STATE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DISCUSSION DOCUMENT FROM THE ANC VETERANS AND STALWARTS.

December 2016.

NB: This Discussion Document contains Extracts from various Official ANC Documents covering the period 1997 – 2007, and the 2017 Diagnostic Report of the SG. We identify the source of each Extract at the end of the Extract: e.g. PR: 1997, which means (Presidential) Political Report at the 1997 National Conference and OR: 2005, which means (Secretary General's) Organisational Report at the 2005 National General Council.

The Document is in Eight (8) Sections which essentially deal with:

(i) Morality in the Nation;

(ii) Morality for the ANC;
(iii) Moral challenges within the ANC;
(iv) Political Tasks of the Democratic Revolution;
(v) Cadre Development in the ANC;
(vi) The Tripartite Alliance;
(vii) The 2017 SG Diagnostic Report; and,
(viii) Conclusion – What is to be done?

Each of the Sections begins with some Comments by the Veterans relevant to the Section, *followed* by Extracts from Official ANC Documents.

I

MORALITY IN THE NATION & ANC MEMBERSHIP OATH

It is obvious that a heightened sense of unease characterises the political situation in our country. This unease derives from matters that relate to the ANC. It is therefore important that a serious discussion should take place concerning the State of the ANC.

Such a discussion must include, among others, the issue of morality. This is because by definition the ANC, as a national liberation movement, is obliged and is expected to conduct itself in an ethical manner.
It is very important that the ANC itself should understand this. This is because sustained and pervasive unethical conduct on the part of the ANC will inevitably:

(a) Cause the ANC to lose the respect and support of the people as a whole;
(b) (and) weaken the ANC from within, making it impossible for it to carry out its historic mission.

Understanding this reality, the ANC has long identified the need to focus on the matter of sustaining a revolutionary morality.

In this context it has been mindful of the impact on the ANC of the general situation of social morality in our country, given that all its members are in any case drawn from the population and would therefore be exposed to this social morality.

This means that one of the distinguishing features of all ANC members must be the ability to avoid being influenced and captured by any negative elements in the national social morality.

EXTRACTS: MORALITY IN THE NATION & ANC MEMBERSHIP OATH

"It is out of the great human tragedy which marked the period of colonial and apartheid domination in our country, superimposed on and integrated within the universal impact of the modern market mechanism, of which George Soros speaks, that we have inherited what we see on the surface of human activity in our country, including:

- the corruption of public servants by the private sector;
- the low love level of tax morality;
- white collar crime and the subversion of business ethics;
- venality, theft and fraud within the public sector;
- corruption in the criminal justice system;
- the uninhibited commitment to unbridled self-gratification which underlies such crimes as rape and child abuse;
- disrespect for human life and the inviolability of the individual person and the easy resort to the use of force in the ordering of inter-personal relations;
- the acceptance of robbery and theft as a means of personal enrichments and advancement;
- mendacity in the conduct of public affairs;
- contempt for the law and the state; and
- the virtual collapse among the Africans of a system of social behaviour informed by the precepts of humanism which, historically, have informed African culture.

"It is possible that as a revolutionary movement and over the last three years, we have not fully understood the centrality and decisive importance of the moral renewal of our country to the success of our objective of creating a people-centred, humane and caring society."

[PR: 1997] – presented by Cde Nelson Mandela

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"The delegates are of course perfectly aware of what this oath, Clause 4.15 of our Constitution, says, since, apart from anything else, I took the liberty to quote it in full in my Opening Address. Let me read it out once again.

"I solemnly declare that I will abide by the aims and objectives of the African National Congress as set out in the Constitution, the Freedom Charter and other duly adopted policy positions,

"that I am joining the organisation voluntarily and without motives of material advantage or personal gain,

"that I agree to respect the Constitution and the structures and to work as a loyal member of the organisation,

"that I will place my energies and skills at the disposal of the organisation and carry out tasks given to me,

"that I will work towards making the ANC an even more effective instrument of liberation in the hands of the people,

"and that I will defend the unity and integrity of the organisation and its principles, and combat any tendency towards disruption and factionalism."

[PR CLOSING: 2005] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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II

LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION: THE CHALLENGE OF RENEWING OUR REVOLUTIONARY ETHICS.

Quite early after it had assumed its new role as a Governing Party, the ANC identified a worrying problem which was emerging within its ranks.

This was that it had attracted into its ranks people who were identified as opportunists and careerists.

In this regard the point was emphasised that these had joined the movement precisely because it was a Governing Party. Thus the opportunists and careerists joined the ANC not because they believed in its policies and upheld its values, but because it created the possibility to access positions of State power.

These positions would then be abused for self-enrichment and otherwise to promote the interests of the opportunists and careerists, against the interests of the ordinary working people.

Necessarily this meant that these would entrench corruption in the system of governance and do everything possible and necessary to ensure that the State institutions would be corrupted and weakened such that they have no possibility to act against the corrupt elements.

The important point was also made that this behaviour would open the space for counter-revolutionary forces to intervene to try to defeat the Democratic Revolution.

To emphasise the objective nature of the negative phenomenon of infiltration by opportunists and careerists, reference was made to the Russian revolutionary, Vladimir Lenin, who once said:

"No profound and popular movement in all history has taken place without its share of filth, without adventurers and rogues, without boastful and noisy elements - a ruling party inevitably attracts careerists."

This underlines the strategic challenge the ANC faces - to wage a continuous and unrelenting struggle against the rogues and careerists who have become an important component part of its membership.

EXTRACTS: LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION: THE CHALLENGE OF RENEWING OUR REVOLUTIONARY ETHICS.

"A number of negative features within the ANC and the broad democratic movement have emerged during the last three years. We have an inescapable responsibility to attend to these matters frankly and decisively in defence of both our movement and our revolution.

"One of these negative features is the emergence of careerism within our ranks. Many among our members see their membership of the ANC as a means to advance their personal ambitions to attain positions of power and access to resources for their own individual gratification.

"Accordingly, they work to manipulate the movement to create the conditions for their success...

"In reality, during the last three years, we have found it difficult to deal with such careerists in a decisive manner. We, ourselves, have therefore

allowed the space to emerge for these opportunists to pursue their counter-revolutionary goals, to the detriment of our movement and struggle.

"During this period, we have also been faced with various instances of corruption involving our own members, including those who occupy positions of authority by virtue of the victory of the democratic revolution.

"These have sought either to steal public resources or to extort financial tributes from the people in return for services to which the people are entitled and which those in authority are legally and morally obliged to provide.

"This is not surprising in the light of what we have already said in this Report about the entrenchment of corruption in our society in general and the consequent desperate desire to accumulate wealth in the shortest possible period of time.

"And yet, what should characterise the people we draw into our ranks should be precisely this, that there are those among our people, who are appalled by this corruption and are motivated to create the kind of society that would be dedicated to rooting out this disease.

"Clearly, we have to take all necessary measures to purge ourselves of such members and organise ourselves in a way that will make it difficult for corrupt elements to gain entry into our movement."

[PR: 1997] – presented by Cde Nelson Mandela

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"The two features of the ANC, as a mass movement for social change and a governing party has produced a result with which we must contend and which Comrade Nelson Mandela dealt with when he presented the Political Report at our last National Conference.

"The result I am talking about is that we have attracted into and continue to retain opportunists and careerists within our ranks.

"These are the people who join the movement not because they respect or support any of the strategic objectives I have mentioned.

"They join with the great ease that our procedures as a mass movement permit, with the sole aim of furthering their personal careers and using the access to state power we have as a ruling party, to enrich themselves.

"Another matter which Nelson Mandela addressed when he spoke in Mafikeng was the need for us, as part of our revolutionary duty, to work to change the social morality in our society.

"I am certain that many among us followed the media as the former captain of our national cricket team, the Proteas, Hansie Cronje, gave evidence at the King Commission.

"One of the most outstanding things about the evidence that Hansie Cronje gave was how vividly it illustrated the point Nelson Mandela made about the dominance in our society of a value system based on the pursuit of personal wealth, at all costs.

"It is out of this society that all of us emanate. It is this society that has conditioned us by the time we decide to join the ANC.

'We must therefore expect that some will, indeed, see membership of the ANC as a vehicle facilitating their access to personal wealth, an overriding value they would have learnt from the society in which they grew up and in which they live.

'As I make these remarks, some who are mischievous or ill-informed will suggest that what the leadership of the ANC is proposing is that those who

join the ANC should be ready to submit themselves to the lowest subsistence standards of living.

'This has nothing to do with the truth.

'The most important component part of our constituency, of the masses we lead, are the working people of our country. Among these are the very poor and the truly marginalised.

'Our first obligation is to serve the interests of these masses as well as join with others throughout the world to champion the interests of the billions in Africa and elsewhere in the world, who are also poor and marginalised.

"Accordingly, we cannot afford to have a membership that is driven by a value system, a morality, centred on the promotion of the interests of these members at the expense of the fundamental and urgent interests of the millions who have twice, in 1994 and 1999, expressed the fullest confidence in the ANC.

"Such a membership would necessarily betray the interests of the masses we represent and in the process destroy the ANC, reducing it into the opposite of what it has been for the almost 90 years of its existence.

"An important part of our struggle for Africa`s renaissance is the struggle against corruption.

"As we have already seen in our own country and learnt from sister African countries that have enjoyed longer periods of liberation, it is not difficult for corrupt practice to become an entrenched social phenomenon.

"Our experience in the last six years tells us that there is absolutely no reason why we should assume that we ourselves stand no danger of becoming victim to the widespread corruption we have seen in other countries in Africa and elsewhere in the world.

"In all instances, it is the masses of the people who get robbed and condemned to perpetual poverty, while a small elite flourishes on the basis of its ill-gotten gains.

"There are at least three elements that create the possibility for the triumph of corrupt practice in our societies. These are social factors and not biological and are:

- the scramble for access to scarce resources;
- the absence of a truly popular political movement loyal to the interests of the working people; and,

- the demobilisation of the masses so that they become passive objects of policy rather than activists for their own social emancipation.

"As an agent for change in our own country and frontline fighters against corruption in our society, we must guard against the latter two tendencies - the corruption of the ANC itself and the demobilisation of the masses of our people.

"It is therefore clear that we have to pay very close attention to a matter we discuss constantly and about which we passed resolutions at our National Conference."

[PR: 2000) – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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"Our review of the functioning of branch, provincial and national structures of the ANC has identified a number of problems that need to be addressed. These problems point to an erosion of the revolutionary morality that has characterised our movement for decades, and which infused the volunteers of the Congress of the People campaign with a burning need to serve the people. The reasons for such an erosion are not hard to fathom.

"The central challenge facing the ANC is to address the problems that arise from our cadres susceptibility to moral decay occasioned by the struggle for the control of and access to resources. All the paralysis in our programmes, all the divisions in our structures, are in one way or another, a consequence of this cancer in our midst...

"The problem lies in the fact that, in our efforts to make up for the debilitating weight of apartheid, many of us appear only too quick to sacrifice the moral and ethical standards that have characterised our movement. Moral degeneration, linked to the accumulation and control over resources, is not a consequence we can accept...
"We are duty bound to act, as the ANC, in the vanguard of the struggle against moral decay and corruption.

"These problems are not confined to a particular sphere of government or geographic area. Their pernicious influence and unacceptable consequences are apparent at local, provincial and national level...Both new and seasoned member are equally prone and vulnerable to these tempting prospects that come with public office.

"In many of our communities opportunities for employment are
and especially in poorer provinces, government is the only er
In this context the single-minded pursuit of control over public
and ascendancy to authority to make appointments can lead to pa
acute consequences.

"Our position as a ruling party makes us particularly susceptible to such influences. Professionals within the public service are chosen because of their particular skills and talents. When their time in public service has come to an end it is only natural that they seek to continue to work in the spheres of society with which they are most familiar and best equipped to contribute. But these are the circumstances that create fertile ground for corruption and graft. How can we act to ensure that those exiting from public service, either as professionals or public representatives, are prevented from using government resources to invest in their personal fortunes in later life?

"Those who engage in business within our ranks should do so openly and in a transparent manner. Insidious practices such as sleeping partners should be avoided. Leaving public service to conduct private business after having placed reliable partners in leadership positions still in the public service is a malpractice which is hard to prove but clearly prevalent..."

[OR: 2005] – presented by Cde Kgalema Motlanthe

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"Also, since many of the BECs are composed largely of members who are unemployed or poor, there is great potential for manipulation by careerists and factionalists who pursue personal or sectarian agendas. In this context we should recall Lenin`s warning to the 10th Congress of the CPSU in March 1921:

"No profound and popular movement in all history has taken place without its share of filth, without adventurers and rogues, without boastful and noisy elements - a ruling party inevitably attracts careerists."

[OR: 2007] – presented by Cde Kgalema Motlanthe

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III

CORRUPTING THE ANC FROM WITHIN, WHICH, IF NOT STOPPED, WILL DESTROY THE MOVEMENT.

Over the decade, 1997 – 2007, the ANC identified how the growing change in the quality of its membership, demonstrated in the erosion of revolutionary morality, manifested itself within the organisation.

This included officials in the public sector, who were members or supporters of the ANC, demanding bribes from the public for providing services to which the public was entitled.

Corruption in the public sector affected all three spheres of Government, the national, provincial and local, and involved both new and seasoned members.

ANC members use their authority to appoint people into the public sector to position such people such that they can be used for corrupt purposes and

to entrench within the Movement the bad practice of dispensing patronage.

The scramble for positions in the State machinery has encouraged indiscipline in the ANC, conflicts within communities and the demoralisation of some of the best cadres of the Movement.

Many divisions within the ANC have arisen not because of political or ideological differences but because of competition for positions in the ANC leading to gaining the capacity to engage in corrupt practices.

Low political consciousness among the members, deriving from the absence of systematic and sustained cadre development, has resulted in members failing to observe organisational norms and falling under the influence of particular individuals who pursue objectives that are inimical to the Mission of the Movement.

There has also been conflict between members of the ANC deployed in Government on one hand, and those in constitutional structures of the ANC

on the other, in many instances to achieve the objective described by the saying – "It's our turn to eat."

The scramble for absolute power has also resulted in the emergence of an argument about "two centres of power".

There has been a weakening of the contact between the ANC structures and the masses of the people.

The number of members of the ANC has fluctuated to a significant degree, with numbers swelling ahead of the Movement's Election Conferences, and ahead of the Municipal and General Elections.

Properly constituted branches are in the minority. There are pervasive reports of `gate-keeping`, `ghost members` `commercialisation of membership`, `rent-a-member` and the establishment of parallel structures established to compete with the established structures of the Movement. All this is done to influence the outcome of the Movement's elective processes.

All this has encouraged the formation of cliques and factions, thus undermining the unity and cohesion of the ANC.

Some ANC members in Government get beholden to particular commercial interests and use their positions to give government tenders to such interests in return for them getting 'kick-backs' from these commercial interests.

ANC members have also been involved in murdering others, thus to retain their positions of power which enable them to engage in corrupt practice as well as ensure that this corrupt practice is not exposed.

There has also emerged the practice of the use of lies and fabrications by members of the ANC to promote their political objectives. This goes together with the regular practice of 'leaking' to the media in an effort to create a public climate favourable to the interests of those who use misinformation as their organisational tool.

The ANC has conceded that over the years it has found it difficult effectively to deal with the negative tendencies which have afflicted the Movement, which have resulted, among others, in the lowering of political consciousness among the members, the erosion of revolutionary morality and the entrenchment of corrupt practice.

One of the Movement documents says: "We, ourselves, have therefore allowed the space to emerge for these opportunists to pursue their counter-revolutionary goals, to the detriment of our movement and struggle..."

EXTRACTS: CORRUPTING THE ANC FROM WITHIN, WHICH, IF NOT STOPPED, WILL DESTROY THE MOVEMENT.

"During the last three years, this has created such problems as division within the movement, conflicts based on differences among individuals, the encouragement of rank indiscipline leading to the undermining of our organisational integrity, conflict within communities and the demoralization of some of the best cadres of our organisation.

"In reality, during the last three years, we have found it difficult to deal with such careerists in a decisive manner. We, ourselves, have therefore allowed the space to emerge for these opportunists to pursue their counter-revolutionary goals, to the detriment of our movement and struggle...

"During this period, we have also been faced with various instances of corruption involving our own members, including those who occupy positions of authority by virtue of the victory of the democratic revolution.
These have sought either to steal public resources or to extort financial tributes from the people in return for services to which the people are entitled and which those in authority are legally and morally obliged to provide...

"We have also seen the emergence of elitism among some of our members. Notions have surfaced of entitlement to decision-making positions, which have led to a break in the sustained interaction between some of our leaders, on one hand, and our organisation and people, on the other...

"Thus they see our movement for national liberation as a mere political party which participates in elections at the conclusion of which it places its members in remunerated positions of authority.

"Many among these think the 1994 elections marked the end of the struggle and have very little understanding of the challenges of fundamental social transformation, some of which this Report has sought to identify...

"These leaders, whom you must elect democratically, hopefully uninfluenced by demagogy, selfish promotion and self-serving media advertising in favour of some among us, will continue a struggle which we, ourselves, inherited from a people hungry for genuine emancipation and ready to follow and support a leadership genuinely committed to serve the cause of the people.

"Surely, these leaders must have the tested ability to lead our country and people through the uncharted waters of the historical period ahead of us. "No reason exists which would permit us as a movement and you, the delegates entrusted with the historic responsibility to take our movement into the next century and millennium, to gamble on this outcome, by placing at the head of our revolutionary march, a cadre of leaders which would be unable correctly to handle the complex issues of social development which today`s world has placed on the agenda of the evolution of human society, including our own."

[PR: 1997] – presented by Cde Nelson Mandela

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"The organisation failed to ensure a balance between deployment into government and deployment into organisational structures. This has obviously had a profound effect on the capacity of the movement's leadership cadres to engage in building the organisation and participating actively in its constitutional structures. It has also had broad implications for the ANC`s capacity to co-ordinate and interact with its cadres deployed across a variety of sectors...

"This broad deployment of cadres has made it more difficult than before to maintain the cohesion and unity of the organisation. It has fuelled the tendency to compartmentalise the activities of ANC cadres, and to differentiate unnecessarily between the various elements of the broad transformation programme...

"At all levels of the organisation there has been a lack of focus on the importance of actively and consciously developing the human resources of the movement. As a consequence many comrades have felt ill-equipped to

confront some of the challenges facing the movement or to engage in any meaningful programmes.

"This is compounded by the relative newness to the organisation of a large number of ANC members most joined after 1990, while a large number joined after 1994. Although this is a welcome indication of the organisation`s capacity for regeneration, it is important to acknowledge that, unlike the preceding three decades, the vast majority of ANC members have not gone through rigorous training or extensive experience of working in ANC structures...

"Partly as a result of the lack of proper cadre development, the organisation has faced problems of poor discipline.

"Without the political and organisational tools generally required by ANC cadres, some comrades have flouted the democratic principles and practices of the organisation...

"Another area of weakness has been the relations between ANC cadres deployed as public representatives and the constitutional structures of the movement...

"This problem ranges in severity from a lack of proper strategising and occasional miscommunication between structures right through to open and violent conflict between elected public representatives and the movement`s constitutional structures.

"This problem has emerged most acutely at a local government level where proper accountability and consultation has in some instances been forced aside by personal differences and bitter power struggles.

"The competition within the organisation for positions in government has added a new dimension to the contestation of ANC leadership positions. Election to an ANC leadership position is viewed by some as a stepping stone to positions of power and material reward within government.

"While such views might be inevitable, we need to ensure that personal ambition is sufficiently tempered by the needs of the organisation and the demands of the national democratic revolution. The organisation needs to develop mechanisms which will ensure that the contestation of leadership positions does not divide the organisation and does not detract from the key programmes of the movement...

"The last three years have witnessed to a certain extent the withdrawal of ANC cadres from interacting with and providing leadership to communities. This has enabled reactionary and opportunistic groupings to mobilise people in support of their narrow interests..."

[OR: 1997] – presented by Cde Cyril Ramaphosa

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"So far we have not succeeded to ensure that our branches are properly engaged in continuous productive activity, a problem we identified soon after the victory of the democratic revolution in 1994.

"Accordingly, as reflected, among others, in the Mid-term Report the Secretary General will present, our membership and branches fluctuate continuously.

"As we all know, they build up rapidly whenever we are going to hold our Conferences to elect our leadership and in the run-up and during the general and local government elections.

"Clearly, this must alert us to the danger that the movement can degenerate into an election machine which sees its task as being merely ensuring that we remain the governing party at local, provincial and national levels.

"Obviously, this is a very important task which we must carry out with the same determination and enthusiasm we showed last year, resulting in the increase of our majority. We will also have to approach the forthcoming local government elections with the same spirit and determination.

"Nevertheless, it is also of central importance that we recognise and live up to the objective of ensuring that we continuously mobilise the masses of our people to achieve the aim of people-driven processes of change.

"This requires that we ensure that our branches remain in close contact with the people. We must, at all times, be familiar with the thinking and feelings of the masses of our people in all the communities among which our branches are based...

"All of us are familiar with the criticisms made by the people of many of our local government councillors, especially about the failure of these councillors to report back to those who elected them...

"What the people are correctly reminding us of is that we have an obligation not to treat them as merely an electoral base. They are saying that we must remain true to the objectives of our movement of ensuring that the people themselves remain their own liberators, the motive force for the fundamental social transformation of our country.

"There are many instances in Africa and elsewhere in the world which show what happens when, on becoming a ruling party, a genuinely popular national liberation movement, such as ours, loses contact with the people and its leaders transform themselves into a self-centred ruling elite.

"We have seen how this has, in some instances, led to military coups and in others, opened the space for the peaceful capture of political power by reactionary forces that have taken advantage of the genuine grievances of the people.

"In our discussions we will therefore have to pay the necessary attention to the issue of what we do to ensure that, at all times, we have dynamic programmes of action, relevant to the tasks we have to carry out to respond to our tactical and strategic challenges.

"We will have to discuss what we need to do to ensure that all our members are indeed actively involved in the implementation of these programmes of action."

[PR: 2000] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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"The rate of non-renewal has been very high, and many new members only remained within the organisation for a brief period. This phenomenon was not so much the result of shifting political allegiances, but the failure of branches to engage new members in political programmes, social mobilisation, cadre development and general activities of the movement...

"Through the audit of recruiter packs, we have begun to eliminate practices such as the recruitment of 'ghost members' and recruitment of members on the eve of an AGM for voting purposes. The audit also provides a basis for greater control over the deposits of membership fees. But no matter how fool-proof the system, ultimately we rely on ANC members and cadres to ensure the integrity of our membership system...

"One of the challenges facing the movement and the progressive forces generally since 1994 is our ability to sustain mass mobilisation under completely new conditions, in particular the existence of a democratic government with an overwhelming popular mandate to create a better life for all. Mafikeng noted that among the factors undermining the mass character of the ANC is the absence of consistent social mobilisation and campaigns by the ANC, outside of election campaigns.

"The ANC itself, as the leader of the liberation forces, has been inconsistent in finding ways to mobilise people around their problems and to support struggles of different sectors. This difficulty is largely linked to finding the correct balance between the ANC as a mass movement which must organise the people in their daily struggles for transformation, but which is also the governing party, elected by those masses to lead the programmes of government...

"The occupation of positions of power and the material reward this offers could create some "social distance" between individuals and constituencies they represent, particularly in the context of the legacy of inequality, large scale unemployment and poverty that still plague us.

This could render some in the revolutionary movement complacent, concerned with maintaining their positions and even indifferent to the conditions of the poor...

"These weaknesses include the fact that during the early 1990s we did not reproduce greater numbers of cadres grounded in the politics, organisational values and culture of the movement fast enough. The method of 'rolling popular mass education and training', though important for raising general consciousness of policies and programmes, did not allow for follow-up on individual comrades trained and assumes that all participants are at the same level of development...

"In the NEC, we have experienced tendencies of members failing to raise their views openly in the structures of the movement, and then undermining decisions through such actions as leaks to the media.
We have also seen the erosion of the unity of this collective through members attacking each other or the movement in the public domain, without having raised their concerns within the structures of the movement...

"We have also reported to the NGC on the challenges being in power has on the structures of the movement. We found that the issues dividing leadership of some of our provinces are not of a political nature, but have mainly revolved around access to resources, positioning themselves or others to access resources, dispensing patronage and in the process using organisational structures to further these goals.

"This often lies at the heart of conflicts between constitutional and governance structures, especially at local level and is reflected in contestations around lists, deployment and internal elections process of the movement. These practices tarnish the image and effectiveness of the movement...

"The limited political consciousness has impacted negatively on our capacity to root out corrupt and divisive elements among ourselves. For the movement to renew itself as a revolutionary movement we have to develop specific political, organisational and administrative measures to deal with such destructive elements.

"As a revolutionary movement, the political consciousness of our members, cadres and leaders is central to the character of the ANC. We seek to

develop members, so that they can consciously make choices, wherever they are and at all times, about approaches, behaviour and actions that either furthers the cause, or constitutes a betrayal, of the people. This political consciousness is what should distinguish an ANC member, and should find expression in how they conduct themselves, their style of leadership, their adherence to policies, values and norms of the ANC and their commitment to work resolutely for the improvement of the conditions of our people."

[OR: 2002] – presented by Cde Kgalema Motlanthe

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"The ANC`s leadership of our society rests firmly on our presence in all communities. Our presence and outreach rests on branch structures and where these are non-existent it will be impossible for the ANC to play a meaningful role in the life of the community. It is therefore of great concern that in many regions less than half of the wards have branches in good standing. This will diminish our capacity to lead the nation and resolve the many problems that our people face in the struggle for a better life.

"Last, there are branches that are launched prior to conferences and election campaigns, only to collapse a few months later.

"The picture of our branches is very uneven. In general, across all provinces, the best-organised branches are in the minority, with the vast majority functioning according to the basic minimum of constitutional requirements. In many of our branches there are no sustainable political programmes and community campaigns. They are conflict-ridden and unstable and in many instances fraught with fights over leadership positions, selection and deployment of councillors, tendering and control of projects and recruitment of membership in order to serve factional or selfish interests.

"In many cases, the reasons for division and the resulting lack of coherent and consistent branch organisation are not rooted in ideological differences. Rather, these problems rest primarily on the preoccupation on the part of public representatives with securing access to and control over public resources. This in turn leads to tensions between cadres deployed in ANC structures and those in government and undermines the effectiveness of our public representatives.

"In many areas, branches lack the coherence and initiative to implement their own programmes of action, which respond to the day-to-day challenges facing members of the communities in which they serve. This failure leads to the oft repeated perception that "ANC only comes at election time", a perception fuelled by the weaknesses of our structures on the ground.

"The recent protests over municipal service delivery and other issues that should be of direct concern to our branches have exposed these shortcomings in a most visible and worrying manner. The reasons for these protests and the form they take has differed substantially in different communities. But they all point to a serious problem in the functioning of ANC branches and the related problem of the role of public representatives in the life of the movement. In most, if not all of these protests, it has been members of the ANC that have played a leading role in establishing parallel structures outside the movement, including in the form of `concerned residents` groups.

"The access to resources that public office entails can also often undermine our ability to represent communities. In some cases the majority of councillors, having declared their business interests, recuse themselves from

meetings that must make important decisions on matters of community development. This means that the communities concerned cannot be represented at these meetings. In this context, we need to pose the question: is it correct for public representatives to have business interests, especially where these interests do not predate their assumption of public office, but have been developed while serving as a representative?

"In the worst instances, branches that the REC regards as too critical are deliberately undermined by the REC, including through deliberate measures to ensure that branches do not quorate or finding other means to frustrate the work of the branches, especially in the run up to regional conferences...

"Problems can also emerge where an appointed Premier contests the position of Provincial Chairperson and loses. This can sometimes result in tensions. This should not be the case because the Chairperson of the ANC in the province is not, in any case, a full time official. He or she can be employed in any profession, inside or outside of government. There is nothing about being Chairperson of the ANC that creates a right to be the Premier of a province. And there is nothing about being the Premier of a province that creates a right to be the Chairperson of the ANC.

"At the same time it is necessary that we clarify the relationships between the officials of the ANC and those in the provincial executive, including the Premier. This has changed somewhat as a result of our decision to de-link the appointment of the Premier from the election of the Provincial Chairperson of the ANC. Since that decision was taken we have observed continued contestation, which, in the worst cases, has been described as resulting in `two centres of power'..."

[OR: 2005] – presented by Cde Kgalema Motlanthe

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"To be a ruling party means that we have access to state resources. It means that those who want to do business with the state have to interact with those who control state power, the members of our movement who serve in government.

"It means that those of us who serve in the organs of state have the possibility to dispense patronage. It therefore means that we have the possibility to purchase adherents, with no regard for the principles that are fundamental to the very nature of the African National Congress.

"All this makes control of state power a valuable asset. It makes membership of the ANC an easy route of access to state power. It makes membership of the ANC an attractive commercial proposition. It makes financial support for the ANC an investment for some of those who want to generate profits for themselves by doing business with government...

"Delegates made reference to resolutions we adopted at our 50th National Conference in Mafikeng in 1997, in which, among other things, we said: "Corruption adversely affects development and, as a consequence, results in poverty becoming more prevalent. Corruption undermines the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution."

[PR: 2005] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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"The ability to recruit new members is a good sign that the organisation can renew itself. On the other hand, growth in membership poses new challenges, especially to our ability to impart the values and ethos of the organisation through on-going cadre development and political education.

"Any system, however, is only as good as the people who run it. Our approach to recruitment remains erratic. Reports of `gate-keeping`, `ghost members` `commercialisation of membership`, `rent-a-member` and other forms of fraudulent and manipulative practices that seek to influence the outcome of elective process remain much too widespread.
As we noted at the NGC in 2005, the cycle in which numbers grow in the run up to national and provincial conferences, and decline thereafter remains a problem.

"The membership system has also not prevented parallel recruitment, where members are recruited outside the structures of the organisation and therefore remain disconnected from branch activities. Whilst in part related to problems and loopholes in the membership system, these practices point to an erosion of the values and mores that should form the basis of ANC recruitment...

"We should also be alive to instances where ill-disciplined members of the ANC seek to influence our democratic process with a view to undermining our public representatives, with a view to their wholesale replacement at the next list process opportunity.

"However, political management of governance remains a major area of weakness in all provinces. The relationship between the ANC and governance structures remains a constant source of conflict and this affects the ability of the ANC to serve the people."

[OR: 2007] – presented by Cde Kgalema Motlanthe

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"He said: "We have also reported to the NGC (held in 2000), on the challenges being in power has on the structures of the movement. We found that the issues dividing the leadership of some of our provinces are not of a political nature, but have mainly revolved around access to resources, positioning themselves or others to access resources, dispensing patronage and in the process using organisational structures to further these goals.

"This often lies at the heart of conflicts between (ANC) constitutional and governance structures, especially at local level and is reflected in contestations around lists, deployment and the internal elections process of the movement. These practices tarnish the image and effectiveness of the movement.

"The limited political consciousness (among some of our members) has impacted negatively on our capacity to root out corrupt and divisive elements among ourselves. For the movement to renew itself as a revolutionary movement, we have to develop specific political, organisational and administrative measures to deal with such destructive elements."...

"Accordingly, they work to manipulate the movement to create the conditions for their success.

"During the last three years, this has created such problems as division within the movement, conflicts based on differences among individuals, the encouragement of rank indiscipline leading to the undermining of our organisational integrity, conflict within communities and the demoralization of some of the best cadres of our organisation...

"As the delegates know, the document "Through the eye of a needle" also addresses some of the issues raised by the Secretary General. It says:

"Because leadership in structures of the ANC affords opportunities to assume positions of authority in government, some individuals then compete for ANC leadership positions in order to get into government. Many such members view positions in government as a source of material riches

for themselves. Thus resources, prestige and authority of government positions become the driving force in competition for leadership positions in the ANC.

"Government positions also go hand-in-hand with the possibility to issue contracts to commercial companies. Some of these companies identify ANC members that they can promote in ANC structures and into government, so that they can get contracts by hook or by crook. This is done through media networks to discredit other leaders, or even by buying membership cards to set up branches that are ANC only in name.

"Positions in government also mean the possibility to appoint individuals in all kinds of capacities. As such, some members make promises to friends, that once elected and ensconced in government, they would return the favour. Cliques and factions then emerge within the movement, around personal loyalties driven by corrupt intentions. Members become voting fodder to serve individuals` self-interest."

"We have been exposed to the pernicious practice of people buying others membership cards of the ANC to guarantee themselves a captive group of voting cattle, whose members had and have absolutely no desire to join the ANC.

"All of us are aware of the poisonous phenomenon foreign to our movement, which many of us have characterised as the ownership of some members by other members. These are people who, while holding ANC membership cards, do not belong to the ANC but belong to those who paid their subscriptions.

"This includes unqualified people who get appointed to such positions as Municipal Managers, placemen and women who serve as the pliable tools of their political masters, and who are used to advance the commercial and political interests of their handlers and patrons.

"We are aware of members of the ANC whom our Secretary General characterised as destructive elements which tarnish the image and effectiveness of our movement. These are people who abuse their positions in government consciously, purposefully and systematically to engage in corrupt practices aimed at self-enrichment.

"We have been horrified to hear reports of ANC members who occupy positions in government, who have murdered one another as they competed about who would emerge as the victor in the process of awarding government tenders to private sector companies in return for financial and material kickbacks paid by the winning bidders...

"Over the years we have seen the persistent propagation of outright falsehoods intended to discredit our leadership.

"These have included entirely false claims about a shift of the policy making function from the constitutional structures of the movement to government, intolerance of different views and therefore the suppression of open discussion especially in the NEC, centralisation of power in the Government Presidency, and abuse of state power, thus further reducing the capacity of our movement to play its proper role as our country`s ruling party.

"All these are complete fabrications. However, it is easy for members who, as I have said, have scant familiarity with the policies and procedures of the ANC. This is particularly so if those who spread these falsehoods are people whose word our members would have no reason to doubt.

"In this regard I must mention yet another challenge that has assumed a higher profile during the years since our last National Conference. This is the practice that again is entirely foreign to our movement - the practice of using untruths, of resort to dishonest means and deceit to achieve particular goals..."

[PR: 2007] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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IV

POLITICAL TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.

It is necessary to understand that even as the ANC was experiencing the negative tendencies we have mentioned, its responsibilities to pursue the political tasks of the Democratic Revolution did not change.

In this context it was important to focus on the matter of the importance of the democratic State as a critically important instrument for the realisation of those political tasks.

In this regard, given what had happened over the years, it was important to emphasise:

- **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; and,**
- **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.**

At the same time, there was the imperative to ensure the engagement and mobilisation of the people as a conscious force in the continuing challenge to address the political tasks of the Democratic Revolution.

EXTRACTS: POLITICAL TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.

"With your permission, I would like to quote from an important document issued in 1996, entitled "The State and Social Transformation", in which leaders of our broad movement said: "The most important current defining

feature of the South African democratic state is that it champions the aspirations of the majority who have been disadvantaged by the many decades of undemocratic rule.

"Its primary task is to work for the emancipation of the black majority, the working people, the urban poor, the rural poor, the women, the youth and the disabled. It is the task of this democratic state to champion the cause of these people in such a way that the most basic aspirations of this majority assume the status of hegemony, which informs and guides policy and practice of all the institutions of government and state.

"However, there is a need to recognise that the South African democratic state also has the responsibility to attend to the concerns of the rest of the population which is not necessarily part of the majority defined above.

"To the extent that the democratic state is objectively interested in a stable democracy, so it cannot avoid the responsibility to ensure the establishment of a social order concerned with the genuine interests of the people as a whole, regardless of their racial, national, gender and class differentiation. There can be no stable democracy unless the democratic state attends to

the concerns of the people as a whole and takes responsibility for the evolution of the new society."

"This defined the tasks of the ANC, and what we had to do to ensure that the masses of our people benefited from the victory of the democratic revolution.

"And indeed, the democratic revolution has brought enormous benefits to all sections of our population, starting with the complex of democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution adopted by the Constitutional Assembly in 1996, the laws we have adopted since 1994, and the decisions taken by our courts.

"This Policy Conference, and our movement as a whole, must indeed celebrate the advances we have made to entrench democracy in our country. We should constantly remind ourselves that the establishment of a democratic system of governance has always been one of the central objectives of our struggle for national liberation.

"Even 13 years after the victory of the democratic revolution, its defence and further entrenchment remains one of the principal tasks of the National Democratic Revolution.

"In this regard I must say that unfortunately the Discussion Document, "Legislature and Governance for a National Democratic Society" does not reflect on some of the major issues we should discuss relating to the task to defend our democratic gains and further deepen our democratic system, consistent with the perspective that – the people shall govern!

"In this context I would like to mention such important issues as:

- 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;

- 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;
- the deepening of 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;
- the concerns raised by the media about restrictions to the freedom of the press, as well as issues that relate to the responsibility and public accountability of the media; and,
- the full integration of the institution of traditional government within our democratic system of governance.

"The Policy Conference gives us an opportunity to raise and consider all these and other important issues relating to our democratic system, which might inadvertently have been left out of our discussion documents."

[PR – POLICY CONFERENCE: 2007] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PROPER PREPARATION OF AS MANY OF OUR MEMBERS AS POSSIBLE TO BECOME GENUINE CADRES OF A MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION THAT IS STILL ENGAGED IN STRUGGLE TO ACCOMPLISH ITS HISTORIC MISSION.

Above we have pointed to the fact that for a period covering more than two decades, our Movement has not dealt effectively with the many negative tendencies which appeared in its ranks during the years when it has served as our country's Governing Party.

Accordingly, as is evident in the 1997-2007 Policy Documents we have cited, even the negative features in the ANC which we mentioned in our Document, "For the Sake of our Future", are not new.

This tells the obvious story that these negative features have become entrenched to such a degree that they are serving to characterise the very nature of the ANC rather than stand out merely as exceptions.

This describes the well-known phenomenon of the transformation of Quantity into Quality!

The quantitative additions of the negative tendencies within the Movement over a number of decades result in its qualitative transformation – thus to end up being defined by these negative tendencies.

It is exactly for this reason that the matter of seriously examining the nature and quality of the membership of the ANC, and acting on this matter, assumes extreme importance!

It is important that in terms of its membership the ANC should be constituted in such a manner that it is able to carry out its historic mission as a leader of the Democratic Revolution.

For this reason the ANC must develop its members such that they become politically conscious members, fully knowledgeable of and committed to

the historic tasks of the Movement, rather than being merely card-carrying members.

These members must therefore be educated to understand that their membership requires them to be loyal to the objectives and programmes of the Democratic Revolution, the ANC decisions in this regard, and never to understand their membership as requiring them to be loyal to particular individuals in the ANC, regardless of the positions of such individuals in the structures of the Movement.

This requires that the ANC should continuously carry out programmes to raise the political consciousness of all its members.

This must also include involving these members in practical activities which engage the population in the transformation programmes of the ANC.

The ANC should also institute measures such that none of its members acts in any manner which brings disrepute to the Movement.

The ANC must develop cadres who have the professional skills, combined with the political commitment to the realisation of the objectives of the Democratic Revolution, such that these play their role in the promotion of the transformation objectives of the Democratic Revolution.

The cadre development programmes of the ANC must seek to encourage values of selflessness, commitment to serve the people, opposition to corruption and abuse of power, criticism and self-criticism, anti-factionalism, and a commitment not to do anything which would put the Democratic Revolution into disrepute.

The ANC should ensure that its membership is broadly representative of the population in terms of race, colour, age, gender, profession etc, with all of these united around the objectives of the Democratic Revolution, the programmes put in place to achieve these objectives, and the value system of the National Democratic Movement.

The ANC should also engage the student youth, the intelligentsia and the professionals to ensure that these bring their expertise into the pool of expertise which would empower the Movement effectively to discharge its historic responsibilities.

The Youth and Women's Leagues should act in a manner which ensures that they serve as schools which will help to ensure that they bring into the ANC young men and women members of the calibre of the cadres the Movement requires effectively to pursue the tasks of the Democratic Revolution, informed by the long-standing values of the ANC.

Without a membership that is steeped in the policies, the value system and the traditions of the ANC, our movement will fail in its effort both to respond to the challenges the Movement has identified, as well as act in an effective manner to advance the National Democratic Revolution, in the interests of the masses of our people.

Given what has happened over many years in terms of the recruitment of members, the ANC must seriously engage the question whether it is not

correct that it must consider the proposition with regard to the size of its membership – <u>better fewer but better</u>!

EXTRACTS: THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PROPER PREPARATION OF AS MANY OF OUR MEMBERS AS POSSIBLE TO BECOME GENUINE CADRES OF A MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION THAT IS STILL ENGAGED IN STRUGGLE TO ACCOMPLISH ITS HISTORIC MISSION.

"What we have said is not intended to argue against the recruitment of new members. Rather, it emphasises the central importance of the proper preparation of as many of our members as possible to become genuine cadres of a movement for national liberation that is still engaged in struggle to accomplish its historic mission.

"It is therefore important that we pay the closest possible attention to the continuous political education of our members, to ensure that they become real members of our organisation, and not mere card-carriers.

"This process of preparation of these members must also include ensuring that they actually engage in practical work to promote the cause for which we stand, as well as conduct themselves in ways which do not bring disrepute to the movement.

"We also need to assist the Youth League to ensure that it brings up the youth in the traditions of the movement and in a manner that will enable these young people to assume their positions of leadership when the time comes, being clear about their own responsibilities to society...

"Our starting points as we tackle the task of further strengthening the ANC must be based on the recognition of the fact that the fundamental social transformation of our country cannot happen without the people who understand and are committed to bringing this transformation about.

"In other words, to discharge the revolutionary tasks ahead of us, we need battalions of revolutionaries who are as ready to serve the people as those who have preceded us have done."

[PR: 1997] – presented by Cde Nelson Mandela

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"As in the past, the ANC`s capacity to transform South Africa is dependent on the quality of its cadres. The organisation needs to be constantly developing new cadres and leaders which will be able not only to lead the organisation in the years ahead, but who would be able to play a meaningful role in government and society more broadly.

"We have found that the demands of the last three years have stretched the human resource capacity of the movement almost to its limit. The demand for skilled and experienced cadres will certainly not diminish in the period ahead. The ANC must put in place now the mechanisms and the programmes which are going to develop new cadres and build the leaders of tomorrow...

"It is clear that without a strong and vibrant ANC, the enormous challenges which face this country will become increasingly overwhelming. A healthy organisation is not a matter of pride or nostalgia, it is a matter central to the achievement of the strategic objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.

"It is certainly correct that we devote far greater time and energy to the development of our cadres through intensive political education and ongoing

political debate in all our structures. But far more than that, we need to acknowledge that it is in the implementation of programmes, the prosecution of struggle, that cadres are most effectively tested and developed.

"It is crucial for the organisation therefore that ANC branches develop and implement organisational programmes which involve, engage and challenge the members of the movement."

[OR: 1997] – presented by Cde Cyril Ramaphosa

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CADRE POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR MEMBERS

"Induction of new members, ensure that members are developed and schooled in the organizational culture and politics of the movement by involving them in political discussions and action;

"Deepen political consciousness as a means of instilling discipline in the movement.

"Ensure in our recruitment that we consciously draw into the ANC all sectors of the motive forces, with targeted approaches to ensure a fair spread of old and young, men and women, the participation of workers, including COSATU shop-stewards in ANC branches,

- the rural masses, other national groups, professionals, etc. and that the movement should become the repository of the best in our society - both in terms of ability and values;
- we should develop more rapidly than before cadres who are steeped in the culture and politics of the movement with an uncompromising commitment to the people through our cadre development programmes and involving members in action;
- implement and expand our political school and a human resource programme, that ensures the continual reproduction of cadres in terms of political, ideological, cultural and moral training; academic and skills development to take on the diverse tasks of transformation (including expanding economic literacy) in a range of spheres of society and adapt the methodology and content of our political education to meet the challenges of the current phase;

- induction for leadership collectives, encourage political discussions in all meetings, cement unity and anti-factionalism in all our leadership collectives and structures;
- encourage cadre values of selflessness, commitment to the people, criticisms and self-criticism, anti-factionalism, readiness to serve, etc.
- strengthen our deployment strategy and address the weaknesses we have identified; address the issues of promotion and career-pathing;
- provide mechanisms for cadres deployed in a variety of centres to engage on the challenges they face and to engage with cadres in other centres, allowing for the development of perspectives broader than their areas of specialisation, and to test their work against these broader perspectives; and,
- strengthen and deepen the culture of debate on the complex issues facing our country, our continent and the world we live in; have these discussions in our leadership collectives, in the Alliance, amongst our members and in society generally."

[NGC: 2000].

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Improve policy, ideological leadership by the ANC of public discourse and formulation of policy:

- "The Youth League should lead the campaign to ensure that the future generations have access to and use new technologies, through internet cafes, encouraging and facilitating the entry of young men and women into career paths in the 'new economy' and non-traditional areas of learning, etc.
- "Improve mechanisms in the ANC and Alliance's communication units to service the media, encourage activism and debate by our cadres and progressive intellectuals, ensure that the voice of ordinary people on the major questions facing the country are heard and use Parliament and the legislatures as tribunes of the people."

[NGC: 2000].

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"Accordingly, I am talking about the need for us to develop new cadres to meet the demands imposed on us by the victories we have scored as we have pursued the objectives of the democratic revolution.

"I am talking here of the need for us to implement a programme focused, among other things, on the development of cadres who are truly politically committed to the all-round success of the new democratic South Africa, and properly prepared with regard to the skills our country needs to achieve that success.

"The delegates will have to discuss what we can and must do in this regard, as a movement that leads the process of progressive change in our country.

"What is also clear is that this General Council will also have to discuss the critically important question of our interaction with and impact on the student youth, the intelligentsia and the professionals in our country.

"All these constitute a critically important resource without which, in the context of the modern globalising economy and society, we cannot meet our objectives to help provide a better life for our people.

"We need to ensure that these strata in our society, that either have or will have the specialised skills our country needs, at the same time have the

levels of national consciousness and patriotism that will enable our people to count on them as an asset for the development and modernisation of our country, for the benefit of the masses of our people.

"As a consequence of this, the delegates cannot avoid examining, very closely, the issue of the functioning and the impact of the Youth and Women`s Leagues and the ANC, relative to the student youth and those in our society whose input into society and social development is centred around the contribution of knowledge and ideas.

"As a movement, even as we speak, we are engaged in very important and challenging work with regard to this area. This stretches from the streamlining of Curriculum 2005 to the transformation of our institutions of higher learning.

"As we discuss this matter, necessarily, we will have to pay due attention to the fact that all our educational institutions, without exception, became victim to the apartheid policy, designed consciously and systematically to drive especially the African majority, into a primitive age of ignorance.

"As we strive to meet urgent national needs, we will have to ensure that we do not contribute to the demoralisation and disempowerment particularly of the black intelligentsia and professionals.

"In the context of the unavoidable and pressing requirement to increase both black and white `brain workers`, we must take on board the impact of modern communication and information technology on the transformation of modern economies and societies."

[PR: 2000] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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"The NGC focused on the need to build the ***New Cadre***, who will be able to take forward the programme of social transformation. This New Cadre must be developed and given responsibilities...

"A prerequisite for the success of a revolution is the existence of a strong revolutionary organisation. The strength of a revolutionary organisation lies not only in numbers, but primarily in the quality of its cadres. Hence in the development of our organisation, cadre policy occupies a central role.

"Cadres are all members of the Movement involved in the formulation and practical implementation of policy, and willing to carry out all tasks assigned.

"The cadre policy of an organisation is determined by the tasks, which are short and long term in the revolution. A correct cadre policy produces activists equipped to perform special and general skills and tasks...

"The NGC raised the need for targeted strategic recruitment, so that besides its reflection of the working class and poor, the ANC continues to be the repository of 'the best in society': including the best students, professionals, community leaders, business people, academics, scientists, sports people, cultural workers and so on – either as members or active supporters committed to the cause of social transformation. This will require dedicated approaches within our organising strategy, to ensure that we pay particular attention to sectoral work and to ensure that we devise means, especially at branch and regional levels, for such targeted recruitment from among all of the motive forces."

[OR: 2002] – presented by Cde Kgalema Motlanthe

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"To repeat the important truths that you know, for whose repetition I apologise, you must continue to play your role as genuine leaders of the African National Congress. Accordingly:

- you must continue to have the courage to think independently;

- you must take the necessary steps to acquire the skills the democratic revolution needs, and work to ensure that this revolution has the necessary and growing number of people committed to the victory of the democratic revolution, even within the limited space of their professions and skills;

- where necessary you must identify what is wrong and oppose it, without fear or favour;
- at all times you must act in a manner consistent with your principles and your consciences;

- at all times you must remain loyal to the goal of serving the masses of our people; and,

- at all times you must refuse to succumb to what might, at any particular moment, present itself as genuinely a popular view, simply because it was a popular view, regardless of whether, objectively, it serves the interests of the people."

[PR – POLICY CONFERENCE: 2007] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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"All the challenges I have mentioned, including the matter raised by the 2nd NGC of the need and possibility to accelerate the process of socio-economic transformation, once again emphasise the need for us decisively to strengthen the ANC. As our experience during the last five years has shown, this is not just a matter of numbers. Critically it is a matter of the quality of our membership.

"Without such a membership, which is steeped in the policies, the value system and the traditions of the ANC, our movement will fail in its effort both to respond to the challenges we have mentioned as well as act in an effective manner to advance the National Democratic Revolution, in the interests of the masses of our people.

"By the time we close this National Conference we must have discussed this matter and taken decisions that will be implemented, literally to save both the ANC and our revolution.

"I am certain that all those of us who have followed the evolution of the political situation in our country and movement over the last five years will have no hesitation in agreeing that the single and most strategic task we face is to strengthen the ANC both quantitatively and qualitatively to the point of understanding and accepting the proposition - better fewer, but better!"

[PR: 2007] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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VI

THE HISTORIC ROLE AND PLACE OF THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE.

The ANC has served in a Tripartite Alliance for many decades, which includes the SACP (formerly the CPSA), and COSATU, (formerly SACTU). This has developed to include SANCO.

This Alliance was constituted because of the objective circumstances which were dictated by the development of the political situation in our country, and therefore the political tasks which faced the black majority in the country.

From the end of the 19th century this majority decided that its strategic task was to unite and fight for its liberation.

As a consequence of the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, this majority took the position that such liberation would constitute in its involvement in the South African body politic as an equal participant in a

national democratic political order of equal citizenship without regard to any race, colour, gender and class differentiation.

In time the national liberation movement, led by the ANC, defined in greater detail the content of this national democratic political order as reflected, for instance, in the Freedom Charter.

Given that the entirety of the black majority defined this equality in the national order as its principal strategic task, this gave birth to the ANC as its leader in terms of the pursuit of this goal, charged with the task to unite and lead this black majority to achieve its strategic goal.

Afterwards sections of the South African working class and middle strata formed the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) to pursue the goal of transforming South Africa through a socialist revolution.

A little earlier, especially the black working class formed a trade union movement, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (ICU),

to pursue the trade union tasks of higher wages and better working conditions for the working class.

This meant that the black oppressed majority became involved in three simultaneous struggles, these being:

- **the struggle for the victory of the Democratic Revolution;**
- **the struggle for the victory of the Socialist Revolution; and,**
- **the struggle for a better life for the working class.**

[Later this expanded to include community based struggles, hence the inclusion of SANCO.]

However, in time, the black masses involved in these struggles agreed that their combined and immediate principal task was to unite to ensure the victory of the Democratic Revolution.

Ultimately both the Communist Party and the Trade Union Movement agreed that the victory of the Democratic Revolution would create the best conditions for them to achieve their distinct objectives.

Because of this they confirmed that they would get involved in the struggle for the victory of the Democratic Revolution and, in this regard, accept the ANC as the leader of this Revolution.

In this regard, while maintaining their independence, they would cooperate with the ANC to pursue the shared objectives of the Democratic Revolution, understanding and accepting the leadership of this Revolution.

In the aftermath of the Political Victory of the Democratic Revolution in 1994, both the ANC and its allies for the victory of this Revolution, the Communist Party and the Trade Union Movement, accepted that this Political Victory constituted only one step in the process to achieve the objectives of the Democratic Revolution.

This meant that the objective all-round situation facing the black majority was that the ANC would continue to lead the alliance which included the Communist Party and the Trade Union Movement, given that there was a continuing strategic task to achieve the tasks of the Democratic Revolution.

In this context it is obvious that the Alliance would have to consider the manner in which it would work together, given that the political leader of the democratic revolution, the ANC, would now have become a Governing Party, thanks to the political victory of the continuing Democratic Revolution.

However, such consideration would not question the strategic determination of the leadership of the ANC of the continuing Democratic Revolution, given that the strategic relationship between the Democratic Revolution, the Socialist Revolution and Trade Union demands remained, except in the instance that the Democratic Revolution had won its political Victory.

Thus did the Alliance have the task to define how it should work to respond to the political victory it had achieved under the leadership of the ANC, while accepting the continuing leadership of the ANC to realise the outstanding tasks of the Democratic Revolution.

EXTRACTS: THE HISTORIC ROLE AND PLACE OF THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE.

"While the Alliance has been crucial to maintaining the momentum of change in South Africa, it must be noted that the ANC has not developed a coherent approach to the Alliance under the new circumstances. A major failing has been the inability of the Alliance to develop joint programmes."

[OR: 1997] – presented by Cde Kgalema Motlanthe

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"Claims that have been made that this is possible, and that we could have solved the socio-economic problems we inherited, during the short years of our democracy, are obviously incorrect.

"This Policy Conference gives us the possibility seriously to discuss these claims. I must also say this that this Conference also gives us the possibility to discuss the assertions I have made, that it is not possible to solve problems that have been 350 years in the making in a mere 13 years of democratic rule.

"You, fellow delegates, are at perfect liberty to argue that I am wrong in making this assertion, and that our movement has been wrong in making this assertion, and that during the conferences the African National Congress has held since our unbanning in 1990, we could have adopted other policies that could have eradicated a 350-year legacy in 13 years!

"In this context the issue of the relationship between the national democratic and the socialist revolutions has been raised once again.

"I hope that as we reflect on matters raised in the Draft Strategy and Tactics document we will discuss this important matter that our movement has grappled with for many decades. However, I must restate some of the fundamental conclusions that have informed the functioning of the broad movement for national liberation for many decades already, which enabled

this movement to achieve the historic democratic victory of 1994 as a united and disciplined force for progressive change.

"One of these conclusions is that there is a distinct, material and historically determined difference between the national democratic and the socialist revolutions. Objectively, and not by proclamation or conference resolutions, the ANC necessarily serves as the leader of the forces committed to the victory of the National Democratic Revolution, which struggle for the realisation of the national democratic goals of the masses of our people.

"For many decades already, our movement, the African National Congress, precisely because it accepted and supported the right of our people to choose their path of development, accepted the proposition that our ally, the SACP, and not the ANC, would lead the forces and the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution.

"I must emphasise this again today as we begin our Policy Conference that the ANC would respect any decision by the masses of our people that rather than the national democratic revolution, they prefer to support and pursue a socialist revolution.

"Equally, the ANC would respect the right and duty of our ally, the South African Communist Party, to lead the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. Our movement has never stopped or discouraged the SACP from playing this role, and will not do so today or tomorrow.

"Recognising and respecting the independence of our ally, the SACP, and understanding its role as the leader of the socialist revolution, the ANC has never sought to prescribe to the SACP the policies it should adopt, the programmes of action it should implement, and the leaders it should elect. It has never obstructed the SACP in its socialist objectives, and therefore joined the reactionary anti-communist forces.

"Historically, the ANC has deeply appreciated the fact that over the decades, the SACP has defined itself as an integral part of the national liberation movement, of our movement committed to the victory of the National Democratic Revolution, and therefore accepted that, objectively, the ANC must serve as the leader of the NDR.

"In this context, the SACP has always understood that it could not delegate its socialist tasks to the ANC, consistent with the fact that the tasks of the

socialist revolution could not be delegated to the National Democratic Revolution. For many decades, the SACP has therefore not seen and acted against the ANC as its political competitor, which we are not.

"I mention these matters that have to do with the Strategy and Tactics of both the national democratic and the socialist revolutions because in the recent past suggestions have been made that the ANC has not eradicated the legacy of 350 years of colonialism and apartheid because our successive conferences, starting with the Consultative Conference at NASREC in 1990, have not adopted what some have characterised as socialist policies.

"Again, let me restate the fundamental conclusion that, for many decades, has informed the functioning of the Alliance and the relations within its ranks that the SACP has never sought to delegate its socialist tasks to the ANC, and has never sought to impose on the national democratic revolution the tasks of the socialist revolution.

"Neither has the ANC ever demanded that the SACP should abandon its socialist perspectives, and limit itself only to the achievement of the objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.

"I must also add this, that already during the 1940s, if not earlier, our movement recognised the strategic position that our working class occupied and would occupy in our economy, in our society, and in all our struggles to achieve the victory of the National Democratic Revolution.

"As the colonial-apartheid system evolved, characterised in part by massive land dispossession, it became ever clearer that the majority of the black people were being thrown into the ranks of the proletariat, and therefore that to speak of a democratic revolution that benefits the people was to speak of a democratic revolution that benefits the working class.

"Accordingly, to speak about the motive forces of the National Democratic Revolution was to speak of the working class as a leading echelon in the struggle for national liberation, which would also organise and fight for its interests in terms of higher wages and better working conditions, and a role in determining the future of our country.

"You comrades may very well ask why I show disrespect for you and this important Policy Conference by repeating what to you constitute the ABC of your political education and understanding, as well as my own.

"And so let me explain myself. I have said what I have said to make the immensely important point that the historical evolution of our society has meant and means for the ANC that to secure the victory of the National Democratic Revolution, our movement must draw into the common struggle our country's democratic forces, our country's socialist forces, and our country's proletariat.

"This means that our Alliance, composed of the ANC, the SACP and COSATU, expanded to include SANCO, is not a product merely of intelligent conference resolutions. It is an imperative imposed on us by the nature of our society and the ideas and organisational formations that have developed within the bosom of that society.

"The Alliance will therefore survive and thrive and continue to combine and coalesce as the vanguard mass formation representative of the overwhelming majority of our people, charged with the historic task to accomplish the goals of the National Democratic Revolution.

"The objective reality in our country is that the National Democratic

Revolution cannot succeed if it does not contain among its motive forces our country's socialist, trade union and civic movements.

"The objective reality in our country is that the trade union and civic movements cannot achieve the goals they pursue if the National Democratic Revolution does not succeed in its objectives.

"The objective reality in our country is that the victory of the socialist revolution cannot be achieved outside the context of the victory of the National Democratic Revolution.

"As we consider our policy positions during this Conference, these realities about what the Alliance is and what the Alliance means, are some of the fundamental considerations that must inform our work, bearing in mind what was said a mere two years after our liberation, that "There can be no stable democracy unless the democratic state attends to the concerns of the people as a whole and takes responsibility for the evolution of the new society."

"Those of us who are familiar with European classical music may

remember the comment attributed to the famous German composer, Ludwig von Beethoven, when, speaking of his 9th Symphony, the "Chorale", he said: "Mankind may perish, but the 9th will live forever!"

"On behalf of our National Executive Committee and the entirety of the ANC, I am pleased once more to welcome to our Policy Conference the delegates representing the SACP, COSATU, SANCO and other formations of the democratic movement. Their presence here signifies precisely the point that all of us may indeed perish, but the Alliance will live forever!

"The ANC remains committed to what necessarily will be a protracted struggle for the victory of the National Democratic Revolution that, objectively, will continue to demand that the ANC discharges its obligation to lead the entirety of the democratic movement.

"This is what should guide our discussions during this important Policy Conference, focused on our obligation to advance the National Democratic Revolution and therefore determine the policies that would help us to achieve this objective. Our movement must indeed "attend to the concerns of the people as a whole and take responsibility for the evolution of the new society".

[PR - POLICY CONFERENCE: 2007] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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VII

TEN YEARS AFTER POLOKWANE: A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW! JUNE/JULY 2017 DIAGNOSTIC REPORT OF SG GWEDE MANTASHE.

MORALITY IN THE ANC AS A GOVERNING PARTY.

"The consciousness of an individual can be influenced by the material conditions one finds himself or herself in. We owe it to ourselves first, the movement and society, to analyse in detail the implications of a liberation movement that has ascended to power and, therefore, controls huge resources. Being in power is rapidly becoming a source of political bankruptcy, in that members of the ANC fight for deployment either as councillors, MPLs and MPs – respectively, as if there is 'no tomorrow'. In the last Local Government Elections, infighting was a common factor everywhere - be it in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro, Tshwane or with the political killings in KZN, or in some parts of the Eastern Cape -where our electoral support decreased. It is foreign to our movement for comrades to see deployment as a source of material benefit rather than the reason to

serve the people. These fights among comrades turn the interest of our people off, and push them away from the movement."

THE HISTORIC VALUE SYSTEM AND THEREFORE THE MORALITY OF THE ANC.

"Revolutionary morality is about the leadership of our movement adhering to higher standards of behaviour. It is refusal to compare our leadership to apartheid or any other reactionary leadership, because that is to use the lowest common denominator to measure our standards. When our people protest against unethical behaviour of our leadership, they do so not out of hatred but from feeling betrayed as they expect better and higher standards from revolutionaries.

"The use of money to buy votes for elections in the party is at the heart of the decline of the quality of structures across the board. Money has replaced consciousness as a basis for being elected into leadership positions at all levels of the organisation. The ethical behaviour of leaders is no longer an issue, as it has been replaced by status. Ethics is seen as an elitist approach

to politics and has developed social distance as an effect. Social distance accelerates the growth of the trust deficit between leaders and society, leading to decline of support for our movement.

"Cadres of the movement should be guided by the values of honesty, humility, hard work, commitment, sacrifice, and selflessness. We hardly talk about these values which, in some sections of our movement, are seen as backward and a hindrance to people accessing quick material benefit. Emphasis on values is sometimes interpreted as incriminating some individual leaders of the movement. It is really strange that talking about foreign tendencies to the movement can even be remotely seen as attacking each other."

THE ACTUAL STATE OF ORGANISATION AND QUALITY OF THE ANC.

"Divisions and factions are a reality in our organisation. This makes it attractive to attack individuals we perceive to be our enemies. It involves consciously deciding to undermine one another, including the various offices of the organisation. Although we deny it because we know that it is wrong, we are beginning to put personal interest ahead of the organisation.

"Factions are divisive, destructive and subjective. As long as we put our factions and personal ambitions ahead of the organisation, we are actively destroying it.

"The ANC is a rules-based organisation. Its membership is expected to comply with the rules in the form of values, traditions, directives or decisions of the structures of the organisation. When members defy these, it becomes a free- for-all with everyone acting at will; and anarchy and chaos reign. We are fast approaching that stage as comrades do not feel obliged to be guided by the directives of the organisation. Those of us who project themselves as 'holier than thou' contribute to the chaos, because of a conception that a leadership they despise does not need to be respected. In the process, we fail to respect our own decisions.

"The organisation has lost one of its key defining characteristics when comrades cannot trust one another with their lives. As a result of the factions that are part of the body politic, comrades do not trust each other and also hate one another. Fall-out in any of the factions leads comrades to seek to destroy one another. Deployment is used to punish those who are

not part of the dominant faction. Genuine discussions among comrades are replaced with tale-bearing and back-biting.

"This decline in political consciousness and ideological awareness makes our organisation vulnerable to divisions. Even when we should be agreeing we differ, not because we disagree ideologically, but because we differ on points of emphasis."

REASONS WHY THE QUALITY OF THE ANC MEMBERSHIP HAS DETERIORATED.

"The general decline in the quality of membership is a product of the following factors:

- mass recruitment of membership, not a problem in itself, adversely quality over time.
- the weak induction programme leads to a big membership that does not understand the organisation. This weakens the values and traditions of the organisation.

- although the membership of the ANC is more literate now, the culture of reading policy documents of the movement is dying, because political and ideological clarity is no longer the deciding factor for election to leadership positions and deployment.
- comrades get introduced to perspectives/groupings and factions before they understand the politics of the movement. This lack of understanding translates into brutality against one another in a phenomenon of being with us or against us.
- activism is in decline, depriving new members of the training ground. As a result, overall, very few branches run campaigns.
- a projection of arrogance, which hides the reality.
- incoherent political education in the organisation.
- there is a general decline at leadership level, to anchor debates, addresses and closed discussions, on the basic policy documents. The term 'revolution', or its opposite 'counter-revolution', hardly features in our vocabulary. Even the NDR is referred to only a few times and far apart. Terms like 'colonialism of a special type' are hardly seen except in political classes.

"This has created space for the opposition forces to appropriate the legacy and symbols of our movement. When we defend our space, we are less

enthusiastic and, therefore, less convincing. Society is fast forgetting the overall strategy of the movement and is quickly dissociating our policies from the movement. There is a growing allergy to engage in politics as we tend to retreat into being technical, and there are emerging ideologues who continue to feed the movement with analysis."

HOW SHOULD THE ANC RESPOND TO THE PRECEDING REALITY?

"There are a few issues that should be considered together with the resolutions of the National Policy Conference, that is:

- in our work, we must reach-out to friendly forces internationally for support and solidarity. The ANC must disabuse itself of the view that it is the darling of everyone in the world;
- strengthening BRICS is not a luxury, but a necessity for the long-term survival of developing countries. This does not suggest being hostile towards the West, but to be realistic about these relations;
- we must deal with our mistakes and challenges without understating the external threat to the revolution. Regime change is a reality that must never be used to defend our own subjective mistakes;

- the ideological content of the programme of the movement must be strengthened. The starting point is to be committed to the well documented policies and programmes of the movement;
- all the structures of the movement must develop programmes that force us to interact with community structures where we stay and where we are deployed to do mass political work;
- the various streams that are emerging as a result of unhappiness for one reason or the other must be encouraged to go to the structures of the ANC and strengthen them, rather than undermine them. When we are united we become strong and when we destroy the ANC with the hope of coming up with something new, we become weaker and splintered; and,
- unity is the bedrock on which our movement must be anchored. There is no substitute for unity even in the run-up to the National Conference."

[OR - POLICY CONFERENCE: 2017] – presented by Cde Gwede Mantashe.

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VIII

CONCLUSION - WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

We convened ourselves as loyal Veterans and Stalwarts of the ANC because we were deeply concerned that our Movement was engaged in activities which both betrayed its historic mission and, as a Governing Party, helped to immerse our country in a worsening political, economic and social crisis.

In our Document, "For the Sake of Our Future" we said:

"We have been and remain deeply concerned at the state of the ANC and are concerned that the values that the Movement has carefully developed are being systematically undermined and progressively eroded. The leadership of the ANC as a collective has failed the people of South Africa. It has presided over the downward spiral of the organisation and given rise to widespread national anxiety by defending, among other things, the personal interests of some leaders at the expense of the public good and the credibility of the organisation."

Accordingly, what must stand at the centre of everything that has to be done to address the "widespread national anxiety" we have mentioned must be the renewal of the ANC.

In this context successive ANC Official Documents have pointed to a number of tasks which are of strategic importance with regard to how the ANC must conduct itself.

In this regard we must emphasise that the ANC:

- **has the historic task to lead the continuing struggle for the all-round victory of the Democratic Revolution;**

- **for this reason it must constitute itself in such a manner that it is able to achieve this objective;**

- **this means that it must act to promote a social value system which is centred on the obligation of its members and the State to serve the interest of the people as a whole;**

- **for this reason, it must be firmly opposed to all corrupt practice, including the abuse of authority by all its members and all institutions of State corruptly to enrich particular individuals and/or corporations;**

- **must defeat the attempt to establish cliques and factions which are formed to subvert the united national effort to achieve the inclusive democratic transformation of South Africa, including the realisation of the goals of shared prosperity, poverty eradication and radical reduction of the levels on inequality in a growing economy;**

- **must, as a Governing Party, put in place and seriously pursue policies which practically serve to provide a better life for all the people of South Africa, given the practical domestic and international constraints in this regard;**

- **ensure that the people as a whole participate in the process of determining their future and the future of our country, consistent**

with the actual realisation of the objective that – the people shall govern!;

- **work consistently to help achieve the fundamental objectives detailed in the National Constitution, including:**

  - the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society;

  - respect for and the strengthening of the institutions of the democratic State;

  - continuous respect for and strengthening of democratic practices and therefore the rule of law;

  - fully to help implement the provision for the separation of powers, understanding the meaning of this in the context of our reality as a constitutional democracy; and,

- **must genuinely understand the meaning of the fact that the Constitution is our fundamental law, which everybody, including the Governing Party, has an unalterable obligation to respect and implement.**

In the context of all the foregoing, it is necessary for us to make other suggestions to help to answer the question – what is to be done?

ORGANISATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

(i) We are very pleased that the ANC NEC has gracefully accepted our proposal that this year an ANC National Consultative Conference (NCC) should be held.

(ii) In this regard we are very pleased that the ANC NEC has agreed with us that our Movement and Country face serious challenges which, among others, necessitate discussion in a special ANC National Consultative Conference (NCC).

(iii) In this regard we have agreed with the ANC NEC that the NCC should take place in 2017,

(iv) We have agreed with the ANC NEC that the NCC will be organised by a Joint NEC/Veterans Committee (JNVC).

(v) To prepare for the NCC, the JNVC will interact with the leadership of the existing Zonal, Regional and Provincial structures of the ANC to present the respective views of the ANC NEC and the Veterans Committee.

(vi) These meetings will take place during the period .....

(vii) The structures mentioned under Paragraph (v) above will have to convey their views about the matters that had been presented to them, in writing, to the JNVC by May /June, 2017, at the latest.

(viii) The JNVC will then prepare a Report reflecting the feedback from the Zones, Regions and Provinces to be presented at the NCC.

(ix) This Report will be made available to the Zones, Regions and Provinces ten (10) days ahead of the convening of the NCC.

SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS.

Our substantive proposals are based on the comments we have made in this Document and our citations from Official ANC documents.

PROPOSAL A.

THE ANC MUST ENGAGE IN A PROCESS TO ASSESS THE QUALITY OF ITS MEMBERSHIP!

(x) The ANC should subject all its members to a process to assess who among them is a genuine cadre of the Movement, thus to identify genuine cadres as opposed to mere card-holders.

(xi) This process would seek to test the members' loyalty to the Oath, their understanding of the democratic processes of the Movement, the tasks of the Democratic Revolution in the context of the National Constitution, the fundamental value system of the ANC, and their own personal behaviour related to the matter of not putting the ANC in disrepute.

(xii) All members should be warned that all false responses in this regard would be publicised, which would result in their public shaming and isolation. To the contrary, the TPC and other ANC structures would respect the confidentiality of any such 'confession' as any member might make.

(xiii) The JNVC must establish Three-Person Committees (TPCs) to interview all members based on Paragraph (xi) above.

(xiv) The JNVC must provide a Confidential Questionnaire to assist the TPCs.

(xv) The JNVC should invite all other members of the ANC and the public to approach the TPCs to make presentations about any member of the ANC.

[In this context, the JNVC must commit itself to protect the identity of all 'whistle blowers'!]

(xvi) The members of the TPC must be people who are not seeking to be elected as members of any of the official structures of the ANC.

(xvii) They must also be sworn to respect the Confidentiality of the Questionnaire, to avoid forewarning members about the questions they would have to answer.

(xviii) The TPC must have the power to decide who should continue to be accepted as a member of the ANC, and provide written justifications in this regard.

(xix) It must report to the JNVC, which must serve as the last structure which will confirm or reject the findings of the TPCs.

(xx) The JNVC will then report to the ANC SG, who will then inform all members whether they remain members of the ANC or are excluded.

PROPOSAL B.

THE ANC MUST ENGAGE ITS LEADERSHIP TO ASSESS ITS COMMITMENT TO A REVOLUTIONARY MORALITY AND THE TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.

(xxi) The ANC Integrity Committee (ANCIC), , should be charged with the task to interview people in the national, provincial and regional leadership of the ANC to assess their compliance with the value system and strategic objectives of the ANC.

(xxii) The JNVC should provide the ANCIC with a Confidential Questionnaire to enable it to conduct its work.

(xxiii) The Questionnaire must include such matters as commitment to the ANC Oath, understanding of the tasks of the Democratic Revolution, understanding of the tasks of leadership in the ANC, strategic challenges facing the ANC, personal wealth and business involvements, relations between Government, the State and the private sector, and understanding of the tasks that define a way forward concerning the ANC and State in the context of the contemporary South African and international reality, relative to the obligation honestly to serve all the people of South Africa.

(xxiv) The ANCIC must report to the JNVC which would have the responsibility to decide on what action should be taken in the light of the ANCIC Report.

PROPOSAL C.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SHORT AND MEDIUM TERM TASKS OF THE

(xxv) It seems obvious that our country as a whole has accepted the National Development Programme (NDP) as the 'blueprint' for the all-round development of our country in the medium term.

(xxvi) Assuming that this is correct, we suggest that the Government must urgently take steps to translate the Vision contained in the NDP into a Practical Implementation Programme (PIP), thus to produce a new NDP-PIP Document.

(xxvii) To have any meaning, the NDP-PIP must be negotiated with all relevant stakeholders, including business, the trade unions and social society, to ensure that it is actually implemented.

(xxviii) If this is done through NEDLAC, additional steps would still have to be taken to ensure its wider, genuine and conscious national acceptance, through the engagement of genuinely vital and representative social society formations.

(xxix) If this happened, covering all matters reflected in the NDP, this would constitute an agreed subject for the elaboration of the required 'Strategy and Tactics' for the very necessary socio-economic transformation of our country.

(xxx) The success of the NDP-PIP will depend on the formation of a serious Social Compact involving the Government, Business, the Trade Unions and Civil Society. This means that the ANC will have to engage its Allies and the Mass Democratic Movement to mobilise them fully to support the NDP-PIP.

PROPOSAL D.

THE DECEMBER 2017
54th NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(xxxi) It is obvious that the forthcoming 54th National Conference of the ANC will play a major and central role in terms of the renewal of the Movement and its restoration to the position of being a trusted representative and leader of the people of South Africa.

(xxxii) Accordingly it must be prepared and conducted in such a way that its outcome does not further entrench the negative tendencies which the Movement has identified and condemned over many years, and which we have listed in the Document "For the Sake of Our Future."

(xxxiii) This must relate especially to the three (3) matters of:

(a) the selection of the delegates;
(b) the Policy Discussion; and,
(c) the Election of the National Executive Committee.

SELECTION OF DELEGATES.

(xxxiv) The delegates should be selected after the process in Proposals A & B have been completed.

(xxxv) The selection should be monitored and assisted by a Joint NEC/Veterans Committee (JNVC).

(xxxvi) Where the JNVC determines that such delegates have been selected through *irregular or corrupt* means, it should disqualify them from participating in the National Conference and put its reasons in writing.

THE POLICY DISCUSSION.

(xxxvii) If the National Conference is scheduled to be held over five (5) days, at least three (3) of these should be set aside for the Policy Discussion.

(xxxviii) The Policy Discussion should include matters related to the issues mentioned under Proposal C above.

(xxxix) The Policy Discussion should also cover matters related to Recruitment and Structures of the ANC.

ELECTION OF THE NEC.

(xl) All Structures involved in nominating NEC Candidates should study and implement the provisions contained in the Document "Through the Eye of the Needle".

(xli) All such Candidates should be nominated by only one of the nominating structures, i.e. the Provinces and the Leagues, with each acting on its own. This means that none of these should enter into any agreement between or among themselves to nominate anybody.

(xlii) Any of the Candidates who are willing to stand will therefore have to accept each nomination individually, if such Candidate is nominated by more than one Structure.

(xliii) The Candidates will be nominated individually and must therefore not belong to any Slate or grouping nominated as a faction.

(xliv) Accordingly none of the Nominating Structures should enter into any discussion between or among themselves to nominate a Slate or a faction.

(xlv) If any Candidate/s should engage in any campaign ahead of and during the National Conference they should not promote for election any Slate or faction.

(xlvi) The ANC Integrity Committee (ANCIC) will exercise oversight over the process of the nomination of NEC Candidates.

(xlvii) If the ANCIC determines that any Nominating Structure has violated the provisions above, it will have the power to impose sanctions on the offending party, as follows:

- individual Candidates who violate these provisions will be disqualified from standing at the 54th National Conference for election to the NEC;

- individual Provinces which violate these provisions will have their delegations reduced by 25%;

- individual Leagues which violate these provisions will have their delegations reduces to two (2) persons for the League concerned; and,

- if any of the Allies violate these provisions, they will have their delegations reduced to one (1) person.

(xlviii) The ANCIC will put in writing any decision it take as it carries out its oversight responsibility.

(xlxix) The ANCIC will set its own Rules for the conduct of its work and communicate these to all the Nominating Structures.

(l) The ANCIC will have the power to coopt Veterans to help it to carry out its oversight function, provided that such Veterans will not stand for election at the 54th National Conference into the NEC.

EXTRACTS: CONCLUSION - WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

"In this context I trust that all of us gave ourselves time to study and respond to the Discussion Document, "Towards the Centenary of the ANC: A Strategic Agenda for Organisational Renewal."

"The Document concludes with the words: "The ANC has evolved and developed into a people's movement and agent for change over many years of struggle and sacrifice. It had to overcome serious obstacles and setbacks in the long road to freedom and democracy.

"Our movement has a track record of being a trusted leader and loyal servant people. Its strength lies in its ability to renew itself ideologically and organisationally, to take account of new developments and new challenges. However, this ability for self-renewal cannot be taken for granted. It is a task that every generation has to grapple with and accomplish, based on the requirements and tasks of the each situation.

"Any organisational review and renewal proposals for the ANC have to pass one test: to what extent do they enhance the capacity of the movement to

remain a trusted leader, loyal servant of the people and an agent for change! This is the main challenge."

"The Document ends by inviting "all cadres to join in the festival of ideas about the fundamental challenge of strengthening our movement so that it remains a trusted leader, loyal servant of the people and an agent for change!"

[PR – POLICY CONFERENCE: 2007] – presented by Cde Thabo Mbeki

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