

ANC NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE 2007



GALLAGHER ESTATE, 27-30 JUNE 2007

COMMISSION REPORTS AND DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

ANC NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

- 1 All the 12 Commissions had comprehensive and quite lively debate on the major conceptual issues that were identified for discussion. These are:
 - monopoly capital and the NDR
 - developmental state and social democracy
 - strategic Alliance
 - globalisation and imperialism
 - what was characterised as the white community and counter-revolution
 - practically addressing gender

add as the first point. strengthen the ANC as the leader?
- 2 Some of the Commissions were able to deal with other issues in the S&T document, and have made concrete proposals in this regard.
- 3 All Commissions proceeded from understanding that matters of detail contained in submissions from provinces, YL and WL (as well as comments from SACP, COSATU, DPSA and others) would be taken into account when the draft is reworked.

Read with the other Strategy and Tactics Documents?

MAJOR CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Monopoly Capital and the NDR

- 4 There was agreement in all Commissions that there were fundamental areas of divergence between the objectives and value systems of the ANC and those of monopoly capital. In particular, there are many things in the behaviour of private monopolies that have the effect of constraining higher rates of growth and skewing social development. These include monopoly pricing and other forms of rent-seeking, placing barriers to entry in some industries and a value system based on greed and crass materialism.
- 5 However to characterise monopoly capital as an enemy of the NDR would be too simplistic. Rather our approach, as elaborated in the draft S&T document, should be to build a strong developmental state, with the strategic capacity and the instruments to deal with these negative tendencies, while at the same time mobilising private capital in general to partner the state in increasing rates of investment and job-creation. Further, the centrality of finance capital in the structure of the South African economy, and its capacity to hinder economic development should be underlined.
- 6 Virtually all the Commissions agreed with the approach of 'unity and struggle' - carrot and stick - in relation to all private capital, proceeding from the understanding,

as one Commission put it, that 'unity and struggle' existed among opposites that may have to co-exist. The balance between unity and struggle would be dictated by the needs of the moment; and it would be influenced by the practical conduct of the various fractions of monopoly capital. The draft will need to be sharpened taking into account many other detailed comments from the Commissions on this issue.

Developmental state and social democracy

- 7 There was broad consensus on the need to build a developmental state, with specific South African characteristics that take into account the evolution and current economic structure and social dynamics of South African society. In addition to what is contained in the draft, such a state should have attributes and tasks that include:
 - 7.1 capacity to intervene in the economy in the interest of higher rates of growth and development
 - 7.2 effecting interventions that address challenges of unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment
 - 7.3 mobilising the people as a whole, especially the poor, to act as their own liberators through participatory and representative democracy.
 - 8 In broad terms, it was agreed that we needed to build democracy with social content.
 - 9 Most Commissions felt that the S&T should place more emphasis on the substance of our objectives, before attempting to identify approximations used in global parlance such as developmental state and social democracy. Further, these concepts should not be formulated in such a way as to suggest a policy or ideological shift on the part of the movement. We can borrow best traditions from other countries' experiences; but we should not suggest that these are defining characteristics of the ANC.
 - 10 It is also proposed that discussion on these concepts should continue in the period leading up to National Conference. With regard to social democracy in particular, it was proposed that discussion should seek to identify best traditions such as intense role of the state in economic life, quest for equality, promotion of solidarity throughout the world, pursuit of full employment and maintenance of alliance between social democratic parties and the trade union movement.
- ### Tripartite Alliance
- 11 All Commissions were unanimous that the Tripartite Alliance continued to be an objective necessity in the

current phase of the NDR. It was also agreed that, in the context of the execution of the NDR, the ANC is the leader of the Alliance.

- 12 While it was agreed that the S&T document needed to deal with the issue of the Alliance at the level of broad principle, many of the Commissions felt that the formulations needed to be sharpened, taking into account how this issue was articulated in the 1997 S&T document as well as the opening address to the Policy Conference by the President. This should include explanation of the meaning of 'strategic alliance' as distinct from a 'tactical coalition'.
- 13 Many of the Commissions reflected in detail on issues of the current challenges facing the Alliance, a matter that was taken forward in the discussions on the Organisational Review.
- 14 On the question of the place and role of SANCO, all the Commissions agreed that SANCO constituted part of the progressive broad democratic movement for transformation. All but one of the Commissions felt that it should not be categorised as being part of the strategic alliance.

Globalisation and imperialism

- 15 The Commissions were at one that the ANC needed to come up with its own understanding of global reality, including as accurate a reading of the global balance of forces as is possible. In this regard, we should avoid taking too romantic or too dim a view of developments in other parts of the world.
- 16 In this regard, questions were raised about whether we were not exaggerating the strength of US economic and military power. New powerful economies including China, India, Russia and Brazil are emerging; the agenda of neo-conservative forces is being challenged; the dispersal of production across the globe is creating mutual dependencies; there are progressive developments in a number of Latin American countries; and there is an upsurge of public opinion against the negative consequences of globalisation. These and other comments and submissions will be used to improve the Chapter as a whole.
- 17 Further, it was felt that the draft did not adequately address global challenges that include:
 - 17.1 the role of financial markets and the speed with which capital flows across domestic markets
 - 17.2 environmental issues including depletion of natural resources including 'peak oil' and issues of global warming, which have placed humanity in great danger of self-destruction
 - 17.3 the impact of unipolarity on global governance and the rule of law in the conduct of international relations.
- 18 A number of Commissions emphasised the need among developing countries to build democratic developmental states and pool their sovereignty. In this

regard, South Africa should systematically seek to build strategic partnerships, including the building of a global progressive movement. Further, it was felt that the section dealing with Africa needed to be improved; and that the importance of party-to-party and people-to-people relations should be highlighted.

White community

- 19 Originally, the issue of white South Africans was included in the same category as counter-revolution. Virtually all the Commissions were of the view that this categorisation created a wrong and unfortunate impression that the white community as such was being accused of counter-revolution.
- 20 The issue of the place and role of various sections of the white community needs to be dealt with in the context of the responsibility of the ANC to mobilise all South Africans behind the project of social transformation. This is consistent with the movement's non-racial outlook, and it is about the very strategic objectives of our revolution.
- 21 In dealing with this matter, we should take into account the historical socialisation of this community in the false ideology of racism; as well as conversely the socialisation of black people to consider themselves as inferior. These tendencies need to be combated in the context of the ideological struggle, and in practical efforts to change people's material conditions and ensure equal access to opportunities.

Counter-revolution

- 22 With regard to the issue of counter-revolution, while there were divergent views among the Commissions on whether there still existed groups that could be classified as such; there was consensus that there were active forces which opposed the agenda of social transformation. The ANC has a responsibility to counter such forces, including those that may burrow within the black community.
- 23 The movement should also exercise vigilance against forces which seek to take advantage of divisions within the democratic movement, in order to subvert and disrupt the agenda of revolutionary change. In this regard, it should be noted that such threats as organised crime and susceptibility of the lumpen-proletariat to recruitment by reactionary forces can have counter-revolutionary implications.

Practically dealing with gender

- 24 The Commissions were unanimous that non-sexism was a core element of the ANC's outlook, value system and approach to issues of social justice. Most of the Commissions agreed that the draft S&T document needed to be fine-tuned in relation to formulations that conflated the notions of patriarchy and gender discrimination.

- 25 On the question of the gender quota system, all the Commissions felt that, while there may be dangers of tokenism in any such system, this could not be used to subtract from the fact that the quota system is a one of the critical instruments for dealing with social exclusion and discrimination. A number of the Commissions proposed that implementation of such a system needed to be combined with the creation of an environment conducive to the advancement of women's emancipation, including targeted skills development.
- 26 On balance, there wasn't a strong view in the Commissions that the issue of the quota system as such needed to be included in the S&T document; but that it should find expression in policy and constitutional decisions of Conference.

ADDITIONAL ISSUES

- 27 We need to introduce better treatment of the shifting balance of forces and how the nature of the transition impacted on the implementation of our programme of social change.
- 28 We should expressly assert the reality that progressive forces have attained transfer of political power, but economic power remains in the hands of the white minority.

- 29 The importance of the ideological struggle should find expression in various sections of the document.
- 30 Treatment of history should include the role of various contributions across the four pillars of struggle identified then, and the role of youth, women and armed struggle. If the proposal to include the Veterans' League as a formal component of the movement is adopted, this League would need to be included in the Chapter dealing with the role of the ANC.
- 31 There should be consistent application of the notion of 5 pillars of the NDR throughout the document, including in particular, the assessment of the balance of forces and elaboration of the programme of national democratic transformation.
- 32 Greater prominence should be given to the land question.
- 33 The glossary of terms should be improved.

CONCLUSION - PROCESS

- 34 The NEC Political Education Subcommittee should take these and other issues into account when it refines the draft.
- 35 An amended document will be sent to the provinces for further reflection in the build-up to National Conference.

002 / ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

INTRODUCTION

- 1 From the debates in the commissions, it is clear that we all regard Organisation as a critically important area of discussion. The amount of time spent by different commissions on this matter and the extent to which proposals were debated and scrutinised is testimony to the importance we attach to this matter.
- 2 There is general agreement that the discussions on Organisational Renewal should flow from the conclusions arrived at on the Strategy & Tactics of the ANC. This will enable the movement to examine and deal with organisational questions in response to the main tasks and challenges outlined in the Strategy & Tactics. Discussing and reporting on S & T and Organisation at the same time create greater possibility that organisational challenges of a short term nature can be conflated or elevated into matters of strategy and principle. At the 52nd National Conference, there is a need to debate and adopt a resolution on S & T before discussing the challenges of Organisational Renewal. We will illustrate this difficulty later in the section on the Primary Mission and Unique Features of the ANC.
- 3 The Consolidated Report on the Submissions of Provinces and the Leagues served as a basis for discussions in the Commissions. In general, the

Commissions supported most of the specific proposals in the Report and such proposals will not be repeated in this Report to plenary but they will be encapsulated in the final report of the National Policy Conference. The Report will therefore focus on new or alternative proposals and give some flavour of the debate on various issues.

THE PRIMARY MISSION AND UNIQUE FEATURES OF THE ANC

- 4 There is unanimity about the ongoing relevance of the ANC's primary mission and its unique features. Further, there is general agreement that this is a very important section to provide a context and an anchor for the ongoing debate on building organisation and the specific challenges of Organisational Renewal. The main conclusions of Chapter One of the Organisational Renewal document should be integrated into and synchronised with Chapter Six of the Draft S & T Document. In particular, it is proposed that when stating the pillars of the current phase of the NDR, we should re-affirm the position that the ANC is both a national liberation movement and a ruling party. In this regard, mass mobilisation and organisational work should be stated as the primary pillar, followed by the state, the economy, ideological struggle and the international pillar. This relates to the point raised in 1.2

above about the sequencing of the discussions on S&T and Organisational Renewal.

STRUCTURES

MEMBERSHIP

- 5 There is general agreement on the proposals contained in the Consolidated Report on Submissions from Provinces and the Leagues on this matter.
- 6 Alternative proposals and issues that need further debate in the next five months:
 - Joining on the internet: while there is general agreement that members can renew their membership on the internet, there are different views on whether joining on the internet should be allowed. The main principle is that every person who joins the ANC should do so at branch level and participate actively in the political life of the branch. It should be made easier for people who are genuinely interested in the movement to join, while ensuring that this is done in a way that does not undermine this important principle.
 - Lowering the age for membership: there are substantially different views on this matter. There is agreement on the principle that the movement should actively target young people in its political and ideological work and that the ANCYL is the primary vehicle to do this. However, further debate is necessary.
 - Exemption from the 8 weeks probation: Commissions generally disagreed with this proposal and argued for the status quo.
 - Termination of membership due to failure to renew after 3 months: This is generally agreed to. However, emphasis was placed on the need to remind the affected member about the expiry date of the membership before termination. There is also a common concern that this proposal should not punish members who have genuine financial difficulties with meeting the 3 months grace period.

BRANCHES

- 7 Most proposals were agreed. Further, there is now general agreement on the need to increase the term of the BEC to 2 years.
- 8 However, the following issues need further debate:
 - Introduction of a mid-term BGC: There was a concern that we should not introduce new structures in the branch without clearly defining their role. The role and composition of the Branch General Council vs. Branch General Meeting should be debated and agreed before finalizing this matter.
 - Naming of Branches: Although there is general agreement that branches should be named after the deceased cadres/leaders who had an outstanding track record and unbroken service,

there is a persuasive argument that living veterans who have been honoured by the movement for their loyalty and unbroken service should be considered. The NEC should develop guidelines for this process.

SUB-REGIONS AND ZONES

- 9 There is general agreement that sub-regions and zones have played a useful role in coordinating the work of branches. In addition, the following proposals were made:
 - There is further agreement that sub-regions should only be established in regions where there are type B (local) municipalities.
 - Zones are particularly relevant coordinating structures in Metropolitan Regions and they should be strengthened and aligned closely with PCOs.
- 10 The following issue needs further debate:
 - Role of the sub-region: The political role of the sub-region with regard to giving leadership and guidance to councilors in a local municipality is agreed. Whether the sub-region should be given specific constitutional powers or be delegated responsibility by the REC is a matter that needs further debate. The common concern is that we should avoid a situation in which the REC and the Sub-Regional leadership contest over giving leadership to B-type municipalities.

REGIONS

- 11 There is general agreement on most of the proposals on Regions. Further, there is also now general agreement on the need to increase the term of office to 3 years. There was a particular support for the strengthening of Regional Offices, including on the need to ensure Regional Secretaries become full-time.

PROVINCES

- 12 There is general agreement on most proposals on Provinces, including on the extension of the term of office of the PEC to four years. There was strong support on the need to strengthen Provincial Offices, including on the need to retain the provision that Provincial Secretaries should be full-time.

NATIONAL STRUCTURES

- 13 There is general agreement on the following issues:
 - There is agreement that National Conference should set broad targets and policy priorities for the next 5 years, without too much detail that can be dealt with by the NEC on an annual basis.
 - HQ: There is further agreement on the need to strengthen the SGO in accordance with the organisational management responsibilities of this

Office, while retaining the role of the Office of the ANC Presidency as the political head of the organisation.

- Position of National Chairperson: Retain the position but further review and define the role and responsibilities of this position in relation to building organization.
- Officials: Retain the status quo.
- NEC:
 - a) Size: there are substantially different views on this matter. Those in favour of the status quo argued that the present size of the NEC should be retained and that attention should be paid to the quality and caliber of leadership needed to lead the ANC. Retaining the current size would allow for more rigorous performance assessment and avoid a culture of leadership entitlement. Expanding the NEC could lead to problems with achieving a quorum. Those in favour of increasing the size of the NEC to between 80 and 90 argued that an enlarged NEC will help the movement to meet its growing responsibilities in the different pillars of struggle. Further debate is required.
 - b) Composition: 50/50 gender parity was generally agreed. Commissions were generally receptive to the idea of generational mix but the NEC needs to develop further guidelines on what would be regarded as an appropriate generational mix.
 - c) Criteria: There is general agreement that "Through the Eye of the Needle" is adequate but should be applied rigorously and consistently when electing NEC members.

ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE

- 14 There is general agreement on all the proposals.

ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

- 15 All proposals were agreed except the lowering of the age and exemption from 8 weeks probation. Generally, commissions also further agreed that the ANC should continue to support the ANCYL financially.

VETERANS

- 16 There is now a unanimous agreement on the setting up of the Veterans' League. Further, there is general agreement on the medals as proposed.
- 17 Further debate is required on the definition of a veteran:
- There is general agreement on the proposed definition of a veteran.
 - There is an alternative view that a veteran should

only be defined on the basis of the number of years rather than age: 40 years of unbroken and loyal service should suffice.

- Unbroken service should be defined clearly to accommodate all cadres who worked in all the four pillars of the struggle.

MKMVA

- 18 There is general agreement on the proposals. There is further agreement that the ANC needs to support MKMVA structures much strongly that it has been the case so far. SGO should be given responsibility. This should apply at all levels. The proposal on a comprehensive social package for all ex-combatants of former liberation armies is supported by all commissions. The Presidential Commission on Military veterans is more preferred.

OVER-ARCHING ISSUES

POLITICAL EDUCATION

- 19 There is unanimous agreement on the proposals on political education. It is further agreed that many of these proposals were discussed and agreed to in previous Conferences with little implementation. For this reason, there is general impatience with lack of implementation.
- 20 The additional issue is the need to incorporate the rights of people with disability in the curriculum.

POLICY FORMULATION, EVALUATION AND MONITORING

- 21 There is general agreement with the proposals. There is an emphasis on the need for the ANC to give leadership to society and the state. Giving space to cadres deployed to government is correct as long as innovation and initiative is exercised within the mandate and policy framework of the organisation.

POLITICAL MANAGEMENT

- 22 There is general agreement with the proposals.

ELECTION OF ANC LEADERSHIP

- 23 There is general agreement on the following issues:
- Re-affirm the relevance of "Through the Eye of the Needle".
 - Re-affirm the current procedures of electing ANC leadership as outlined in the ANC Constitution (Rule 12, 17, 21 and 23 on electing NEC, PEC, REC and BEC).
 - Amend Rule 6.1 to make 50/50 gender parity a constitutional clause.
 - There is no need to synchronise the term of office

of the ANC leadership with that of government and the current electoral procedures of the ANC are adequate. The status quo retained.

- Attendance of political school should be a requirement for election once the school has been established.

DEPLOYMENT OF CANDIDATES FOR LEADERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT

Local Government/Mayorship

- 24 All commissions agreed that the REC should make recommendations on a pool of names of cadres who should be considered for Mayorship. The PEC will make the final decision on the matter based on the pool of names submitted by the REC. Those members of either the REC or PEC who are being considered for deployment should recuse themselves when decisions affecting them are made.

Provincial Government/Premiership

- 25 All commissions agreed that the PEC should make recommendations on a pool of names of cadres who should be considered for Premiership. The NEC will take a final decision based on the pool of names submitted by the PEC. Those members of the PEC who are being considered for deployment should recuse themselves when decisions affecting them are made.

National Government/Presidency of the Republic

- 26 All commissions discussed the three options as contained in the Consolidated Report on Submissions of Provinces and the Leagues. There were robust and lively debates on all these options. In some commissions such debates led comrades to try and identify the principles that should underpin a conclusion on this matter. We shall come back to these principles later.
- 27 Judging from the reports from various commissions, there is general agreement that the ANC President should preferably be the ANC candidate for the President of the Republic. There was also a strong view that this must not be made a principle.
- 28 In taking forward this matter, there is general agreement that we should be guided by the following principles:
- In accordance with Rule 5.1 (d), the right of any member to elect or be elected in the structures of the movement should be upheld. This means that it is only in the National Conference of the ANC that members can elect or be elected.
 - The ANC remains the key strategic centre of power that should exercise collective leadership over the state and society in pursuit of the objectives of the

NDR. This means that the decisions on the direction that our country should take should always be made collectively by the structures and collectives of the movement.

- The term of office of all ANC leaders should remain as stipulated in Rule 12.3 of the Constitution. This means that there is no need for a term limit on the leadership of the ANC since they are elected for one term at a time.
- The current procedures for electing ANC leadership are adequate and therefore the status quo should remain. Whatever is finally decided by the 52nd National Conference on the matter of how the movement should select its candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, it is generally agreed that with regard to electing the leadership of the movement, there is no need to change the current procedures and provisions of the ANC Constitution.

FUNDING

- 29 There is unanimity on the proposals. Further, there is a need for the NEC to develop guidelines and policy on fundraising, financial management and accountability for all the structures. There is also a need for the NEC to develop guidelines on investment vehicle(s) and this will operate and account to the leadership of the movement.

DISCIPLINE

- 30 All commissions re-affirmed the centrality of political discipline as an important principle on which cadres and members of the ANC as a revolutionary movement. Discipline among members should be enforced through a combination of political education and ideological training together with firm action against those whose conduct undermines the values, principles and decisions of the movement.
- 31 The NEC should develop further guidelines to ensure that ANC disciplinary procedures are clear. ANC members should exhaust internal processes before they can approach the courts on organisational matters. Further, the guidelines should clarify how the ANC deals with cases brought to its structures when they are still subject to legal proceedings. We also need to ensure that we avoid cases of a political nature by establishing clear procedures and managing proper and timely responses from higher structures that receive complaints for members.
- 32 We need to strengthen clauses on misconduct to enable DCs to better deal with incidents. Our procedures should be tight, simple, clear and consistent.

MDM, ALLIANCE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

- 33 All the commissions re-affirmed the ongoing relevance

of the Tripartite Alliance in the current phase of the NDR.

- 34 The commissions acknowledged that the challenges posed by the new conditions, central to which is the ongoing need to enhance organisational capacity of individual components and the collective strength of Tripartite and continue to search for better ways of responding collectively to the new challenges.
- 35 The commissions noted the current debates in the SACP (state power) and COSATU (Pact). The ANC respects the right of individual Alliance partners to discuss and arrive at their own decisions on how they seek to pursue their strategic objectives. Consistent with this principle, the ANC will continue to determine, in its own structures and processes, how best to advance its own strategic objectives.
- 36 The leadership role of the ANC in the current phase of our struggle and its primary responsibility is to unite all the democratic forces, including the Tripartite Alliance

was also re-affirmed.

CONCLUSION

- 37 The debates on Organisational Renewal have been heated, robust and very constructive. In respects, the issues are quite involved and complex. The abiding strength of the ANC is that robust debates bring more wisdom to all those who participate in them. Instead of causing divisions, debates help us to clarify our ideas and help us to listen to and learn from one another. Collectively, we have become wiser after listening to one another in the commissions.
- 38 Generally, commissions feel that the Organisational Renewal proposals that will emerge from this Policy Conference should receive further priority attention in all the structures, as we enter the final phase towards the 52nd National Conference.

01 / SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

REPORT ON COMMISSIONS

- 1 The two commissions received an input on major issues for discussion. The input took for granted that the discussion document that had been distributed to the provinces had been read. The input also noted that the discussions that had taken place in the provinces and the Leagues had focused largely on issues of implementation and made suggestions on how these could be improved. It was therefore suggested that all these proposals about implementation would be incorporated in an improved discussion document. The input therefore identified issues where there were debates necessary for each of the sectors. The input contextualised these issues by reminding comrades of the resolutions that had been taken at the 51st Conference in Stellenbosch.
- 2 For each of the sectors, the commissions were directed to key questions for debate which were drawn from reports from provinces. In this regard it was indicated what the views of the provinces were on key questions, by aggregating both instances of divergence and convergence of views expressed.
- 3 Although the two commissions took different approaches to the discussions, with one commission following the format of the question as raised in the input and the other opening discussions widely on each of the sectors, by and large the discussions on the main issues seemed to take the same direction. The level of discussion in the commissions suggested that good work had been done in the provinces to get comrades to engage with all these issues openly and

frankly. Another advantage in the two commissions was that there was no divide between comrades in government and those that were coming from outside government. They all participated equally with comrades from government being free and able to clarify issues where necessary.

MAJOR ISSUES BY SECTOR

Social Development

- 4 In the discussions on social development the commission re-affirmed the need for an integrated and comprehensive social security system that will provide safety nets for vulnerable people in society. There was a long discussion on the need to provide some form of safety net for those people, who do not have any income and are not eligible for any form of social grant under the existing policy framework. This discussion was characterized by a realization by both commissions that the ANC in government should discourage dependence on social grants and therefore should seek to develop comprehensive measures to fight poverty.
- 5 Nevertheless the commissions still felt that it was necessary to call for the gradual extension of the child support grants to children up to eighteen years. There was also a call to equalize the pensionable age at sixty (60) years. The commissions also called for the establishment of a mandatory system of retirement with a broad based fund to cover low income groups. In all this there was a realization in the commissions that a lot of advances had been made on social security since the 51st Conference

- 6 There was also some discussion on the question of whether people with chronic illnesses and in particular HIV & AIDS should receive any grant. This matter had come up in some provincial conference resolutions, with suggestion even to do away with the CD4 count as a determinant for eligibility for such a grant. However, both commissions rejected any suggestions for a grant on chronic illnesses and argued that this would be catered for within a comprehensive social security system.
- 7 Some discussions also focused on the need to strengthen welfare services, especially to deal with issues such as a coordinated National Anti-Drug and substance abuse campaign.
- 8 A particular discussion focusing on children and their welfare was undertaken and both commissions expressed a need for the ANC to focus on and prioritize the welfare and the best interest of children including the need to deal with child poverty. What was of a concern to the commissions was the rate at which children were being abused, neglected, murdered and even disappearing. Both commissions called for the strengthening of child development centers, including the development of a comprehensive strategy for early childhood educare.
- 9 The commissions suggested strongly that the conference sends a special message of condolences to all the families of all missing children and those that were killed by adults who were meant to protect them. The commissions expressed commitment to continue seeking justice to bring the perpetrators of these abhorrent acts on children to book. And, further, that the Commission commits that the ANC ensures that it works with the communities to improve the conditions that made the above possible.

Education

- 10 There was a wide ranging discussion on education which was characterized by a whole range of suggestions and views on how to improve the quality of education. Both commissions agreed that education as well as health should be the key priorities of the ANC in government for the coming period.
- 11 Some of the issues that invited some debate included the issue of teachers being concurrently employed as councilor. The commissions felt strongly that this practice should be discontinued as it undermined efforts to ensure quality in schools. While this was an overwhelming sentiment in the commissions, there were a few voices that suggested that a total ban might lead to the collapse of local government in some municipalities, particularly in rural areas where teachers may be the only ANC cadres with skills. Another issue that sparked some debate was the issue of free education with some calls being made for education to be free until higher education. Other views suggested that the no fee schools policy should be extended to

apply to more areas and to the secondary schools. Other issues that were raised in the commissions are listed in the attached recommendation on a possible resolution.

- 12 The key action, however, that needs to be undertaken is the call for an ANC Conference on education to be convened before the 2007 National Conference in December. This matter would need to be looked into to determine whether it is feasible to hold such National Conference.

Health

- 13 With regard to health, there were some discussions in both commissions on a whole range of health. Issues that took some discussion in both commissions related to the question of whether or not HIV and AIDS should be made notifiable. While the commissions were sympathetic to the idea, there was a lot of caution expressed about the advisability of taking such a policy stance at this stage. Such caution ranged from concerns about what exactly the meaning of notifiability was in the context of HIV and AIDS: it mean notifying the HIV status or AIDS defining conditions what about the issues of relating to patient confidentiality a question was also raised about whether the stigma accompanying this condition had reduced.
- 14 Related to the debate on notifiability of HIV and AIDS was also the proposal to rollout ART at all health facilities. Even with regard to this, there was also caution expressed about whether the capacity of the country's health system had reached a point where this would be possible to do. Other issues that were discussed at the commissions related to the need to develop a strategy for recruitment for health professionals, including signing MOUs with foreign countries on the exodus of health professionals.
- 15 Other matters discussed are listed in the attached resolutions.

Housing

- 16 Both commissions expressed a concern at the spiraling of construction input prices especially cement and other building materials. Both commissions called for government to intervene to curb this phenomenon.
- 17 There was also a call for the acceleration of land acquisition for housing and human settlements through the establishment of a housing development agency. There was some discussion on the need to develop appropriate legislation to prevent the mushrooming of informal settlements. Some views saw this approach as less developmental and more of a law and order approach, and called for more participatory measures to deal with this phenomenon.
- 18 A specific call was made for an injection of resources and the consideration of an extraordinary effort to fast tract delivery of housing to make a visible impact on

poverty. For more issues on housing see the resolution attached.

Land & Agriculture

- 19 Discussions on the land question highlighted the concern that land reform in South Africa was going slower than expected. The commissions agreed that there was a need for state intervention in the land market to ensure acceleration of equitable land distribution. Both commissions reiterated the need for the review of the principle of willing buy-willing seller.
- 20 On the ownership of land by foreigners, the commissions called for the regulation of such ownership without prohibition necessarily. This regulation, it was said, should take into account the country's land reform, restitution, redistribution and access to land. There were some views expressed that foreigners should be prohibited from owning land but could be allowed to lease it.

Heritage, Arts & Culture, Sports & Recreation

- 21 Discussions on these areas were anchored on the need to build social cohesion. In this regard some discussion took place on the naming and re-naming of geographic places such as streets, towns and public facilities. The commissions called for the development of policy guidelines clarifying the ANC's approach to the naming and re-naming of such places. These guidelines should include principles such as the need to change offensive names representing colonial conquest and apartheid statehood, the need to restore the proud heritage of the indigeneous people, the need to accommodate diversity in our common national heritage and the need to have an inclusive and democratic process, the need to honour, in a non-sectarian manner South African who have made a sterling contribution to the dawn of democracy and freedom, distinguished men and women in the international community and in Africa, who have contributed immensely to the struggle for freedom.
- 22 Other matters discussed in the commissions related to the need for the integration of Ubuntu principles into public policy, the need for schools to offer a bouquet of extramural participation sports activities.

Water, Forestry & Sanitation

- 23 The commissions called for the review of the mandate and composition of water services institutions to align them to development imperatives. They also called for the water licensing to historically disadvantaged individuals to be accelerated and to be aligned to land reform.

Youth Development

- 24 Discussion in this area centred around the development of a National Youth Development Agency

that would ensure integration, coordination and sustainability of youth interventions in government.

- 25 There was also a call for the massification of the National Youth Service Programme.

Women

- 26 Discussions in the commissions centered around the establishment of a Ministry for women. In this regard, some delegates did not regard the implementation of this particular resolution as a solution to the challenges facing women in this country. In the end two options were presented by the commissions. The first one was establishing a Ministry for women as soon as possible, the second one called for thorough assessment of the current instruments meant to deal with women's issues to evaluate their impact and to advise on the form and content of an institutional mechanism to be put in place in pursuance of women emancipation and gender matters in general for consideration at the 52nd Conference.

MK Veterans

- 27 Both commissions easily agreed to ensure that all government departments adopt programmes directed at re-integrating ex-combatants into society.

CONCLUSION

- 28 As was said in the introduction a number of other issues were raised by provinces and in the commissions, which relates to matters of improvement of implementation of existing programmes. These, together with some further elaboration and clarification of certain matters in the recommendations need to be dealt with in a revised discussion document which will guide discussion at the 52nd National Conference.
- 29 Specific proposals such as the call for the ANC Conference on education must be implemented.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

Noting that,

- 30 South Africa has entered its second Decade of Freedom with the strengthening of democracy and the acceleration of the programme to improve the quality of life of all the people.
- 31 The Conference takes place after the release of the 10 year macro-social report, which among others, asserts the positive mood and confidence in the economy

Further noting that,

- 32 In the context of our continued resolve to challenge underdevelopment and eradicate poverty, and, against the background of the huge investment in infrastructure and its attendant possibilities, the emphasis on quality

education and health must be recognised.

- 33 We are at the beginning of a long journey to a truly united, democratic and prosperous South Africa, in which the value of all citizens is measured by their humanity, without regard to race, gender and social status.

Believing that,

- 34 Central to the task of social transformation is the role of the ANC in Government to confront the challenges of poverty and underdevelopment
- 35 At this juncture we can and must re-affirm our commitment to redress poverty and inequality
- 36 We are building a developmental state and not a welfare state given that in welfare state, dependency is profound
- 37 Our attack on poverty must seek to empower people to take themselves out of poverty, while creating adequate social nets to protect the most vulnerable in our society.
- 38 Education and health must be prioritised as the core elements of social transformation
- 39 Since Mafikeng and Stellenbosch, in the 13th year of our democracy, we are able to reflect on the transition from an inhumane society characterised by racism, division, inequality, injustice and subjugation to a society that is ostensibly caring, open and democratic, committed to the ethos of non-racialism, non-sexism and freedom.

Therefore recommend that,

On Social Security and Broad Social Development,

- 40 We must reaffirm the Freedom Charter as a premise when discussing social transformation
- 41 That a comprehensive social security net provides a targeted and impeccable approach in eradicating poverty and unemployment
- 42 We develop a minimum common basis on all social security intervention programmes by all departments
- 43 Equalisation of opportunities, lifelong learning, economic opportunities of disable people
- 44 Grants must not create dependency and thus must be linked to economic activity
- 45 We must accelerate all our programmes in pursuit of the MDG
- 46 We must establish a Mandatory system of retirement fund and establish a broad based Retirement fund that covers low income groups
- 47 Strengthen institutions such as the financial savings board, so as to instil confidence in the society
- 48 ECD be removed from social service to education department

- 49 Low cost retirement fund be adopted
- 50 Child support grants be gradually extended to 18 years old
- 51 Pensionable age must be equalised and be set at 60 years
- 52 Coordinated national drug campaign be intensified to fight substance abuse

Children

Recommend

- 53 The best interest of the child should be paramount, with child headed households as priority for protection and care.
- 54 To prioritise the welfare of children and in this regard develop, monitor and measure tools that define and deal with child poverty.
- 55 Strengthen the current safety nets that deal with child poverty, ongoing murders, disappearances, abuse and neglect
- 56 Strengthen childhood development centers and urge communities to understand and deal seriously with the right of children.
- 57 Develop a comprehensive strategy on Early Childhood Educare.
- 58 This conference sends a special message of condolences to all the families of all missing children and those that were killed by adults who are meant to protect them.
- 59 The ANC abhors the circumstance under which these children died and commits to continue seeking justice to bring the perpetrators to book.

On Education,

- 60 Vulnerable Children of the Veterans must be taken care of by the state
- 61 Career guidance be a compulsory subject from grade 8 upwards
- 62 We must progressively expand the school nutrition programme to include high school learners in poorer communities
- 63 National norms and standards to be developed to determine the roles, functions and responsibilities of district offices
- 64 Norms and standards should be developed to classify schools given the variation of school types in provinces
- 65 A policy on affirmative measures for HDI's with specific emphasis on infrastructure, access and staff provisioning
- 66 The duality of teachers acting as councillors undermines both or either of the two with regards to efficiency and this must be discontinued.
- 67 To affirm that all principals should undertake a leadership, management and governance course

- 68 To review ABET so as to ensure that it better responds to the skills demand
- 69 The establishment of a national education evaluation and development unit for purposes of monitoring, evaluation and support.
- 70 The no fee schools be expanded OR Declare Free education until Higher education level
- 71 The ANC to focus rigorously on the quality of education
- 72 Education must be prioritised as one of the most important programmes for the next five years
- 73 Maths, Science and IT must be promoted and be taught even on Saturdays and bursaries be offered to teachers in this areas
- 74 New curriculum must be accompanied with skills development of teachers.
- 75 Building of schools to replace mud schools must be included in the EPWP.
- 76 The duality of teachers acting as councillors undermines both or either of the two with regards to efficiency and this must be discontinued.
- 77 the ANC conference on Education be convened before the 2007 national conference
- 78 we should recruit from foreign countries on scare skills such as Maths and Science

On Health,

- 79 Make education and health to be the two key priorities of the ANC for the next years. In this regard a proposal to have a ANC conference on education before December 2007
- 80 Reaffirm the implementation of the National Health Insurance System
- 81 To develop a reliable single health information system
- 82 Government should intervene in the high health costs/prices
- 83 Health Cover for Veterans of the struggle
- 84 We develop a recruitment of health professionals
- 85 MoU with foreign countries on the exodus of health professionals
- 86 In considering whether or not to make HIV and AIDS be made notifiable, a distinction be made between the two as these are two conditions. That we should also consider the negative implications of this recommendation such as stigma.
- 87 We accelerate the roll out of the ART at all health facilities
- 88 We accelerate programmes for hospital revitalisation including through innovative solutions that accommodate partnerships
- 89 We intensify our efforts on change of behaviour in our communities especially amongst young people
- 90 There will be no need to adopt a special HIV and AIDS grant as this will be catered for by the comprehensive

social security system

- 91 The ANC should explore the possibility of a State-own pharmaceutical company that will respond intervene in the curbing of medicine prices.
- 92 More resources be allocated on sexual awareness, in particular ANC branches must be actively involved in this programme
- 93 Introduce a policy on African traditional medicine
- 94 we be cautious when deciding on the PPP's as a solution, consider aspects such as the financial aspects
- 95 salient diseases such as TB, Cancer be given attention

On Housing,

- 96 Housing cover for Veterans of the struggle
- 97 Interventions in the industry and residential property market to curb the spiralling of construction input prices - including material development & supply
- 98 We develop appropriate legislation to prevent the mushrooming of informal settlements
- 99 Provision of housing needs should include alternative housing such as rental stock
- 100 We adopt central planning approach for directing resource allocation, distribution and overall coordinated response to human settlements
- 101 We restructure the funding mechanism and consolidate all housing related grants and funding streams
- 102 In order to deal effectively with the challenges of human settlements, land acquisition be accelerated through a dedicated Housing Development Agency
- 103 A once off injection of resources and an extraordinary effort be considered for fast tracking delivery of housing to make a visible impact on poverty
- 104 Government consider assisting people with building material

On Land and Agriculture,

- 105 The principle of willing seller willing buyer be reviewed
- 106 The state must with immediate effect, regulate but not prohibit ownership of land by non-South Africans with. This regulation should take into account the country's commitment to land reform, restitution, redistribution and access to land.
- 107 The state and mandated entities must exercise its legal right to expropriate property in the public interest or for public purpose. Compensation shall be awarded in accordance with the constitution with special emphasis on equity, redress and social justice. All legislation pertaining expropriation must be aligned with the constitution
- 108 We discard the market-driven land reform and immediately review the principle of willing seller willing buyer with immediate effect so as to accelerate equitable distribution of land

- 109 Review the adequacy of post settlement support in all land reform programmes
- 110 The management and control of state land must be under one department
- 111 We reaffirm the 51st conference resolution on land audit and that it must be speedily done
- 112 The allocation of customary land be democratised and not only be the preserve of the traditional leaders
- 113 That redunded land belonging to SOE be transferred for low cost housing

On building social cohesion through Heritage, Arts and Culture, Sports and Recreation,

- 114 Government should integrate UBUNTU principles into public policy so as to comprehensively correct the distortions and imbalances not only in our heritage landscape but also in our social, economic and industrial relations.
- 115 Move away from conservation language to development
- 116 We develop a policy that clarifies the ANC's approach to the naming and renaming of geographic places such as streets, towns and public facilities. These guidelines should include principles such as the need to change offensive names representing colonial conquest and apartheid statehood, the need to restore the proud heritage of the indigeneuous people, the need to accommodate diversity of our common diversity in our common national heritage and the need to have an inclusive and democratic process, the need to honour, in a non sectarian manner, South Africans who have made a sterling contribution to the dawn of democracy and freedom, the need to distinguished men and women in the international community and in Africa, who have contributed immensely to the struggle for freedom. Political education will be critical in educating our people about the naming and renaming discourse.
- 117 Local government must provide funding for Arts and Culture
- 118 Tourism levy should also benefit our heritage
- 119 Indigenous languages be promoted at all schools with an intention that learners be taught in their mother tongue
- 120 Affirm the 51st Conference resolution on the establishment of the sports desk at Luthuli House
- 121 One sports emblem for all sporting codes be adopted
- 122 All schools must offer a minimum bouquet of extra mural, mass participation of sport activities
- 123 Physical education must be offered as a compulsory subject for learners grade 0-12
- 124 Mass participation, physical activity and sport programmes must prioritise the involvement of girls, women and people with disability with a view to promoting equity
- 125 One emblem for all South Africa's sporting codes

- 126 MIG for sports facilities to be diverted to the department's of Sports and Recreation and Education
- 127 The ANC must be vocal on the convening of the 2010 Fifa World Cup and not leave this to other stakeholders.
- 128 We review the ANC's draft cultural policy.

On Water, Forestry and Sanitation,

- 129 Review the mandate and composition of Water Services Institutions & align to developmental imperatives
- 130 Alignment/Integration of DLA and DWAF programme as it relates water rights and availability of land
- 131 Transformation of the Forest sector
- 132 Increase the infrastructure construction timelines to allow more labour intensive construction
- 133 Water allocation reform and water licenses to historically disadvantaged must be accelerated and aligned to land reform
- 134 Water resources management must be integral when planning municipalities.

On Youth development,

- 135 Immediate implementation of sports desks as per the previous conference resolution
- 136 A National Youth Development Agency that will ensure seamless integration, sustainability and responsiveness to the demands and aspirations of South Africa's youth is established.
- 137 As per the ANC NGC's adoption of the Integrated Youth Development Strategy, that this be made government policy to be implemented by the National Youth Development Agency.
- 138 Massify the National Youth Service Programme and that this must be adopted as government policy.
- 139 The government should engage the private sector to contribute towards the National Youth Service Programme.

On Women issues,

- 140 Two options are presented for Conference consideration
 - A That a Women Ministry be established so as to streamline women issues especially focusing on empowerment, fighting patriarchy and poverty eradication in the society.
 - B In considering the matter of establishing Women Ministry, the commission recommend that a thorough assessment be undertaken by the ANC to analyse current instruments and their relevance, strategies and areas of focus and programmes on matters of women and the impact these programmes made. These assessments should then advise on comprehensive

recommendations on the form and content of what ever institutional mechanisms to be put in place in pursuit of women emancipation and broadly addressing gender matters for consideration by the 52nd National conference

MK Veterans

- 141 All government departments must adopt programmes that directed at reintegrating ex-combatants into society and health insurance.

02 / PEACE AND STABILITY

Noting:

- 1 That defeating crime is in the best interests of the National Democratic Revolution.
- 2 That community policing is the best form of policing
- 3 That many of the resolutions on Peace and Stability adopted at the 51st Conference and the 2005 National General Council on various issues are still relevant and;

Further noting;

- 4 That the continuous implementation of those resolutions is an urgent priority

Therefore resolves:

- 5 That implementation of all resolutions on peace and stability adopted at the 51st Conference be finalised.

SINGLE POLICE SERVICE

- 6 the constitutional imperative that there be a Single Police Service under the command and control of the National Commissioner of the South African Police Service be implemented so that the municipal/metro police, and the Directorate Special Operations (Scorpions) be located within the South African Police Service.
- 7 The DSO (Scorpions) be a special unit to deal with organised crime within the police.
- 8 The relevant law be promulgated as a matter of urgency to give effect to the fore going resolution

COMMUNITY SAFETY FORUMS (CSFS)

Noting that:

- 9 Community Safety Forums are established to conduct an oversight function in relation to the mandate of the SAPS.
- 10 There is a strong need to support and strengthen the implementation of Community Safety Forums.
- 11 Serious thought be applied concerning where to locate Community Safety Forums within the structures of government structures so as to ensure that they perform their functions adequately.

Therefore resolves:

- 12 All necessary steps must be taken to speed up the establishment, management and funding of CSFs.
- 13 To create a clear institutionalized structure for funding of CSF.
- 14 Align all the structures of the justice cluster system, viz., police, justice, and correctional services to municipal boundaries and develop appropriate programs that address all issues of safety and security and justice.
- 15 Peace and Stability Desks at provincial, regional, and branch level must make sure that CSF's are established and function adequately.
- 16 Noting that the location of police stations continues to follow patterns established under the apartheid system, this arrangement needs to be reviewed as part of the introduction of CSFs.
- 17 School Safety and Tourism Safety must be located within the Safety and Security environment

CRIME PREVENTION AND MASS MOBILISATION

Noting that:

- 18 Moral Regeneration is one of the vehicles to reduce crime
- 19 ANC led alliance members have not participated effectively in the formation of CPFs and in the promotion of issues of peace and stability.

Therefore resolve:

- 20 ANC/Alliance needs to encourage its members and communities to participate in CSFs, prioritize and run campaigns around peace and stability issues, based on a clear programme that is linked to the Moral Regeneration Campaign
- 21 There should be a program of mobilization and integration of structures such as School Governing Bodies and Parent-Teacher Associations with safety and security structures in order to defeat crime in our communities.
- 22 Traditional leaders should be mobilised to play a more significant role in promoting peace and stability in rural areas.
- 23 The Rural Safety Plan must be implemented and made visible in rural areas

- 24 Young people must also be involved in a massive programme of community policing and safety that would include night street patrols and have stipends paid by government as part of the national youth service to instil the value to serve and protect the community and public property amongst our youth.
- 25 There is a need for a firm resolution on Social Crime Prevention
- 26 Police stations must be centres for coordinating mass mobilisation against crime

JUDICIARY

Noting that:

- 27 There have been great strides in transforming the judiciary but more still needs to be done.
- 28 Accelerated transformation of our courts will go a long way to further improve the confidence of the people of South Africa in our criminal justice system.

Therefore resolves:

- 29 To establish a single, integrated judicial system with various divisions. Because many South Africans (particularly the poor) interact with the judicial system at local courts, more resources should be allocated to lower courts to improve their capacity and accessibility.
- 30 To establish High Courts in all the provinces so as to make it possible for our people to have easy access to the Supreme Court of Appeals in all the provinces.
- 31 Adoption and Implementation of transformative bills that are currently being debated.
- 32 Need to recruit law students (especially black) to study law and devise means to keep them within the profession.
- 33 Strengthen the lower courts and look at the notion of language in courts so as our citizens are adequately represented

MILITARY VETERANS

Noting that:

- 34 The ANC has discussed in the past and adopted resolutions to improve the conditions of life of military veterans, as well as other measures to address their situation, and given that these have not been implemented fully;

Therefore resolves:

- 35 That consideration be given to the establishment of a vehicle that can implement the said decisions, including the possibility of the establishment of a Ministry of Military Veterans.
- 36 That the Special Pension of Military Veterans be subjected to a specially crafted tax system.
- 37 That the NSF pension should be redrafted to allow for the payment of a lump sum at the end of the person's

pensionable age.

- 38 That military veterans and members of the SANDF travel on public transport in the same way as members of the South African Police Service are allowed to benefit from this scheme.
- 39 That the age limit of 35 years for beneficiaries of the Special Pension in terms of the relevant Act should be reviewed to include groups that were excluded on the basis of age.
- 40 That MKMVA must participate in the NEC Peace and Stability sub-committee at all levels.
- 41 That the Military Veterans Affairs Act, no 17 of 1999 must be amended with respect to, for example Section 3, Section 7 and other clauses to enable full participation of the non-statutory forces.
- 42 That a transformed and all embracing SANMVA should be the official representative body of all South African Military veterans as soon as the said Military Veterans Affairs Act has been amended.
- 43 That amended constitution of the SANMVA define the organisation as an administrator of all military veterans' projects, identify training areas and intervene on behalf of veterans for recognition of prior learning, training and skills qualifications acquired outside the SA borders.
- 44 That the housing Ministry should reserve a certain percentage of RDP houses per province to military veterans.
- 45 That the possibility of the establishment of a special Medical Aid Scheme for military veterans be investigated.

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEES

Noting that:

- 46 Refugee management and control poses a challenge to the state

Therefore resolve:

- 47 ANC structures should support the work of Home Affairs on the integration of refugees in society
- 48 The Immigration Act should be revised to allow for stringent screening processes to prevent fugitives from the law in other countries from entering the country as refugees
- 49 The department of Home affairs should continue to establish refugee centre with the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

POLICING FUNCTIONS OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

Noting that:

- 50 Traditional authorities carry out minor policing activities,
- 51 The manner in which they do so does not align with the SAPS,

Therefore resolve:

- 52 The policing functions performed by traditional authorities must be monitored and closely aligned to mainstream policing.

PRIVATE SECURITY COMPANIES

Noting that:

- 53 A large number of private security companies have mushroomed in the last couple of years

Therefore resolve:

- 54 There should be a regulatory framework within which private security companies operate so as to allow oversight by the departments of Safety and Security and Intelligence
- 55 The department of Safety and Security should be tasked to conduct an audit and develop an inventory of private security companies.

COMMUNITY SAFETY CENTRES

Therefore resolve:

- 56 Victim centers must be funded fully and be made accessible to all communities.

INTELLIGENCE

Therefore resolve:

- 57 Transform the Intelligence services to be able pro-act on matters threatening peace and stability of the country

CORRECTIONS

Noting that:

- 58 Juveniles and hardened criminals are often detained in the same cells:

Therefore resolves:

- 59 A new system should be introduced to cater for juvenile detainees.

03 / ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

The National Policy Conference agreed that the following draft resolution would need to be further discussed in branches and other structures of the movement in preparation for the 52nd National Conference of the ANC.

BELIEVING THAT

- 1 Our vision of the economic transformation takes as its starting point the Freedom Charter's clarion call that the People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!
- 2 Since 1994 we have made substantial progress in transforming the economy to benefit the majority, but serious challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality remain.
- 3 Therefore, we are still at the beginning of an historic transformation of the economy called for in the Charter. It is a process of economic transformation which aims to realise:
 - a) A thriving and integrated economy, which draws on the creativity and skills that our whole population can offer, building on South Africa's economic endowments to create decent work for all and eliminate poverty
 - b) Increasing social equality and a growing economy, which reinforce each other and constitute a positive cycle of development that improves the quality of life of all our people.
 - c) National prosperity through rising productivity,

brought about by innovation and cutting edge technology, labour absorbing industrial growth, competitive markets and a thriving small business and cooperative sector and the utilisation of information and communication technologies with efficient forms of production and management

- d) The progressive realisation of socio-economic rights, through fair labour practices, social security for the poor, universal access to basic services and ongoing programmes to defeat poverty.
 - e) A mixed economy, where the state, private capital, cooperative and other forms of social ownership complement each other in an integrated way to eliminate poverty and foster shared economic growth.
 - f) An economy that is connected to the world, and which benefits from vibrant and balanced trade with our neighbours, the African continent and the world.
 - g) A sustainable economy, where all South Africans, present and future, realise their right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being.
- 4 The changes we seek will not emerge spontaneously from the 'invisible hand' of the market. People acting collectively in the spirit of human solidarity must shape the patterns of economic development. In this process the state must play a central and strategic role, by

directly investing in underdeveloped areas and directing private sector investment.

AND FURTHER BELIEVING THAT

- 5 The central and most pressing challenges we face are unemployment, poverty and inequality. In this regard, we reiterate our determination to halve unemployment and poverty from their 2004 levels, and substantially reduce social and economic inequality.
- 6 Answering the challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality means that we must simultaneously accelerate economic growth and transform the quality of that growth. Our most effective weapon in the campaign against poverty is the creation of decent work, and creating work requires faster economic growth. Moreover, the challenges of poverty and inequality require that accelerated growth take place in the context of an effective strategy of redistribution that builds a new and more equitable growth path.
- 7 The skewed patterns of ownership and production, the spatial legacies of our apartheid past and the tendencies of the economy towards inequality, dualism and marginalisation will not recede automatically as economic growth accelerates. Therefore, decisive action is required to thoroughly and urgently transform the economic patterns of the present in order to realise our vision for the future.
- 8 Accelerating growth and transforming the economy both require an effective, democratic and developmental state that is able lead in the definition of a common national agenda, mobilise society to take part in the implementation of that agenda and direct resources towards realising these objectives.
- 9 Our understanding of a developmental state is that it is located at the centre of a mixed economy. It is a state which leads and guides that economy and which intervenes in the interest of the people as a whole.
- 10 A South African developmental state, whilst learning from the experiences of others, must be built on the solid foundation of South African realities. Whilst engaging private capital strategically, our government must be rooted amongst the people and buttressed by a mass-based democratic liberation movement. Whilst determining a clear and consistent path forward, it must also seek to build consensus on a democratic basis that builds national unity. Whilst acting effectively to promote growth, efficiency and productivity, it must be equally effective in addressing the social conditions of the masses of our people and realising economic progress for the poor.

THEREFORE RESOLVES:

- 11 To pursue a programme of economic transformation based on the following pillars:
 - 11.1 Accelerating shared economic growth by:
 - a) Acting decisively to address the most

significant obstacles that limit the pace of economic growth and intervening in favour of a more equitable growth path.

- b) Continuing to roll out a state-led infrastructure investment programme, and promoting strategic investments in productive activities with the aim of diversifying the economy and building towards an overall investment to GDP ratio of 25%.
- 11.2 Transforming the structures of production and ownership through:
- a) Active industrial and trade policy aimed at diversifying our industrial and services base, pursuing an active beneficiation strategy, creating decent work through expansion of labour absorbing sectors, building sustainable export industries, and expanding production for domestic and regional consumption.
 - b) Broad based BEE aimed at broadening and deracialising the ownership and control of productive assets by black people, women and youth, promoting new black enterprises which are engaged in the production of goods and services, building the skills required by the economy and advancing employment equity in every area of work and economic endeavour.
 - c) Anti-monopoly and anti-concentration policy aimed at creating competitive markets, broadening ownership and participation by our people, addressing monopoly pricing and other forms of rent-seeking, and overcoming barriers to entry that inhibit the growth of small enterprises.
 - d) Policies that promote and sustain small business, micro-enterprises, small scale agriculture and cooperative forms of ownership by providing financial and non-financial resources and building institutions that can effectively access and develop these sectors.
- 11.3 A comprehensive and clear rural development strategy, which builds the potential for rural sustainable livelihoods, particularly for African women, as part of an overarching vision of rural development. Strong interventions in the private land market combined with better use of state land for social and economic objectives, must transform the patterns of land ownership and agrarian production, with a view to restructuring and deracialising the agricultural sector. Our aim remains a fundamental redistribution of land ownership, and a thorough transformation of land use patterns in a manner that balances social and economic needs of society. Further interventions must also defend and promote the rights of farm

	workers and their families.		
11.4	Overcoming spatial patterns of economic marginalisation and fragmentation and reversing the geography of apartheid in both urban and rural areas.		the demands of our fast growing economy without compromising our commitment to sustainable development.
11.5	Expanding the opportunities for sustainable livelihoods and supporting the growth of second economy activities in urban centres through better access to the centres of economic growth and through financial and institutional support for cooperatives and micro-enterprise.	11.11	Integration of the South African economy on a fair and equitable basis with the economies in the Southern African region and building stronger economic linkages across the continent of Africa as a whole.
11.6	Directly absorbing the unemployed through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) labour intensive production methods and procurement policies. b) a significant expansion of the public works programmes linked to the expansion of economic infrastructure and meeting social needs with home-based care and early childhood development on a massive scale. c) a much larger national youth service. d) programmes that target the employment of women. 	11.12	Participating in world trade, pursuing strategic partnerships with countries of the south and agitating for a fairer world trade system.
11.7	Expanding the social wage by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Ensuring universal and subsidized access to basic services, health care, affordable transport and access to government information. b) Free and compulsory education and ongoing campaigns for adult literacy. c) Maintaining and where appropriate expanding the provision of social grants. 	11.13	Macro-economic policies that support and sustain growth, job creation and poverty eradication over the long term.
11.8	Investing in priority skills and education, improving our performance in maths, science and technology, and significantly expanding the resources devoted to our national capacity for knowledge production, innovation and research, including through an innovation management framework which includes the promotion and development of indigenous knowledge.	12	To build the strategic, organisational and technical capacities of government with a view to a democratic developmental state, through:
11.9	The use of natural resources, including our mineral wealth and marine resources, in a manner that promotes the sustainability and development of local communities and also realises the economic and social needs of the whole nation. In this regard, we must continue to strengthen the implementation of the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA), which seeks to realise these goals. Moreover, the state must ensure the proper management and exploitation of strategic mineral and energy resources in a manner that realises our long-term strategic and economic transformation objectives.	12.1	A strengthened role for the central organs of state, including through the creation of an institutional centre for government-wide economic planning with the necessary resources and authority to prepare and implement long and medium term economic and development planning.
11.10	Ensuring a security of supply of energy resources, and pursuing an energy mix that includes clean and renewable sources to meet	12.2	The integration, harmonisation and alignment of planning and implementation across all three spheres of government, and with the development finance institutions and state owned enterprises, including through the development of coherent inter-sectoral plans at national level and the alignment of local implementation in terms of the IDP's of metro, district and local municipalities.
		12.3	Building the human capacity of the state by establishing uniform and high entrance requirements and standards of employment in the public service, emphasising professionalism discipline and a commitment to serve and ensuring adequate numbers of personnel to ensure delivery, particularly in the case of front line staff in areas such as education, health and policing.
		12.4	Building the technical capacity of the state to engage with, understand and lead the development of dynamic and globally integrated economic sectors.
		12.5	Strengthening the role of state owned enterprises and ensuring that, whilst remaining financially viable, SOEs, agencies and utilities - as well as companies in which the state has significant shareholding - respond to a clearly defined public mandate and act in terms of our overarching industrial policy and economic transformation objectives.
		12.6	Building and strengthening development finance institutions, as well as non-financial institutions,

which are accessible to the people, and which are able to effectively channel financial and institutional resources towards a variety of economic transformation objectives, including industrial diversification and development, small businesses and cooperatives, small-scale agriculture, micro-enterprises and local and regional economic development, and the empowerment of youth and women.

- 13 To enhance the capacity of the African National Congress to monitor and evaluate the implementation of economic policy, including through:
 - 13.1 Establishing dedicated capacity, with the requisite resources, to monitor policy implementation and conduct ongoing assessment and engagement around economic policy issues, at national, provincial and regional level.
 - 13.2 A national programme of economic literacy for ANC members.
- 14 To take the lead in mobilising and uniting all South Africans around our common vision of economic transformation.

ADDITIONAL ISSUES

- 15 In addition to the resolution, the following important matters will require further discussion in preparation for the 52nd National Conference.

State owned enterprises and development finance institutions

- Commissions affirmed the strategic role that SOEs have to play in developmental state, but further discussions are required around the exact nature of that strategic role
- The ANC must play a stronger role in monitoring the response of SOEs to the needs of economic transformation and social development.
- Towns dependent on SOE activities should be consulted prior to restructuring
- Ensure that DFIs do not reproduce urban bias
- Commissions proposed the establishment of a State Bank to fast track development and that we establish a bank to provide start-up capital to small and micro enterprises and co-operatives.
- Retain and expand state ownership of strategic assets in sectors of the economy that are critical for the success of our economic transformation agenda, such as mining, steel, energy, ICT and land.

Industrial and Trade Policy

- In addition to identified sectors, we must consider sport and creative industries as critical sectors for growth and job creation.

- Industrial Policy should be aligned with trade policy and BBBEE.
- Further discussion is required on our approach to trade policy.

Monopolies & mineral resources

- The proposal that the state establish a mining company to exploit our mineral resources and direct the proceeds towards social needs should be discussed.
- Strategic reasons for introducing 10 % target for sale to State Diamond Trader - gauge extent of demand and capacity for local beneficiation. If high enough; will increase percentage.
- Identify strategic minerals and energy resources and develop specific strategies for local beneficiation.

The Second Economy

- The challenges of the second economy, including inter-generational poverty and marginalisation require sustained interventions by the developmental state to improve the quality of life of people, and increase the capacity of people to generate incomes and sustainable livelihoods.

Rural development, land/ agrarian reform.

- Based on recent experience, it is unlikely that we will achieve the 30% target by 2014. With a view to ensure these targets are met, there is a need for a detailed strategy re-formulation, major institutional reform and significant budget adjustments.
- Land and agrarian reform programmes should capacitate people prior to giving them land, and ensure ongoing assistance after redistribution.
- Land reform strategies should include questions about the types of ownership that is pursued by government.

Targeted Groups

- Need to ensure that disabled people are properly addressed in economic transformation agenda; The draft resolution says nothing about disabled people.
- Commissions proposed the establishment of a Women's Empowerment Fund to fast-track the economic development of women.
- Further consideration must be given to the linkages between economic transformation and the Integrated Youth Development Strategy.

Skills development

- It is important that skills development programmes form part of a broader national human development

strategy.

- Review the role of SOEs in developing skills and capacity of the youth.
- There also needs to be a comprehensive review of exit programmes from skills development initiatives.

Welfare and development

- There is a need to expand the social wage.
- Targeted interventions in this regard should include measures aimed at unemployed adults.
- Design specific interventions, including grants and subsidies, for youth.
- Social grants should be linked to economic development.

Fiscal and monetary policy

- Current strategies have opened up extensive space and this space should be used for further development and poverty eradication.

Small business, cooperatives and procurement

- Small business development strategies should include programmes that promote peri-urban farming
- The ANC should investigate further measures to integrate black enterprises into economy.
- Commissions highlighted the need for better

monitoring of BEE implementation to avoid abuse and opportunism in the implementation of policy.

- BEE remains relevant and must be strengthened, with greater emphasis on collective benefit and ownership, including support to community business formations, micro-enterprises and cooperatives.

Issues that require further discussion and elaboration

- Need for more work to clarify our vision of rural development, land and agrarian reform. In conducting this work, the ANC should draw on the experience of civil society and interact extensively with rural communities.
- Energy and the environment: What is the appropriate energy mix? Should we commit ourselves to nuclear energy? Will biofuels strategy risk undermining food security? How do we respond to the challenges posed by climate change?
- There is considerable overlap with issues raised in the Social Transformation Commissions and there is a need for a joint process of addressing these issues as we prepare for the 52nd National Conference.

04 / INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

- 1 The conference in general agreed with the characterisation of the international situation as outlined in the discussion document, however the commission decided to further elucidate on the following issues;

Imperialism

- 2 The conference discussed how imperialism has mutated into a sophisticated system in the globalised world, often associated with violence and aggression in its pursuit for exploitation of resources in the developing countries and its impact in the African continent.
- 3 In responding to this challenge of imperialism the ANC needs to strengthen itself and other progressive forces and develop a common agenda with an objective of realizing a just and a better world. Such a world order must be characterised inter-alia by greater security, peace, dialogue and greater equilibrium between the

poor and the rich. In this were guided by the ANC principles of "a better life for all and a vision of a just world and better Africa".

Pan African Fund

- 4 The conference noted that the Pan-African fund is being launched with a projected collection of \$1 billion dollars from governments of Africa for infrastructure development. The proposal of both the establishment of the pan African Fund together with the proposal for the South African Development Aid could be used as instruments to achieve the Millenium Development Goals (MDG's) and could be the beginning of Africa being less dependent on outside aid.

Millennium Development Goals

- 5 The conference agreed with the version in the discussion document. Conference expressed their disappointment in the failure of the West, in particular the Group of 8 Countries, (United Kingdom, France, Germany, United States, Russia, Canada, Sweden,

and the Netherlands), to honour their commitments to the MDGs.

POLICY ISSUES

- 6 On proposed policy issues the following issues were raised:
- 7
- The African Union Government: towards a United States of Africa**
- 8 The current continental and international climate and challenges requires a united continent of Africa capable of engaging other powerful nations. In line with the ANC vision of building a better Africa;
- 9 The resuscitation of the idea of United States of Africa is welcomed as one of the goals that inspired the African leaders of the anti-colonial struggles.
- 10 In principle the conference supports the establishment of the Union Government and creation of Africa United States as a step towards a strategic goal of unification of Africa. However, the process must be informed by a developmental agenda for Africa with immediate focus on building regional economic communities/ regional blocks (RECs), with emphasis on regional integration.
- 11 In addition the conference agreed with submissions from provinces such as:
- Strengthening of AU and all its organs in its role as a catalyst towards the formation of the Union of African states.
 - Strengthening of legislative bodies and harmonisation of legislations.
 - Use of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as the developmental blue print in the continent through mobilisation and promotion of partnerships of the African States.
 - Development of a common approach, through involvement of civil society and the general citizenry.
 - South Africa to be proactive in the debate and processes that leads towards the creation of the United State of Africa including the mobilisation of the progressive forces (and governments) towards a common understanding on the strategic plan.
- 12 ANC should engage its structures and the South African public in general to develop a better understanding of the agenda for Africa and the world. In guiding the discussions in our structures, in the movement and society in general the ANC needs to develop a discussion paper containing proposals on the form, character and shape of the United States of Africa. The paper should also capture the debates and history by the post independent Africa leadership in the early 1960's before the formation of the OAU and later towards the formation of the African Union.

SADC

- 13 The conference strongly recommends that SADC should be consolidated as a first step towards the development of the Africa United States.
- 14 SADC region faces a number challenges but we need to ensure that they are resolved to ensure the effective functioning of SADC. There is a need for a political will within the SADC countries and its leadership to be able to achieve our objectives.
- 15 The ANC has to play a leading role in strengthening and consolidating the region politically.
- 16 To achieve our economic and political programmes as agreed by SADC regional leadership - our approach should be developmental and ensure diversification of the economies of the member states.
- 17 Furthermore, the SADC Parliament should be established so that it could engage and contribute to a common approach on issues in the region.

SA Developmental Aid

- 18 The idea of a Developmental AID is one of the key strategies that could assist the ANC and government in pursuit of our vision for a better Africa. The development Aid will enhance our agenda on the international relations and should rest on three pillars which are; (i) consolidation of the African agenda, (ii) south- south and (iii) north - south co-operations.
- 19 The recommendation on the establishment of the development aid was endorsed by the policy conference. However, conference cautioned that its implementation should not generate negative perceptions about South Africa as a colonial power; rather it should encourage other countries in the continent to follow suit.
- 20 The national budgetary processes should commit resources to the developmental aid fund. The fund should be located in the Department of Foreign Affairs.
- 21 The fund should in addition assist African countries in strengthening their state institutions in developing mechanisms and frameworks for their growth and development.

Party - to-Party Relations

- 22 Party-to-Party relations amongst former liberation movements must be prioritized by the ANC (SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZANU (PF), PAIGC, CCM, SPLMA, etc) and pursue the meetings and structured support of the former liberation movements in the region.
- 23 An audit is required to have a better understanding of the ideological orientation and character of the parties in the continent and identify those that share the same political vision as the ANC. A deliberate effort to strengthen relations with all progressive and like - minded parties in the region, continent and the world should be made.

- 24 Promote relations with other ruling parties in the continent who might not be sharing the same vision with the ANC and such relations could be based on common interests.

Embracing the principle of Strategic Partnership

- 25 Commission supported the principle of strategic partnership outlined in the document. This strategic partnership while assisting the ANC in achieving our strategic goals must also ensure consolidation of the African Agenda.
- 26 Continued engagement with India and Brazil (IBSA) was supported as part of consolidating South - South Relations which will also include engagement with China.
- 27 Such Strategic partnerships should not narrowly be interpreted as relationship at government level only but also independently include party - to party relations as well as civil society formations.

Economic Diplomacy

- 28 The advent of democracy has created new opportunities for the South African Business both in Africa and in the world in the retail, mining, construction, engineering, banking services, communication services, agricultural, agric-processing and others. This opportunity is welcomed and good; however, it brings with it new challenges in the relationship between South Africa and other African countries.
- 29 The conference endorsed the idea of resuscitating and beefing up of economic desks in the South African embassies to ensure our businesses/companies exploit the available business opportunities abroad and in the continent and ensure our goods enter their local markets in those countries; while at the same time we encourage the African countries to produce quality goods that can compete with the South African products and for them to take advantage of the developing and growing economy. This will encourage trade amongst states in the continent and in the south and also expand on our objective on the national interests.

Business Code of Conduct in the Continent:

- 30 Need to acknowledge and give attention to the code of practice which binds many companies trading in different countries within the continent. The development of the code of conduct was agreed upon in principle and it was agreed on that the code need to be legislated and regulated without restricting their competitiveness.
- 31 We should encourage those countries in the continent in strengthening, their labour and trade laws.
- 32 The code of conduct should have general standards that guide it, such as prohibition of child labour,

discouragement on bribery and that those who practice such actions be criminalised.

- 33 The standards on the code of conduct to include among others the encouragement on recruitment of local labour, imparting of skills, prohibition of child labour and contribute to the social responsibility programmes of that country and remove the negative connotations about South African Government and the private sector.

Parliamentary Diplomacy

- 34 A proposal emerged that the ANC must develop a clear policy guide for parliament, legislatures and municipalities in their engagement with the bodies to which they are affiliated and in the establishment of Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)
- 35 There is a need to develop capacity to monitor all these processes and ensure that there is co-ordination at all levels and everyone pursues a common goals and objectives as in the foreign policy. There should be proper training of all cadres involved or participating in the foreign/international activities in pursuance of their programmes.
- 36 The South African Embassies should play the role of providing delegations with information, advise and protocol without undermining the separation of powers as dictated to in the SA constitution.

Political Party Foundation Funding

- 37 This will assist in the building of the progressive movement in African and in the World
- 38 The funding mechanism should be linked to the proposal in the Organisational Review on the funding of political parties through public funds.

Rebuilding of associated bodies of the OAU, now AU

- 39 There are broad agreements on the resolution as it will assist in the strengthening of the AU and all its organs including the associated bodies such as Pan African Youth Movement (PAYM), Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO) and Economic, Cultural, and Social Council (ECCOSOC), to function effectively, particularly within the civil society arena, including the funding and resourcing of these bodies.

Religion and politics

- 40 This section was supported. The ANC must engage in a public discourse to assist society to reach broader consensus and religious tolerance, which will assist in reversing global polarisation.

CURRENT POLICIES THAT REQUIRE REVIEW, STRENGTHENING AND REINVIGORATION

Migration, Immigrants and Xenophobia

Immigrants:

- 41 Dept of Home Affairs working together with the Criminal Justice cluster needs to develop a policy and systems that will ensure that illegal immigrants are captured in a data that will assist in monitoring their movements and enforcement of our laws.

Refugees:

- 42 Our policy needs to take into account the United Nations (UN) codes on refugees that we have ratified to ensure that the manner in which we treat refugees is humane, including taking lessons from other countries which give support, education and welfare

Xenophobia:

- 43 We need to conduct awareness campaigns amongst our communities to prevent incidents resulting from xenophobia. We also need to acknowledge the valuable skills many immigrants bring to the country, while preventing exploitation
- 44 Going forward in enhancing the understanding of the international agenda including immigration, refugees and Xenophobia, a need for provincial workshops was identified for our structure in preparation for National Conference.

Twinning of Provinces, Cities and Municipalities

- 45 It was agreed that we need to develop a policy that would guide on twinning agreements with clear objectives and guidelines and develop capacity to monitor implementation.

Building a Progressive Movement in Africa and the World

- 46 There was agreement that we need to strengthen the progressive movement in Africa and formalise relations with the global progressive movement in particular Latin America and East Asia.

Strengthening the South African Foreign policy

- 47 The dominant features of our foreign policy are about peace, conflict resolution, peace keeping activity, partnership, multilateral development agenda pursuant of the NEPAD programme, building institutions in the continent and the reform of others and influence on political global issues.
- 48 The conference agreed that South African policy includes in its objectives of the achievement of National

Interests (namely political, economic, cultural, social and people to people relations) which should be anchored into the three pillars which are:

- Consolidation of the African Agenda,
- South-South Relations and
- North-South dialogue

- 49 The Department of Foreign Affairs should change to Department of Foreign Relations and having embraced the development aid principle should include International Cooperation (DFR & IC)
- 50 The ANC and government need to ensure that there is a deliberate educational programme on the international work to ensure a broader understanding and for the achievement on the national consensus.

African Diaspora

- 51 The African Diaspora section in the document needs to be strengthened but we need to have a vision that can materialise into policy objective. In preparation for the national conference a document outlining our policy on the issues be developed and circulated for branch inputs.
- 52 In addition the ANC needs to prepare for the African Diaspora Head of State meeting taking place in 2007 and the Summit in 2008.

Resolutions

- 53 The solution to the situation of in Zimbabwe would be resolved by the people of Zimbabwe in the main. The conference expressed support on the initiative for mediation by President Thabo Mbeki as mandated by the SADC region.
- 54 The resolutions are already pointing towards a direction of solidarity campaigns and engagements to seek solutions in areas such as Palestine, Western Sahara, Sudan, Somalia/Somaliland, Swaziland and certain regions such as the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa.
- 55 Reaffirm our solidarity campaigns such as the Free the Cuban Five, the release of political prisoners in Myanmar, Palestine, Western Sahara, etc.
- 56 In the spirit of our vision of a better Africa and the world which is also expressed in the Freedom Charter, the conference that the organisation should always pursue all efforts to seek speedy solutions in all the areas that are currently experiencing conflicts and challenges.

Previous resolutions

- 57 The policy conference affirmed the 51st Stellenbosch Conference and the 2005 NGC resolutions and that they should be re-characterised based on the current situation prevailing in the continent and the world.

ISSUES IDENTIFIED NEEDING FURTHER DELIBERATIONS

- 58 While the policy has been agreed upon in principle, further work needs to be done to inform ANC structures and the SA public a the history, form, character and shape that the United States of Africa should take including issues such as sovereignty and developmental agenda.
- 59 Further work on the issues and further debates with provinces should be held to formulate clear policy perspectives on migration, immigration, refugees and xenophobia.
- 60 The policy perspective and the definition of the African Diaspora needs further strengthening.

- 61 Developing common understanding and consciousness on SA interest with the SA Foreign Policy. To further enhance our foreign policy document and circulate it for further discussion and input.
- 62 The Religious desks would further strengthen the policy perspective on Religion and Politics.
- 63 Develop a policy on Twinning of Provinces, Cities and Municipalities to reinforce our resolution.

NOTE: These are summarised resolutions as presented and adopted by the National Policy Conference and are constituted as recommendations to the 52nd National Conference. In reading the recommendations, alignment with the policy discussion documents should be exercised.

05 / LEGISLATURES AND GOVERNANCE

ELECTORAL SYSTEM

NOTING

- 1 The commissions discussed the different options outlined in the discussion document on Legislatures and Governance for a National Democratic Society, i.e. retain the present system, introduce a pure constituency system or introduce a mixed proportional / constituency system.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The commissions recommended that:

- 2 The current system should be maintained and be strengthened, further to enhance the links between the people and their public representatives.
- 3 Further research into a mixed electoral system should be conducted for possible consideration in future.
- 4 The formula used to calculate the allocation of seats in local government elections should be reviewed to ensure that it does not disadvantage parties that get more ward votes.

FLOOR CROSSING

NOTING

The commissions noted:

- 5 The organizational problems and tensions caused by floor-crossing and stressed the need for proper political management of these processes - in particular the need to ensure that those who cross the floor join and become rooted in ANC branches.
- 6 The commissions also noted the following arguments in

favour and opposed to floor-crossing:

6.1 In favour of floor-crossing:

(1) There might be political developments in society or certain parties that might make members of such a party want to leave; (2) floor-crossing is a potentially useful tactical tool to take or maintain control with a view to speeding up transformation; (3) we should be cautious of doing away with floor-crossing at a time when the political situation is still fluid; (4) the ANC is not compelled to accept anyone wanting to cross the floor, this needs to be done in consultation with the relevant organizational structures;

6.2 Against floor-crossing:

(1) People will come into the ANC without being familiar with its policies and principles; (2) some people will cross the floor for opportunistic reasons that have nothing to do with principle and everything to do with individual interest; (3) it should be the ongoing task of branches to win over society to ANC positions. We should not try to do so through floor-crossing; (4) we need to ensure that those crossing the floor do so with a constituency and not just for individual opportunistic reasons; (5) floor-crossing is used by some as a short cut to ANC leadership structures, this must be prevented; (6) we need to balance short-term tactical considerations with long-term considerations relating to the integrity of our political system.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 7 The commissions arrived at different recommendations regarding floor-crossing:
 - 7.1 One commission agreed that floor-crossing

should be retained as an interim measure pending further evaluation. However, the NEC must develop guidelines for the political management of floor-crossing at both organizational and public level, including guidelines for the acceptance of members, amongst others, to ensure that floor-crossing does not become a substitute for mass-work.

7.2 The other commission agreed that floor crossing must be done away with and that the ANC should not to accept anyone crossing into it during the September 2007 window period for floor crossing. This commission felt that there must be an opportunity for political party coalitions without legislating for it.

- 8 The status quo, i.e. retention of the existing floor-crossing dispensation, will remain in force pending further discussion by National Conference.

POST-TENURE/EMPLOYMENT RULES FOR PUBLIC OFFICIALS

NOTING:

The commission noted that:

- 9 A system of post-tenure / employment rules for public officials, public representatives as well as public servants, is needed.
- 10 People who work in Government have made a choice that they are in Government to serve the people and not themselves.
- 11 The issue should be linked to revolutionary ethics and must be fused into our cadre development programme.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 12 Consideration should be given to restraint of trade/business for some period with compensation;
- 13 The details of such a system need to be elaborated and, in doing so, we need to study a range of international experiences and best practices.
- 14 Measures should be put in place to prepare deployed cadres for the eventuality of redeployment.
- 15 Mechanisms currently in existence must be strengthened to ensure that there is more transparency and accountability to curb the possibilities of public office misuse/abuse for personal gain.
- 16 Consideration should be given for the establishment of an integrity commission which will serve as a platform for comrades to also ask for assistance in whatever individual or collective interests they may want to pursue.

FUTURE OF PROVINCES

NOTING:

- 17 The commissions held elaborate and animated discussions on the functioning of provinces within the context of our overall system of intergovernmental relations. The commissions were convinced of the need for a comprehensive review of this system, taking into account the distribution of powers and functions between different spheres of government as well as within the two-tier system of local government with a view to assessing whether this contributes to the attainment of our developmental goals.

The commissions further noted that:

- 18 The Department of Provincial and Local Government is embarking on a White Paper process aimed at conducting a comprehensive review of provinces informed by research conducted by different government departments, especially those dealing with concurrent national and provincial competencies.
- 19 The process will be initiated in July 2007 with the release of a list of questions for discussion. A Green Paper will be released in October 2007. A Draft White Paper will be released middle of 2008. White Paper to be finalized by the end of 2008. The outcome of this process might impact on the Constitution and the structure of government as we go into the next elections. The importance of ANC structures being involved in this process was emphasized.

RECOMMENDATION

The commissions recommended that:

- 20 The review process being undertaken by the Department of Provincial and Local Government must be supported. ANC structures must play a proactive and leading role in this process.
- 21 The process, including the convening of a special summit, of formulating a comprehensive ANC position must be embarked upon expeditiously.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT: POLICY AREAS REQUIRING REVIEW

NOTING:

- 22 The commission noted that there were a number of matters related to local government and intergovernmental relations that require policy review.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The commissions recommend that the following areas require policy review:

- 23 The powers and functions of the Demarcation Board vis-vis those of the relevant MEC;

- 24 Powers, functions and resource allocation to Ward Committees;
- 25 The location of appropriate capacity to appropriate spheres of government. Lack of progress in policy implementation might be an indication of the need for policy review.
- 26 The structural alignment of the state with our developmental objectives.
- 27 The alignment of traditional leadership with democracy and the constitutional framework.
- 28 The functioning of the Financial and Fiscal Commission.
- 29 The two-tier system of local government, especially with regard to distribution of functions and capacity between local and district municipalities.
- 30 The system of determining remuneration of public representatives at national, provincial and local spheres.
- 31 Allocations of powers and functions with regard to matters such as electricity, water and roads.
- 32 The management of monuments and other heritage sites.
- 33 Equitable deployment of ANC cadreship. Local government deployment only takes place after national and provincial.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE JUDICIARY

NOTING:

The commission noted that:

- 34 Many of the proposals contained in the policy document were in fact resolved upon at the National Conferences held in Mafikeng and Stellenbosch Conference and also the 2005 National General Council.
- 35 Implementation of these decisions is long overdue.
- 36 There have been processes undertaken by both by the executive as well as the legislature to consult all relevant role players, including the judiciary.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The commissions recommend that:

- 37 A single, integrated, accessible and affordable court system must be established.
- 38 The Constitutional Court should be the highest (apex) court for all matters, constitutional and non-constitutional with the Supreme Court of Appeal as an intermediate court of appeal with the proviso that this does not lead to undue delays in the hearing of appeals. Decisions of the SCA should be final if the Constitutional Court does not grant leave to appeal in a matter. Full bench appeals at the level of the High Court should be abolished.

- 39 Skills resulting from specialization must be retained as we move towards an integrated, streamlined court system, therefore specialist skills must be retained but located within the single court system. The Labour Court should be integrated into each division of the High Court. The creation of further specialized courts outside the single court system must be discouraged.
- 40 Each province should have a high court. The commission also stressed the importance of expediting the re-demarcation of courts to enhance access to justice, especially in rural areas. The demarcation of courts must be done in consultation with other components of in the criminal justice system. The commission expressed the strong view that the renaming of outdated jurisdictions such as Transvaal Provincial Division was overdue.
- 41 Magisterial Districts must be re-demarcated by taking into account the boundaries of the other levels of government especially municipal boundaries. Also the distribution of courts in accordance with population demographics, especially the previously disadvantaged and marginalized communities.
- 42 A new layer of Regional Civil Courts should be established by extending their jurisdiction to civil law matters including the old "black" Divorce Courts into the new Regional Civil Magistrates Courts.
- 43 Community courts, small claims courts must be promoted and expanded.
- 44 There must be an alignment of traditional courts with the new constitutional dispensation.
- 45 There needs to be an integrated system of governance in our courts with the Chief Justice at the head of the judiciary. The commission reaffirmed the need for everyone to respect for the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary, especially in so far as the adjudicative function of the courts is concerned.
- 46 The system of separation of powers must be respected by all spheres. The judiciary must adjudicate without fear, favour or prejudice, but should also respect the areas of responsibility of the other arms of the state.
- 47 The administration of courts, including resource allocation, financial management and policy matters are the responsibility of the Minister responsible for the administration of justice.
- 48 Whilst justice is an exclusive national competency, there is a need to look at the matter carefully in the context of co-operative governance.
- 49 There must be a single rule-making mechanism for all courts, which is inclusive of all role players, to process rules through the Rules Board, which is a specialist advisory body consisting mainly of legal practitioners, with the rules being approved by the Minister and Parliament and in the process of adopting rules to allow for public participation.
- 50 The Department of Justice and Constitutional Development must ensure implementation in so far as

ensuring that every person enjoys the right to use an official language of his or her choice and interpretation services are provided, as far as is possible, in criminal proceedings. In the case of an appeal / review the record must be typed in English. Any written court process (ex. Summons and writs of execution) should be printed in English and, if it is the wish of a litigant, in one other official language, as prescribed.

- 51 These decisions to be implemented by the end of the present term of government.

DEFENDING THE DEMOCRATIC STATE

RECOMMENDATIONS

The commissions recommend that:

- 52 The responsibility of the members and structures of our movement and the broad democratic movement to defend the democratic state and its institutions; respect for the institutions of the democratic state by members and supporters of our movement; respect for the institutions of the democratic state and public property owned by the people as a whole, during the exercise of the entrenched democratic right to engage in public demonstrations; be reaffirmed and that further discussion on these matters take place in preparation for National Conference.

USE OF FORCE DURING DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTESTS

RECOMMENDATIONS

The commissions recommend that:

- 53 Our unequivocal condemnation of the use of force during public demonstrations and mass protests resulting in such unacceptable actions as violent assaults against the people, intimidation in various forms, looting and destruction of property; be reaffirmed and that further discussion on these matters take place in preparation for National Conference.

POPULAR PARTICIPATION

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The commissions recommend that:

- 54 The need to deepen popular participation in governance through such interventions as the Ward Committee system and the Izimbizo process; the constituency work of our public representatives at national, provincial and local levels, and its relevance to the process of democratisation; the place of civic street committees and similar structures, as well as non-governmental and community based organisations in the process of deepening our democracy; be reaffirmed

and that further discussion on these matters take place in preparation for National Conference.

MEDIA FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 55 The commissions noted that this matter would be discussed in greater detail by the commission dealing with Media and the Battle of Ideas.

The commissions recommend that:

- 56 The ANC's commitment to media freedom is well known, entrenched and respected. However, the commission also expressed concern that in some cases the media conducts itself to the detriment of the Constitutional rights of others. The media needs to contribute to building new society and be accountable for its actions. The ANC needs to make creative use of a range of mechanisms to communicate with the widest spectrum of South Africans.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A WOMENS' MINISTRY

NOTING

The commissions noted that:

- 57 Fighting poverty is a key objective of the ANC and that poverty affects women disproportionately;
- 58 There is a need for proper co-ordination of issues affecting women most directly;
- 59 The experience of countries such as Chile and Tunisia demonstrate the need for a Women's Ministry.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The commissions recommend that:

- 60 Serious consideration be given to the establishment of a Women's Ministry

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

- 61 The commissions recommended that consideration be given to the creation of a National Youth Development Agency to ensure seamless integration, sustainability and responsiveness to the demands and aspirations for South Africa's youth.

VOTING AGE

- 62 The proposal that the voting age be lowered from 18 to 16 needs further discussion in preparation for and at National Conference.

MEDIA FREEDOM AND DIVERSITY

- 1 The Commission reaffirmed the Stellenbosch resolutions on media transformation and, while fully appreciative of our internal capacity constraints, expressed concern about the slow pace of implementation.
- 2 The Commission re-affirmed the ANC's commitment to freedom of expression in society, including the media, within the context of the Constitution of the Republic. These rights need to be weighed against other constitutional rights, such as the right to human dignity and privacy
- 3 In this regard, an investigation should be conducted into:
 - the adequacy or otherwise of the prevailing self regulatory dispensation within the media;
 - whatever remedial measures may be required to safeguard and promote the rights of all South Africans;
 - the need or otherwise for a media tribunal to address these matters.
- 4 With regard to the important matter of transformation within the media, the Commission noted that the media industry is not covered by a sectoral Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Charter. It also noted that issues of media diversity in South Africa transcend issues of economic empowerment. Over the years, a number of media houses have concluded BEE transactions. These have not necessarily translated into a diversity of views. Some of the factors that account for this include the fact that readership, advertising profiles and key management positions remain largely the same.

THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

- 5 The Commission noted that the ANC is faced with a major ideological offensive, largely driven by the opposition and individuals in the mainstream media.
- 6 A key objective of this offensive is the promotion of market fundamentalism to retain the old apartheid economic and social relations.
- 7 This offensive against our movement, in its content and form, is part of a global offensive against progressive values and ideas. The increasing concentration of ownership, control and content within the international media environment is reflected in the local industry.
- 8 The apparent lack of skills within the media to analyse and explain the complex social transformation through which South Africa is going is a challenge. The pursuit of profit means that owners do not readily invest in the development of journalism; they often rely on

syndicated reports, grouping editorial content, etc. Commercial interests are thus increasingly impacting negatively on editorial quality. These and other related factors constitute the real threat to media freedom, diversity and democracy.

- 9 Opportunities nevertheless exist for progressive voices, and the democratic movement in particular, to contest this space and the public discourse more broadly.
- 10 The Commission therefore proposed that the ANC:
 - define the nature and scope of the battle of ideas and elaborate on the main competing ideological schools. It should vigorously propagate the ANC's outlook and values (developmental state, collective rights, values of caring and community solidarity, non sexism, etc) versus the current mainstream media's ideological outlook (neo-liberalism, a weak and passive state, and overemphasis on individual rights, market fundamentalism, etc.);
 - encourage a more representative and diverse media environment;
 - establish its own platforms for the production and distribution of information;
 - encourage the creation of progressive media houses, including media directed at youth;
 - strengthen government communication platforms;
 - improve its own internal and external communication tools and platforms. Specific suggestions on the use of new technology include: ANC internet TV, ANC blog, ANC News Site, sms communications, online political education, etc;
 - take practical steps to influence and engage the output of the creative, media, academic and intellectual communities;
 - improve the capacity of its communications cadres, including the resuscitation of media organising committees in each REC and committees at sub branch level to coordinate and disseminate information to the people and engage in the battle of ideas;
 - strengthen its interaction with journalists in all media;
 - strengthen community media and ensure it has access to the latest available technologies, spectrum, etc;
 - improve the capacity of the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) to support community media;
 - address the quality of training of journalists together with other stakeholders such as the South African Newspaper Editors Forum (SANEF) and the Presidential Working Group on Higher Education;

and,

- leverage government advertising power to support community media.

- 11 The Commission recommended that the NEC sub committee on Communications should establish a task team to investigate all these matters and report to the December National Conference.

PUBLIC BROADCASTER AND SIGNAL DISTRIBUTION

- 12 The Commission noted that alongside the commercial and community media is a strong public broadcaster on whom millions of our people daily depend for information, and which therefore has an important role to play in the deepening of democracy and involvement of the people in the process of social change.
- 13 The SABC is strategically placed to foster the principles of the Constitution, social cohesion, and nation-building, amongst others.
- 14 The ANC has previously taken resolutions on the funding of the public broadcaster, which have not been implemented. Its current funding model - where 80% of revenue comes from advertising, 18% from licence fees and only 2% from government - compromises its public service mandate.
- 15 The Commission recommends that the ANC should:
- reaffirm that government should substantially and urgently increase its funding of the public broadcaster to achieve a better balance between the different sources of funding;
 - through government, encourage the SABC to increase its support and promotion of local content that is consistent with the outlook of the country's Constitution, including a specific focus on women, the disabled and the youth;
 - reaffirm government's position that Sentech is a strategic asset and must remain in public hands, in order to guarantee the availability of TV signal to all parts of the country;
 - Ensure Sentech is adequately funded to ensure the digitalisation of the infrastructure and access to broadband, especially for rural areas and public institutions.

FURTHER ISSUES FOR CONSIDERATION

- 16 Government should consider the existing international arrangements around internet domain name registration, particularly with respect to issues of availability and accountability.
- 17 Government should facilitate the roll-out of broadband, including to rural areas.
- 18 A political principle should be established to guide the allocation of spectrum - which is a national resource - to contribute to the promotion of national interests, development and diversity. This should involve

increasing the amount of spectrum and licenses dedicated to community radio and TV.

OTHER ISSUES THAT WERE DISCUSSED BY THE COMMISSION INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

Social cohesion:

- 19 The media must be encouraged to foster and develop social cohesion . It should promote and support:
- the building of national consensus on a common set of values consistent with the new democratic order;
 - promote and support the development of national pride as a South African nation around events such as the hosting of 2010;
 - national unity among the various national groups in the country and support for the principles and values enshrined in our Constitution;
 - support the consolidation and deepening of democracy in South Africa.

Disability:

- 20 We reaffirm the principle that all media, especially the public broadcaster, should ensure access of people with disabilities to the media, both as producers and consumers of content.

Gender:

- 21 The ANC must continue to fight for space in the media to challenge patriarchy and gender stereotyping.

Impact of advertising on youth and children

- 22 We should investigate mechanisms to ameliorate the adverse social impact of advertising on children.

2010 and the media:

- 23 Recognising sports as central in social cohesion and national building, we should ensure that
- 24 the media legacy of 2010 includes the development of digital broadcasting and broadband infrastructure rollout

Government communications and capacity:

- 25 We must continuously attend to the capacity of government to communicate and thus empower the citizenry in a democratic state. This should include consideration of:
- a legislative framework to establish a centralised government advertising unit which would enable government to utilise advertising spend economically;
 - the capacity of government communications and

communicators;

- the extent to which the prevailing administrative environment enables government to communicate effectively;
- concrete development communications initiatives required for effective local government communication.

Media Diversity and Languages:

- 26 We should ensure that citizens have access to media in all languages, and in particular support indigenous languages in print, TV and internet-based media. We should support content development and production in indigenous languages.