



CONFERENCE UPDATE/3

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INFORMATION ON THE ANC 51ST NATIONAL CONFERENCE, 16-20 DECEMBER 2002

BUILDING THE ANC AS AN AGENT FOR CHANGE Challenges towards the centenary of the ANC

Discussion issues towards the 51st Conference for branches, regions, provinces and the Leagues.

Introduction

Consistent with sound organisational practice and revolutionary traditions that evolved over the 90 years of its existence, the ANC's organisational tasks flow from its STRATEGY AND TACTICS. The STRATEGY AND TACTICS document defines the historic mission of the ANC, the character of the NDR, its motive forces and analysis of the national and international balance of forces in a particular epoch.

The National Policy Conference of 27-30 September 2002 has re-affirmed the overall relevance of the 1997 STRATEGY AND TACTICS document and the general policy positions have also been re-affirmed and strengthened.

The July 2000 NGC had a very dynamic political debate on how the unique character and revolutionary traditions of the ANC have evolved over the many decades of its existence. It also sought to characterise the objective and subjective challenges we faced in the pre-1994 and post-1994 era. Ongoing discussions and debates are necessary on the NGC discussion document titled "ANC – PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT AND AGENT FOR CHANGE" and the NWC discussion document "THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE", with the aim of deepening political understanding within the movement on the factors that impact negatively on the traditions of the ANC as well as the obstacles we have to overcome in the task of developing cadres in the new environment.

In an effort to give concrete meaning to the organisational tasks outlined in the STRATEGY AND TACTICS document, the 1997 Mafikeng 50th National Conference and the 2000 National General Council adopted detailed resolutions on Building the ANC as an Agent for Change.

Essentially, the challenge for the 51st National Conference remains that of building the political, ideological and organisational capacity of the ANC to lead society in the central and complex task of social transformation and in contributing towards building a better Africa and a humane world order.

We are a decade away from celebrating the centenary of the ANC on 8 January 2012. The programme that we put in place during this decade to strengthen its revolutionary traditions and culture and for the internal renewal of the movement, have to determine the nature of the ANC that we will celebrate in 2012:-

ORGANISATIONAL TASKS IN THE DECADE TOWARDS THE CENTENARY OF THE ANC

According to the STRATEGY AND TACTICS (1997):

"In this phase of transformation, we seek to expand and deepen the power of the democratic forces in all centres critical to the NDR, at the same time as we improve the people's quality of life. Our efforts, which are people-centred, people-driven and gender-sensitive, are founded on five basic pillars:

- To build and strengthen the ANC as a movement that organises and leads people in the task of social transformation;
 - To deepen our democracy and culture of human rights and mobilise people to take active part in changing their own lives;
 - To strengthen the hold of the democratic movement on state power, and transform the state machinery to serve the cause of social change;
 - To pursue economic growth, development and redistribution in such a way as to improve the people's quality of life; and
 - To work with progressive forces throughout the world to promote and defend our transformation, advance Africa's renaissance and build a new world order."
- In seeking to advance the pillar on building and strengthening the ANC, we need to proceed from a clear understanding of how this movement has evolved, over 90 years of its existence, into a national liberation movement with unique revolutionary characteristics:
- A democratic, non-racial and non-sexist and vanguard mass movement that is the leader of the democratic forces in South Africa;
 - A movement whose leadership and cadreship have the ability to adapt to the demands of the moment, striving at all times to place the organisation at the head of the revolution and earn leadership and respect of the masses in the course of struggle;
 - A movement whose organisational forms and practices are based on democratic centralism, encouraging wide-ranging internal debate on ideological questions and critical issues facing the country, cultivating a culture of constructive criticism and self-criticism among its cadres, while at the same time discouraging dogmatism;
 - A movement that places absolute value on the question of unity in action - unity of the African people, unity of the motive forces and unity within the movement that leads the revolution, unity of the Alliance and the democratic forces;
 - A movement that is steadfast on principles, shunning short-cuts and populism, that approaches problems from the viewpoint of finding sustainable solutions;
 - A movement that champions progressive internationalism and learns from relevant international experiences

1. Strengthen the mass character of the ANC

► *Broadening the mass character and strengthening grassroots structures of the ANC. The NGC has asserted the centrality of the branch as the primary vehicle for mass mobilisation and community leadership – as vanguard of the community.*

- a. What has been the general response of our branches to the NGC's resolution on building branches as vanguards of the community?
 - b. What is the performance of ANC branches on campaigns such as HIV/AIDS; Anti-crime; Violence against women and children; Making schools work; etc.?
 - c. What has been its impact on the efforts of our branches to lead community struggles for reconstruction and development?
 - d. What are the main lessons of Letsamea campaign in relation to the potential of ANC branches to lead mobilise communities in social activism and foster the spirit of volunteerism?
 - e. How do we sustain grassroots mobilisation and participation reconstruction and development in the next ten years?
 - f. How does the ANC branch build and sustain local partnerships with different sectors on matters of service delivery and local economic development?
 - g. How do we strengthen the input and influence of the ANC branch into the work of the ward committee?
 - h. What new mechanisms do we need to strengthen the accountability of ANC councillors to communities and ANC branches?
- *Broadening the ANC social base and strengthening the non-racial character of the ANC. The realignment of ANC local structures into ward-based branches was primarily aimed at rooting the ANC among various sectors of communities and placing the ANC at the head of local efforts by all strata and classes to build better communities and a better country.*
- a. How has the realignment of branches into ward-based structures helped in rooting the ANC among various sectors of the community so that branches can lead struggles around social and economic development?
 - b. To what extent have the new ward-based branches improved the reach of various sectors such as youth, women, religious communities, professionals, intellectuals, union shop stewards and businesspeople?
 - c. What has been the impact of the new branches in drawing South Africans of all races into the ranks of the movement, particularly influential people in the Indian, Coloured and White communities?
 - d. What further improvements are required to enhance the building of local dynamic community activists and leadership in our branches, including organisational and constitutional changes?
 - e. In very large wards, what mechanisms should be enacted to ensure ANC members can easily meet and engage in organisational activities in various villages, sections of the township or suburbs in the ward?

- f. What basic resources are required in each Branch for purposes of building the profile of the ANC and providing effective leadership to the communities?
- g. What mechanisms do we put in place to ensure experienced cadres and national, provincial and regional leadership actively participate in local community campaigns and strengthen the movement's grassroots structures where they live?

► *The realignment of regions has created a greater possibility to RECs to play a much more critical role in building the hegemony of the ANC and in supporting branches to lead communities on a sustained basis in each district and metro.*

- a. What is new role expected from the newly established regions in the political, organisational and governance work of the ANC?
- b. What calibre of regional leadership and cadreship is required to fulfil this role and what kind of political education and cadre development programme is appropriate for regions?
- c. Are the role and powers of regions set out in the Constitution adequate to allow RECs to play the new roles expected of them in the newly demarcated regions?
- d. What political and organisational capacity and basic resources are required to fulfil this role?

► *As the vanguard of all the motive forces of the NDR and leader of the broad democratic movement in South Africa, the ANC has a historic duty to maintain healthy relations with the formations of the democratic movement and progressive civil society and provide political and ideological leadership by rallying all these forces and society around the tasks of the current phase of social transformation:*

- a. What is the character and profile of the current civil society forces and social movements, as compared to the pre-1994 era?
- b. What has been the character of our relationship with the mass democratic movement formations and progressive NGO's and CBO's in the post-1994 period?
- c. What lessons can we draw from the WCAR and WSSD in terms of making sure that the ANC provides leadership and builds partnerships with civil society and social movements?
- d. How do we strengthen the ANC's capacity to engage and lead all these forces in the transformation process?
- e. What programme do we put in place to win some of these forces to our side and dislodge those that are hostile to our transformation agenda?

► *The ANC remains a national liberation movement, with the dual tasks of mobilising the people in the task of social transformation and as the leading party in government, to transform the instruments of the state to serve the cause of social change.*

This places a duty on the ANC to ensure that we approach governance in a manner that mobilises the masses to become their own liberators and build genuine partnerships between all institutions of the democratic state and the people, so that the people indeed govern.

The democratic dispensation has also put the ANC in a position of commanding a huge organisational resource in the form of hundreds of full-time public representatives.

- a. What lessons can we draw from programmes such as rotating Provincial Executive meetings in districts/regions, "Imbizo" and parliamentary visits to provinces?
- b. What role should ANC parliamentarians and councillors play in rooting the ANC among the masses?
- c. What measures do we put in place to deepen accountability of our public representatives to their constituencies and communities in the current electoral system?
- d. How do we improve coordination, joint planning and proper communication between our public representatives and the ANC regional and branch structures?
- e. How do we ensure that the programme of PCO's facilitates easy access to the ANC by the masses and that constituency work becomes a key instrument towards involving people in governance matters?

2. Strengthen ideological work within the ANC

► *The mass and revolutionary character of the ANC means that it relies both on its mass membership and its core of revolutionary cadres who must work among and with the masses. For it to remain a revolutionary vanguard movement, the ANC needs revolutionary cadres and an active membership.*

Its cadre policy and recruitment strategy should enable the movement to constantly replenish both its cadreship and general membership. These cadres and members should constantly be socialised into the ANC's vision of a new society, its core values and revolutionary traditions.

ANC cadres also need skills and knowledge to lead the masses in the tasks of social transformation.

- a. How has the profile of the ANC cadre and member changed in the past 90 years – 1912-40's, 1940-60's, 1960-80's, 1990-94 and post-1994?

- b. What are the ANC's core values and organisational culture and how have these values been cultivated among cadres and members in the different phases of the ANC's evolution?
- c. How far have we, at different levels of the movement, implemented the Mafikeng Conference and NGC resolution on Cadre Policy and Deployment Strategy?

► *Internal democratic practice and political discipline are the cornerstones of any revolutionary movement. The ability of the ANC to manage internal debates on tough political questions facing society and its capacity to renew itself and its management of leadership decision processes, has won the ANC widespread respect among many progressive forces in the world.*

However, over the past eight years, the movement has witnessed widespread incidents of cut-throat leadership battles and acts of opportunism, careerism and corruption, which seriously threaten to undermine the unique revolutionary character of the ANC.

- a. What progress are we making, since the NGC, in rolling back negative tendencies such as factionalism, careerism, opportunism and corruption in our ranks?
- b. How has the NWC Discussion Document "THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE" and other NEC interventions assisted in restoring the revolutionary practices and sound organisational practices in the movement?
- c. What political programme do we put in place to foster unity of purpose and political cohesion within the ANC's leadership collectives and between the ANC and the Leagues at all levels?
- d. What recruitment strategy do we require to attract of the "the most genuine, honest and decent people in the community" into our ranks?
- e. What political programme do we put in place to tackle the challenge of developing new revolutionary cadres steeped in ANC core values in a society dominated by the values and norms of "free market" consumerism, rampant individualism and serial greed?
- f. What has been the impact of the realignment process on building sound organisational practices and inculcating revolutionary ethics among branch and regional cadreship and leadership?
- g. What are and what should be the values and attributes that distinguish ANC members from those of other organisations?
- h. How do we ensure that ordinary ANC members have access to basic information on key national issues so that they can competently participate in solving organisational and community problems?

- i. What political education programme is appropriate for building the confidence and consciousness of the general membership of the ANC?

► *As a national liberation movement and a governing party, the ANC remains a central force for social transformation. It therefore needs strategic capacity to provide leadership to its cadres in the State, Civil society, in the Economy, Arena for the battle of ideas (media, cultural and educational institutions) and in the International arena.*

- a. What is the current profile of the full-time functionary of the ANC in comparison to the pre-1994 period?
- b. How do we retain some of the best cadres within the ANC organisational machinery and replenish the movement?
- c. What new organisational mechanisms are required to ensure the development and deployment of cadres in the State, Civil Society, Arena for the Battle of Ideas, Economy and in the International arena?
- d. How do we ensure that ANC cadres and members, individually and collectively, improve their skills, academic, ideological and theoretical development so as to enable the movement to meet the complex challenges and tasks of social transformation?
- e. How do we improve our cadre deployment strategy to take into account career-pathing, while at the same time avoiding patronage and blind loyalty to those responsible for deployment?
- f. What should be the skills and knowledge profile of the ANC's New Cadre by the Centenary in 2012?
- g. What political programme do we put in place to achieve this target of the New Cadre?

► *The NGC called upon the movement to root out corrupt elements in our ranks and in society and further made a call for a New Person and build a new national identity and morality.*

The moral and ethical foundations of the old apartheid society continue to exist side-by-side with the material foundations of the new democratic society. Some of the social crimes such as violence against women and children as well as rape clearly originate from the old society.

- a. What are the dominant social norms and values in our emergent democratic society?
- b. What programme do we put in place in our branches to mobilise for moral regeneration and create a momentum for a moral regeneration in our society?
- c. What programme do we put in place to use the media, the education system, culture, sports and various forums to inculcate national pride and the new values of freedom, democracy, non-racism, non-sexism, human solidarity, respect for human life

and a caring society among all South Africans, particularly young people?

► *The National Policy Conference of September 2002 noted that an important element of the NDR is the ideological struggle and that the ANC needs to assert its positions clearly and firmly on ideological and political currents that find expression in the current situation, including neo-liberalism and modern ultra-left tendencies.*

The Conference concluded that the ANC should articulate its positions from the point of view of being a force of the left organised to conduct a disciplined struggle in the interest of the poor.

- a. What are the implications of the above conclusion on the ideological outlook and political orientation of the ANC in comparison with other left forces in our country and the world? What defines a "left agenda" and "force of the left" in the current global political context?
- b. What is our understanding of neo-liberalism and ultra-leftism and how and why they are inconsistent with the objectives and framework of both the national democratic revolution and scientific socialism?
- c. How do we ensure that ANC members and cadres understand and can engage competently matters relating to the political programme of all the democratic forces, including on the relationship between national democratic revolution and socialism?
- d. What impact does the current political education curriculum have on the ideological and theoretical development of ANC cadres and members?

3. A decisive renewal of the democratic mandate in 2004 and 2005

► *As an important component of the democracy we fought for, the ANC also contests elections as a registered political party, drawing its electoral support from all sections of South African society, but the motive forces in particular.*

Contesting elections is important, because having won elements of state power in 1994, the democratic movement must continue to renew its mandate for social change, and continue its transformation of state power to serve the cause of fundamental social change.

In a democratic society, election campaigns constitute the most frontal ideological battle for hegemony and the fiercest contestation around the direction society should take.

The 1999 General Elections and 2000 Local Government Elections gave the democratic forces a firm and more decisive hold on state power. The ANC

increased its majority significantly from 62.6% in 1994 to 66.4% in 1999 general elections, and from 58.8% in the 1995 local government elections to 59.4% in the 2000 local government elections. The key issues for the last two sets of elections were about speeding the pace of change.

- a. What will be the key domestic and international issues around which the 2004 elections will be fought?
- b. What postures are different political forces likely to assume around such issues?
- c. What will be the political landscape at national and provincial level i.e. alignment of forces as well as possible new political forces that may emerge in the run-up to the 2004 elections?
- d. What are the implications of the above scenarios for the 2005 local government elections?
- e. What should be the central message of our campaign, using the thrust of the Draft Resolutions of the National Policy Conference?
- f. What will be the role of ward-level campaigning and contestation in the national elections? How do we strengthen political, organisational and constituency work in the wards and ensure an aggressive presence and ANC profile in wards that are controlled by the opposition?
- g. What are the key delivery issues we want to focus on at local, provincial and national government level address in 2003 and 2004 in line with our 1999 and 2000 manifestos, respectively?
- h. What are the main strengths and weaknesses of the current list processes?
- i. What will be the most effective way to identify and deploy cadres as public representatives and to further monitor and evaluate their performance?
- j. What machinery do we need to put in place for these elections?

4. Building the ANC Women's League

► *"Transformation will only have real meaning if it addresses the plight of triple oppression suffered by women. The ANC must lead efforts aimed at eradicating these oppressive power relations in our society. Within its own ranks, it must entrench gender awareness and appropriate practices.*

The ANC Women's League has the responsibility of helping the ANC to broaden its mass base, as it champions the aspirations of a section of our people who have been oppressed and exploited as a "nation", as a class, as women.

The Women's League should continue to be the voice of ANC women members, but it should also be at the cutting edge of the Broad Women's Movement, spearheading gender transformation and the

advancement of a women's agenda" (STRATEGY AND TACTICS)

The ability of the ANCWL to fulfil this task depends on its organisational dynamism, level of ideological clarity and political strength. The Women's League structures are currently undergoing realignment and this process seeks to consciously position the League to fulfil its historic tasks outlined in the STRATEGY AND TACTICS of the ANC.

For this to happen, the ANC needs to assume greater responsibility in ensuring that the realignment process is completed in a manner that strengthens the League organisationally, ideologically and politically:

- a. What is the state of organisation of the ANC WL, progress with the realignment since the 50th Conference and how is it addressing its central task?
- b. What are the key campaigns on which the structures of the ANC WL have been quite successful, including on Letsema campaign and how do we strengthen the League's work on such campaigns?
- c. What are the reasons for the League not being the home of all ANC women and how do we address this weakness?
- d. How do we broaden the base of the ANCWL to reach out to various sectors of women, particularly union shop stewards, professionals, intellectuals, business people and young women?
- e. How do we improve coordination between the ANC and ANCWL structures in spearheading the programme of women's emancipation?
- f. How do we ensure that the ANC's Cadre development curriculum has a strong component on the transformation of gender relations?

5. Building the ANC Youth League

► *The ANCYL is a central organ upon which the ANC relies in the task of attracting and recruiting young people into the ranks of the movement and preparing them to play a key role in the revolutionary transformation of our society. The demands for new cadres in the centres of power such as the state, civil society, economy, arena for the battle of ideas and international arena places immense responsibility on the ANCYL. The Youth League is also a central organ upon which the ANC relies in imbuing the spirit of volunteerism and patriotism among young South Africans.*

- a. What is the state of the ANCYL since the 50th National Conference and how is it addressing its central task?
- b. Have the programmes of the League been successful in appealing to new generations of youth to partake in political and social activism?

- c. What role should the ANC play to support the work of the Youth League?
- d. How do we ensure that the role of the League to champion the interests of youth and their development is supported and reflected in the policies and programmes of government?

6. Building the Alliance and the Broad movement for Transformation

► *The Tripartite alliance is an organisational expression of the common purpose and unity in action that the ANC, the SACP and COSATU share, and continue jointly to define and redefine in the course of undertaking the tasks of the NDR. (STRATEGY AND TACTICS).*

This sense of unity, of common purpose, the depth of understanding of its historic mission, activism, loyalty to the people - especially the poor - international solidarity and joint action must continue to characterise relations within the Alliance, within the motive forces for change and within society at large. (EKURHULEN DECLARATION 2002)

Our alliance with the South African Communist Party is a relationship cemented in the trenches of our struggle against Apartheid colonialism. It has manifested itself in its organisational form over the years in the practice of dual membership between the ANC and the SACP, with communists often being seen as amongst the most dedicated and committed in working to strengthen the liberation movement. This, and our ongoing engagements on the strategic and political challenges facing us, enhanced our cohesiveness as individual organisations, as well as a revolutionary alliance.

The progressive trade union movement, represented by COSATU, through struggles has defined itself clearly within the ranks of the progressive forces for national liberation and for transformation. With the working class as the leading motive force, the ANC must therefore ensure ongoing engagement with the union movement on the strategic questions facing the country, the union movement and the alliance in general; to do political work within this crucial component of the alliance and to support the struggles of the millions of members of COSATU, who are also ANC members.

Other sectoral formations within the motive forces pursue the same goals as the ANC, in the measure that they strive for the true interests of these sectors. Among them are to be found student and professional organisations, structures of religious communities, the youth, women, traditional leaders, business associations, rural organisations and movements, NGOs, civic associations and others. These also include

various issue-based coalitions, forums and movements, who organise around genuine grievances and issues affecting our people.

These formations are as important to transformation as they were to the heroic struggle against apartheid. It behoves the ANC to work among them and join with them both in sectoral and inter-sectoral campaigns, to realise the aims of the NDR

However, since Mafikeng, the relations between the ANC and its alliance partners, and with civil society broadly have not been satisfactory, impacting on our ability to unite our people in the common task of social transformation.

- a. What have been the main reasons for the difficulties we experienced as an Alliance over the last five years?
- b. What should be the role of each of the partners in the current phase of the NDR - with reference to tasks such as:
 - Mobilising and uniting our people in the task of social transformation;
 - Deepening democracy and the culture of human rights;
 - Strengthening the democratic movement's hold on state power for it to serve the cause of social change;
 - Pursue economic growth, development and redistribution to create a better life for our people, and
 - Working for a better Africa and world?
- c. How do we improve unity in action in the Alliance at all levels of the movement?
- d. What are the issues around which we should build the broad movement for transformation, and what strategies to build such a movement in the current climate?
- e. The National Policy Conference re-affirmed the character of the ANC as a force of the left. What are the implications of this conclusion on the ideological outlook and political orientation of the ANC in comparison with other left forces in our country and the world?
- f. What defines a "left agenda" and "force of the left" in the current global political context - and how is the Alliance, collectively and individually located within this context?
- g. What is our understanding of neo-liberalism and ultra-leftism and how and why they are inconsistent with the objectives and framework of both the national democratic revolution and scientific socialism?

7. Building a better Africa and better world

► Over the 90 years of struggle, the ANC has developed into a consistent champion of progressive internationalism and a reliable ally of the progressive forces throughout the world. Building international allies to fight together around our common vision for Africa and the world is one of the pillars of transformation. The international arena is therefore one of the critical centres of power that requires persistent attention.

Since 1994, our international obligations and role in African and global affairs have grown significantly, while the organisational capacity to carry out these obligations has shrunk dramatically. The National Policy Conference is recommending that the full capacity of the International Department be rebuilt, provinces, regions and branches establish proper international structures and that the Cadre development curriculum should have a strong component of international relations.

- a. What is the character of the current international situation and how does this affect and influence the course of our national democratic revolution?
- b. What are the international tasks of the ANC as compared to those of the democratic state?
- c. What has been the impact of our party-to-party work on international relations in the past five years?
- d. What is the role of the national, provincial, regional and branch structures and how do we organise and structure the execution of these tasks at each level of the movement?
- e. What structures and capacity do we need at each level to carry out these international tasks?
- f. What experiences have we drawn from WCAR, WSSD and other international forums on the question of building new global alliances in pursuit of our objective of a better Africa and humane world order?
- g. What political programme do we put in place to ensure we provide political and ideological leadership to the many disparate forces around the world, which are opposed to global apartheid?
- h. What kind of political and ideological development programme do we need for cadres at different levels in the field of international relations and how can we speed up its implementation?
- i. What resources are required to carry out our international work at different levels?
- j. How do we strengthen coordination of international work between the ANC and Alliance partners, as well as between the ANC and governance structures?

8. Strengthening the Organisational design of the ANC towards its Centenary

► We recognised at Mafikeng that whereas the 1994 breakthrough ushered in a completely new environment in the entire existence of the ANC, it has taken the organisation some time to determine how to operate within this new context. The NGC observed that among the attributes, which makes the ANC unique as a political movement, is its ability to amongst others, "internally renew and redefine itself when the situation so demands." It thus also called for the 'modernising' of the ANC to face the new challenges ahead.

The NEC Lekgotla in January 2001 therefore decided that a comprehensive review of our organisational design be done. On that basis, an Organisational design task team was appointed in 2002, to examine the factors that impact on the capacity of the movement to fulfil all the tasks we have set out above, and what we need to strengthen and enhance that capacity.

Since 1994, factors that impact on the organisational capacity and design of the movement include:

- The dual tasks of the movement to lead and transform the democratic and developmental state, whilst at the same time leading and mobilising our people for social transformation;
- The impact of democracy and social change on the class composition of our society, and changes in the motive forces.
- The impact of the twin scourge of poverty and unemployment on our people and their expectations of the movement and their government.
- Multi-party democracy means that the movement must maintain its capacity to successfully contest regular elections;
- The growing continental responsibilities of the ANC as we are beginning to realise our vision of the African renaissance;
- The struggle against apartheid was a potent mobiliser of millions of people behind their organisation, the ANC. With the advent of democracy and increased normalisation of political life, the movement is increasingly judged on its track record in transforming our society and creating a better life for all.

TASKS FOR BRANCHES, REGIONS, PROVINCES AND LEAGUES

The above questions on Building the ANC should form the basis for Draft resolutions from provinces and Leagues, to be submitted at the end of November 2002. The draft resolutions should form the basis of a programme of action for the next five years, with a focus on the following areas:

- a) Key organisational priorities for the next five years.
- b) What concrete tasks for the branch, region, Leagues, province and national play in taking forward each of these organisational priority areas?

The complex challenge of managing the relationship between civil society and the democratic state, and between the ANC and civil society in its dual roles.

- The multiplicity of centres of responsibility where our cadres find themselves today, and how to coordinate them to support their work and ensure that they continue to input into the mainstream of the ANC.
- Demographic changes, with new generations of young men and women without an experience and memory of apartheid and of the struggle who will become an ever-bigger part of the electorate.

- The impact of technological changes and the information society on organisation and the way individuals live, receive information and work

- a. Are there other factors that impact on how the ANC is currently organised?
- b. How will the realignment of structures assist us in more effectively fulfilling our mission as a movement?
- c. Are our current structures (branches, regions, provinces, national, Leagues, caucuses) effective to enable us to:-
 - Master work in legislatures - monitoring implementation and impact of our policies; informing and involving our people in governance?
 - Mobilise and inform our people around the programme of governance, and allow for governance to be responsive to issues raised by our people?
 - Ensure accountability of public representatives?
- d. How do we engage progressive mass formations and the motive forces to utilise the state creatively to pursue sectoral and general interests, networking amongst progressives in all spheres and effective lobbying?
- e. How do we carry out targeted strategic recruitment, and facilitate the structural participation of various components of the motive forces (workers, rural people, middle strata, black business, etc) and various sectors and strata (students, youth, cultural workers, the intelligentsia, scientists, etc) either as members or active supporters committed to the cause of social transformation, in the ANC?
- f. How do we strengthen the full-time capacity of the ANC to ensure that amongst the best revolutionary cadres take on responsibilities in our regional, provincial and headquarters, with the skills in policy, political and organisational work, policy and research, internationalism and campaign management necessary for a modern and mass political movement such as the ANC?
- g. How do we build financial self-reliance and sustainability at all levels of the organisation?

REMINDER OF DEADLINES:

- **31 October 2002:** Submission of branch delegate and all other registration forms.
- **15 November 2002:** Closing date for nominations for the NEC.

Credentials for Conference finalised

The Special NEC meeting of 27 September finalised the Draft Credentials proposals from the task team, chaired by cde Thoko Didiya. As per the Constitution, 90% of voting delegates must be from branches, to be allocated to provinces in proportion to their membership.

In order to arrive at the delegations for each province and branch, an audit of the membership of each province and of all branches were conducted during the first two weeks of September 2002. Provincial and regional offices were expected to inform all branches of the audits, and to collect and have ready all the

necessary information to indicate that a branch is in good standing on 31 August 2002, including all its recruiter packs and AGM information. After the completion of the audit, each province was sent a draft report of the audit results for any queries and outstanding matters.

The audit provided the figures for the overall membership (in both launched and unlaunched branches) of each province. On the basis of these figures, the 3060 branch delegate spaces were divided up amongst the provinces on a proportional basis: -

Province	% of ANC membership	Branch delegates to 51st Conference
Western Cape	7.147%	219
Northern Cape	5.851%	179
North West	9.928%	304
Mpumalanga	11.65%	357
Limpopo	10.58%	324
KwaZulu Natal	12.84%	393
Gauteng	12.65%	387
Free State	7.944%	243
Eastern Cape	21.39%	655
	100.0%	3,061

The delegate space allocated to each province was then divided among the branches in good standing in that province, on a proportional basis.

The draft Credentials report was also discussed in the Secretaries Forum, where all provincial secretaries are represented, before the proposal was presented to the Special NEC for adoption.

SUMMARY OF CREDENTIALS FOR 51ST NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Status	Categories	Number
Voting	Branch delegates, NEC, Women's League, Youth League and PECs	3,397
Non-voting	Izithwalandwe, Former NEC members, RECs, MPs, MPLs, Veterans, Ministers, Deputies, Premiers, Deployed Cadres, ANC SALGA Caucus, ANC Mayors, MKMVA	371
Observers	COSATU, SACP, SANCO, COSAS, SASCO, NGOs, International organisations, Fraternal parties, Electoral Commission	168
Guests	International and local guests, Former anti-apartheid organisations, Diplomatic missions, Other organisations, Guests of the Officials	202
ANC Staff	HQ and Provinces	76
		4214