



NEC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BULLETIN

Produced by the African National Congress



FOREWORD BY SECRETARY GENERAL GWEDE MANTASHE

Let us continue the legacy of our forebears

Comrades,
The National Executive Committee meeting was held at **Esselen Park, Ekurhuleni, on March 12th –13th 2010.**

Our deliberations focused mainly on strengthening the organisational structures, inside the party and in government. In doing this we had frank and robust engagement on those matters that strengthen the ANC brand and have kept our movement as a beacon in the eyes of our people, society and the world at large.

We acknowledge and recognise the leadership role of our movement. This leadership responsibility imposes particular imperatives upon us regarding our revolutionary conduct. Our leadership of the Alliance requires of us to engage in a manner befitting our standing in this revolutionary and strategic Alliance. Similarly, the Alliance as a revolutionary collective that leads society must act, in word and deed, in a way that commands respect among all our people.

In the recent past we have allowed ourselves to be derailed by issues that are not core to our programme in society. We should remind ourselves, once more, that our mission is to serve the people. In this regard, our commitments as outlined in the 2009 Manifesto serve as our leadership programme in the present context towards the achievement of our stated objective of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, prosperous South Africa.

As you read the decisions of the NEC contained in this bulletin, you will appreciate the frankness of our self-

introspection, coupled with our commitment to be true to the nature and character of our movement, wherein we seek to rid ourselves and our structures of an emerging culture that is alien to our revolution and its conduct. It is in accordance with this expressed commitment that we are going to distribute the President's political overview to this NEC, so as to enable your province, your region, and your branch to engage and align with the spirit and intention of this leadership organ of our movement.

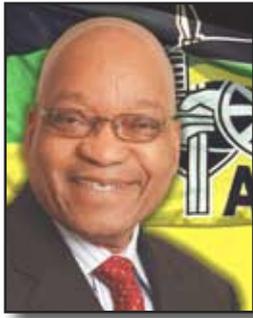
The challenge is, therefore, before each and every member of this organisation to adhere to this call that reaffirms the authority and supremacy of our constitutional structures. The imperative is upon us, individually and collectively, to realise that this is not merely about implementing discipline but also about protecting the image of our movement and that of its elected leaders. These challenges apply to the leadership and membership of

the Alliance partners as well.

It is our sincere hope – one that we will in a concerted manner work for – that this is another step in the rebuilding and renewal of our organisation, and our revolutionary alliance.

Let us return to the revolutionary conduct and discipline that has earned our movement an honourable place in the hearts of our people, and in the history of struggle. Our forebears entrusted us with this glorious legacy, let us not fail them as we march on in history.

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POLITICAL OVERVIEW BY PRESIDENT JACOB ZUMA

We sometimes assume to be bigger than the ANC

This meeting of the National Executive Committee takes place less than a month after we presented the state of the nation address, and less than a month since we presented the budget speech to Parliament.

On both occasions we outlined our commitment and the programme to fight poverty, transform the economy, building on a firm solid foundation of a better life for all. We presented to the nation our commitment to change the way government works in order to fast-track service delivery to its people. Hence we have declared 2010 as the year of action and a year of speeding up service delivery.

Based on our undertaking during the election campaign to implement a performance monitoring and evaluation system, we announced that we would now take an outcomes based approach to governance and service delivery.

We also undertook to focus on a few key points as agreed to at the makgotla, instead of producing a long programme of action that would make focus difficult.

We can say that since the re-configuration of departments that government as a whole is ready to implement the five priorities of our election manifesto.

We now have a deeper sense and an in-depth understanding of what is working or not working in government, and we will not be found wanting in fixing what is not working.

We will continue to meet key stakeholders such as health workers, directors-general and others, to complete our programme to communicate the ANC government's new style of doing things to the entire public service sector.

As part of our commitment to change the turn-around time of government delivering services to the people, and the creation of a new public service cadre, we will take action against people who are lazy, incompetent, corrupt and non-performing. I have raised this point in previous meetings, but it is important to repeat it so that nobody can accuse the ANC when decisions are taken that affect them.

Comrades we must also attend to the issue of service delivery protests that are occurring in some communities.

Some of us feel that when there are service delivery protests, we must not go there as government as it encourages other areas to do the same. I do not think that is the right decision. We must still go to the affected areas as government, as you are then able to see whether the protest is service delivery orientated or political, that is, linked to infighting in that area. We need to attend to these flashpoints and ensure that we resolve the issues that are raised.

The environment in which we have to work to deliver on the undertakings made in the election manifesto is unfortunately intensely polluted. The ANC and allies cannot blame anyone else for this situation. We have witnessed in recent weeks very unbecoming behaviour. The media has been full of attacks and innuendoes against members and leaders of the ANC. This has created an impression that the organisation is dysfunctional and in disarray.

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The public spats have raised suggestions that the country is without direction and has no leadership. Ordinary people look up to the ANC, even those who are not members. They expect to be led by this organisation. We cannot afford to make them lose hope.

You will recall that during the last meeting of the National Executive Committee, early this year, we emphasised discipline

and unity as the cornerstones of our revolutionary morality in society. Organisational discipline is imperative. We cannot just erode the core values and principles of the movement.

We sometimes get carried away by our perceived standing in the organisation and assume that we are bigger than the ANC and, therefore, have no reason to adhere to its protocols. This leadership collective must ensure that nobody gets away with that type of behaviour.

Most importantly, we must ensure adherence to the decisions and undertakings made by the NEC. In the September NEC, we discussed and agreed that there is no political basis for a succession debate for 2012. We affirmed that the ANC structures, at an appropriate time, would have an opportunity to discuss and express their preferences. We further affirmed that, anything to the contrary was a recipe for disunity, labelling, factionalism and erosion of organisational culture and traditions.

Some have decided to go against this agreed position of this National Executive Committee and continue debating succession and stating preferences publicly, even casting aspersions on the senior leadership of the ANC.

Let me emphasise that the utterances that are made about the Secretary General of the ANC do not only impact on the person of the SG, but on the dignity and integrity of the ANC.

An attack on the Secretary General hits at the belly of the ANC. It is totally unacceptable that the Secretary General of the ANC should be treated in this manner. We must not tolerate it. We do not attack the SG of the ANC, it is never done, and it is not the tradition of our movement. During the years in exile there was no Deputy President, and the SG was number two in the organisation. No matter how many mistakes the SG would make, he was never attacked in public. We will not respond to those outside who are clamouring for us to defend the SG in public. Our view is that we should solve these problems right here and not join the public debates on these issues, as that does not take us anywhere.

Comrades, we have said everything that needed to be said since our last national conference in Polokwane about the need to build unity and cohesion within the congress movement.

One of the constitutional imperatives of the National Executive Committee is to protect the integrity, image and decisions of the ANC. If we cannot fulfill this task, we would have failed the organisation. We must agree that the tendency to engage or deal with members in the media and public platforms instead of through usual channels is foreign and should not be allowed to continue.

The NEC must take a clear decision on who is allowed to speak in public on behalf of the organisation. This applies to the Alliance leadership as well. We raised this matter with the SACP during our bilateral meeting with them on Thursday, 11 March 2010, and we agreed that the public attacks should cease. We had raised the matter with the Party during the Special Congress in December as well.

We stated to that Congress that while we must continue to support a vibrant exchange of ideas and a culture of critical analysis on issues, we must also commit to, and practice the culture of principled debate.

We said that the Alliance was too deep-rooted and entrenched to be disrupted by

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activities or statements of a few of its members. We will raise the matter with COSATU as well. There is no reason why members cannot engage each other directly and in a comradely manner if there is something to be dealt with.

There is no reason to attack a comrade who is a Minister, deployed by the ANC, when you can meet and discuss issues that are of concern directly with the comrade. The ANC

Youth League issued a statement attacking the Minister of Finance, Comrade Pravin Gordhan, referring to him as an un-elected leader. Comrade Gordhan is one of the key and most senior leaders of the ANC and has come a long way.

He was attacked with regards to the funding of the National Youth Development Agency, which was said to be insufficient. I had spoken to the Head of the NYDA who had explained to me that the Agency had to divert a lot of money in their new budget allocation to outstanding debts. They were given more than R340 million, it is not as if no budget was allocated to the Agency. The point is that I had been asked to deal with the matter with the Minister, and while I was still attending to it, the attacks occur. If you attack a Minister you are also attacking the President, as you are questioning his judgement in appointing that Minister. In addition, we must adhere to the principle of playing the ball and not the man. This behaviour cannot be allowed to continue.

This culture of publicly attacking each other will become entrenched if we do not act against it. We will create an image of an organisation and country dogged by tension and infighting. This NEC meeting must draw a line between what is acceptable and what is not. There must be consequences for people's actions.

Unless we take decisive action against those who continue to undermine what the NEC has agreed upon, there is simply no reason why we are here. Unless we act upon ill discipline as an organisation, we cannot be trusted to be custodians of the history and traditions of our movement. Once we act against this scourge and normalise the situation in the movement and the country, our messages on speeding up service delivery will then be heard.

If we fail to act, we will not be able to inspire confidence in the nation and internationally.

We will have failed the branches of the ANC that entrusted upon us this important responsibility of leading the ANC.

I thank you.

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DECISIONS OF THE NEC

The ANC must lead with integrity and give leadership to society

The Political Overview of the President provided clear leadership and guidance, and the NEC dedicated sufficient time discussing it, together with the summary of the Secretary General on the Overview. On the basis of these inputs and the Report of the NWC to the NEC, the following decisions were arrived at:

1. On Organisational Matters:

- (ii) The final discussion documents must be ready by June 2010.

NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL (NGC)

President's Political Overview

- The President's political overview will be circulate to all structures of the movement and NEC members will be deployed to all the regions to facilitate discussions on it in preparation for the NGC.

Preparations for the NGC

- The NGC will be on 20-24 September 2010 at the Exhibition Centre in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.
- The NGC will be attended by 2000 delegates and provision has been made for support staff of about 500.
 - (i) The auditing of membership must happen within a particular timeframe and be completed by June 2010. This is to allow delegations to be allocated to the various provinces and the Leagues.
 - (ii) The registration of delegates must be done such that we minimise problems and queries. We may be able to learn from the experience of pre-registration in the Eastern Cape and this can inform our approach in terms of the bulk of work happening in the provinces and be completed at least two weeks before the NGC and information be processed so that problems can be attended to well in advance.
- The focus of the NGC will be on mid-term review of this term of office. We must also report concretely on the progress made on the five priority areas in the manifesto. It will be equally important to pay attention to local government.
- Papers to the NGC should be based on reports of the sub-committees giving details on issues that have been taken up, progress made and challenges confronted.
 - (i) The first draft discussions documents must be circulated in the preparatory team by end of April 2010.

LEADERSHIP OF THE ANC IN SOCIETY

- The ANC must lead with integrity and give leadership to society as a whole.
- The historic mission of the ANC remains to unite all South Africans, black and white, rich and poor, and to solicit and listen to their views.
- Our guiding programme is contained in the resolutions of the 52nd National Conference and the five priorities in the 2009 Elections Manifesto, that is, education, health, decent work, crime and corruption and rural development. These priorities are important to ensure that we prosper as a nation and move faster in building a better life for all.

DISCIPLINE IN THE MOVEMENT

The NEC notes:

- It is the primary responsibility of the National Executive Committee to defend the Officials of the movement, its leadership at all levels, as well as the ANC as a movement.
- It takes exception to the new culture of public spats, trading of insults and personalised attacks amongst its leaders, against deployees of the movement inside and outside of government.
- The astonishing disrespect shown by some leaders and structures of our movement to decisions of the National Executive Committee, in particular the 2012 succession debate.

Reaffirm that:

- These actions detract from the historic mission of the ANC, its discipline, traditions and protocols.
- Its previous and principled position that ANC structures will pronounce on the 2012 succession at an appropriate time.

Resolved:

- That, following this NEC meeting, the Officials should institute disciplinary measures against any leader and/or leaders of the ANC, at any level, who continue to engage in these activities which are alien to our movement.
- Henceforth, all NEC members should refrain from engaging in public spats.
- Any leader or structure or member who continues to disrespect this resolution and other resolutions of the NEC should be brought before the disciplinary committee to answer for their conduct.

ECONOMY

Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE)

- Every citizen has the right to participate in any business in the public and private sector.
- BBBEE is an important intervention, and coupled with Employment Equity in the workplace this intervention has built and continues to grow the black middle class, as an important stratum in society.
- The ANC will continue supporting the efforts of and encourage entrepreneurs to take initiatives in society. This will complement our efforts of creating more jobs and decent work. With the State being an important and significant player in the economy, the tender system will be used as an instrument for the facilitation of this noble objective.
- We must be decisive in acting against using the tender system to give business to individuals in ways that create the perception that there is favouritism or corruption in the process.
- Society must play its role in fighting any devious means of accessing business opportunities.

HEALTH

HIV and AIDS

Aligning itself with the pledge on World AIDS Day 2009 to escalate the struggle against HIV and AIDS and TB, the NEC resolves:

- To support the HIV Counselling and Testing Campaign (HCT) to be launched on 15 April 2010, which aims to reach 15 million South Africans by June 2011, as part of deepening our comprehensive approach.
- To take the lead by taking this campaign to structures of the movement and our people, and support the efforts of government in rolling out this critical programme.
- To urge and encourage all other political parties and sectors of our society to give this campaign and its different components their enthusiastic and sustained support.

POSTPONEMENT OF THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES OF THE NORTH WEST AND THE WESTERN CAPE

- The NEC decided that concerted effort in building the organisation in both the Western Cape and the North

West provinces should be the key focus. To this extent, the performance of Provincial Task Teams will be assessed and the teams be strengthened where there is need.

- That presently, despite the good work already done, the provinces are not ready to hold the provincial conferences in April 2010 as per constitutional requirement. Therefore, both conferences should be extended, latest, to the first week of December 2010.
- That substantive reasons related to this decision be communicated in the Secretary General's Report to the NGC, as a means to demonstrate the seriousness with which the NEC takes it particularly in the light of its constitutional aspect.

ALLIANCE RELATIONS

- The NEC welcomes the constructive meeting held between the ANC National Working Committee and the Politburo of the South African Communist Party (SACP). It also welcomes the regret expressed by the SACP on the booing incident at its special conference.
- The ANC does not believe that the public spats between itself and its Alliance partners promotes the interest of South Africa neither does it add value to the creation a better life for all South Africans.

The NEC resolves:

- The public spats between the ANC and Alliance partners should henceforth be stopped.
- The ANC will engage its Alliance partners in the appropriate Alliance fora for engagement and will, henceforth, desist from public and/or media altercation with its partners, but will use the interactions in the fora with its Alliance partners to advance its views.
- That prior to the next Alliance Summit it would hold bilateral meetings with its Alliance partners. The first bilateral with the SACP was held on Thursday, 11 March 2010. A follow up bilateral and a bilateral with COSATU will be organised urgently.
- To convene the Alliance Summit in the beginning of June 2010.

THE PASSING OF COMRADE FATIMA MEER

- The NEC paid homage to the fallen ANC veteran and anti-apartheid leader, Mama Fatima Meer. Her stance to ensure that the majority of our people enjoy the fruits of liberation today, and her commitment to a better life for all our people, remain exemplary. We value and appreciate her contribution to our struggle. May her soul rest in peace.



2. On ANC and Governance:

NON-PERFORMANCE IN GOVERNMENT

The NEC reaffirmed its position that:

- Non-performance will not be tolerated whether it is as a result of laziness, incompetence or lack of commitment to the programme of government. Therefore there will be consequences in every case of non-performance.
- Every deployed cadre of our movement must understand that the people are paramount.

SERVICE DELIVERY PROTEST

The NEC has committed itself to:

- Intensify engagements with communities protesting about service, local development issues, and accountability or lack thereof of elected representatives.
- Work with communities in finding lasting solutions to the challenges they face.

CRIME AND CORRUPTION

- The ANC must lead the fight against corruption and must be unambiguous about this commitment.
- In line with our commitment of improving the whole Criminal Justice System, the programme of the security cluster will receive undivided support from the ANC.
- All communities must support the efforts of the police .

LIFESTYLE AUDITS

The NEC further reaffirms:

- The position as articulated by both the President and the Deputy President in the National Assembly.
- That the responsibility of conducting lifestyle audits is the function of the South African Revenue Services. The ANC has confidence in this institution and will support its professional work.
- That there can be no public instrument specifically designed for ANC leaders and its public representatives, to the exclusion of leaders of all formations in society, including the opposition parties and the private sector.

The NEC resolves:

- That any tool used in the fight against corruption must never be used selectively as this can degenerate into using state organs for factional interests.
- In addition, all public representatives at all levels are required to declared their business and financial interests.
- That there are sufficient tools in place to deal with dishonesty in society and we, therefore, need to strengthen the institutions charged with this responsibility and not weaken them by instructing them on what they should do.

CLOSING REMARKS BY PRESIDENT JACOB ZUMA

We have an enormous responsibility as leaders

Comrades, thank you very much for your contributions to the President's political overview. True to the character of the congress movement, you made frank and constructive inputs on how to strengthen the ANC.

The broad thrust of what we presented yesterday in the political overview, was the need to re-affirm the character of the ANC, the decorum of its leadership. Since the advent of democracy, millions of South Africans have affirmed the ANC as their only hope. We must never take this for granted.

Millions who are not even members of the organisation, continue to vote for the ANC. This says a lot about our standing in society in general. The leadership of the ANC therefore, particularly at this level, has an enormous responsibility, because we are leading society as a whole.

Nobody will take us seriously if we don't take ourselves, in the first place, seriously. We must respect one another. None of us must take joy when the ANC is perceived to be disunited, corrupt and rocked by infighting.

The fact that we are going to have a National Conference in 2012 as instructed by the ANC constitution must not make us to be subjective about our immediate task, regardless of our plans and role in the future. We must, at all material times, as leaders who are elected to lead, be guided by principles and policies of the movement in whatever we do and say.

We are all agreed on the decisions taken by the ANC. These include:

- The Political overview has been adopted by the ANC NEC and will be circulated to the structures.
- We must develop an NEC deployment that will facilitate discussion of the input.
- Deal with non-performance of deployees in governance.
- Re-affirmation that the primary responsibility to defend the ANC lies with the NEC.
- The SGO is the engine of the organisation and must be treated with respect.
- ANC officials, NEC members, deployees including Ministers members must be defended from reckless attacks.
- There must be restraint on the discussion of 2012 succession as the debate weakens distracts the ANC.

- All public spats must come to an end, including those by Alliance partners. This does not mean we must end the robust, frank and democratic discussions in the organisation.
- We must engage Alliance partners on their statement.
- We must convene Alliance bilateral meetings.
- The ANC must lead the fight against corruption.
- Lifestyle audits are the work of SARS and we respect the work done in this regard. Public representatives have to account to certain structures to declare their interests.
- The ANC must claim the gains of economic transformation, including the gains of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment and the black middle class. In this context it must confront perceptions created around the black middle class and the successes of this policy generally. ANC members are allowed to participate in business activities, but those in government should ensure that their participation does not lead to favouritism or corrupt activities.
- We must focus on building unity and cohesion.
- We must convene RGC's or cadres' forum.

We must adhere to these decisions and ensure that they are implemented.

We must, at all material times, as leaders who are elected to lead, be guided by principles and policies of the movement in whatever we do and say.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, on 26 June 1955

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

- that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
- that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
- that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
- that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;
- And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter;
- And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The People Shall Govern!

- Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;
- All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
- The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;
- All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All National Groups Shall have Equal Rights!

- There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;
- All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;
- All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;
- The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
- All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!

- The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;
- The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;
- All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;
- All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The Land Shall be Shared Among Those Who Work It!

- Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger;
- The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;
- Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;
- All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;
- People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All Shall be Equal Before the Law!

- No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;
- No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;
- The courts shall be representative of all the people;
- Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;
- The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;
- All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!

- The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;
- The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;
- All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;
- Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There Shall be Work and Security!

- All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;
- The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;
- Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;
- There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;
- Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;
- Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!

- The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;
- All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;
- The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;
- Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children; Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;
- Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;
- Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;
- The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!

- All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;
- Unused housing space to be made available to the people;
- Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;
- A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;
- Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;
- Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;
- The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;
- Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;
- Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There Shall be Peace and Friendship!

- South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;
- South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;
- Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;
- The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;
- The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all people who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:
**THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT
OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.**

