and sign language.

- The Housing Policy and Strategy is focuses on stabilising the environment and transforming an extremely fragmented, complex and racially based financial and institutional framework. As we deal with the apartheid spatial planning there is a reasonable expectation that the housing backlog will be addressed. This effort is complicated by our people selling or renting out the houses intended for the poor and continuing to stay in informal settlements. Targets have been set for the various categories of people in society: such as providing 5854 houses to Military Veterans; 30% of contractors in the sector given to women, 2% of contractor should be people with disabilities and the target for the youth is being developed.

Arts, Culture and Heritage

- 3.124 The 53rd National Conference resolved that we should work towards the implementation of the NDP. Arts and culture are seen as central to contributing to social cohesion and ensuring full participation by all citizens. He 2011 National Consultative Summit provided the opportunity to revise strategy and plan, with interventions at
- Reinforcing the arts, culture and heritage sector as an economic growth sector
 - Introducing programmes that contribute to employment

Sports and recreation

- 3.125 These are crucial to social cohesion and nation-building. Physical education is important to the development of a child, hence the reintroduction of sport in schools. Presently, physical education is a stand-alone and compulsory subject in schools.
- 3.126 The development of the necessary infrastructure in schools and the need to encourage the formation of various sporting codes both in schools and the broader community are critical. It is essential that school sport is adequately resourced.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

- 3.127 The 53rd National Conference declared the period 2013 to 2023 “The Decade of the Cadre”. The report captures the cadre policy and the implementation of the programme. Political Education has long-term, not instant, results.
- 3.128 The objectives of cadre policy are:
- To continuously produce a contingent of thinking cadres who are conscious, competent, committed, disciplined and conscientious.
 - Focus training on ideological, political, academic, technological and moral training of a critical mass of ANC members.
 - Transform the growing membership base into activists and cadres who are engaged in the struggle for fundamental transformation of society.
 - Preparation of cadres for their respective deployments.
 - Raising the level of literacy, education and skills among the members of the movement.
 - Roll-out the political school at all levels of the organisation.
- 3.129 As reported in the 53rd National Conference a farm has been bought for the construction of the political school. Although the political school is not limited to a physical infrastructure this is important for the institutionalisation of political education in the organisation. The lack of resources has delayed the actual construction of the school.
- 3.130 The pillars of the content of the curriculum are as follows:
- Ideological development and political consciousness
 - Policy analysis and public management
 - Organisational, technical and party building skills
 - Development and community outreach work in practice

- 3.131 The sub-committee conducted an induction for the NEC, with the Officials leading the programme, covering the Strategy and Tactics, the Constitution and the Freedom Charter. A session on political economy was conducted for the sub-committee itself. Memorial lectures focusing on various leaders of the movement were conducted in all the provinces as part of the political school. Two provinces, the Northern Cape and the Free State, successfully conducted political schools focusing on Tools of analysis, Historical and dialectical materialism. A political school for provincial and regional educators was conducted in February, 2014.
- 3.132 The Political Education sub-committee rolled out the sub-regional political school programme in eight provinces, except in Gauteng, during the period May to August 2014. Political schools were conducted for the ANCWL in the North West and Mpumalanga. Round table discussions were also conducted to ensure deeper inputs and contributions were received from progressive forces that are not necessarily part of the structures of the ANC. All PECs of the ANC have been inducted. The majority of RECs have been inducted as well.
- 3.133 Five of the provinces have developed comprehensive political schools, that is:
- Gauteng runs the *Walter Sisulu Leadership Academy* which conducts accredited courses.
 - Eastern Cape has formally launched the *Thobile Bam Political Education*. Successful programmes have been rolled out in two regions.
 - The Northern Cape has launched the *Jack Simon Political Education* and ran two programmes.
 - Following a successful winter school in KwaZulu-Natal, a political school for trainers has been conducted at sub-regional level. The province has rolled out a successful programme of cadres' forums.
 - Mpumalanga ran a successful political school for 60 provincial facilitators. This programme was conducted over six weeks targeting 100 cadres from the branches.

4 THE STATE OF THE PROVINCES

EASTERN CAPE

- 4.1 The Eastern Cape held its provincial conference in Port Elizabeth in July, 2013. This was a highly contested provincial conference with tensions between the contesting groups being crude, which made reconciliation difficult beyond the conference. The group that did not win the conference vowed to make the province ungovernable until it is dissolved. Indeed they have been lobbying a number of NEC members to make this a reality. Despite this the province is relatively stable and consolidating. The province is alive to these serious efforts to destabilise it from within and is working hard to keep itself united following a long period of divisions and instability.
- 4.2 The 2014 elections became the immediate task after the provincial conference. The ANC increased the electoral support by 2% despite the lower voter turnout. Three major municipalities performed badly, that is, Kouga, Nelson Mandela and King Sabatha Dalindyebo, which has raised serious concerns about the 2016 local government elections. The response to this weakness is ensuring that the organisation is strengthened and integrated. The province is acknowledging that where there are serious organisational problems local governance pays the price, as the problems overflow into the municipalities.
- 4.3 Unity and cohesion is the main focus of the PEC through the organisational and political programmes driven by the structures, through the deployees and sub-committees.
- 4.4 The PEC is fully functional and holds its meetings as required by the constitution. The PEC members are always available to do organisational work, reflecting a deep sense of commitment. The hard work is the saviour of the province even in areas and instances of resistance.
- 4.5 The team of officials elected in the 7th provincial conference remain a cohesive and alternate their meetings with those of the PWC. Working with PSO they are involved heavily in the day to day running of the organisation and are delegated to handle sensitive tasks in the province.
- 4.6 The PWC is intact and implement the decisions of the PEC. They meet every second week on Mondays. The attendance of these meetings is good averaging about 90%. The PWC processes all the reports to the PEC.
- 4.7 The PEC has set up all the required sub-committees, which are, and a few needing further improvement. Functional sub-committees strengthen the overall performance of the PEC. Political education is driven primarily by the Provincial Chairperson supported by the Provincial Education and Training Unit. The Thobile Bam Political School functions with a comprehensive political education programme that has a clear schedule. The programme is now being cascaded to the branches.
- 4.8 Imvuselelo Campaign is now gaining some momentum, focusing on recruitment and reviving branches of the ANC. As part of the campaign cadres forums are held to mobilise as many of the activists of the movement as possible.

State of the regions

- 4.9 The regions are relatively weak as a result of poor administrative capacity. Where the regional secretary is full time with a full time organiser there is a big difference. Where regional offices are understaffed and under-resourced the capacity to serve the structures under their jurisdiction, including local government structures, is poor.

Alfred Nzo

- 4.10 The region held its regional conference on October 31st- November 2nd, 2014 to elect an REC after the previous one was dissolved earlier in the year. The outcome of this conference was appealed by a group of six delegates that only mobilised branch appeals when they were told that delegates to conferences are branch delegates. When they constitute themselves into a grouping the organisation cannot affirm factions. The provincial deployees attended to the appeals and finalised them. New appeals emerged after that process. This is but one example of the new trend of groups that do not win conferences then appeal the outcome. Processes to conferences must be must not be appealed on the basis of the outcome.
- 4.11 The region is functional with specific challenges being attended to. It is working well with the Alliance. Both the ANCYL and the ANCWL are functional in the region and have good relations with the REC.
- 4.12 All four municipalities were negatively affected by the divisions in the ANC. This forced the PEC to effect re-deployments in all four of the municipalities. The national official had to intervene in at least one of the four municipalities. All this was a reflection of instability in the sub-regional structures of the ANC. There is relative stability now in all the municipalities.

Amathole

- 4.13 The region is functional with glaring weaknesses. The REC does not hold regular constitutional meetings. It holds special meetings to deal with specific urgent issues. The RWC and the officials meet more regularly but the inherent risk is that the REC may find itself dealing with decisions of these structures instead of these structures implementing the decisions of the REC.
- 4.14 The Chairperson of the region was elected to the PEC as the Provincial Deputy Chairperson in the 7th Provincial Conference, in July 2013. After a year the region has failed to convene the Regional General Council

to elect a replacement, despite several attempts to convene one. This is one of the most serious indicators that the health of the region needs attention.

- 4.15 In the latest audit only 78 branches out of 127 are in good standing, constituting 61 % of the branches. The audit exposed poor membership administration in the region.
- 4.16 The Alliance relations appear good though they are limited to secretariat meetings. The Region has proposed an alliance summit to give the alliance a kick-start.
- 4.17 The ANCWL is has an REC and the ANCYL is run by a task team. Relations between the REC and the Leagues are not as strong as they should be.
- 4.18 The majority of local municipalities are unstable with administrative and financial challenges. Most of the TROIKAs are dysfunctional, and chief whips are the weakest link in these municipalities. Many of these municipalities are battling to attract appropriately qualified officials

Buffalo City

- 4.19 The REC is intact but is run on the basis special meetings instead of constitutional meetings. These meetings attend to specific issues with no scheduled REC meetings. Officials and the RWC meet regularly, risking replacing the REC in their functioning.
- 4.20 Only two sub-committees, organising and education and health, are functional. Other sub-committees were formed but hardly meet, due to lack of capacity and interest in their work.
- 4.21 Three zones; East London Zone, Mdantsane and Duncan village, have taken up the Imvuselelo campaign.
- 4.22 Serious division between REC members who broke into clear factions emerged as the region prepared for the regional conference.
- 4.23 The ANC Caucus is held before every council meeting. There is however growing ill-

discipline wherein councillors fail to attend caucus without any apology. Councillors are glaringly divided, with some using their experience to undermine the caucus. The case of the Nelson Mandela memorial services funds has rocked the municipality. The PEC had redeployed the affected comrades as they wait for the outcome of the case. A new TROIKA has now been deployed. The relation between political leadership and the administration continues to be tense.

Chris Hani

- 4.24 Historically this is one of the most cohesive regions in the Eastern Cape. For the first time in a long time the region was seriously divided during the preparations for the 7th provincial conference. These divisions continued beyond the provincial conference when almost all the decisions were taken through a vote. The officials were divided into two versus three and the REC became totally dysfunctional.
- 4.25 These divisions spilled over to lower structures and municipalities. This state of affairs in the region informed the decision of the PEC to dissolve the REC and appoint an RTT. This decision was appealed by a section of the REC. In hearing the appeal it became clear that the REC appeal was factional, and the other grouping disowned it. Members of the RTT who were part of the dissolved REC were removed from the RTT. The RTT had to confront the resistance and work hard to rebuild the region. It took longer than the prescribed six months to hold the regional conference. The regional conference was stable with all the delegates remaining up to the end of the conference.
- 4.26 There is visible stability in the region now, including in the municipalities. All the municipalities are now functional.

Sarah Baartman

- 4.27 The REC is functional but does not meet regularly. The regional officials and the RWC meet regularly and the sub-committees are not functional. There is stability in the region

but two of the sub-regions are volatile, that is, Makana and Sundays River. The instability manifests in the form of protest marches. All these marches are led by ANC members and cadres. This captures the reality that many of the divisions that manifest in municipalities emanate from the structures of the ANC. The region has now started a programme of addressing cadres' forums in all the sub-regions to engage members directly and consolidate political work. In some areas it is our members who are conniving with the opposition parties.

- 4.28 Large sub-regions with a big population have low membership, which does not reflect the demographics in many of these areas. This is one region where there is a serious decline of membership and the PEC is concerned about this situation. Major factors contributing to the decline are, among others, factionalism, gate-keeping and poor branch administration.
- 4.29 The governance in many of the municipalities is unstable. In Makana the ANC caucus is divided over the alleged irregular and possible fraudulent appointment of the then Municipal Manager. The PEC had to intervene and introduced section 139 (1) (b) and an administrator was appointed. Water, electricity and labour matters are the main challenges. In the Sundays River municipality is also facing serious problems that led to the municipal offices and the ANC constituency offices being burnt and raised to the ground. The leadership of the municipality is weak, both administratively and politically. The PEC is attending to this crisis.

Joe Gqabi

- 4.30 Joe Gqabi region is historically a coherent region, capable of handling any problems facing it. Although it is a relatively small region it has always been part of the teams that always sought to unify the province. As it now heads for its regional conference divisions around the regional chairperson and the regional secretary have split the region into two groupings. The PWC has intervened and urged comrades to work for unity. There is

now relative stability but the interest taken by senior municipal managers in the divisions is worrying.

- 4.31 All the sub-regions are stable except Sterkspruit, which was chaotic between 2012 and 2014 demanding their own municipality.
- 4.32 Membership decline in the region is a reflection of many branches that are not active and allow membership to lapse. The REC is reviving the recruitment teams in all the sub-regions and has held Membership Management System workshops for branch secretaries. The ANCYL had a task team that revived the branches in the region. It held a successful regional conference in October 2014, resulting in a functional structure of the ANCYL in the region.
- 4.33 The ANCWL appointed a task team in September 2014. The task team took the ANCWL through the conference in June 2015. The programme of building and strengthening branches is unfolding.
- 4.34 The Alliance relations are good in the region with a concrete alliance programme.
- 4.35 All the municipalities are doing well except the Gariiep Municipality. This municipality has serious political and financial challenges.

Nelson Mandela

- 4.36 The Nelson Mandela Bay Region was heavily affected by the defections to COPE, with the entire REC leaving en masse. The REC that was elected following the dissolution of 2008 struggled to keep the ANC above the water. The ANC electoral support fell below 50% in the 2009 general elections. This slightly improved in 2011 when we had marginal majority in the council, raising hopes for the DA to take over the municipality.
- 4.37 The ANC again received 48.8% election support in 2014. This marginal performance with serious challenges in the municipality triggered the dissolution of the REC. Since 2008 three mayors have not completed the term in the Nelson Mandela Metro, with the latest change being in 2015. There is now

an RTT led by the veteran comrade Charles Nqakula. It is however clear that the organisation is not at its best in this strategic region. The national officials and the NWC are continuing to complement the work of the PEC in the region. The recent loss of ward 30 to the UDM was a shock and an indicator of the need to work harder. All opposition parties are targeting Nelson Mandela.

- 4.38 The alliance relations are bad with both COSATU and the SACP refusing to participate in alliance meetings and activities. The influence of NUMSA in the region is putting an additional strain in the alliance relations. Only SANCO is working closely with the ANC. Four unions continue to work with the ANC, that is, NEHAWU, POPCRU, SAMWU and the NUM.
- 4.39 The municipality is quickly stabilising and even those elements that remain defiant find it difficult as there are serious efforts to unify the caucus.

O.R Tambo

- 4.40 This region is functional with all the sub-committees being operational. The officials and the RWC are working well and meeting as scheduled. The Regional General Council was held in December 2014.
- 4.41 All the sub-regions are functional and in good standing except KSD, which has been appealed. Out of the 147 branches 118 are in good standing, which is 80% of the branches. The historic problems of parallel branches have been resolved making the region more coherent in its functioning. The help and support provided by the national organising team is much appreciated.
- 4.42 At regional level the alliance is functional and relations are good. There are however no ongoing alliance campaigns.
- 4.43 The current disharmony in all three kingships in the region, abaThembu, amaMpondo and amaMpondomise, impacts negatively on work in the region. The region is setting up a task team to follow these issues through

and report to the relevant structures of the movement.

- 4.44 There are good working relations between the ANC and municipal structures in all the municipalities. All these municipalities are stable with serious concerns about the poor state of the KSD municipality. This municipality is strategic but very volatile with a high mobility of voters. The leadership in this municipality is incoherent and the problems persist. Financially this municipality is in trouble following its loss of the land claims case, and directed to pay a large sum of money. Otherwise the region is relatively stable.

The Alliance

- 4.45 The alliance in the province is fully functional and the alliance secretariat meets regularly. All the regions have working alliance structures but differ in terms of their capacity to drive programmes and campaigns. The alliance has worked together in dealing with problems in education, hotspot municipalities and other programmes. After a long period of SANCO not having structures, it is important to report that now SANCO has gone to its provincial conference and has a functional structure. This is making a positive contribution to the alliance in the province.
- 4.46 The alliance partners are participating in all PEC sub-committees, the deployment committee and the list committee. This helps reduce tensions in the alliance. The relations between the Government and COSATU affiliated public sector unions need constant attention. Regular stand-offs between SAMWU and a number of municipalities is a good example.

FREE STATE

- 4.47 The current PEC was elected in May, 2013 in a conference that was a consequence of the court nullifying the one that was in 2012. Since its election the PEC has been meeting consistently, and in line with the provisions of the constitution. The attendance is always

high in all the meetings and activities of the organisation.

- 4.48 There has been a conscious effort to align organisational work and government programmes. This is helpful in ensuring that campaigns and the election work benefit from the ongoing work of the ANC and government.
- 4.49 The PWC meets regularly to implement the programme and decisions of the PEC. Among the key programmes implemented was the eradication of the bucket system and staffing of the regional offices. However, with regard to the former, not much progress has been seen. PEC members have been to the LETs to ensure that the PEC oversees the election work directly. Officials are involved in the day to day work of the PEC and report regularly to the PWC.
- 4.50 All the sub-committees of the PEC are functional, with special interest in international relations. This is unique to the Free State province because of its proximity to Lesotho. The complexity of the situation in Lesotho requires more caution and guidance from the NEC. Cross-border criminal activities impose close working relations between the International Relations and the Peace and Stability sub-committees of the province.
- 4.51 A number of campaigns are implemented by the PEC; Imvuselelo campaign, the Mandela Day, Thank You campaign after the elections and many other campaigns.

State of the Regions

Xhariep

- 4.52 The region held the Regional Conference in July, 2013. Since this conference the REC has visited all the branches. After being inducted the REC inducted the branches.
- 4.53 Divisions in areas like Bethulie were beginning to affect even communities when the BEC was dissolved. It took time for comrades who were elected to the REC to resign from the BECs. Both the ANCWL and the ANCYL are actively participating in the

REC. This is the case despite the ANCWL being run by the interim structure. There is no alliance structure in the region.

- 4.54 The Xhariep District Municipality is financially unviable and unsustainable. There are months when salaries of staff cannot be paid. Three of the four local municipalities have improved their audit outcomes. The fourth one has regressed following the passing away of its CFO. Water and sanitation are the major challenges facing this district.

Motheo

- 4.55 The region has 49 branches of which 43 are in good standing. Its RGC was aborted when it was disrupted by a mob of ill-disciplined members.
- 4.56 The REC is doing fairly well and implementing organisational programmes. There are members of the REC who are ever apologising in meetings w. Only the political education sub-committee is active and the others are confused about their role. The region has witnessed some membership decline. The Imvuselelo campaign is aimed at reviving the membership drive in the region.
- 4.57 The ANCWL is very active in the region with visible campaigns. It has just gone to the regional conference and elected a new leadership collective. The ANCYL has to develop a programme that can assert it among and lead the mobilisation of young people. The regional structure of the ANCWL forms the core of the provincial structure.
- 4.58 The Alliance structures have good relations with the ANC REC. The alliance secretariat meets regularly and have organised a number of activities.
- 4.59 Both the Mangaung Metro and its electricity entity, CENTLEC have improved the audit outcomes. There are serious problems around Thaba Nchu, with the land question being at the heart of the tensions. Service delivery issues in both Bloemfontein and Botshabelo are being addressed. Mayoral Imbizos have improved relations with the community.

Lejweleputsoa

- 4.60 The region has 70 branches of which 32 are in good standing. One region in the province has no office, making it difficult to operate. The REC and the RWC meet as scheduled. Following the election of some REC members into the PEC an RGC was convened and vacancies filled in 2013. The REC is functional and has capacity to deal with organisational problems in the region.
- 4.61 Only two sub-committees are functional; communication and health and education. All the others are dysfunctional and confused about their role
- 4.62 The alliance is working well but without concrete programmes beyond alliance secretariat meetings.
- 4.63 The ANCYL has structures and relates well with the REC. The ANCWL is also functional and working well with the REC.
- 4.64 The region meets councillors from time to time, to assess progress in the implementation of the ANC commitments in the manifesto. The REC meets the Whips regularly to ensure proper coordination of council work. The municipalities in this region are financially unstable, some battling to honour their electricity and water bills. Land invasions are a growing problem, and sanitation infrastructure backlog remains a major challenge in Matjhabeng, which is the biggest municipality in the region.

Fezile Dabi

- 4.65 The region is functional with the REC and RWC meeting regularly as scheduled. The sub-committees are dysfunctional. The region has no campaigns and programmes making branches weak, causing lack of leadership in society. The ANCYL is active and participates well in organised ANC activities and programmes. The ANCWL also works well with the REC and participate well in ANC meetings and activities.
- 4.66 The ANC works well with the SACP, which has just gone to its district congress. COSA-

TU has no regional structure in Fezile Dabi and SANCO is dysfunctional without activities and visibility. COSAS is very active and visible in the region and has good relations with the REC. SASCO is being formed and has an interim structure in the region.

- 4.67 All the four municipalities in the region are functional. Moqhaka municipality has addressed the problem of open toilets. Metsimaholo municipality has improved its audit outcomes. There is ongoing labour unrest and tensions with SAMWU in this municipality. Water scarcity is the main challenge facing this district.

Thabo Mofutsanyane

- 4.68 Deep divisions in the REC affected the Leagues and the Alliance. The local government elections exacerbated the situation. The PEC dissolved the REC and ran the affairs of the region directly. The difficulty in doing this resulted in a situation where it took more than a year to convene the regional conference.
- 4.69 The regional conference was contested and outcomes appealed. The appeals were heard and completed. The dissatisfaction continued until NEC members engaged the branches in mass political work. This region must receive ongoing attention from the PEC and NEC deployees.
- 4.70 All the municipalities in the region are rural and financially struggling. Political leadership and administrative capacity are a major problem. The Free State has a total of 24 municipalities. Eight of these municipalities got disclaimers in both financial years. One that received a qualified audit has now drifted back to a disclaimer. One that had a disclaimer has improved to a qualified audit. The rest have qualified audits and nine have unqualified with findings. We are giving this detail to highlight that local governance needs a lot of attention in the province.
- 4.71 The relations with the alliance partners are good at provincial level. The alliance secretariat meets regularly. The political council

also meets when it has to approve the alliance programme developed by the secretariat.

GAUTENG

- 4.72 The report of Gauteng covers a period of work of two PECs, the one elected in 2010 and the other that was elected in 2014. It will therefore reflect the theme of the 2014 provincial conference, “*United in Action to Advance a Radical Social and Economic Transformation*” in approach and content. The province is dealing with the reality of its old cadres being a small nucleus in a bigger organisation. The moderate success in converting those who joined post the unbanning into activists and cadres is beginning to show results in building the organisation. The task of recruiting more members is critical for the growth of the province.
- 4.73 The ANC membership in Gauteng is changing in character along with the fast growth of the black middle strata. This reflects on the nature of demands put at the door of our movement, in addition to those of the working class which remains dominant. The majority of membership remains unemployed and underemployed making them susceptible to the politics of patronage and money. This imposes a serious danger to the ANC and the revolution. The membership growth is inhibited by poor membership administration membership data.
- 4.74 Gauteng has a presence in all the 508 potential branches with growing membership. The ANC has a presence in every corner of the province. But activism is seasonal, linked to conferences of one kind or the other. The branches are more bureaucratised with gate-keeping being a major problem. These weaknesses make it difficult to lead communities.

State of the Regions

- 4.75 Gauteng has five regions that are unevenly developed. RECs are battling to find a bal-

ance between organisational work and governance.

eKuRhuleni

4.76 Following the dissolution of the REC the fifth regional conference was held in 2011. The REC functioned relatively well. This was spoiled by tensions among the ROBs that culminated in the suspension of the regional secretary.

4.77 The sixth regional conference was held on October 30th – November 1st, 2014. The new REC elected the RWC and put together sub-committees. A regional lekgotla was held to convert the resolutions into a programme of action, which is currently being implemented. The changes effected to the mayoral committee were guided by the POB to ensure that they are not used to settle pre-conference scores.

4.78 The region has a programme covering a number of activities, among others, campaign against crime, Freedom Charter Political lecture, Moses Kotane and J. B. Marks memorial lecture, Israel Apartheid Week and many others.

West Rand

4.79 The West Rand has been a stable region over a long period of time. It had a fair share of problems during the list processes where the demon of tribalism reared its ugly head in the selection of candidates.

4.80 The regional conference was held in September, 2011 characterised by high level of discipline and robust debates. Following the election of comrade Mmemezi to the NEC the Regional Secretary was elected to the position of the Deputy Provincial Secretary

4.80 The current REC was elected in October, 2014. It elected the RWC and constituted the sub-committees. The REC lekgotla was held in February 2015. There was an appeal against the regional conference which was dismissed by the PEC after assessing the facts. The outcome was appealed and pub-

licised in the media. The deployees of the NEC to Gauteng were tasked to deal with it. All the sub-regions are in good standing

4.81 Changes were implemented by the new REC in the Randfontein municipality. The region works well with the Leagues and the alliance partners. The COSATU problem affects the alliance in the region. SANCO has no regional structure, making it difficult to work with them.

Greater Tshwane

4.82 The merger of Tshwane and Metsweding created the biggest Metro in South Africa, by land mass. This brought with it huge service delivery and infrastructure backlog because the merger was effected without injection of additional resources from the fiscus. This has created major challenges for the metro in terms of the development and political mandate.

4.83 The regional conference was held in October, 2011. The REC was inducted, together with zonal committees. As part of addressing the sensitivities that emerged in the run-up to the regional conference the REC undertook an intensive report back programme to the branches.

4.84 The last conference was held in October 2014. The REC elected the RWC and constituted the sub-committees; and a programme of action was developed in the November 2014 Lekgotla. In the run-up to the last regional conference there were tensions between the REC on the one hand and the ANCYL and the SACP on the other. The SACP refused to attend the regional conference and the ANCYL also threatened to boycott the conference. This was followed by a string of disciplinary actions against a number of comrades, some of who were leaders of the alliance partners. The Deputy Secretary General led an NEC team to help resolve the problems. It determined that the regional conference should proceed. Relations between the REC and the ANCYL have since improved and those with the ANCWL and MKMVA are good and cordial.

There is ongoing engagement with both the SACP and SANCO, which will culminate in a regional alliance summit.

- 4.85 The region is functional despite all the challenges. The poor performance during the 2014 elections is a source of concern, hence the constant attention by the PEC and the REC.

Johannesburg

- 4.86 The region was dissolved in 2011 because of persisting divisions and tensions. The regional conference was then held in October 2011. The elected REC was inducted together with Zonal Committees. The 13th regional conference was held in October 2014, where four of the five Regional Office bearers were elected unopposed, and greater focus was placed on policy discussions. The outcome of the conference was developed into a programme of action.
- 4.87 The drop in the electoral support in 2014 poses a threat to the ANC. The REC has responded by working hard and ensuring that there is improvement in service delivery.
- 4.88 The region has good relations with the leagues and the alliance partners. The good relations with the alliance are underscored by serious tensions around policy issues from time-to-time. Regional campaigns, such as the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, memorial lectures and making the schools work campaign, keep the region active.

Sedibeng

- 4.89 Sedibeng held their regional conference in May 2012. This REC was elected when the province was going through a difficult period and divisions were quite visible. From the onset the PEC invested in efforts to unify the region.
- 4.90 The debate about the possibility of Sedibeng becoming a metro was started and brought about “*politics of streams*”. In discussions about the regional conference, the re-

gion acted on the basis of who would lead the metro. This fractured the region into two groupings, one supporting the regional chairperson and the other the regional secretary. These divisions spread to all the structures of the ANC, with REC members vilifying each other openly and in the media. These conflicts were escalated to the SGO, which intervened but could not completely overcome the interest-driven division.

- 4.91 In preparation for the 12th regional conference, held in April 2015, all efforts were made to unify the region and show them the dangers of divisions. The PEC continues to engage the REC.

The Functioning of the Provincial Executive Committee

- 4.92 The PEC that was elected in May 2010 held office until October 2014. Following the death of comrade Alinah Rantsolase and the resignation of comrade Parks Tau, two comrades – Busi Modisakeng and Jacob Mamabolo – were co-opted into the PEC. In 2012 the Deputy Provincial Secretary, comrade Humphrey Mmemezi, was elected to the NEC. The PGC elected comrade Boyce Maneli as his replacement. The PGC was nullified by the NEC on the basis that no BGMs were held. The province complied with the NEC decision. The PGC again elected comrade Boyce Maneli as the Deputy Provincial Secretary. Since the NEC decision, holding BGMs before a PGC has now been codified and no PGC will be held without BGMs being called. The 54th National Conference will need to insert this aspect as a provision of the constitution. When comrade David Makhura was allowed to stand for election in the provincial legislature and subsequently appointed the Premier of Gauteng, comrade Boyce was appointed acting Provincial Secretary up to the provincial conference.

The PEC is functional and acts organisationally and collectively in dealing with issues confronting organisation. The PEC strives to engage with divergent views even where they are strong. The biggest weakness is that sub-committees do not operate optimally.

This is one of the provinces that engages branches directly and reaches out to members. The PEC has now been inducted.

The Leagues

4.93 The ANC Veterans' League was launched in November 2009. The veterans are very active in building the structures of the movement, and most of them are particularly active in the political school programmes. The provincial conference of the ANCVL was held in March 2015. The ANC Women's League held its conference in 2012 and the leadership team elected played a very visible and important role in the elections campaign. The PEC has been working on improving its relationship with Women's League, particularly dealing with the perceived victimisation of women in a number of municipalities in the province. One of the most important campaigns in the province was Bring Back our Girls, in solidarity with young girls abducted by Boko Haram in Nigeria. The 2015 Provincial Conference of the ANCVL was successful and the league continues to have constructive relations with the PEC. The NTT dissolved the PEC of the ANCYL in the middle of the elections campaign and the province had to be content with an interim structure mobilising young people. The provincial conference was held in August 2014. The PEC has been active in the PYA structures, contributing to the work of the PYA in the SRCs in the campuses. In some of the campuses the PYA suffered electoral losses.

Alliance

4.94 There are constructive relations with the alliance despite sharp differences on theoretical questions. In the lead up to the 2014 elections the alliance was at the centre of resolving conflict in areas like Bekkersdal and Zithabiseni. The importance of a working alliance is even more critical in resolving post-elections tensions around deployments. The relations with the SACP are constructive and strong. Issues raised by COSATU like e-tolls, labour brokers and the

NDP, have been treated as issues of mutual concern. Bilateral relations with SANCO focus on strengthening the structures. However, there are always tensions related to the issues of deployments.

KWAZULU-NATAL

- 4.95 The PEC is functional and executes its mandate and responsibility as expected in terms of the constitution. The culture of open and transparent discussions and debates helps the province steer through difficult challenges. Members of the PEC are committed and implement organisational programmes with the necessary levels of energy. It is this energy embodied in the PEC that makes the organisation to be felt throughout the province.
- 4.96 There are serious signs of divisions within the PEC, which impact on its work and blunt its effectiveness. The PEC has since cautioned that this reality will likely impact negatively on the ANC's elections campaign and performance. The PEC engaged the National Officials and the NWC in three meetings, where it requested to hold its conference before the end of the year. The NWC accepted the request despite the reservations about the conference being able to bring about solutions to the divisions. The provincial conference will be in November 2015.
- 4.97 The province has developed a detailed paper on unity and cohesion, which has been taken to all the regions, involving branches and the alliance partners. The results of this effort can only materialised in time. The PWC is functional and effectively implements and processes PEC decisions. It also monitors the functioning of the governance structures and intervenes when necessary.

State of the Regions

4.98 The PEC has facilitated the holding of all the regional conferences in the province. The only outstanding regional conference at the time of writing the report was eThekweni, which had been nullified and the province

was directed to re-run it (details will be provided when dealing with region).

Abaqulusi

4.99 The REC is functional and since the regional conference the region has engaged in a programme of reviving structures. The focus is on branches that did not qualify to attend the regional conference. There was a serious contestation in the regional conference, hence the current focus on consolidating unity and cohesion. The area of Nongoma requires special attention as a group of disgruntled members are defecting to other parties. This is critical as many of those members were recruited from the opposition parties in the first place.

EMalahleni

4.100 The regional conference was held in November, 2014. There was flood of appeals against the outcome of the conference and tensions were very high. These tensions reached climax with the burning of the ANC's regional offices. The relationship between the REC and the governance structures is at its worst, especially the Newcastle Municipality and Amajuba District Municipality. The REC sought to address these problems by visiting all municipal caucuses, with Newcastle being the exception as it did not cooperate. The challenges can be linked to the regional conference. The appeals were attended to. However, comrades who still feel aggrieved should be involved in the organisational work as part of the healing process.

4.101 Key positions in the Newcastle municipality remain vacant and must be filled urgently if there will be stability in the municipality. The danger, though, is for the REC to be absorbed in the governance work to a point where very little attention is given to organisational work.

eThekwini

4.102 eThekwini is vibrant and dynamic, active in organisational campaigns and even per-

formed well in the elections. It is the biggest region of the ANC in the country. It is highly divided at the moment, as seen in the preparations for its regional conference. The REC appealed to the PEC for as it was almost impossible to prepare objectively for the conference. The PEC put together a Provincial Task Team that worked with the REC. The conference that was supposed to have been convened in December 2014 had to be postponed to March 2015. At that point it was clear that the divisions had spilled over to the branches. Three branches had their BGM documents tempered with in the regional office. During the audited these branches could not pass the audit, but the province insisted that they be allowed to participate in the conference as this was not their fault. The head office explained that audit results could not be explained politically and the province should rather re-do the BGMs in these branches. The PEC insisted that all the branches in eThekwini had accepted the participation of the three branches. After the conference a flurry of appeals, objecting to the participation of these branches, were received. The province was directed to re-run the conference.

4.103 The conference was re-convened in May 2015 but could not proceed as it was disrupted by one of the contesting groupings. At this point the groupings were almost recognised, as if they were formal structures of the organisation. The contention of the re-convened conference was of a branch whose selection was delegated to the BEC by a quorating BGM. At the time of writing the report eThekwini was preparing for the regional conference, following an intensive intervention by the National Officials and the NWC. There is hope that the conference will proceed smoothly and the work of consolidation of unity and cohesion will start in earnest.

4.104 The municipality is functioning well and rendering services effectively. The biggest challenge is the housing backlog, which requires better cooperation between the Provincial Government and the council.

Far North

- 4.105 This region went through a very difficult period when the REC was divided, to a point it could not prepare for its own regional conference. It appealed to the PEC to take over the preparations. Having gone through its regional conference the region is being helped to build unity and cohesion. This is the only REC that has not been inducted since it was elected. The comrades are encouraged to include comrades who did not emerge in the regional conference in the organisational programmes.
- 4.106 There are serious challenges in the Jozini municipality; especially with regard to lack of access to water. This reality exists even though the municipality has one of the biggest dams in the country.

Greater KwaDukuza

- 4.107 The REC is in place and is functional. The region always focuses on the implementation of the organisational programme. It is a very stable region with no obvious and glaring divisions. This provides it with an opportunity to lead society. The focus now is on the Imvuselelo Campaign, renewing membership and recruiting new members. All the sub-regions have now been re-launched.

Harry Gwala

- 4.108 The process leading to the regional conference unearthed divisions and tension in the REC in general and particularly among the regional officials. The regional conference provided an opportunity to close that chapter and set the foundation for building unity and cohesion in the region.
- 4.109 The new REC is united, with a focus on organisational programmes. Imvuselelo campaign is the main mobilising activity as part of preparing for the elections campaign. A strong membership base is seen to be providing an engine for organisational work and capacity to campaign and lead society. The region is also focused on political education in line with the programme of the decade of the cadre.

iNkosi Bhambatha

- 4.110 The contestation in the regional conference went beyond it. The REC is now hard at work trying to enhance unity and cohesion.
- 4.111 The REC is functional and works hard. The focus is on reviving structures, using the Imvuselelo Campaign, in areas like eMsinga where there has been a lull for some time. Recruitment is driven at ward level linked to taking up issues affecting the people and communities.
- 4.112 There are serious efforts to improve the relations between the REC and the Municipalities and the deployees of the ANC. The region has reclaimed the control of Umvoti municipality from the opposition forces. The REC is attending to the tensions among the deployees of the ANC, that is, the Mayor and the Speaker in particular.

Lower South Coast

- 4.113 The region went to its conference in 2014 and the outcomes were appealed at all the levels of the organisation. In processing these appeals the danger of factions holding the organisation at ransom became clear. The finalisation of these appeals has stabilised the region.
- 4.114 The REC is functional, united and cohesive. The programme of the organisation is implemented. The main focus is the Imvuselelo campaign, renewing membership and recruiting new members. The REC is quite active and the organisation is present in all the areas in the region.
- 4.115 As part of the healing process the REC has a programme of visiting all the branches in the region. They focus on ensuring that branches are functional. The region embarked on the programme of celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Freedom Charter. They also held a high profile campaign in the fight against xenophobia.

Moses Mabhida

- 4.116 The region went through a contested re-

gional conference but with no tensions. The region has redeemed itself from the history of tensions and conflict, including attempts to burn down the regional office at one point. There is now greater unity and cohesion, which has provided space and time to focus on campaigns. This region hosted the celebration of the life and times of Chris Hani, culminating in a memorial lecture. They also drive the Imvuselelo campaign trying hard to grow the membership. The advantage of having a presence in all the areas works to the advantage of the ANC in the region.

Musa Dladla

- 4.117 The region went through a period of tensions between the District Municipality and the REC. These tensions impacted on the work of the REC as many deployees were also members of the REC. The NEC members had to intervene at one point. The region has since gone to its regional conference. It is now functional and enjoys a greater degree of unity and cohesion. There is a more coherent programme in the region.
- 4.118 The REC interacts with strategic sectors, like Amakhosi and the farmers. They had big march to highlight the ills in society. The region has revived the regional structures of the Progressive Professionals Forum and continues to engage it. Cadres' forums, together with a series of political schools, have been held to engage the broader membership. There were serious problems in Umhlathuze municipality, until the PEC resolved to recall the mayor.

Ukhahlamba

- 4.119 The REC is functional and implements a very effective organisational programme. The focus is on building and strengthening organisational structures and reviving the branches, including those that have problems and launch those that are not in good standing.
- 4.120 There is a serious attention paid in ensuring the functioning of the municipalities. This

includes facilitating discussions on the demarcation of municipalities. At the heart of this programme being the merger of Mbabazane and uMtshezi and the incorporation of Indaka into Umnambithi. The tension in the Indaka municipality has translated into some of the ANC councillors, led by the chief whip, collaborating with opposition councillors in the removal of the NFP mayor, a coalition partner of the ANC. Comrades have put in place disciplinary processes to deal with this problem. The march against crime in eZakheni, highlighting the killings in the recent period caught the eyes of the community.

The Leagues

- 4.121 The ANC women's League PEC is functional and implements programmes of the organisation. The focus at the moment is on building structures and re-launching the REC in the Far North where there was no structure since 2008. iNkosi Bhambatha Region is without a structure since 2008 and is the next region to be re-launched. The PEC of the ANCWL is actively participating in the PEC of the ANC.
- 4.122 The ANC Veterans League is functional and meets regularly. The main focus is the welfare of the old cadres of the movement. They have expressed their concern about the divisions in the province and tried to convene a meeting with the provincial chairperson and provincial secretary to discuss unity of the province.
- 4.123 The province operated without a PEC of the ANCYL for four years, only having successive PTTs. It held the provincial conference in May 2015. Since then the ANCYL is active in the province.

LIMPOPO

- 4.124 Limpopo province came out of the 53rd National Conference having positioned itself in an oppositionist mode to the national leadership. Its open hostility motivated the 53rd National Conference to direct the new

NEC to pay attention to this relationship.

- 4.125 After the conference the NEC spent sufficient time in the province and visited all the regions. After three visits the NWC recommended to the NEC that the PEC be dissolved, which was done and a PTT was constituted. The PTT worked closely with the NEC employees towards a conference in February, 2014.
- 4.126 The new PEC inherited a situation in which five government departments were under administration. This became a source of tension for the better part of the last half of this term. The section 100 was withdrawn in January 2015.
- 4.127 Since the provincial conference the PEC meets regularly. Two makgotla have been held involving the Alliance partners and other MDM formations. The PEC was inducted and there is an ongoing political education programme to equip the PEC to run programmes for the RECs and branches. PEC members attend sub-committee meetings and honour their deployments to the regions. The PWC meets every two weeks, execute tasks and make recommendations to the PEC. All the sub-committees have been constituted and work effectively. Limpopo is another province with an active international relations sub-committee and must be commended for that. The PEC struggles to rid the province of historic factional divisions and entrenched patronage that has developed into a sub-culture.

State of the Regions

Mopani

- 4.128 The REC was elected in November 2013 and immediately elected the RWC. It immediately got entangled in the preparations for the provincial conference, making it impossible to work as normal. They now meet regularly. All REC members are deployed to the sub-regions to support in doing mass political work.
- 4.129 Changes effected in the leadership of the Blouberg municipality caused some tensions

and highlighted the importance of communicating with communities before changes are made.

Peter Mokaba

- 4.130 Following the dissolution of the RTT by the PTT the regional conference was held in October 2014. Both the REC and the RWC are functional and meet regularly. The region has held one Regional General Council since its election. There is a 22% decline in membership since the last audit. The region must still take the sub-regions to the election of sub-regional leadership.

Vhembe

- 4.131 The region held its conference at the end of 2013. It is functional, with the REC and the RWC meeting regularly. The position of the regional treasurer remains vacant since the incumbent was elected to the PEC and, subsequently, resigned from the REC. The sub-committees are functional.
- 4.132 A political programme for the branches is being implemented in an effort to deepen the understanding of the organisation and raise the level of political consciousness. All the sub-regions in Vhembe are in good standing.

Waterberg

- 4.133 The regional conference was held in December 2013. Both the REC and the RWC meet regularly, as required by the constitution. The region has held one Regional General Council during this term. The region still has to take the sub-region to the sub-regional AGMs to elect the leadership.
- 4.134 The region is relatively stable and had to deal with the Mokgalakwena crisis wherein the council was undermined by the municipal manager, supported by what appeared as counter-revolutionary forces. All councillors who colluded with these forces were expelled. In the set of by-elections to fill the vacancies the ANC won all the contested thirteen wards.

Sekhukhune

- 4.135 The regional conference was held in November 2013. The concern is that the REC does not meet regularly, having had only five ordinary REC meetings against 12 scheduled meetings. The RWC is also not meeting according to constitutional provisions. It has met twelve times against the scheduled twenty four meetings. Both the REC and the RWC opt for special meetings to improvise their shortcomings. Despite the challenges and shortcomings the REC is doing mass political work.
- 4.136 The region has held one Regional General Council. The sub-committees are functional and drive the implementation of many programmes.

Leagues

- 4.137 The ANCYL PEC was dissolved in 2013 and a PTT was constituted. The PTT was inducted and mandated to run the affairs of the ANCYL in the province. The PEC of the ANC resolved to give as much support as it could to the ANCYL in preparation for regional conferences and the provincial conference. All the regional conferences have been held but the regional conference of Sekhukhune was challenged in court and subsequently dissolved in terms of the court order. The provincial conference was held successfully but the same group from Sekhukhune took the PEC to court and it was also dissolved. Both the province and the Sekhukhune region of the ANCYL are currently run by the task team.
- 4.138 The ANCWL had a functional PEC until it held its provincial conference in December 2014. This conference could not finish its business due to disruptive behaviour. The old PEC was left to continue running the affairs of the ANCWL. The NEC of the ANCWL is expected to normalise the situation by holding a proper provincial conference.
- 4.139 The ANCVL structure is operational with 63 members. It has been working for unity and cohesion in the province. Lack of resources is an inhibiting factor in the work of

the veterans.

- 4.140 The province still needs the attention of the NEC because of the historic dynamics that rear their heads from time-to-time. The PEC must be helped to focus more on organisational work and be less pre-occupied with governance, with the aim of finding balance in how it works. Money continues to be a distraction and a source of many tensions.
- 4.141 The Alliance is weak and is without a programme in place. The divisions and tensions within COSATU at national level negatively impact on the provincial structures. The weakness of the alliance reduces the capacity of the movement to deal with sporadic protests throughout the province.

MPUMALANGA

- 4.142 The provincial conference was held in April 2015. The PEC is functional and works well despite many challenges in the province. Two comrades resigned from the PEC; Sarel Mtsweni and Vusi Shongwe. Three comrades were co-opted to the PEC; Candith Mashego-Dlamini, Dumisile Nhlengethwa and SPD Sikhosana. Although the PEC is functional there are concerns about the PEC deployees effectiveness in the regions. A contributing factor is the high number of PEC members deployed in the National Assembly limiting their availability for the regional and branch work.
- 4.143 The PWC is functional and meets regularly. They process the work of the PEC and implement the resolutions. The PEC sub-committees are active compared to the previous term but do not call meetings regularly. Their work is seasonal in that they become more active towards conferences and makgotla.
- 4.144 In the 2014 general elections Mpumalanga's electoral support dropped by 8%. This is worrying against the backdrop of two opposition parties registering significant growth. The PEC has engaged itself in serious discussions to try and understand this development and arrest it.

State of the Regions

4.145 All the four regions in Mpumalanga held their regional conferences between September and December, 2014, and are all in good standing. The PEC made disturbing observations during the processes leading up to the regional conferences, that is:

- Erosion of organisational culture, values and traditions of the ANC.
- Growing ill-discipline, intolerance, in-fighting, factionalism, name-calling and name-dropping, rumour-mongering and gossiping.

All this infringed the rights of members in the processes.

Bohlabela

4.146 The REC is functional following a proper handover from the previous REC. It meets regularly and has constituted the sub-committees and task teams for efficient execution of organisational work.

4.147 The REC has been tasked to deal with the decline in voter support as observed in the 2014 elections. The threat posed by local issue-based parties is real and must be confronted. Branches have challenges in reaching out to communities and, therefore, fail to lead society. There is disproportionate focus on governance and conflicts that emanate from the municipalities flow over to the branches. Two sub-regions, Bushbuckridge and Thaba Chweu, are a constant source of instability. The municipalities in these sub-regions are the biggest source of this instability. ANC members have a tendency of forming concerned grouping and mobilise communities against the ANC-led municipalities.

Ehlanzeni

4.148 The new REC that was elected took over from a very active REC. It has been inducted and works well. All sub-committees have been constituted.

4.149 The biggest source of concern is poor relations with the alliance in the region. Opposi-

tion parties are trying hard to exploit the apparent divisions, particularly in the Mboombela municipality. In the outcomes of the 2014 elections it was clear that the opposition parties have established some presence in our traditional strongholds. This is a function of many members getting disgruntled as a result of the harshness in dealing with each other. Branch political life will go a long way in addressing unhappiness with processes. This can be facilitated through organisational programmes and campaigns.

Gert Sibande

4.150 The REC was inducted and is functional. It has created the sub-committees. The biggest task facing the region is to revive the branches and ensure that there is political life at this level. Many of the branches only come to life towards elections and conferences. They are not effectively leading communities, hence being caught unaware when there are protests that have a destabilising effect on communities.

4.151 The REC needs to invest in improving the relationship between the ANC structures and deployed cadres in the various municipalities. The tensions at this level normally affect communities and destabilise the ANC itself. A number of municipalities in this region are unstable and require hard work towards the 2016 local government elections.

Nkangala

4.152 This region was dissolved and an RTT was constituted due to serious divisions. These divisions had begun affecting the province as a whole as was the case in the PGC. Even during the election campaign the focus of the region was on the regional conference and the pre-occupation was the conference line-ups.

4.153 The new REC, which was elected at the November 2014 conference, was inducted and is working well. All the sub-committees are now in place. The REC is investing a lot in building unity and cohesion.

The Leagues

- 4.154 The ANCYL is relatively functional compared to previous terms. Most regional structures are functional, except Nkangala region that was dissolved and an RTT constituted. The ANC needs to provide more support to the ANCYL in the province.
- 4.155 The ANCWL is vibrant, strong and a reliable force that participates in all organisational programmes. All the regional conferences have been held and are in good standing. The league needs to be more resourced to fulfil its programmes.
- 4.156 The ANCVL has now been launched in Mpumalanga following a long process of screening and vetting.

The Alliance

- 4.157 The Alliance relations in Mpumalanga are sub-optimal, with ongoing tensions. This creates the impression of an alliance at war with itself. Although the main tensions are between the ANC and the SACP, as witnessed in the KaNyamazane incident, the relationship is cold among all the partners. The tensions are not about ideological disagreements or policy differences but revolve around personalities and lack of respect for each other. Ongoing engagements may yield the results in the long term. The efforts by the national leadership should help in the circumstances.

NORTHERN CAPE

- 4.158 The last provincial conference was held in June 2012. Since that conference the PEC has held twenty five PEC meetings, and all the meetings forming a quorum. All members of the PEC are deployed in the regions with every team of deployees being convened by a PEC official. To strengthen both coordination and improve the understanding of the state of the organisation in the province the PEC meetings are rotated in the regions. During every visit a day is dedicated to branch visits. This team work has

eliminated factional divisions and battles in the province.

- 4.159 The PWC was elected in the first PEC meeting, as prescribed by the constitution. It meets every fortnight and consistently reports to the PEC on all the work processed. This work is supplemented by the work of the officials who meet every week. The sub-committees are in place and they continue to improve their performance. Two PEC members passed on during this term, comrade Yolanda Botha and comrade Esther Molete.
- 4.160 In October 2013 the PEC resolved that the Provincial Premier would have a standing invitation to all the meetings of the officials to ensure that there is a seamless interface between the work of the PEC and that of government. This arrangement continued until the Premier was elected the provincial treasurer in April 2015, following the passing on of the former provincial treasurer, comrade Yolanda Botha. It is conscious effort put in forging unity and cohesion that has kept the province united when faced with very difficult problems and challenges like deployment after the elections, deployment to government and the arrest of three provincial officials.
- 4.161 The Northern Cape is the most stable province of the ANC in the country today. The continued improvement in the electoral performance and the performance of the provincial government are a reflection of such stability.
- 4.162 The province established the Jack Simons Political School in August 2013 as a response to the 53rd National Conference call for a decade-long political education programme. The programme is in the form of winter and summer schools.

State of the Regions

Frances Baard Region

- 4.163 This is the biggest region in the province, located in its economic hub. Of the 52 branches 48 are in good standing. The regional

conference, which was tense and highly contested, was held in May 2013. Despite it being tense the conference was peaceful and concluded its business.

- 4.164 The REC was inducted in June 2013. This was followed by a programme of inducting the branches. After a year in office this region shows some signs of divisions, with groupings linked to the regional chairperson and the regional secretary respectively. These divisions in the REC are exported to the branches. This is beginning to translate itself into structural and institutional instability in the municipalities. There are expectations articulated openly that those who supported the current leadership must be compensated with deployment and tenders in municipalities. This tendency must be fought and defeated. The decline in membership is an early sign of the negative impact of these divisions.

Pixley kaSeme

- 4.165 This the second poorest region in the province and most integrated in terms of human settlements. The REC is working hard in driving the programme to close the historic apartheid gaps in communities. The non-racial, non-sexist and democratic character of the ANC is displayed in the work of the ANC.

- 4.166 The REC was elected in the regional conference held in February, 2013. Two REC members have since resigned. The REC and the RWC are functional and work very well, with a concrete programme. There was about 5% increase in the electoral support in the region in 2014.

ZF Mgcawu

- 4.167 This is the biggest region in terms of land, the Kalahari. Mining, agriculture and tourism are the main economic activities in this region.
- 4.168 The REC was elected in October 2016 in a conference where there was consensus. There is a lot of investment in building unity.

This has delivered early results in by-elections in the region. The REC and the RWC are functional and implement programmes that involve the people. The region is however weak in the work of sub-committees, with only two committees doing some work.

- 4.169 The membership has declined and organisational work at ward level is invisible, thus creating space for opportunism in communities. The region registered the second highest growth of electoral support in 2014. Two sub-regions registered some decline in electoral support, KaiGariiep and Kgatelopele.

John Taolo Gaetsewe

- 4.170 This is the poorest region in the province, with the highest level of unemployment. This is the case despite the massive growth in mining activities. The Joe Morolong sub-region is largely rural with large infrastructure backlog.

- 4.171 The region held a successful regional conference in June 2013, despite heavy contestation. The immediate focus was on building unity and cohesion and ensuring political education, as a response to the big membership growth towards the regional conference. There is greater stability in the municipalities in the region.

- 4.172 There is a lot of grassroots support for the ANC, which must not be taken for granted. It is in this region that we witnessed months of protest for the construction of a road with schools totally shut down.

Namakwa

- 4.173 The regional conference was held in January, 2015 where the REC was elected unopposed. Namakwa is the weakest region in the province, organisationally and in terms of electoral support. It is this reality that made the province to take note of the improvement in the election results in 2014. The regional conference appreciated fully the need and importance of building unity and cohesion, if any improvement will be

possible in the 2016 elections.

- 4.174 Karoo Hoogland sub-region is dysfunctional because ANC structures are only concentrating on governance with no organisational work being done. Equally worrying is the Khai Ma region where councillors are seriously undermining the ANC structures.

The Leagues

- 4.175 The ANCYL is re-building itself after a period of serious decline of ideological content and political consciousness. This was not just a problem of the Northern Cape but of the structure nationally. There is a conscious programme of building a twenty first century youth league that is smart, vibrant, defies pettiness and is committed to making education among young people fashionable. The PEC is actively supporting the ANCYL and raise awareness about possible abuse of the youth league as runners for factional battles. The PEC was elected in the provincial congress held in July 2014. It is working hard in building and uniting the structures of the ANCYL in the province. Branches in good standing have increased but the membership has decreased.
- 4.176 The provincial conference of the ANCWL was held in February 2014. The conference was contested but not tense. The WL emerged from it united and more focused. The biggest threats to the unity of the ANCWL in the province are the divisions and conflicts over ascendancy of women into senior positions in government. Despite all the problems it works well with the capacity to deal with intra-organisational problems. The dynamics in the ANC regions are also impacting on the ANCWL.
- 4.177 The ANCVL has so far had two provincial conferences, one in October 2009 and the other in 2015. It has a stabilising effect in the work of the ANC in the province. The PEC of the ANC has provided the ANCVL with permanent transport and administrative support.

The Alliance

- 4.178 The Alliance is functional and works closely together. The alliance partners are participating in the various committees of the ANC including the deployment committee. There is an alliance provincial programme. Despite the problems in COSATU at national level there is unity among COSATU unions in the province. The SACP has just concluded their seventh congress. It is very united and there is clarity of purpose. SANCO has held a long awaited provincial conference which was a resounding success. Overall the alliance is in good health.

NORTH WEST

- 4.179 Following a period where the PEC was dissolved and the RTT was put in place the provincial conference was held in 2011. The PEC that was elected worked hard to build organisational unity, growing the organisation and mobilising the broad cross-section of society. This work was not easy in a province that has a history of division and factionalism. Every decision in the North West was always contested through a flurry of smses.
- 4.180 Since the Rustenburg conference comrade Mathew Wolmarans resigned from the PEC as a result of facing charges of murder. Comrades Philemon Mapulane, Pinky Mokoto and Pinky Moloi were elected to the NEC. Comrade Kabelo Mataboge was relieved of his responsibilities following the findings of the NDC. And comrade China Dodovu had his membership placed on temporary suspension after being charged for murder.
- 4.181 The PEC members were deployed into sub-committees and in the regions. Few members of the PEC took their deployment to the regions seriously. In some instances regions resisted the involvement of the PEC members,
- 4.182 The current PEC was elected in the provincial conference held in February 2015. The PWC was elected in the first meeting of the PEC and the sub-committees of the PEC

were constituted. The PEC adopted a programme for 2015, focusing on popularising the Freedom Charter and preparations for the local government elections. Imvuselelo campaign is conducted and rotated every Monday.

State of the Regions

Dr Kenneth Kaunda

4.183 This region is recovering from a difficult period of serious divisions. The divisions resulted in the death of the regional secretary comrade David Chika and the arrest and conviction of some comrades. Ultimately the REC was dissolved and an RTT was put in place.

4.184 The RTT convened the regional conference in November, 2013. There is relative stability in the region with the REC working well with the PEC. The political life in the region has improved with branches interacting better with communities. There is visible decline in the number of protests in the region.

Ruth Segomotsi Mompati

4.185 This region is unstable with some comrades having permanent grievances. This has a dividing effect on the structures on the ANC, which make it almost impossible to implement programmes. All attempts are made to ensure that the ANC has programmes and impacts positively on the communities. It is this desire that informed the dissolution of the REC and establishment of an RTT, with some REC members being the core of the new team. This team has a simple brief, to work on the election campaign and ensure that the ANC is interacting with the people.

Ngaka Modiri Molema

4.186 The REC was dissolved in April 2012. The task team took the region to the conference in October 2013. The REC stabilised the region until divisions fragmented it to a point where the regional chairperson and the regional secretary were pulling to different directions. The concept of a leadership

collective has crumbled. The issue of parallel branches has been attended to.

4.187 Municipalities in this region are very unstable, a majority of them without a revenue base. The divisions in the ANC structures tend to spill-over into the municipalities. The tense relations between the regional and the provincial secretaries are an inhibiting factor. This is one region that has no regional office, which makes it almost impossible to operate. The PEC is continuing to help the region by having some of the PEC programmes implemented directly in the region.

Bojanala

4.188 This region has seen numerous protests mainly concerning access to water. This was complicated by some of our councillors being implicated for having interests in the tanking business. This created an impression that the disruption of water supply was deliberate. The crisis was resolved; thanks to the National Department of Water Affairs for intervening.

4.189 The Marikana tragedy continues to be the entry point for opposition activities in the region. The decisive interventions by the various government departments will save the ANC in this area. Comrades are also actively participating in factions and therefore dividing themselves in the face of the offensive by the opposition forces. The decline in membership is a source of concern in the province. This high activity of certain opposition parties in the region imposes a duty to monitor this trend closely.

The Leagues

4.190 The ANCVL was launched in Zeerust in October 2011, giving the province access to structured intervention by the stalwarts of our movement. It is active and provides much-needed wisdom and experience. The veterans have made it their duty to guide the PEC through difficult issues. More resources need to be availed to this important structure of our movement. The last conference was held in May 2015 following a rigor-

ous auditing process.

- 4.191 The PEC of the ANCWL was dissolved and a PTT was put in place. When the structure was dissolved there were 34 branches out of the possible 383 branches in the province. The PTT took the province to a successful conference in April 2013. The relations between the two PECs were good. In the lead up to the National Conference tensions rose. The issue of the chairperson being a member of the NEC became a major issue of contestation. The structures of the ANCWL remain strong and functional. It participates in the programmes and campaigns of the ANC. The provincial secretary has now been elected the Secretary General.
- 4.192 Following the dissolution of the PEC by the NTT of the ANCYL a provincial conference was held in November 2014. The re-building process was very elaborate where all the regions were engaged in cadres' forums and involved the youth league's structures in all the campaigns of the ANC and the alliance partners in the province. The chairperson of the province has now been elected the president of the ANCYL.

The Alliance

- 4.193 The Alliance works relatively well in the province. The alliance political council is clearing the issues of concern among the alliance partners. Engagement is changing the posture of SANCO from being oppositionist to gradual cooperation. The alliance partners are participating in all the ANC committees including the deployment committee. Joint programmes have been run in the province including the "Hands off NUM" campaign in Rustenburg. Tensions do flare up from time-to-time in the Alliance, particularly when there are disagreements on issues of deployment and programmes.

WESTERN CAPE

- 4.194 The Western Cape held the conference in 2011. This conference was highly contested,

prompting the NEC to deal with a flurry of appeals. The NEC decided to support the elected leadership and ensure that they rebuild and strengthen the province. The PEC adopted a programme, *Path to Power*, as a comprehensive response to the challenges in the province. The programme focused on four areas:

- Organisational renewal and unity,
- Mass mobilisation and building grassroots movement,
- Effective Opposition and Government and
- National investment.

- 4.195 Throughout the term both the PEC and the PWC were functional and met regularly. All the sub-committees were fairly functional. Work in the regions forced the PEC to consistently engage in political discussions and work. The major problem was consistent poor attendance of work by the NEC deployees.
- 4.196 Divisions and resistance in some instances continued to characterise the province. The PEC confronted this reality and worked tirelessly for unity. Although the PEC engaged itself in a number of campaigns and programmes, lack of support for the sanitation campaign led by the Ses'khona civil rights movement was a missed opportunity. There may be disagreements on the tactics but the content of the campaign was critical for re-connecting with the people.
- 4.197 The improved performance of the Western Cape in the 2014 elections is a good sign. It suggests that we should work harder. The NWC had a coherent programme in the province and visited all the regions a number of times. This programme has to continue in the new term.
- 4.198 The provincial conference was held on June 26th to 28th, 2015. This conference was orderly and, largely, displayed a degree of realism. But strong lobby groups that had an element of racial composition are a worrying factor. These should not be allowed to continue beyond the conference.

State of the Regions

4.199 The Western Cape was not spared from the emerging tendency to appeal outcome of conference. While the behaviour appears genuine it aims to undermine internal organisational democracy, as it panders only to the whims of lobby groups. It is a positive development that all the regions in the Western Cape have gone to their regional conferences.

Dullah Omar

- 4.120 This is the biggest region and home of 60% of the voting population of the province. The region is stable with very visible organisational programmes. The majority of branches are in the traditional base areas. The biggest problem is inability to penetrate frontier areas.
- 4.121 There are signs of renewal of membership. The Leagues continue to be the main problems. The YL acts factional in the majority of cases. The WL has a vacuum of leadership, as it is perpetually led by task teams.
- 4.122 The region has tightened the workings of the caucus in the City of Cape Town, ensuring that the DA accounts on housing and basic services to the poor areas. The last regional conference was successful. The potential to unite the region is greater.

West Coast

- 4.123 The REC of the West Coast was dissolved in 2012. The region was dissolved because of infighting and paralysis. This continued with the first RTT that was put in place, which was dissolved after a year.
- 4.124 Ultimately a provincial team was given the responsibility of rebuilding the West Coast. The focus was on rebuilding the branches of the ANC, by-elections and the 2014 election campaign. It took three years to convene a successful regional conference.
- 4.125 There are two municipalities under the leadership of the ANC in the region. In the majority of other municipalities we are in

opposition.

4.126 After a long period the ANCYL has gone to its regional conference. It will need a lot of political support from the ANC. The ANCWL remains weak and still run by an RTT. The ANC will do itself good if it sent a team of organisers to help the ANCWL.

Boland

- 4.127 Population-wise, the Cape Winelands is the second biggest region in the province. The REC has been weak for some time and the PEC opted to reinforce it, instead of dissolving it, by sending a team of PEC members. Deep seated divisions in the region play themselves out from time to time. This is evidence in the regression witnessed in four sub-regions, Langeberg, Witzenberg, Stellenbosch and Breede Valley. There is some stability in Drakenstein. These divisions lead to marginalisation and exclusion of dedicated comrades.
- 4.128 The ANC is in opposition in all the municipalities in the region. There is hope that if the performance in the 2014 elections can continue there may be a change of role in Witzenberg. Some of the councillors continue to undermine the directives of the organisation.
- 4.129 The conference held early this year was successful even though it was highly contested. There is hope that the new REC will improve in rebuilding a vibrant ANC. Unity and cohesion must be the main focus.

Central Karoo

- 4.130 This is the smallest and the strongest region of the ANC in the province. The majority of branches are in good standing. The REC and the RWC are functional. In the previous term some REC members resigned from the structure. The last conference was highly polarised and divided, although successful.
- 4.131 The ANCYL has held its regional conference and now has a functional structure. The ANCWL is run by an RTT tasked with rebuilding the structures. The ANC must give full

support to the programme of building and strengthening the structures of the Leagues.

- 4.132 The alliance is very weak in the region. For example, COSATU is weak and the SACP and SANCO are non-existent.
- 4.133 The ANC is in charge of two municipalities, the district municipality and the biggest local municipality, Beaufort West. There are serious divisions among the ANC councillors in Beaufort West. This needs urgent attention of the PEC. The coalition of the ANC with the NGP faces serious challenges and need astute political management. A lot of work must be done if the municipalities we control are to be retained and we are to gain more.

Overberg

- 4.134 The region went through a difficult period after its chairperson passed away. Some REC members were accused of planning to collapse the REC through mass resignation and racism. The PEC had to intervene to keep the REC together. The regional conference was successful but highly contested. Unity and cohesion need serious ongoing attention.
- 4.135 In the only municipality controlled by the ANC in the region, Cape Agulhus, there was a drop in the electoral support in the 2014 elections. The municipality itself is stable, but there is instability in the organisational structures. The active work in Thee Waters Kloof has translated into the improvement in the electoral performance of the ANC in 2014. This has been followed by the resignation of two DA councillors from the DA and the council, one of them being the Deputy Mayor. The Swellendam ANC caucus is rated as the most active municipality in the province. This activism exposed the DA corruption and won the support of other parties. The region has the opportunity to build on these gains.

Southern Cape

- 4.136 This used to be a very strong region of the

ANC. As a result of infighting and factionalism we lost control of many of municipalities. The organisational paralysis was a function of the fights over resources and deployment. With active intervention of the PEC and frequent visit by the NEC deployee there is some stability in the region.

- 4.137 The long crisis in Oudtshoorn has been very costly to the ANC. But hard work will help. The branches in Coloured areas remain weak and the REC must develop a specific strategy. The regional conference was successful but highly contested. Unity and cohesion must be the priority for the region.

The Leagues

- 4.138 The ANCWL has been run by various PTTs for a number of years now, creating difficulties in making a visible headway in building the structures of the Women's League. All attempts to build a formidable structure have been disrupted. Hence the WL cannot make a meaningful contribution to ANC campaigns. The NEC of the Women's League had to physically join the mobilisation in the province for the league to be visible. The New NEC is expected to focus on building the structures. The PEC of the ANC is equally expected to support all the efforts to build this important structure of our movement. The ANCYL, after being run by the PTT for more than four years, has now held its provincial congress. A number of challenges had to be overcome for this congress to be a success. The newly elected PEC is still finding its feet but is hard at work. The ANCVL operates sub-optimally. The structure was hampered by the passing away of comrade Mrabalala who spent a lot of time coordinating the work of the Veterans' League. The new PEC was elected in May 2015 and must be given a chance to settle.

5 THE LEAGUES

ANC Veterans' League (ANCVL)

- 5.1 Following the resolution of the 52nd National Conference in December, 2007 the ANC Veterans' League was launched in December, 2008 and its NEC was elected. The constitution confirmed the requirements of being a veteran as, 60 years and older with 40 years of continuous service. The process of launching the VL was facilitated by Office of the Secretary General, with the organising sub-committee identified as the most appropriate implementing tool.
- 5.2 At the time of launching there were 747 members registered as being in good standing. Following a rigorous process of screening in preparation for its first National Conference the membership is now standing at 550. The decline is no surprise because of the many veterans passing away.
- 5.3 The President and Secretary General became ex-officio members of the NEC of the ANC. The President became the ex-officio member of the NWC of the ANC. About two years ago the President stopped attending the meetings of the ANC, leading the NEC of the ANC to decide that the Secretary General should represent the ANCVL in both the NEC and the NWC. In May 2013 the NEC of the ANCVL dealt with three issues that the President of the ANCVL was asked to apologise for:
- Failure to attend NEC meetings,
 - Unprocedural visits to the provinces, and
 - Media statements the President issued attacking the ANC.
- 5.4 In the Head Office there are two full-time officials, the Secretary General and the Treasurer-General, who are supported by two staff members. The staff compliment is insufficient for the smooth running of the organisation. The ANCVL enjoys a healthy relationship with the PECs in all the provinces. The PECs

of the ANC should provide more support, financially and in terms of other resources, if the organisation is to be effective and strong. The ANCVL should actively support the ANC in all the provinces. They should be able to advise and guide the ANC leadership at all levels of the organisation. Political educational is another obvious area where the Veterans league can play an important role in. For the veterans to play their rightful role:

- They should not be involved or be seen to be involved in any factional battles or internal squabbles.
- They should be able to provide leadership and guidance without being arrogant.
- They should be united if they are going to help build unity and cohesion in the organisation.

There is hope that the coming conference will consolidate the work started and take the ANCVL to new heights. This will require that genuine veterans avail themselves for the leadership of this important league.

ANC Women's League

- 5.5 The ANC Women's League remains important as the conscience of the whole movement "*to defend and advance the rights of women both inside and outside of the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation.*" This role is not in isolation to the struggle for total liberation as championed by the ANC and the Alliance.
- 5.6 The 2008 national conference held in July 2008 in Mangaung, elected the NEC. Six members of the NEC elected in 2008 passed away during the term, namely,
- Sylvia Sonti,
 - Manto Tshabala-Msimang,
 - Fezi Ngubentombi,

- Sisi Mabe,
- Nosipho Ntwanambi and Yolanda Botha.

Two comrades resigned from the NEC, namely, Violet Siwela and Augustine Mkhwanazi. Three comrades absconded from the structure, that is,

- Pauline Williams,
- Dorothy Ramodibe and
- Dorris Sikhosana.

- 5.7 The NWC was elected in the first meeting of the NEC and NEC members were deployed to sub-committees and in the various provinces.
- 5.8 The Eastern Cape faced many organisational challenges that led to the decline in membership, and the organisation coming close to collapse. The NEC dissolved the PEC and put together a PTT, that was directed to focus on organisation building. The province held the provincial conference in 2015. The province is in a state of being a work in progress that needs to be consolidated.
- 5.9 The Free State is a very stable province of the ANCWL. This is one province that implemented a number of programmes and campaigns. Its capacity to mobilise is always handy for the campaigns of the ANC itself. The steady growth in membership should be improved.
- 5.10 Gauteng held its conference in 2012, which nearly collapsed at the point of credentials. The intervention by both the PEC of the ANC and the NEC of the ANCWL saved it. The PEC is functional and provide guidance to the branches. The province has run a number of programmes and campaigns that are visible and touching societal issues. A lot of time was invested in building vibrant branches.
- 5.11 KwaZulu-Natal held its conference in 2012. Structures are functional. The deployment of the provincial secretary in the legislature forced the province to appoint the deputy provincial secretary to act on a full-time basis. The province has run a number of programmes and campaigns that are visible in communities. This province has established a

vibrant young women's desk.

- 5.12 Limpopo is an example of the ANCWL being a movement of women, attracting its membership from a broad cross-section of social groups. The province held its conference in 2010 and the one scheduled for December 2014 collapsed at during registration and credentials. This will require urgent attention of the NEC.
- 5.13 North West held its conference in 2013 where the current leadership was elected. It elected the PWC and constituted the various sub committees. The province worked well until tensions emerged in the run-up to the national conference. It is however a relatively stable province.
- 5.14 The Western Cape had its structure dissolved four years ago. It is run by a second team of PTT. The challenges facing the ANC in the province impact directly on the ANCWL. The province has run few campaigns as part of the organisation building process.
- 5.15 The ANCWL held a successful national conference in August 2015, two years beyond the constitutional mandate. Despite the tensions that characterised the period leading up to the conference, conference was calm and ran smoothly. The contestation was civil. Some deviant behaviour that was observed during the lobbying are being investigated with the intention of eradicating any negative tendencies. These negative tendencies are overflowing from the structures of the mother-body in the main and need the full attention of the NEC of the ANC.

ANC Youth League

- 5.16 When we closed the 53rd National Conference the NEC was directed to analyse and decide on the posture of the ANC Youth League, which was seen as hostile, oppositionist and hurting the ANC.
- 5.17 The NEC delegated the task of engaging the ANCYL to the National Officials. After a series of meetings the Officials recommended that the ANCYL National Executive be dis-

solved and the ANCYL be rebuilt anew. A task team was put together, convened by comrade Mzwandile Masina and coordinated by comrade Magasela Mzobe.

5.18 The National Task Team begun the rebuilding the work; among which was the dissolution of all the provincial structures and most of the regional structures. This was a necessary step and investment to clean the Youth League of its image. However, it simultaneously created a vacuum in the public space where the YL was absent. The opposition forces exploited this reality by being very aggressive in engaging the young people. Co-incidentally, this coincided with the formation of a party by the former Youth League president. A number of the ANCYL leaders at various levels of the leadership structures followed him and joined the new party. SASCO, in the various campuses, was the biggest loser; losing key and strategic campuses to the opposition forces (Details will be provided in the section dealing with SASCO).

5.19 The process of rebuilding the dissolved structures was difficult, complex and involved. It took some time, and in some instance resistance. In some provinces the network of branches was weak. A painstaking process of building branches culminated in the convening of the National Congress in November 2014. The environment in the run-up to this conference got seriously polluted, with a number of the members of the NTT availing themselves for election into leadership posi-

tions of the ANCYL. The NEC of the ANC decided to convert the congress into a consultative conference with the aim to provide the ANCYL space to discuss policy resolutions. This proved to be an appropriate decision, as it compelled everyone in the ANC to appreciate the depth and seriousness of the problem. The NTT was dissolved and six former members of the ANCYL were given the task of completing the work of the task team. These were Fikile Mbalula (convenor), Nathi Mthethwa (coordinator), Malusi Gigaba, Pinky Mlooi, Mcebisi Skwatsha, and Nocawe Mafu.

5.20 This team convened the two provincial conferences that were outstanding. The regional conferences were also convened. The organisation was taken to court by the same group contesting the outcomes of both the regional congress of Sekhukhuni and the Provincial Congress of Limpopo. A successful National Congress was held over three days, September 4th to 6th, 2015. A new leadership was elected, with following officials:

- Colleen Maine – President
- Desmond Moela – Deputy President
- Njabulo Nzuzza –Secretary General
- Thandi Moroka –Deputy Secretary General
- Reggie Nkabinde –Treasurer General

This team has to be supported in all possible ways and they must hit the ground running.

6 THE ALLIANCE

- 6.1 The alliance remains the appropriate and relevant means by which we can realise the objectives of the national democratic revolution. In recent times, given the challenges against the liberation movement, it was the unity of the forces that constitute the alliance that ensured our unity and victory. Alliance partners, individually and collectively, have come under tremendous attack from both those who walked out of it and those who are its regular detractors. Consequently, the unity of our forces is paramount.
- 6.2 The importance of the alliance came to bear in two main challenges that faced our movement. First, the SACP came to the defence of the COSATU leadership that was challenged by both NUMSA and the former General Secretary. This defence happened at the same time as the ANC was assisting the federation through a task team assigned to find a peaceful resolution to the challenges COSATU faced.
- 6.3 Second, closely related to the above, the alliance partners rallied together against a NUMSA onslaught after this COSATU affiliate chose to establish the United Front and decide it would not support the ANC's elections campaign. We must admit that this created a difficulty in areas where NUMSA has strong presence. But also, the media overplayed NUMSA's decision not to support the ANC. The alliance came to the fore and worked tirelessly towards the 2014 elections victory. Only a united alliance could thwart these counterrevolutionary attempts.
- 6.4 The alliance secretariat meets consistently at national level. Early in the term, we experienced an unfamiliar situation where alliance discussions were leaked on twitter. This prompted us to halt the meetings without formalising the decision. Since the situation changed, our engagement has begun again.
- 6.5 Recently the alliance met in five days alliance summit where a detailed analysis of the state of the alliance was done. The meeting was convened in response to the call of the President, Comrade Jacob Zuma, at the reburial of the Alliance stalwarts – Comrades JB Marks and Moses Kotane. Highlighting the critical role played by these stalwarts in building the movement and contributing to the unity of the alliance, the President called for a week-long meeting of all alliance partners to discuss honestly the challenges affecting the unity of the alliance, and work towards overcoming these.
- 6.6 The summit was preceded by an Alliance Political Council on June 25th 2015. In the Council the partners agreed that the main focus of the summit would be the unity and cohesion of the alliance. The Alliance partners then met in St George – Irene, over five days from June 27th to July 1st 2015. Of even greater importance in the attendance was that the COSATU delegation, notwithstanding the difficulties the federation has been experiencing lately, comprised of most of the affiliates except only two which had elected not to join the rest of the other delegates.
- 6.7 The President opened the meeting with a frank input and highlighted the key challenges facing the unity of the alliance and where the challenge would have emanated from. He went on to urge the delegates to discuss honestly and frankly about these and propose ways in which they could be overcome them. The Secretary General followed with the presentation of the discussion document on *State of the Alliance – unity and cohesion of our movement*. The delegates welcomed the inputs. The discussions were conducted in plenary for the duration of the meeting.
- 6.8 At the end of the summit, based on the discussions by the delegates, a Summit Declaration was drawn up and presented to the meeting. The declaration now forms the basis for the programme of action of the alliance.

Alliance Summit Declaration: 01 July 2015

The national leadership structures of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the South African National Civic Organisation met over five days from 27 June till 01 July 2015.

Forged in the trenches of struggle, the alliance remains a critical force to ensure that the goals of the Freedom Charter and NDR are achieved. It has been 21 years since the democratic breakthrough. Significant progress has been made while there are also many persisting challenges. With sustained, overwhelming democratic electoral support, the leader of the alliance, the ANC, has carried the responsibility for governance. This has introduced new internal, organisational challenges, not just for the ANC, but also for the alliance.

This Summit was therefore convened primarily to ask the hard questions of ourselves. Are we optimally organised to address the expectations that millions of South Africans have vested in us? What impacts have the new realities, including the new realities of governance, had on us as an alliance and as individual components?

Organisational Renewal, Internal Democracy and Discipline

Discussions in the Summit focussed considerably on a range of internal weaknesses, difficulties and challenges found across all our formations. These include:

A growing social distance between leadership and our mass constituency, including

- a disconnect between the focus of branch activities and the social and economic realities of communities
- crass displays of wealth and arrogance.

These problems reinforce and are connected to the deliberate manipulation and subversion of internal democratic processes through the manipulation of membership through gatekeeping and the use of money to advance individual ambitions and factions based on patronage and nepotism. This behaviour is also the entry-point for corporate capture and private business interests outside of our formations to undermine organisational processes.

The Summit resolved that these deviations must be dealt with firmly and without fear or favour. Those guilty of funding factions and those guilty of accepting money for these purposes must be exposed.

- Internal disciplinary processes must be pursued speedily and consistently
- Where money intended for our organisations is diverted into private pockets, civil and criminal cases must be preferred.
- Those found guilty in court must be placed on the Registry of National Treasury which makes them ineligible for being awarded public tenders.

Let us remind ourselves that leadership of society must be earned through exemplary conduct and adhering to revolutionary morality.

The Summit agreed that each alliance partner, having identified the challenges, will work out its specific responsibilities and that these will be reported to the Political Council. The Political Council will monitor implementation and execution of responsibilities.

The alliance directs that the initiatives from this Summit be taken forward in a series of national alliance-led provincial and regional meetings with organisational structures.

Let us defend the unity of COSATU and the unity of the working class

The alliance partners are united in defending the unity of COSATU along the principle of 'one union; one industry; one federation; one country.' An injury to one alliance partner is an injury to us all. The independence of COSATU as a strong militant and fighting force for the rights of workers is affirmed. The Summit also affirms its support of the right of COSATU to make its own decisions concerning internal discipline.

The challenges within COSATU are not unconnected to massive restructuring of the workplace and the segmentation of the working class underway since the mid-1990s. Capital flight, casualisation, labour brokering and mass retrenchments have resulted in de-industrialisation and a decline in union density in the private sector.

The alliance supports COSATU's commitment to a back to basics strategy focussing on service to members, internal union democracy and worker control. At the same time, the increasing segmentation of the working class requires more creative ways in order to reach the most vulnerable sectors. In this context, all alliance partners have a role to play.

The Movement will continue to engage with all workers who are in unions that are not affiliated to COSATU and will work for the unity of the working class.

People-centred, people-driven transformation

During the difficult days of Apartheid, millions of ordinary South Africans understood that they needed to be their own collective emancipators. The liberation struggle was grounded in community activism, solidarity struggles and neighbourhood organisation. These traditions have not disappeared in many poor communities through voluntary work, home-based care and participation in community safety forums. This resourcefulness of South Africans is a remarkable asset, but these strengths and traditions have become somewhat weakened by a message that "the state will deliver." While public resources must play the major part, a different relationship between state and communities must be fostered. Our grassroots organisational structures must play a leading role in mobilising communities to appreciate that freedom comes with rights and responsibilities.

The alliance is proud of what we have achieved together over the last 21 years and we reiterate the call made in the ANC's 2015 January 8 Statement that we must unite behind a common goal of putting in place a democratic and prosperous South Africa. Society at large; all employers, trade unions, civic organisations and ordinary South Africans must work together to put in place a better life for all.

Emancipation of Women

Women are, more often than not, at the forefront of community development and regeneration initiatives and programmes. Important progress has been made in advancing gender rights and in women's active participation in both the public and private sectors. However, indicators on poverty, employment and inequality show that women still bear the brunt of exclusion.

We note that the majority of the members of many of our organisations are women. However, this reality is often not reflected in the leadership profile at all levels of our formations. This is indicative of the pervasive levels of patriarchy and our immediate task must be to intensify the fight against patriarchy and affirm the positive presence of women on the ground and throughout the Movement.

Mobilising the Youth

The youth of today is more informed and more connected than ever before. In many ways, they have been the direct beneficiaries of a liberated society. However, legitimate hopes and aspirations and youthful energy are often blunted by the realities of exceedingly high youth unemployment and lack of opportunities.

In this context, the Summit recommended that we take forward the debate on the introduction of a National Youth Service. An expanded, multi-sectoral youth service can be an important means for providing training and life skills and for countering social alienation manifesting as gangsterism and drug and alcohol abuse.

We call on the Progressive Youth Alliance to develop joint programmes of mobilisation of youth on campuses, in schools, villages, towns and cities.

The dangers of racism, tribalism and regionalism

After 21 years of non-racial democracy, there are still manifestations of racial arrogance that plays itself out in social media, and in the commentary sections of online newspapers. In many workplaces, including the security, farming and domestic work sectors, baasskap still prevails. This in turn, sometimes provokes anti-white racism. We condemn all forms of racism unreservedly.

There are also more subtle forms of racism that are playing out in complaints that ‘standards are dropping’ and ‘things were better off before’ and other similar utterances from those who benefited from an unjust system. Afro-pessimism and pseudo-liberal arrogance seek to display the ANC-led government that continues to garner massive public support, as genetically incompetent to lead the country.

The founding principle of the ANC is fighting the demon of tribalism, but we are now seeing a re-emergence of tribalism linked with further exclusionary elements of regionalism. The alliance rejects such backward tendencies as they are against our core values and principles and are often used as a means for excluding others from our structures. At the same time, the alliance is proud of the diverse cultures of our people. Let us celebrate our heritage; united in our diversity.

Building a non-racial society and Movement requires ongoing engagement with our communities, doing the right things in our structures (such as eliminating gatekeeping and other exclusionary practices) and recruiting progressives from all sectors of society.

Ideological Development and the Battle of Ideas

The battle of ideas is being fought on various platforms such as social media, traditional media and academic environments on an ongoing basis. The dominant ideas spread in these platforms, such as consumerism and individualism, are counter-productive to the progressive project of building social cohesion and solidarity.

The alliance remains firm in our conviction that there is no substitute for direct engagement and making sure that our activists and cadres are part of social movements in their communities.

The Summit expressed deep concern at the erosion of the SABC’s ability to fulfil its public mandate. This is caused by inadequate public funding, private corporate capture and the virtual monopoly of pay-TV by a single company. Linked to this has been the sale of the SABC Archive to Multichoice and thus the privatisation of what should be our shared national heritage. A further consequence is that public access to live parliamentary debates and continuous news coverage is limited to those who can afford pay-TV.

Governance

The alliance recommits to putting in place a capable, patriotic and efficient public service in all spheres of government. In this regard, we support, amongst other things, the proposal in the National Development Plan (NDP) that the Public Service Commission (PSC) should play its rightful role in determining the levels of staffing and the requisite competencies and qualifications of staff.

Our legislatures must be forums for serious multi-party debate and forums in which we give legislative effect to the will of the people. Public representatives are further entrusted with doing oversight and it is incumbent upon us to empower ANC public representatives to carry out this important mandate.

Hooliganism and anarchy detract from public representatives' ability to perform the critical tasks entrusted to our legislatures. The alliance commends our public representatives who have endeavoured to perform their duties in the face of provocative, anarchic behaviour and call on them to continue to behave in a firm, disciplined and dignified manner.

Marikana

This incident was one of the greatest tragedies of our recent history.

The Summit noted the ongoing work of various arms of government to provide support to the families of those injured and killed and to their wider communities. Already 560 new houses out of the planned 7000 in depressed mining areas on the platinum belt have been built. At Marikana a new primary and secondary school have already been built. In the sending areas of rural Eastern Cape, families have been assisted by the department of social development. This work must continue and be expanded.

We welcome the release of the Farlam Commission Report and support the decision by government to work with unions and the mining industry to give effect to the Commission's recommendations.

The mining houses, not least Lonmin, must adhere to the obligations and commitments undertaken in the Mining Charter in regard to social-labour plans, amongst other things.

The absence of centralised bargaining in the platinum sector was a contributing factor and we repeat our call for the introduction of centralised bargaining to avoid destabilising the sector. There needs to be better training of company human relations departments and trade union negotiators to stabilise relations and overcome raw hostility.

A comprehensive review of the migrant labour system must be undertaken to ensure a more humane dispensation that allows for more stable family life.

Public order police must be better prepared, trained and equipped to deal with disturbances to the public order, and generally the capacity of the police service to be able assure the safety and security of communities must be enhanced.

The alliance further re-iterates support of the right to strike and to peaceful protest, but we condemn the bearing of weapons in strikes and public protest action and the use of violence against fellow workers and community members.

Nkandla

This matter was discussed and it was agreed that Parliament should conclude work on the issue speedily. The alliance calls on government and the courts to conclude all civil, criminal and disciplin-

ary matters directed at those responsible for the gross inflation of both the scope and costs of the project.

Contrary to disinformation propagated in much of the commercial media, the Report of the Public Protector found explicitly that no undue influence was brought to bear by the President nor was there any indication of corruption on his part. Suggestions to the contrary are part of an attempt to delegitimize the head of state and our democratically elected government.

Transformative and independent Judiciary

The Alliance Summit reaffirms the importance of an independent judiciary as one of the critical pillars our democracy.

We remind ourselves of the ANC's 2015 January 8 Statement which enjoins us to work tirelessly to ensure that the judiciary represents all the people in South Africa. It is important that we attract the best progressive legal minds to the judiciary.

The summit expressed concern at the emerging trend, in some quarters, of judicial overreach, thus bringing into question the very fundamental principle of separation of powers on which our democracy rests.

There are already commonly expressed concerns that the judgments of certain regions and judges are consistently against the state, which creates an impression of negative bias.

The summit also expressed concern at recent statements of the Deputy Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court. Speaking at Georgetown University in New York, he said that in South Africa the judiciary should take a more direct political stance than even in the US. By implication, the Deputy Chief Justice gave notice that our courts should be involved in matters that are properly in the jurisdiction of the executive and parliament.

In a more direct inference during a speech in 2014, in the name of defending the Constitution, he raised concern at the “uncanny concentration of power” in the President in regard to appointments. Amongst other things he refers to the President's responsibility (after consultation with the Judicial Services Commission and the leader of parties in the National Assembly) to appoint the Chief Justice and Deputy Chief Justice. But this is, precisely, an explicit requirement of Section 174 of the Constitution. Is he proposing changing the Constitution in the name of defending the Constitution?

Safe, reliable, affordable and accessible public transport

The Summit took note of a new set of challenges emerging from Putco's decision to cancel some of their operating routes in Gauteng. The working class continue to suffer from a range of challenges associated with apartheid spatial development, which are exacerbated by the lack of safe, reliable, affordable and accessible public transport. We urge the provincial government to review the resourcing and strategic prioritisation of initiatives aimed at increased mobility and accessibility for commuters.

In particular, concern was expressed that car-commuting freeways and elite modes of public transport have been disproportionately favoured at the expense of the 70% of households who rely entirely on public transport. Nearly one-quarter of Gauteng's provincial transport budget (R1,5billion) has now been allocated to the private operators of the Gautrain as a “ridership guarantee.”

There is still not unanimity in the Alliance about the desirability of e-tolls, but the Summit commends the review of e-tolls by government and acknowledges that this shows that our Movement listens to and cares about the people.

State Owned Enterprises

State owned enterprises and development finance institutions are essential components of the developmental state we are seeking to build. They have a key role in achieving our economic and social strategic priorities. They also have a major potential capacity to provide skills development for young South Africans. It is important that the Boards and management of SOEs and DFIs are competent, familiar with the sector and understand the strategic importance of the entity concerned.

The Summit, in particular, emphasised the importance of a major turnaround in the South African Post Office. With an extensive footprint in communities around South Africa, it has significant development potential. The Postbank should have a key role in the roll-out of social grants rather than relying on private for-profit companies.

Global balance of forces

The Summit was honoured to be visited by the Cuban 5 and deeply moved by their expression of gratitude for the role that our alliance played in the global mobilisation for their release from US jails. Their presence, at our Summit, underlines the continued imperative of international solidarity for peace, development and the rights of nations to pursue their own democratic, sovereign mandate.

Since 1994, there have been important shifts in the global balance of forces. Global inequalities have deepened, transnational corporate land-grabs in Africa and in the South in general have dislodged 100s of millions of rural households into teeming urban slums and provoked a flow of desperate refugees. Last year, an unprecedented 1 billion migrants crossed international borders. Imperialist inspired wars have created large swathes of instability and the rise of terrorism.

At the same time, there has been a popular revolt throughout Latin America and in Southern Europe against punishing austerity programmes. The emergence of new economic powers, notably China, and the formation of blocs like BRICS and South-South cooperation, have created space for advancing alternative developmental agendas relatively free from neo-liberal unilateralism. For SA, advancing a regional and African agenda in this context is crucial.

This is the global context in which the unity of our alliance and the consolidation of a broad patriotic agenda is essential.

Conclusion

As delegates to this Summit, we pledge to take forward the spirit of unity, self-critical evaluation and a determination to implement the key decisions we have agreed upon.

We believe that this Summit marks a turning point in the unity and cohesion of the Movement, working together in common action to realise the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.

7 CHALLENGES GOING FORWARD

7.1 As the NEC resumed with its work it was confronted by many challenges that always dwarf the good work being done as will be seen in the body of the report. Many of these tendencies are persistent despite the leadership being vocal in condemning them

Unity and Cohesion

7.2 As part of organisational renewal the conference emphasised that maximum unity of the ANC and the Alliance is critical for us “to sharpen our capacity to advance and defend the National Democratic Revolution”.

7.3 Unity continues to evade our structures as factions are formalised instead of being confronted. Resources like air tickets and high class hotel accommodation spent on factional meetings, while the organisation is struggling financially, is a sign of the factions getting emboldened while they are condemned everywhere, but with no consequences. Even when there are conferences of the organisation it is becoming common to hear of a faction being accommodated in “better” hotels than the accommodation arranged by the organisation. This displayed arrogance of factions is wasteful of the resources of the organisation because rooms paid for are left unoccupied.

7.4 We have observed the corporate capture of the organisation at all levels, where business people fund individual leaders, their campaigns and popularising them and spending huge resources throwing dirt at imaginary enemies in the organisation. The NEC has decided that this must be confronted and culprits named publicly. Only when we stop generalising will the ANC succeed in fighting this tendency. These business people, in return, get contracts and tenders even when they have no capacity, and thus weaken the capacity of the government to deliver. The risk is that of the ANC being sold to the highest bidder, with leadership structures becoming gatherings of

various business interests. This poses a threat to the ANC, that of losing the essence of what it stands for, and have its image dented in the eyes of the public.

Factionalism

7.5 As the NEC visited the structures in all provinces it discovered the prevalence of factions. Our branches are polluted by factional politics which are fast becoming the norm.

7.6 Almost all these factions are not ideological but are about spoils. Fundamentally, they support a particular line-up to conferences with an expectation to be favoured and serviced for the whole term of that line-up, by being given tenders and contracts or getting deployment ahead of deserving cadres of the movement.

7.7 The lobby groups that lose conferences appeal the outcomes and develop comprehensive programmes to destabilise the structures with the hope that they will ultimately be dissolved. In these cases individuals constitute themselves into alternative institutions that lobby leaders individually and collectively and seek to discredit elected structures of the movement. These actions undermine internal democracy, and will weaken our movement with speed. The organisation is now required to develop an approach in dealing with this growing tendency.

7.8 This tendency is strengthened by using the Secretary General’s Office (the SGO) as an appeal office of first instance, undermining both the regional and provincial structures of the ANC. In the process comrades become very vocal about how much they have no confidence in these structures. When they are directed to follow the organisational structures they begin to direct their complaints to individual officials and members of the NEC with the sole purpose of dividing the officials

and the collective leadership of the ANC. A strong message is then propagated against specific individual officials or members of the NEC, trying to discredit some and praise others. What has made this campaign fail is that officials are aware of tale bearers and wedge drivers who whisper from ear to ear and, therefore, share all letters sent to them individually and discuss the problems raised. The challenge though is when leaders are accused of being part of these factions and deviant actions.

Social Distance

7.9 Inward focus and infighting cause many of our structures to be removed from the base constituency. This leads to a social distance between the organisation and the people. It is the self-centredness of the cadres of the movement that makes our structures to de-emphasise the duty to serve. This weakens the impact of the constant interaction of the leadership with the people. The ANC is always among the people and social distance is a social construct which refers to the behaviour that switched our people off. We need to pay attention to this reality.

Communication and the Battle of Ideas

7.10 Very few cadres of our movement take active interest in the battle of ideas. The public debate continues to be dominated by the conservative views and ideas with ANC members hardly phoning in even in talk shows. When anti-ANC narratives are repeated without being challenged they become reality in the minds of the people.

8 CONCLUSION

8.1 The ANC continues to be a strong representative and a source of hope for all our people. However, its image and standing among our people is consistently challenged by internal and external factors to itself.

■ Internally, the infighting in our structures creates an impression of instability in the eyes of the people. It is important that the conduct and attitude of ANC members, from leadership to the rank and file, is of high standing. Individually and collectively, we should be men and women of integrity.

□ Corruption, both in government and in the party – whether real or perceived, must be weeded out. We should be seen to be and should also act against corruption and acts thereof.

□ The integrity commission, as a tool instituted by our movement to restore the standing of the ANC should be supported and strengthened in its responsibilities.

□ Factionalism is a corrosive factor to the movement and weakens it gradually. Along with this is the use of money, what we have described as corporate capture of the movement, to try and get our structures to arrive at conclusions that serve their interest.

■ Externally the movement is under attack from an anti-majoritarian liberal offensive, coalescing with individuals and organisations that were once part of the liberation movement. Their strategy is to undermine the authority of the state, delegitimise the ANC with the aim of weakening it and taking power. This, therefore, requires that we engage in the battle of ideas with clarity of thought and theory. We should be able to defend the

movement, our government and the various arms of state against the onslaught. The Alliance, in this context, should be strengthened so it can advance the national democratic revolution. At the same time it demands of us to be beyond reproach so that we do not provide our detractors with reason and information to attack us easily. Further, it means that we should be coherent and speak in one voice on our policy issues and ensure that we are not perceived to be weakening government and state institutions.

8.2 The organisation has gradually shown improvements in comparison to the period leading to and post the 52nd National Conference. In most of our provinces the vexing challenge of parallel structures has ceased to be. Also, the chaos that was becoming commonplace has been reduced to a large extent. There are, however, small pockets where these acts of chaos have flared and the national leadership – working together with the provincial leadership structures – have intervened, and the situation is stabilising but requires continued monitoring. What we need to pay attention to is how comrades who are expected to exhibit the best conduct, guide new members, are alleged or perceived to be behind acts of ill discipline. This suggests that we should be decisive against these acts of lack of discipline, without confusing them with the lack of political education.

■ We should recognise the importance of the interventions the leadership made in the areas where the 53rd National Conference directed it, particularly in the provinces of Limpopo, the North West and the Western Cape. Also we should affirm that the ANCYL in particular, and the ANCWL, have gone to their conferences. The former should still be assisted as it from here on.

■ We are also making improvements in

the areas of the membership system at national level. We need to ensure further improvement at the regional levels where members are meant to receive their membership cards.

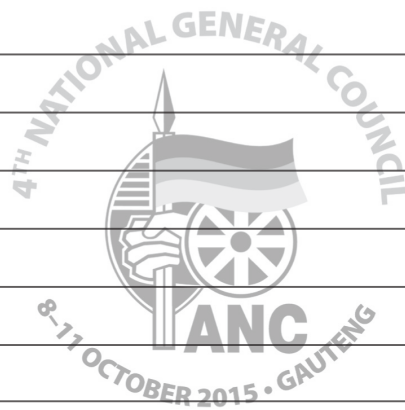
- Political education continues to gain ground in the organisation and should be extended to all structures and provinces, with the aim of ensuring evenness. We should increase our efforts to institutionalise political education and build the political school. In addition, since the political education curriculum is in place, we should ensure that the ten year programme to concretise progression in the political education of cadres is developed.

8.3 We have resolved that in this second phase of our transition we would ensure a radical socio-economic transformation of our society. The imperative is that we should not be found wanting in this regard, despite the national and global challenges we currently operate in. Consequently, our state should act decisively and with speed. Also, there should be greater synergy between our organisation's subcommittees and government structures to ensure our policy imperatives and the commitments we made to the people are realised. Our performance in all our areas of focus should provide real meaning to this resolve and, in the process, offer greater hope

to all our people. Inequality, poverty and unemployment remain our real challenges even today.

- 8.4 Retention of political power through the electorate is critical to our ability to change the lives of our people and realise our objective of a radical socio-economic transformation our society. Therefore we have an imperative to ensure a decisive victory in both the coming 2016 Local Government elections, in particular, and in future national general elections. Transforming the lives of our people at local community level is paramount. This imposes upon us the responsibility and obligation to choose the appropriate and skilled comrades who will serve the ANC through good service to the people at local government level, which is the face of government and contact with our movement.
- 8.5 This report should be read together with the Political Report, delivered by the President, and the Financial Report presented by the Treasurer-General. Discussions in the commissions should use the issues raised here and in both the Political Report and the Financial Report as a guide, as we consider strategies to strengthening our movement.
- 8.6 The **Mid-Term Review – State of the Organisation, 2012 to 2015**, is hereby tabled for discussion and adoption.

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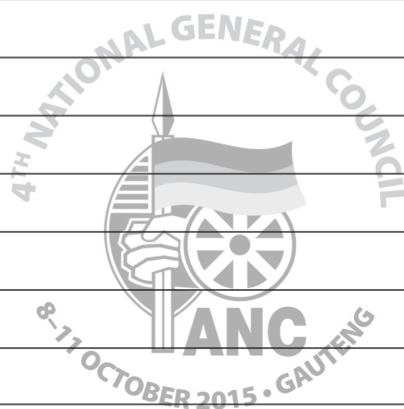
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