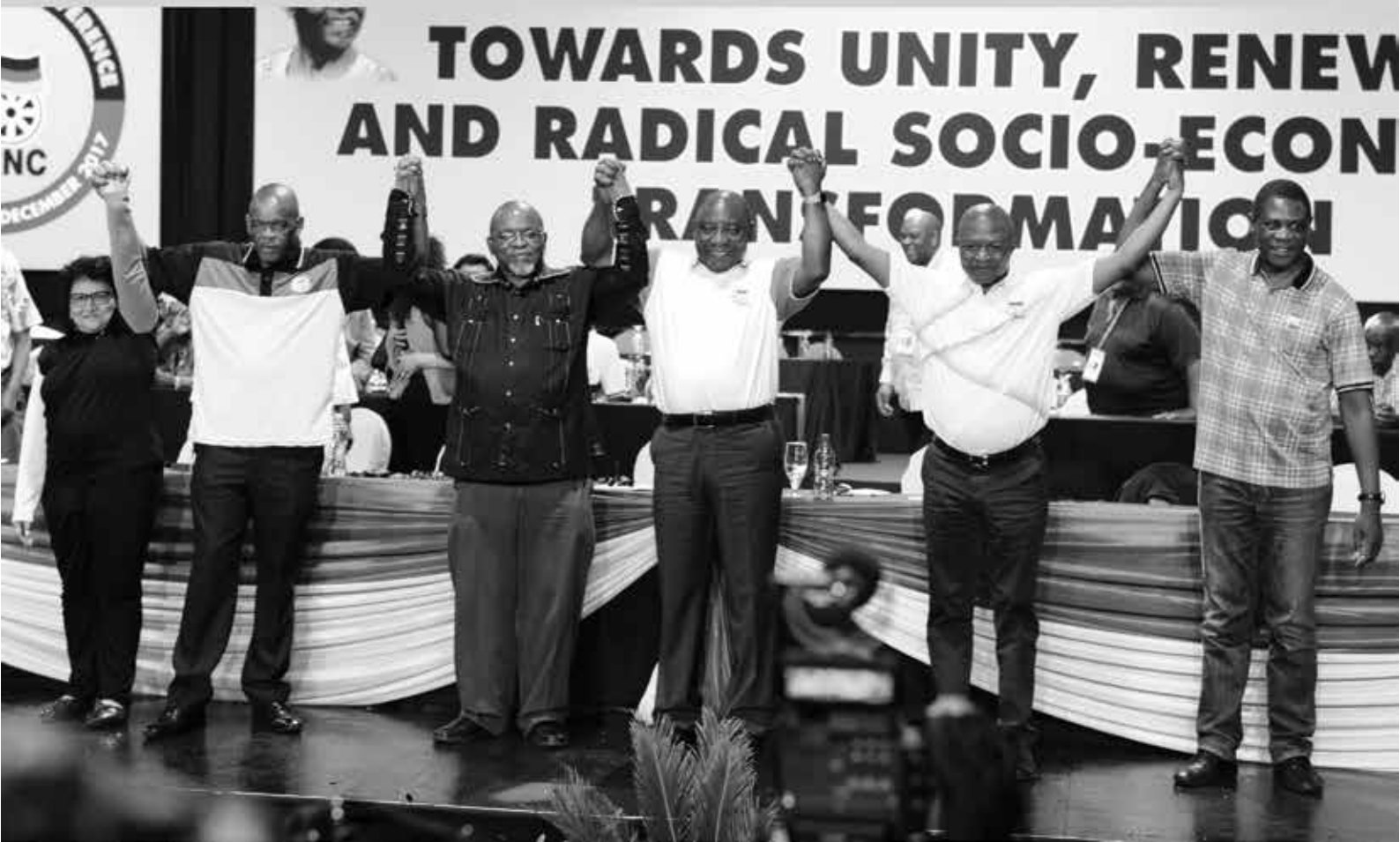




54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS



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INTRODUCTION BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL COMRADE ACE MAGASHULE

The 54th National Conference was convened under the theme of **“Remember Tambo: Towards Unity, Renewal and Radical Socio-economic Transformation”** and presented cadres of our movement with a concrete opportunity for introspection, self-criticism and renewal.

The ANC can unequivocally and proudly say that we emerged from this conference invigorated and renewed to continue serving the people of South Africa.

We took fundamental resolutions aimed at radically transforming the lives of the people for the better and our tasks now are to transform these resolutions into programmes that will make meaningful and lasting difference to peoples’ existence.

The ANC is committed to addressing the historical injustice of land dispossessions and we shall pursue land expropriation without compensation as a matter of policy. We shall give effect to this resolution in a manner that strengthens the agricultural sector,

improves economic growth and meaningfully addresses inequality and unemployment.

Conference reaffirmed the ANC’s commitment to nation-building and directed all ANC structures to develop specific programmes to build non-racialism and non-sexism. It further directed that every ANC cadre must become activists in their communities and drive programmes against the abuse of drugs and alcohol, gender based violence and other social ills. Fundamentally, Conference directed every ANC member to work tirelessly for the renewal of our organisation and to build unity across all structures. A united ANC is a prerequisite for leading the struggle for a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.

We invite you to read this report of the 54th National Conference and to discuss the resolutions contained herein thoroughly.

Amandla!

CREDENTIALS REPORT

The ANC Constitution as amended and adopted by the 53rd National Conference requires that the National Executive Committee must convene the national conference every five years.

Rule 10.1. of the ANC Constitution states that the national conference is the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC. It shall be composed of the following:

- At least 90% of delegates at conference shall be from branches, elected at properly constituted branch general meetings
- The number of delegates per branch shall be in proportion to its paid up membership, provided that each branch in good standing shall be entitled to at least one delegate.
- The number of delegates to be allocated to each national conference shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee in proportion to the paid up membership of each province.
- All members of the National Executive Committee shall attend, ex officio, as full participants in, and as delegates to the national conference.
- The remainder of the 10% of voting delegates at the conference shall be allocated by the NEC from among the Provincial Executive Committees, the ANC Veterans League, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League.

Rule 10.1.2. of the ANC Constitution states that the NEC may invite individuals, who have made special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience to attend the conference and participate as Non-voting delegates to the conference.

In compliance with the provisions of the ANC Constitution, the office of the Secretary General conducted membership audits in order to ascertain the state of ANC branches and membership as at 30 April 2017.

As a result, the allocation of delegates as determined by the National Executive Committee is as follows:

Province	Number of Delegates
EASTERN CAPE	648
FREE STATE	409
GAUTENG	508
KWA-ZULU NATAL	870
LIMPOPO	643
MPUMALANGA	736
NORTH WEST	538
NORTHERN CAPE	197
WESTERN CAPE	182
TOTAL	4731

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Conference Credentials as adopted during the 54th National Conference

Province	Category	Expected	Registered	Collected
EASTERN CAPE	BRANCH	648	636	632
GAUTENG	BRANCH	508	491	491
FREE STATE	BRANCH	409	355	349
KWA-ZULU NATAL	BRANCH	870	840	804
LIMPOPO	BRANCH	643	553	567
MPUMALANGA	BRANCH	736	722	708
NORTHERN CAPE	BRANCH	197	193	193
NORTH WEST	BRANCH	538	511	446
WESTERN CAPE	BRANCH	182	146	136
	TOTAL	4731	4447	4326
EASTERN CAPE	PEC	27	27	27
GAUTENG	PEC	27	27	27
FREE STATE	PEC	0	0	0
KWA-ZULU NATAL	PEC	0	0	0
LIMPOPO	PEC	27	27	27
MPUMALANGA	PEC	27	27	27
NORTHERN CAPE	PEC	27	27	27
NORTH WEST	PEC	27	27	27
WESTERN CAPE	PEC	27	27	27
	TOTAL	189	189	189
NEC MEMBERS	NEC	86	86	86
ANC Veterans' League	LEAGUES	60	55	55
ANC Youth League	LEAGUES	60	60	60
ANC Women's League	LEAGUES	60	60	60
TOTAL VOTING DELEGATES		5006	4897	4776
ANC Ambassadors	NON-VOTING	567	567	567
Support Staff	NON-VOTING	415	415	415
Guests	NON-VOTING	299	299	299
TOTAL NON-VOTING		1281	1281	1281
GRAND TOTAL		6562	6453	6148

STATUS REPORT ON 63 COMRADES WHOSE VOTES WERE NOT COUNTED

63 comrades presented themselves at the voting station but their names did not appear on the voters roll. Their votes were registered by the Elexions Agency but the ballot papers were kept in 63 separate envelops. These ballots were not counted.

Only those delegates whose branches were pre-registered and verified later, are included in the credentials report. This does not alter the credentials report.

The 63 comrades come from the following Provinces:

Free State	3
KwaZulu Natal	12
Mpumalanga	3
Gauteng	6
Limpopo	32
Western Cape	4
Veterans	1

2 blank sheets of paper were included.

The table below sets out the provinces, names of the comrades and the reasons for the exclusion:

Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
FREE STATE	Fezile Dabi	Ward 8	Mandla Ntombela	Passed
	Fezile Dabi	Ward 1	Jabunali Sigasa	Failed
	Mafube Sub-region	Ward 1	Simolia John Tsotetsi	Failed
KZN	Ulundi	Ward 14	Ntlovu Ntombiyke	Failed
	Pongolo	Ward 6	Nhlengethwa Muziwempi	Failed
	Ulundi	Ward 14	Ndithathe Themba lethu	Unknown to region and province
	Dumbe sub-region	Ward 14	Mbuso Kunene Branch mandated delegate is Cde Mxolisi Zulu	Kunene voted
	Abaqulusi, Nongoma	Ward 5	William Nkosi	Failed
	Pongolo	Ward 4	Sipho Nkosi	Passed
	Nongoma	Ward 16	Sibusiso Mkhize	Failed
	Nongoma	Ward 2	Sibusiso Vilani	Failed
	Nongoma	Ward 8	Zanele Ngubane	Failed
	Nongoma	Ward 3	Bhekisizwe Zulu	Failed
	Kwa Dukuza Mapumulo sub-region	Ward 4	Sipho Dladla	Passed, No ID

Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
MPUMALANGA	Nkangala Emalahleni sub- region	Ward 22	Solomon Bizzah Motubatse	Passed
	Steve Tshwete	Ward 20	Elizabeth Dibaleng Mahlangu	Passed
	Nhlanzeni region	Ward 3	Jacob Mtetwa	Passed
GAUTENG	Tshwane	Ward 82	Kgathatso Tlhakudi	Failed
	West Rand	Ward 10	Shadean Butler	Passed Voter lost accreditation
	Tshwane	Ward 37	Albert Kgoadiamoleke	Passed
	Tshwane	Ward 68	Justice Mabasa	Passed
	West Rand	Ward 97	Nkoata Ananias Mokgalotsi	Branch qualified for 2 voters. Nkoata was left off
	Tshwane	Ward 105	William Motaung	Passed
LIMPOPO	Waterberg Lephalele sub-region	Ward 5	Caroline Seabe	Passed
	Waterberg Mogalekwena	Ward 10	Molomo Malesela Thomas	Delegate captured on voters roll was Tapala Ramokone
	Waterberg Modimolle	Ward 4	Sello Makumbelo	Branch qualified for two delegates – Phetela Annie and Monyamane Stemmer. Sello was not a delegate
	Mopani Giyani	Ward 30	Vukosi Ngubane	Passed Voter did not submit ID number on time
	Mopani Giyani	Ward 9	Daniel Mathebula	Passed

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
LIMPOPO	Mopani Phalaborwa	Ward 8	Allen Mogale	Failed
	Mopani Phalaborwa	Ward 18	Edward Rihlampfu	Passed Delegate is Ngobeni Madala
	Mopani Greater Tzaneen	Ward 8	Jameson Mbhalati	Failed
	Mopani Tzaneen	Ward 21	Raymond Daniel	Passed Delegate is Thandi Phenyana
	Vhembe Thulamela	Ward 6	Rendani Lalumbe	Failed
	Vhembe Makhado	Ward 4	Matumba Ambani	Passed Told by agency that someone voted already
	Vhembe Thulamela	Ward 6	Mudele Mashudu	Failed
	Vhembe Collins Chabane	Ward 28	Moses Maluleke	Passed
	Vhembe Thulamela	Ward 37	Ramaphosa Mashudu	Passed Told by agency that someone voted already
	Sekhukhune Fetagomo	Ward 14	Nelly Makofana	Failed
	Sekhukhune Makhuduthamaga	Ward 21	Beauty Manaleng	Passed
	Sekhukhune Fetagomo	Ward 35	Maisela Charlotte Matlale	Failed
	Sekhukhune Fetagomo	Ward 19	Malomane Kapudi	Failed
	Sekhukhune Ephraim Mogale	Ward 2	Moses Vusi Baloyi	Failed

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
LIMPOPO	Sekhukhune Makhuduthamaga	Ward 26	Boshielo William	Passed Mandated delegate is Mahlase Masekwele
	Sekhukhune Elias Motsoaledi	Ward 31	Mothibe Rhodes Msiza	Passed Mandated delegate is Sephesumahola Rufus
	Peter Mokaba Molemole sub-region	Ward 6	Stephina Mothopi	
	Peter Mokaba Blouberg	Ward 1	Leso Ramakgaphola	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Molemole	Ward 8	Kganakga Matome	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Blouberg	Ward 12	Seemola Vincent	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Sefako Makgotho	Ward 23	Kgomo Stephina	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Blouberg	Ward 5	Katherine Matsobane	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Blouberg	Ward 12	Ramahuma Metse	Failed
	Peter Mokaba Polokwane	Ward 17	Pat Makape	Failed
	Waterberg Mokalakwena	Ward 30	Name not disclosed	Passed. Branch qualified for 2 delegates
	Waterberg Mokalakwena	Ward 9	Motshegwa Ramoseregwa	Passed
	Waterberg	Ward 4	Kenneth Latela Satege	Branch not verified
ANC VETERANS' LEAGUE			Jacob Otto Marule	Delegate not on voters roll

REPORT OF THE 54TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Province	Region/ Sub-region	Branch	Name of Delegate	Verification Process
WESTERN CAPE	Dullah Omar	Ward 37	Buyisile Martin Makasi	Passed
	Dullah Omar	Ward 58/59	Given Sebei	Passed
	Breede Valley Boland	Ward 2	Lubisi Mpumelelo	Passed
	Dullah Omar	Ward 16	Mzoli Matutu	Passed

The delegates highlighted in grey was added to the voters roll.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The following constitute the National Executive Committee duly elected at the 54th National Conference:

OFFICIALS

President	Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa
Deputy President	David Dabeda Mabuza
National Chairperson	Gwede Mantashe
Secretary General	Ace Magashule
Deputy Secretary General	Jessie Duarte
Treasurer General	Paul Mashatile

Directly elected members

- Zweli Mkhize
- Lindiwe Zulu
- Regina Mhaule
- David Masondo
- Malusi Gigaba
- Ronald Lamola
- Violet Siqeda
- Zizi Kodwa
- Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma
- Obed Bapela
- Tito Mboweni
- Lindiwe Sisulu
- Bheki Cele
- Fikile Mbalula
- Thoko Didiza
- Sdumo Dlamini
- Bathabile Dlamini
- Senzo Mchunu
- Pravin Gordhan
- Naledi Pandor
- Alvin Botes
- Zingiswa Losi
- Jackson Mthembu
- Phumulo Masualle
- Pule Mabe
- Sfiso Buthelezi
- Mduduzi Manana
- Aaron Motsoaledi
- Thandi Modise
- Bongani Bongo
- Enoch Godongwana
- Nomvula Mokonyane
- Baleka Mbete
- Derek Hanekom
- Mondli Gungubele
- Jeff Radebe
- Edna Molewa
- Collen Maine
- Nathi Mthethwa
- Tina Joemat-Pettersson
- Nkenke Kekana
- Maite Nkoana-Mashabane
- Angie Motshekga
- David Mahlobo
- Ruth Bhengu
- Mosebenzi Zwane
- Pinky Kekana
- Nocawe Mafu

- Joé Maswanganyi
- Tony Yengeni
- Joel Netshitenzhe
- Dakota Lekgoete
- Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula
- Noxolo Kieviet
- Ngoako Ramatlhodi
- Mathole Motshekga
- Sibongile Besani
- Dikeledi Makatsi
- Thabang Makwetla
- Siyabonga Cwele
- Barbara Creecy
- Mildred Oliphant
- Khensani Kubayi
- Thandi Mahambehlala
- Nokuzola Capa
- Susan Shabangu
- Pinky Moloji
- Beauty Dlulane
- Pamela Tshwete
- Thokozile Xasa
- Dipuo Letsatsi-Duba
- NomaIndia Mfeketo
- Hlengiwe Mkhize
- Pemmy Majodina
- Faith Muthambi
- Rejoice Mabudafhasi
- Candith Mashego
- Cindy Tshikunga
- Gwen Ramokgopa
- Sylvia Lucas

DECLARATION OF THE 54TH CONFERENCE

We, the nearly 5,000 ANC delegates, having met at NASREC Johannesburg, Gauteng from 16th – 20th December 2017, during the centennial celebrations of our longest serving President, Isithwalandwe/ Seaparankoe Oliver Reginald Tambo.

We convened under the theme of “Remember Tambo: Towards Unity, Renewal and Radical Socio-economic Transformation”, to remind ourselves of Comrade OR’s legacy of selfless service to his people and our duty to emulate him in working for the unity and renewal of our organization.

An ANC that is united and committed to the people’s interests remains the best vehicle to bring about fundamental and radical socio-economic transformation of society to create a better life for all South Africans.

President Tambo called on the movement to ensure that the ANC remains a people’s parliament. Delegates came from across the length and breadth of the country to discuss and adopt policies that affect the people’s lives. Our debates were enhanced by the contributions from fraternal partners from across the world, our Alliance partners - the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African National Civic Organisation – as well as the broad Mass Democratic Movement.

Delegates confirmed their commitment to work tirelessly for the fundamental renewal of the ANC. We emerged from the 54th National Conference more united and determined to lead the struggle for a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society.

In this regard, Conference agreed on the urgent tasks to strengthen the movement and modernize the way we function, both as a liberation movement and an electoral party.

We pay tribute to the patience of the thousands of ANC delegates who worked long hours, participating in the internal democratic processes and who never wavered from fulfilling the responsibilities entrusted to them by their branches and other structures of the organisation.

Long before National Conference, across the country, ANC members met in branch general meetings and constitutional structures, making invaluable and robust contributions to the organizational and policy debates of National Conference.

The 54th National Conference reaffirmed that the ANC will guide the South African economy in accordance with the Freedom Charter’s call that the people shall share in the country’s wealth. We shall, as urgently as possible, bring together, government, the labour movement, business and communities in a social pact to accelerate economic growth and create jobs. Conference resolved that the ANC should, as a matter of policy, pursue expropriation of land without compensation. This should be pursued without destabilising the agricultural sector, without endangering food security in our country and without undermining economic growth and job creation.

We have also committed to speed up programmes of providing basic services to all the people of our country; and in this regard we will ensure that all spheres of government are capacitated to meet their obligations.

The ANC commits to the people of South Africa that we shall isolate and root out corrupt tendencies in the public and private sectors.

International work remains a key pillar of social transformation for the movement. In this regard, 54th National Conference recommitted the ANC to work for a better Africa and a better world and we commit to the strengthening of the African Union and SADC. The ANC unreservedly condemns the resurgence of modern slavery, including the slave trade in Libya as a crime against humanity and calls on the South African government to continue working with the Libyan authorities, the African Union and international community to bring an end to this practice.

The ANC expresses its concern about the rise of right-wing nationalism and the growing trend towards protectionism which has the potential of worsening global tensions. We reaffirm our solidarity with the people of Western Sahara, Palestine and Cuba. Delegates endorsed the proposal that we must give practical support to the oppressed people of Palestine and resolved on an immediate and unconditional downgrade of the SA embassy in Israel to a Liaison Office.

Conference directs ANC branches to lead communities in furthering local development and service delivery and in building non-racialism and non-sexism. ANC cadres must develop programmes aimed at stamping out social ills, including gender-based violence, alcoholism and drug abuse and in building social cohesion.

Conference deliberated upon the plight of young people and agreed that a skills revolution is an absolute necessity if we are to fully exploit their energies for the greater good of society, it is for the reason that the ANC remains committed to the implementation of free higher education for children of the poor and working class at all public universities and TVET colleges starting from the 2018 academic year.

Delegates to this Conference were sharp in their criticism that our electoral processes, both as an organisation and as a country, do not always guarantee the full representation and participation of women in key decision making structures. We are resolute that the ANC will find sound, effective and sustainable structural mechanisms to ensure the full realisation of women's potential especially in leadership roles. It is our belief that the full participation of women in the leadership structures of society will constitute a giant leap towards the total emancipation of women. We came to this Conference cognisant of the fact that the Movement was deeply divided and was tearing itself apart. Critically, our standing in society was declining as a result of our own subjective weaknesses. In the process of 54th National Conference, we engaged one another robustly and frankly, addressing difficulties head-on and with a view to build consensus that is premised on the humane and revolutionary principles that define who we are as an organisation.

We depart from this conference fully aware that the work of restoring the integrity of our movement has just begun. We must all – from the National Executive Committee to provinces, regions and branches – work much harder, together to rebuild and unite this glorious movement of our people. Our fundamental task is to lead a concerted campaign aimed at addressing the persistent challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

The ANC must take heed of the example of the life-long activist and disciplined member of our movement, Isithwalandwe/ Seaparankoe Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela who said that “The struggle is my life” and commit ourselves to being life-long activists in the struggle to create a better life for all! In his words, we ‘dare not linger.’

The struggle continues!

Matla!

Ke rona!

The ANC lives.

The ANC leads.

ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

BACKGROUND

1. The discussions on Organisational Renewal are informed by the character of the ANC as a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic liberation movement that must organise, mobilise and lead the motive forces and society; and as a registered political party that contest elections, governs and participate as opposition to build a National Democratic Society.
2. The movement therefore has to continually review its organisational state and capacities, and its relationship with the people and society. Since the Port Elizabeth National General Council in 2000, the matter of organisational renewal has occupied our deliberations in the context of the ANC as an Agent for Change. Over the last seventeen years, we've adopted numerous decisions on Organisational Renewal and Design, to ensure that the ANC remains a servant of the people and leader of society.
3. We therefore re-affirm our commitment to:
 - Being rooted among the people, representing their interests, concerns and aspirations, transforming society and developing every community;
 - Maintaining a vibrant internal democracy in the ANC and supporting the principle and practice of collective leadership;
 - Readiness and willingness of our members to serve, and make sacrifices in pursuit of the cause of the people as a whole;
 - Readiness to acknowledge and decisively address our weaknesses in order to accelerate the people's struggle;
 - Increasing our capacity to plan, coordinate and monitor and evaluate the implementation of policies, and the impact on the people and society.
 - Upholding and building unity across all sections of South Africans and progressive forces in the world in pursuit of the cause of humanity.
4. The 53rd Conference affirmed an urgent need for renewal, which at its centre is about building the ANC's resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capacity and its ability to adapt to changing situations so that it can continue to serve, organise and lead the people.

5. Since then, the ANC continues to face a number of massive challenges in terms of our integrity and support.

CHALLENGES

6. The Diagnostic Report presented at the 5th Policy Conference describes the many challenges we face as an organisation. These are also captured in the Political Report by the President and the Provincial Policy conference reports. Many of these challenges are not new and many of the issues around negative practices were dealt with by the 2015 NGC.
7. Chief among these, also highlighted in Strategy and Tactics and the Organisational Discussion Documents, are:
 - (a) A loss of confidence in the ANC because of social distance, corruption, nepotism, arrogance, elitism, factionalism, manipulating organisational processes, abusing state power, putting self interest above the people. Even the strongest ANC supporters agree the "sins of incumbency" are deeply entrenched. Many organisations and thought leaders have become critics of the ANC and its leadership and we are losing much of our influence and appeal among students, young intellectuals and the black middle class.

While we know that much of the ANC and government are not affected by this cancer, the movement as a whole is judged as being part of the problem.
 - (b) Leadership weaknesses and loss of integrity, characterised by competition to control state resources, factionalism, conflict, ill-discipline and disunity, and the use of state institutions to settle differences. Slates and vote buying has delivered leaders who have difficulty driving our programmes or commanding respect from society and our supporters.
 - (c) A lack of planning, coordination, implementation and accountability for our work in government and the achievement of our policy goals. We have serious weaknesses in achieving economic growth, overcoming education challeng-

- es, and in the effective combatting, prevention, investigation and prosecution of crime and corruption.
 - (d) Organisational work has focused more on mobilising members to support specific factions or individuals with increasing negative practices like gate-keeping and buying of membership.
 - (e) At the 2015 NGC we ourselves expressed a loss of trust in organisational integrity because of practices like membership and vote buying, factions, using state institutions against each other, and factional violence and killings.
8. It is these factors that caused the decline in credibility and support for the ANC. The losses of 2016 Local Government Elections were a direct result of these factors. Unless we arrest them in 2017, we will speed up the decline and will face a real threat of losing power in a number of provinces, and more cities and towns.
 9. We agreed in the 2015 NGC that we need an uncompromising fight against these negative and unacceptable practices, if we are to renew ourselves and stay true to our goals and mission. That fight has to be intensified now.
 10. Because of the challenge to our core values, and our neglect of cadre development, our organisational capabilities – leadership, structure, cadreship, members, expertise and political capacity, programmes, systems and processes – do not match the tasks and demands of the current phase of the revolution. This neglect also affected our capability to implement policies in government, drive communications and sectoral work, monitor implementation and build an organisation that effectively interacts with the people at grassroots level. Although we have progressive policies and cadres in virtually all pillars of transformation, we are not deliberately building appropriate capabilities, nor are we deliberately deploying competent cadres in accordance with the pillars of our current strategy and tactics.
 11. Our focus has to move back to our core tasks of representing and mobilising our communities and delivering development and transformation to the people. It must be fixed on running a capable, developmental and responsive state, implementing all our policies effectively, and advancing the implementation of the NDP. This will help to renew our values, integrity and build unity in action through our commitment to a common mission.
 12. Organisational renewal therefore is an absolute and urgent priority, and we may go as far as to say, to the survival of our great movement.

REAFFIRM 53RD CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS ON ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

13. Mostly the 53rd Conference resolutions on Organisational Renewal are still relevant and should be re-affirmed. The values and guiding principles of the organization have not changed, although we face many new challenges.
14. The previous National Conferences elaborated the tasks of the ANC as follows:
 - (a) To represent, organise and mobilise communities and the motive forces and win their support and elections.
 - (b) To win and use state power to achieve our goals and better the lives of the people.
 - (c) To make policies, win broad support for them, implement them through the state and monitor implementation and the impact on our people and transformation.
 - (d) To transform society through our values, our integrity, exemplary leadership in society and by winning the battle of ideas in a convincing manner.
 - (e) To select and deploy capable leaders and public representatives, with integrity, capacity, the correct orientation and expertise to drive and implement our programmes.
 - (f) To develop Cadres, schooled in our values and policies, with the capacities to be agents of change wherever they are deployed.
15. Resolutions from the 53rd Conference and the 4th NGC are therefore still relevant and need to be implemented with urgency.

54th NATIONAL CONFERENCE FURTHER NOTES AND RESOLVES

Introduction

1. The 54th National Conference discussed Organisational Renewal in Commissions and during Plenary. The deliberations considered recommendations of the 5th National Policy Conference (NPC), the consolidated reports from Provincial General Councils (PGCs), the submission from the ANC Veterans League, as well as issues raised in the reports of the National Executive Committee as presented by the President, Secretary General and Treasurer General.
2. Conference noted the extensive and robust discussions during the five-day policy conference, and subsequent discussions in branches, provincial general councils and in structures of the Leagues. It was clear from the contributions of branch delegates to Conference, across commissions and in plenary, that branch general meetings engaged with

National Policy Conference recommendations. Conference salutes branches for taking their constitutional responsibilities seriously.

3. National Conference affirmed the continued relevance of the decisions taken at the 53rd National Conference and other conferences on Organisational Renewal. It concurred with the challenges identified by the 5th National Policy Conference and further noted that the ANC faces a major challenge, not of diagnosis and responses, but of implementation. It re-affirmed the assertion by the 53rd National Conference, that *“renewal is principally about building the ANC’s resilience, enhancing its transformative and governance capacity and its ability to adapt to changing situations so that it can continue to serve and lead the people.”*

54th National Conference furthermore

4. Ratified the recommendations from the 5th National Policy Conference on which there were consensus; and
5. Decided that where recommendations of the National Policy Conference and discussions of structures have not been dealt with or issues not concluded, to mandate the National Executive Committee to finalize these issues or to refer them to structures for discussions towards a Special National General Council (NGC).
6. Raised the following additional recommendations and/or matters of emphasis to be processed the NEC, noting that due to shortage of time it was not canvassed with all commissions and therefore not exhaustively discussed.

PART A: Strengthen Organisational capacity and structures

THE WORK OF BRANCH IN THE COMMUNITY

Noting

1. Branches are our means to stay in touch with our constituency/ communities and impact on development, and our means to mobilise and organise our people. It is the first point of contact between the ANC, the motive forces and the people we represent.
2. Branches must respond to the needs and interests of the community and mobilise the people to form partnerships for development and transformation.
3. Branches are ward-based to enable us to drive, monitor and account for delivery of services at the most local level.
4. Ward councillors report to branches and BECs, and

branches work with councillors to report to and serve the community.

5. All motive forces are represented in our local areas and branches must strive to build trust, address issues of concern and work side by side with communities.

Resolve

To strengthen, support and reinforce the work of branches in the community through the following:

1. All branches should have sub-committees that focus on sectors, community issues and campaigns.
2. The ANC must be involved in every issue that concerns people and should drive campaigns without gate-keeping and trying to control the people.
3. Units or sub-branches can be set up to strengthen our ability to reach people directly, as reflected in the ANC Constitution.
4. Sub–regions/zones must bring branches together to plan municipal programmes, elections and hold ANC in local government to account.
5. All branch members must be inducted within 3 months and integrated into a sub-committee to work in the community.
6. Every BEC must draw up an annual plan against which branch performance audits will be done, to achieve the following:
 - Review community profile. Identify sectors and their issues;
 - Respond to community issues and make concrete plans on what to do as ANC, community and local government;
 - Deploy cadres to participate in CPF, SGB, clinic committees, and any other participation structures with the role of leading through influence and support rather than demanding leadership positions;
 - Develop a sectoral outreach plan and attend meetings of other organisations;
 - Analyse delivery issues and municipal plans, give ANC input and report to community, with councillors and MP/L;
 - Communicate and meet with community at least three times per year and support councillor report backs and all public participation processes;
 - Develop any key local issue campaigns and roll them out;
 - Advise and support anyone or any group experiencing a problem, disaster or conflict.
 - 54th National Conference did not agree with

- the establishment of two membership categories, with supporters as a distinct category, and re-affirmed that branches should rather be more involved in community engagement and activities.

7. Encourage ANC Branches to have a visible presence in communities through offices, which can also serve communities, the motive forces and strengthen links with ANC councilors and other public representatives.
8. Ensure compulsory BEC induction, based on the ANC Branch Manual adopted by the NEC.
9. Review ward-based branches in rural areas, given the challenges of distance and other factors.
10. Consider the establishment of international ANC structures in countries with a large South African diaspora.
11. On membership recruitment, linking our targets with the size of the population, e.g. one household on ANC member, whilst continue working to build quality members and activists.

ON SUB-BRANCHES OR UNITS

Conference resolves

1. Implement sub-branches, based on voting districts as in the Constitution for the purpose of reaching people and working on the ground more effectively
2. VDs can be used for units and Voting district coordinators should work with the BEC, and attend extended BEC meetings
3. International branches or Units: NEC to decide
4. Ward boundaries to stay as branch boundaries
5. Sectoral branches not supported

MEMBER RECRUITMENT AND INDUCTION

Noting

- That the ANC has close to 1 million members at most times, but many are not active in their branches;
- The buying of members who never become active in the work of the ANC;
- The unreliable and slow membership card system
- Decline in quality and discipline;
- The profile of our membership and the lack of a multi-class membership with representation of all the motive forces;
- The fact that most of our members are not active,

politically trained or under the direct discipline of the organisation.

RESOLVES

1. Instructs the NEC to oversee the urgent implementation of a modernized, technologically-enabled membership system that will speed up the delivery of membership cards, allow for electronic membership renewal and discourage gatekeeping. The membership list should be on the cloud and available to any executive member.
2. In line with the Polokwane resolution, resource branches, including implementing the resolution to allocate a portion or the whole membership fee to branches.
3. Branch and membership audits should be done in the presence of duly mandated BEC representatives.
4. Members should have a 3 months probation period and membership should be for two years
5. Every branch should have a recruitment strategy to target all sectors of society and different motive forces.
6. Conference maintained the current criteria for membership, and did not agree on the proposals for different categorisation of membership.

CLEAR ANC PROGRAMME OF ACTION AT OTHER LEVELS

Noting

- That our programme at all levels should aim to effectively represent and mobilise communities and the motive forces, win their ongoing confidence, and their votes in elections;
- The support needed for the work done at branch and community level as detailed above;
- The continuous work needed on elections and voter contact;
- The need for ongoing sectoral work and work with and within the motive forces;
- The implementation of the goals and programme of the ANC for local and provincial government;
- The ANC's cadre development programme;
- The need to effectively engage in the battle of ideas.

RESOLVES

1. That NEC, PEC, REC all must develop an Annual Strategic Plan with a funded budget to effect

the above support and programmes for our work among the people.

2. The Secretary's office at all levels must monitor the achievements and outcomes of each programme and take the necessary action to address weak implementation.
3. Include a permanent elections and sectoral work capacity at national, provincial and regional level
4. Branch audits should include the Programme of Action as an indication of the life of the branch.

CADRE DEVELOPMENT

Noting

- Our deployment of cadres in many areas of work
- The challenges faced by our structures, public representatives and members
- The rapid turnover in leaders and public representatives
- The cadre development resolutions adopted by previous conferences
- The need for all cadres to understand the goals, values, policies, principles and the programmes of the ANC
- The need to develop the capacity of cadres deployed to higher levels of government and management

RESOLVES:

1. All ANC members must do the membership induction course during the probation period to be trained in the goals, values, principles and structure of the ANC. All BECs must be inducted with the BEC induction programme. THE Induction courses should also be available online
2. All REC, PEC and NEC members must attend an induction course as soon as they assume office
3. All councillors must be inducted for at least three days in the ANC approach to local government as well as the work we expect from councillors
4. The political school curriculum must be completed in an online version for branch study group or individual use by mid 2018. All ANC cadres available for selection as leaders and candidates must complete the school and pass the courses.
5. All leaders and candidates for deployment to government must ensure that they build their skills and qualifications to enhance their capacity
6. The ANC should develop a real and virtual discus-

sion forum on topical issues to help inform our structures of positions on current debates

7. Our communication to branches should be improved and include more topical political and news analysis.
8. Radio Freedom and any other vehicle (like podcasts) should be used to spread the ideas of the ANC and help us in the battle of ideas.
9. The ANC should ensure that leaders deployed in government go through compulsory, regular and ongoing development; in addition to the responsibility of individuals to continually develop themselves.

ELECTIONS

Noting

- Our declining levels of support and inability to implement our complete election campaign strategy
- Decreasing campaign management capacity and inability to maintain data on supporters and respond to issues
- Our inability to communicate coherently and get leaders to stay on message
- The candidate selection process and controversy that surrounds it in some areas
- The change in VD and ward boundaries that affect ANC branches and the fact that urbanisation happens mostly in our wards. Delaying re-demarcation for more than one 5 year period negatively affects our vote as more voters have the same vote as less voters in wards that do not grow. And that it will be unconstitutional as wards must be within 10% the same size
- A tendency to insult voters by "gifts" of food parcels and blankets before elections as a substitute for effective service delivery
- An increase in dirty tactics by political parties in local elections, like "bussing" voters to register outside their own ward and intimidation to stop voters from participating.

RESOLVES

1. Building a professional and permanent election capacity at national and provincial level, instructing the NEC and other leadership collectives to implement the resolution on maintaining full-time election capacity at national, provincial and regional level.
2. Building on the ANC national cloud data base and

supporting this work from regional and sub-regional level. Use the cloud to also track campaign work and municipal service delivery programme and progress.

3. Strengthen communications capacity and training at all levels
4. Branches must be more actively involved in the ward demarcations process and sub-regions and regions must help branches to adjust their membership and BECs after re-demarcation
5. Build a strong culture of respect for democracy, tolerance and fair practice during election campaigns and strengthen our capacity to monitor and respond to these practices.
6. In selecting ANC councillors, the process should start with communities before finalization by the ANC.

ALLIANCE

Noting

- Our commitment to strengthen and build an Alliance united on a minimum programme of transformation and development to drive the NDR.
- The current tensions and criticism and our inability to manage it constructively;
- The weakening of the trade union movement through splits and factions;
- The discussion in the SACP to possibly contest elections.

RESOLVES

1. We must continue to build a strong Alliance, and urgently convene a political council of the Alliance to develop a structured programme, to discuss the different positions held by Alliance partners on the configuration of the Alliance.
2. The leadership must engage in a humble and listening way with our allies and find constructive ways of resolving current differences.
3. Base our Alliance on a clear and simple minimum platform with a programme of action that is implemented and monitored
4. Avoid conflict and public spats through ongoing communication and cooperation and unity in action
5. Strengthen COSATU in the context of one industry, one union and one country one federation, engage with the broader trade union movement outside COSATU towards working class unity.

ON SECTORAL WORK

Recognising the need to strengthen sectoral work across society, conference resolved:

1. Given the importance of women and youth in our society, the NEC must support the Youth and Women's Leagues to fulfil their missions.
2. Build a strong Women's League who mobilises women, across all the motive forces, and lead the women's movement and society as a motive force in the resolution of the patriarchal relations and a non-sexist society.
3. The Youth League need to diligently and progressively implement its twin tasks. Firstly, it must organise, mobilise and educate young people behind the vision of the ANC, and continue to be a political school for new generations. Secondly, it must champion the interest of young people in the ANC and in society, ensure that youth education themselves ideologically and academically, to provide innovation, energy and creativity to the project of radical social-economic transformation.
4. Given the changes in demographics and in particular our young population, Conference advised the ANCYL to consider its cut-off age to be in line with its youthful constituency.
5. The Youth League and SASCO must work together on campuses, and especially when contesting elections. Discuss with the Youth League the process of SRC elections, to be contested primarily by SASCO, supported by the PYA.
6. Reconsider the issue of sectoral branches so as to enhance the ANC's ability to reach different sectors and lead society, e.g. in universities.
7. Strengthen organisational work among national groups and implement a focused programme to build non-racialism.
8. The ANC as leader of society must engage the widest range of progressive sectors, civil society as well as society in general, around its vision of building a National Democratic Society. ANC members must all be active in community and sectoral organisations.
9. Instructs the National Executive Committee to urgently start engagements with all motive forces in various organized formations, including those not part of the Alliance.
10. Affirms the important role of traditional leaders in the struggles against colonialism and apartheid, and that they must continue to play an important role in rural areas, including in advancing development and transformation, in social cohesion, gender equality and deepening democracy and the participation of the rural motive forces.

ON POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION

Noting

- Our reliance on government and outside experts to develop and refine policies, especially in complex areas such as economic and social development. Our analysis that not all policies are implemented and that many are lost along the way.
- The fact that we do not have an effective system, to allow comrades in the executive to account to the organization for progress and delays in implementation.
- Our inability to effectively monitor and account for progress, as well as the impact of our policies.

RESOLVES

1. That the Policy Institute be set up as a matter of urgency as in previous conference resolutions.
2. That the Policy Institute is given the capacity and the resources needed to drive research, policy development, coordination of NEC Policy sub-committees, and monitoring and evaluation.
3. That the PI works closely with political education to school our deployees and our structures in ANC policy to strengthen implementation, our ability to communicate and monitoring capacity at all levels.
4. That we explore legislation in Parliament for publicly funded political party institutes or foundations that enable parties to play an improved role in issues of governance.

SELECTION PROCESS: PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES

Noting

- The need to deploy ANC cadres with the qualities outlined in Through the eye of a Needle as MPs, MPLs and councilors
- That the confidence in our public representatives is often undermined by their lack of capacity, values and ability to represent the people effectively and to oversee the work of government
- That selection of candidates is often influenced by personal, business and other vested interests, rather than the qualities needed, or the support the person enjoys from the local community
- People who are popular in the ANC rather than the community, often win our nomination process

RESOLVES

1. Our representatives act as representatives of the people, not only the ANC, and must therefore enjoy good standing in the community
2. Ward candidates especially must be upstanding citizens and enjoy broad support before being nominated.
3. The Electoral commission must revise the selection guidelines to overcome some of manipulative practices such as parachuting candidates by PECs and RECs, influencing screening committees and packing community meetings.
4. The Electoral commission must develop the capacity to screen candidates up to ward level.

REGION, SUB-REGION/ZONE

Noting

- That we have municipal government close to ANC branch structures, often controlled and directed only by regional secretaries or regional governance committees, and ANC caucuses.
- That we should strengthen the accountability to local structures that have to account for and deal with the consequences of work we do in local government.

RESOLVES

1. In metros the REC governance committee directs and coordinates work in government and organisation in the metro area. Outside metros, sub-regions coordinate work in municipal area.
2. Sub-regions and municipalities: Regional governance committee and secretary playing stronger role in monitoring and directing ANC in local government. Implement principle in constitution that Sub-regions should be developed to coordinate ANC work in a municipal area and its governance committee should serve as a space for accountability between the councillors and the ANC structures serving the same people. The REC should be represented with MP/L on the governance committee which should also include the troika. An extended governance meeting can be held regularly with all councillors and representatives from branches attending.

PROVINCE

Recommending

1. Policy and monitoring coordinator in each province.

2. Election and campaign coordinator in every province.

PROCESS FOR ELECTIONS OF ANC LEADERS AND MANAGING SUCCESSION

Noting

- The need to elect leaders according to the principles of service, track record, capacity, integrity, discipline, honesty, trust-worthiness, and representivity as outlined in the Eye of a Needle.
- The current distortion of our election process through factional practices like slates, vote-buying, patronage, intimidation, and exclusion that deny us the best possible collectives of leaders.
- We need processes that deepen democracy and the trust that the people we serve have in ANC leaders
- The fact that we are using an electoral college system that is easily manipulatable through influencing a core of influential people, like branch, regional and provincial secretaries, who manage the membership and deployment system. This makes our democratic process vulnerable to corruption by business, internal factions and outside interests.
- The lack of representation of motive forces among our leaders and the predominance of people deployed to government

RESOLVES

1. To establish a permanent Election Commission (EC) in the ANC, that is not composed of elected leadership, but should be made up of comrades with no direct interest or conflict of interest in leadership positions, elected by the NEC, responsible for managing the nominations and election of ANC leadership at all levels.
2. The tasks of such Electoral Commission should be to propose the rules and procedures for elections to the NEC, deal with disputes, screen candidates, order lifestyle audits if needed, and oversee the management of the nomination and election process.
3. Nominations processes should make slate nomination impossible, by limiting the number of leaders each branch can nominate for positions in NEC, PEC, REC (for example 20 for NEC out of 60 to avoid block votes or nominations).
4. Slate voting should be outlawed and practices that allow for unifying voting should be encouraged. One is separating the vote for each official and announcement of result for each position, before voting for the next one. This allows a conference to

accommodate a losing candidate to fill a deputy or other position.

5. The EC ensure that those contesting leadership positions declare their interests, including the amount and sources of money for campaigning, in line with ANC Finance Policies and Code of Ethics. Also deal with conflict of interest issues in candidate selection of public office.
6. The election of leadership in all structures must ensure continuity as well as renewal.
7. The NEC must agree on a formula to cap the percentage of NEC members deployed in government.
8. Nominations and elections should result in better representation for the motive forces and we should consider ways of achieving this
9. Agrees on the Youth League proposal for a quota (25-40%) in all leadership positions to be reserved for youth.
10. Consideration should be given to extending the provision for gender equity to the top officials positions in all structures.
11. The NEC should manage the two centres of power after National Conference.

ON VETERANS LEAGUE AND COUNCIL OF ELDERS

1. The NEC to engage with the Veterans League on options with regards to its role.
2. The NEC to investigation the possibilities of the establishment of a Council of Elders, consisting of eminent ANC leaders, including former senior officials (Presidents, SGs, etc) to advise and engage on challenges facing the Movement; and to maintain the current role of the Veterans League and to report to NGC.

PART B. **Strengthening the Integrity of the ANC and its role in Society**

SOCIAL DISTANCE:

Noting

- The perception that ANC leaders are becoming a political elite removed from the people and that our movement no longer reflects the concerns and issues of the motive forces
- Our goal is to be truly representative of the people and this needs constant contact, humility, disci-

pline, hard work, ubuntu, empathy and respect for the people

PROPOSALS

1. We must behave as servants of the people, not bosses or celebrities.
2. We need to urgently close the gap between us and the people; strive to be a progressive presence in every community and sector that listens to the people, works with them, responds to their concerns and problems, respects all people, and builds organisations and campaigns of the people.
3. We need to avoid VIP enclosures, holding rooms, bodyguards and fancy cars that separate us from the people when we are going to meet them.
4. All leaders and public reps of the ANC must spend at least two days a week (at all times not just elections) on grassroots and branch work in the community. This should be done in consultation with the branch or sub-regional/zonal structures.

ANC CREDIBILITY AND INTEGRITY: DEALING WITH CORRUPTION

Noting

- An increase in corruption, factionalism, dishonesty, and other negative practices that seriously threaten the goals and support of the ANC.
- That these practices contradict and damage our mission to serve the people and use the country's resources to achieve development and transformation.
- That corruption robs our people of billions that could be used for their benefit.
- That the lack of integrity perceived by the public, has seriously damaged the ANC image, the people's trust in the ANC, our ability to occupy the moral high ground, and our position as leader of society.
- That current leadership structures seem helpless to arrest these practices, either because they lack the means or the will, or are themselves held hostage by them.
- At times we do things that are not according to ANC or government policy, or not legal or constitutional, and wait for courts to correct our actions.
- Our association with, and the closeness of our leaders to, business people facing allegations of corruption.
- That the ANC is endangered to the point of losing credibility in society and power in government.

- That our leadership election processes are becoming corrupted by vote buying and gatekeeping
- That the state investigative and prosecutorial authorities appear to be weakened and affected by factional battles, and unable to perform their functions effectively

RESOLVES

That the 2015 NGC resolutions plus other existing and new measures are implemented urgently by the NEC and PECs to:

1. Strengthen our understanding of our values, ethics and morality and the demands that the people, the constitution and the rule of laws place on us as the guardians of the state, and its resources
2. Demand that every cadre accused of, or reported to be involved in, corrupt practices accounts to the Integrity Committee immediately or faces DC processes. (Powers of IC under constitutional changes)
3. Summarily suspend people who fail to give an acceptable explanation or to voluntarily step down, while they face disciplinary, investigative or prosecutorial procedures.
4. We publicly disassociate ourselves from anyone, whether business donor, supporter or member, accused of corruption or reported to be involved in corruption
5. All ANC members and structures should cooperate with the law-enforcement agencies to criminally prosecute anyone guilty of corruption
6. The ANC should respect the Constitution of the country and the rule of law and ensure that we get the best possible legal advice in government to ensure our compliance wherever possible, rather than waiting to defend those who stray.
7. The ANC deploys to Cabinet, especially Finance, Police and Justice, should strengthen the state capacity to successfully investigate and prosecute corruption and account for any failure to do so
8. Secretaries at all levels will be held accountable for any failure to take action or refer matters of corruption or other negative conduct (in terms of ANC code of conduct) to the relevant structures.
9. Within the ANC nomination and election process: Ban all slates and enforce the ANC code of conduct and disciplinary procedures. Investigate and prosecute all cases of vote or support buying, or membership or branch gatekeeping.
10. Implement the NEC resolution on state capture, including the expeditious establishment of a Judicial Commission of Enquiry.

INTEGRITY COMMISSION

1. The establishment, composition, powers and functions of the Integrity Commission should be provided for in the ANC Constitution, to be finalised as soon as possible by the NEC.
2. Consideration should be given to the two options: whether the decisions of the Integrity Commission should be binding or whether they should make recommendations to the NEC, thus advisory.
3. 54th National Conference agreed that the Integrity Commission must report directly to the NEC and to National Conference and NGC.

ON DISCIPLINE

1. Introduce clear dispute resolution mechanisms to tackle organizational matters, to combat courts as the first resort for resolving conflicts and disputes.
2. Whilst ANC members have the right to take any matter to court as South African citizens, this should be a last resort, after internal dispute resolution mechanisms have been exhausted.
3. The relevant structures must investigate and act on allegations of gate-keeping, so that we restore the confidence of ANC members in the integrity of internal ANC processes and structures.

ON EX-COMBATANTS

1. Conferences noted the work started by the outgoing NEC to investigate the issues relating to MKMVA and the MK Council, and mandate the incoming NEC to facilitate unity and inclusion of all MK ex-combatants.

PART C. On the Battle of Ideas

1. As proposed in the Strategy and Tactics, the ANC must continue to engage, organise and mobilise all sectors of society, in their great variety, dynamism and ever-evolving nature around our common vision of building a National Democrati Society.

2. Its engagement in the battle of ideas and ideological struggle is therefore about winning hegemony for the integrity and progressiveness of our ideas, and how we conduct the revolution and ourselves as an organisation.

54th National Conference therefore resolves:

ON SOCIAL MEDIA POLICY, ICT AND COMMUNICATIONS

1. The ANC should develop protocols aimed at guiding conduct on social media, and include misconduct related to social media to in our Code of Conduct.
2. ANC must more effectively use technology, especially in our membership system, communications and the Political school.

ON CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

1. Salute all South Africans for honouring cde Oliver Reginald Tambo during 2017, the centenary celebration of his birth.
2. Resolve to honour the memory of cde Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and cde Nontsikelelo Albertina Sisulu during the centenary celebrations of their births in 2018.

OTHER MATTERS FOR ATTENTION BY THE NEC

1. The should urgently put in place measures to finalise the pending appeals and disbandment of structure raised by E Cape and N Cape structures.

A SUSTAINED AND DELIBERATE PROGRAMME OF RENEWAL

1. Mandates the NEC to drive a sustained programme of Organisational renewal and report on such to the NGC.

RESOLUTIONS

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

Noting:

- 1.1 The ANC's 54th National Conference takes place in a contested political, social and economic environment characterised by, among other things:
 - 1.1.1 The contest of ideas in society takes place in various platforms and the media being one of them. At the centre of this contestation is the nature and character of the national democratic society we seek to build.
 - 1.1.2 While the ANC remains the dominant force in the public discourse informed by its character and role in society, we note that this is increasingly being contested by an array of forces. This explains why even political forces that purport to be opposed to each other have seen a reason to form opportunistic alliances to dislodge the ANC from power.
 - 1.1.3 In the last few years we have witnessed the emergence of an increasing number of civic and social activism that is campaigning around contested ideas on governance and decision making. Where some of the forces have failed to win democratic elections they have opted for the use of the judiciary to assert their own hegemony.
 - 1.1.4 The increasingly rapid uptake of social media by many of our citizens, especially the youth, and its increased primacy as a platform of choice for accessing and disseminating information. Social media use is fast surpassing traditional media consumption in some countries around the world.
 - 1.1.5 Increased inter-connectivity, whereby multiple sources of information are consumed on multiple devices. Given this, the ongoing Battle of Ideas has assumed global dimensions unprecedented since the advent of the modern media age.
 - 1.1.6 Media consolidation and hegemony in South Africa has meant that the larger media houses – many of whose editorial positions on government and the governing party are adversarial – predominate. Greater convergence has meant that these anti-ANC voices, some of which overtly favour the political opposition, dominate not just one but multiple platforms at any given time.
 - 1.1.7 ANC infighting, disunity and use of media to engage in battles is undermining trust and communicating an image of paralysis and projecting a movement that is at war with itself. Challenges and divisions within the ANC and the broader mass democratic movement have created an opportunity for exploitation by such opponents of the ANC.
 - 1.1.8 Despite progress made by the organization to spread the message of unity and discipline, the media continues to capitalize on divisions and factionalism prevalent in the organization.
 - 1.1.9 While the battle of ideas happens in many platforms, the media continues to be the main dominant force in shaping debates and setting an agenda in society.

2. On the Battle of Ideas

Noting:

- 2.1 That the battle of ideas is the struggle over ideas themselves and a struggle for the progressive production and dissemination of ideas – including the media, the educational and training system, the policy apparatus within the state, and a wide range of cultural and faith based institutions and practices. The ANC struggle is about attaining political hegemony in society and, in this regard, within a heavily contested terrain.

- 2.2 Further noting that the ideological onslaught against the ANC using all forms of media including broadcasting, print, social media and the internet seeks to dislodge and undermine the character of the movement. The onslaught replaces the NDR narrative with the liberal democratic narrative and therefore undermine the hegemony of the ANC in the battle of Ideas. Leadership and hegemony is not given or static. We must fight for the values and principles of the ANC.
- 2.3 The ANC must operate in a coordinated and disciplined manner to set the agenda in the battle of ideas. The war of ideas must be fought like a real war, therefore there must be a strict coordination of content and messages between all structures of the organisation. The advent of the community and public media space offers a potential, progressive opportunity for the ANC, depending on the ability to influence this media and provide it with adequate support.
- 2.4 Recognizing the need to articulate the ANC policy positions in a manner that is consistent and coherent. The critical question becomes what is contained in the content. The credibility of any message lies in the credibility of the messenger.
- 2.5 There is overwhelming consensus within the ANC on the need to defend our ideas and ideals as a movement across all existing and emerging platforms – with the understanding that the Battle of Ideas should be located within the terrain of the struggle. This starts with reaching a common understanding within the ANC itself of what the Battle of Ideas entail. The hegemony of the ANC and the democratic forces in the battle of ideas remains central to the advancement of the national democratic revolution.
- 2.6 Further recognizing that social polarization is due to the lack of radical change in the socio-economic conditions of the majority of South Africans resulting in the economy remaining in the hands of the few.

Therefore resolves:

- 2.7 That there should be intensified training on political communication as part of political education of ANC structures and deployed cadres; this training should help to mobilise the greatest number of cadres to participate in public debates and to respond effectively to the growing onslaught against the ANC in all media platforms
- 2.8 That the ANC must occupy the space, in order to be in hegemony, with ideologically clear ideas and therefore lead society. ANC must go back to skilling and producing cadres who are politically and ideo-

logically able to communicate ANC policies, principles and values.

- 2.9 That the ANC as a revolutionary movement must continue to mobilise and lead society around a common vision that presents a credible political, social and economic narrative that is in itself an alternative to that of the dominant capitalist class. That is the Battle of Ideas.
- 2.10 That the ANC interventions must be founded and informed by the Strategy and Tactics and Organisational Renewal. The Conference noted the need to have a common understanding of the battle of ideas, as the dialectical process, guided and underpinned by the Freedom Charter and the National Democratic Revolution. We must offer a radical alternative to the existing social and economic order.
- 2.11 Recognizing the role, challenges and achievements of the Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) over the years. The role of the Department of Information and Publicity is to coordinate and facilitate the engagement particularly with the media, i.e. all forms of media platforms.
- 2.12 All ANC Subcommittees and its Leagues must engage at all levels in a programme that is crafted to interact and engage with all society formations, such as religious institutions, labour, civil society, academics, youth formations, women formations, and other influential organs of society, in order to communicate its policies, principles and values. This will create the nucleus of the message to be communicated.
- 2.13 Given that being a leader (either deployed or elected) does not automatically mean you are capacitated to communicate the ANC message, all political communicators, including ANC communicators including top ANC officials, NEC members, Members of Parliament, Ministers, MECs and MMCs must undergo political training on ANC political communication. Political school must be institutionalized in order for the ANC to be hegemonic in the society.
- 2.14 Part of the problem of the ANC engaging properly in the battle of ideas is the lack of an institutional structure that produces coherent messaging along the lines on one message and many voices.
- 2.15 War rooms must be institutionalised and capacitated to undertake media monitoring and rapid responses, capture the narratives and proactively respond to the communication challenges. The ANC must use podcasts and group emails for its communicators.
- 2.16 The ANC must communicate ANC decisions directly with its membership after meetings of its structures. The machinery must complement its

media statements, with contextual information sent to its structures, to assist in striving for coherence and coherent messaging. Briefing notes must be produced and disseminated throughout the organisation.

- 2.17 The National Conference noted progress made in developing Communication and Media Policy, including social media, to guide its cadres in public engagements and on how to maintain hegemony in the battle of ideas, with utmost discipline and adherence to policy. The NEC must conclude the policy for implementation to guide the conduct of ANC structures and members. This policy once adopted must bind all ANC structures and members. The policy must be finalized and communicated within 6 (six) month after the 54th National Conference.
- 2.18 The ANC must develop strategies and creative ideas on communication platforms on how to ideologically empower young cadres.
- 2.19 In the political education programme, there must be a module on communication, focusing on ANC political communication.
- 2.20 The ANC cannot suppress voices of its members, instead it must train its leaders on political communication. ANC members' rights to speak must remain protected within the context of organisational discipline. The key is ensuring that the organisation does the right thing, is representative of the people and therefore has its members proudly associated with its actions and decisions. The right to speak must be exercised in a responsible manner.
- 2.21 The ANC must speak a language that embodies and unite all South Africans, as the leader of society.
- 2.22 PCO offices must be standardized, equipped and utilized maximally.
- 2.23 The ANC must use community and small commercial media.
- 2.24 There is a need to empower Ward Committees and Community Development Workers (CDWs) with communication skills, information and integrate their activities.
- 2.25 Government communications must be improved, coherent and centralized through GCIS. Government communicators, including Spokespersons must comply with government policy on communications which should be finalized and approved within twelve months after the 54th National Conference. GCIS should play a central role in government communications and must be adequately capacitated to achieve this. More emphasis should be placed on the coordination role of GCIS to en-

sure coherent messaging.

- 2.26 Existing coordination mechanisms such as the Government Communicators Forum should be strengthened. There is a need to review the location of the GCIS in the Presidency as a way to give it the necessary authority to oversee and coordinate government communications.
- 2.27 Izimbizo concept needs to be strengthened to ensure that it achieves its purpose that is unmediated and direct communications with the people. More creative ways are needed to enable and achieve this.
- 2.28 The Conference reaffirmed that the ANC is the strategic centre of power and all deployed cadres must be guided by this revolutionary understanding.

3. On ICT

- 3.1 Noting that the 4th Industrial Revolution is driven by the increased use of and adaptation of ICT tools in all human activities. Technological developments have now made possible machine-to-machine (M2M) communications, robots and autonomous systems able to operate with or without human interventions in all spheres of human activity. The 4th Industrial Revolution is a focus of attention, as it contains within it possibilities of disrupting current economic and social structures profoundly over the next 20 years. The task for South Africa is to plan effectively, position itself optimally and engage proactively with these rapidly evolving technologies.
- 3.2 The 4th Industrial Revolution disrupt the current practices and brings new opportunities, restructures other industries, has profound implications for the jobs market, etc., and as such, there is a need to explore and maximize new opportunities and invest in digital skills, improve Government efficiency to deliver services, ready Government for the 4th Industrial Revolution, create opportunities for SMMEs, etc.
- 3.3 The ICT sector has a significant and growing impact on the GDP and is part of the macro economic considerations as it provides opportunities for SA to get out of the current economic challenges. Solutions must be practical given the huge investments needed to rollout broadband and prepare for the Internet of Things, in such a constrained economy.
- 3.4 Many of the ICT sector challenges have been previously raised. The high cost for South Africans of communication needs to be addressed through policy and regulatory systems. In addition there is a need to increase the rollout of broadband infra-

structure especially in rural areas. The ICT sector needs to be transformed at all levels. As previously stated, the rationalization of state owned companies is a priority. The biggest challenge of ANC deployees is to implement ANC resolutions and policies with speed.

Hereby Resolve that:

- 3.5 The ANC must ensure the implementation of the resolutions to support the Post Office, including that Government business must be availed to the Post Office through intergovernmental framework to maximize the use and value of the Post Office infrastructure to achieve its developmental mandate. The Post Office should continuously review its business models to cope with the changes arising from the digital industrial revolution.
- 3.6 Private postal operators should also contribute to universal service obligations.
- 3.7 There must be a strong regulatory intervention to deal with the question of the high cost to communicate and the ANC must support the campaign for data to fall and the monopolization of data. This is regarded as stifling economic inclusion.
- 3.8 The need to optimize ICT opportunities through the use SMMEs in ICT to drive the economy is critical. Resolve that government must put efforts to ensure that SMME opportunities are created in the whole ICT value chain, and further encourage black industrialists participation in the country. There must be a deliberate legislative intervention to promote local content, production, hardware, and further create an enabling environment for innovation in areas of software development, applications development in the black industrialists programme to ensure SMMEs development.
- 3.9 Government must review the mandate of SITA to not only be procurer but enable local capacity production of software and hardware products, unbundle the value chain, etc. SITA should be transformed and repurposed to provide high quality information technology services aligned to the digital age.
- 3.10 All children of South Africa must get equal opportunities in terms of infrastructure in all schools, if we are to maximize the opportunities of the 4th Industrial Revolution. Government should invest nationally in a paperless system based on digitized and automation of systems. This should form the basis of our policy commitment to introduce smart, paperless schools throughout the country in line with Education Operation Phakisa in Education which should be prioritized.
- 3.11 As part of rationalization of SoCs, consideration must be made to implement the decision to merge BBI and Sentech. This should be underpinned by the overall policy on SOC Reform to improve service delivery and investment in infrastructure.
- 3.12 Ensure requisite skills (including policy making) in the SOCs, and the respective Departments charged to lead this sector.
- 3.13 Digitizing, automating systems will assist in minimizing crime, coordinating information about citizens and Government services, integrating education system, Home Affairs, Justice Cluster, including digitising ANC membership management system amongst others.
- 3.14 Public servants at all levels including Accounting Authority, Accounting Officers, communication heads, etc. must be capacitated with IT and digital skills, as part of the preparation for the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- 3.15 Government should use ICT to address the communications needs of people with disabilities, use of Apps to address government needs and services, etc.
- 3.16 The ANC mandate government to establish the 4th Industrial Revolution Commission and develop the relevant strategies and policies to respond to the new digitization needs. The Commission should include all stakeholders in the economy.
- 3.17 There is a need to strengthen organs of state including ICASA to cope with the unprecedented changes due to the 4th Industrial revolution.
- 3.18 Government should consider the reconfiguration of the existing Government departments to embrace technological convergence. There is a need to have provincial champions at provincial and district government level to drive this agenda.
- 3.19 Targets for youth, women and blacks in the equity of service providers in the ICT industry must be established as part of radical socio-economic transformation.
- 3.20 There is a need to strengthen capability for cybersecurity to enhance protection of critical databases, systems and critical infrastructure resources, including protecting society against fake news, cybercrime, cyber-attacks and hacking etc.
- 3.21 Interventions must include strategies to ensure that SA content and websites become favorites countrywide.
- 3.22 Government must build capacity and strengthen the Media & ICT SETA agency to play a critical role in SMME development including the youth with digital skills in preparation for the 4th Industrial Revolution.

- 3.23 Education departments must change curriculum to prepare for the 4th Industrial Revolution. Development of digital skills, reskilling, and target of new entrants in the labour market should deliberately target rural areas and provinces in preparation for the digital economy.
- 3.24 There must be priority and speed in the implementation of the ICT White Paper to encourage transformation, ensuring open access to critical spectrum resource usage, ensure the strong market competition and accelerate rapid deployment of electronic communications infrastructure and services including the roll-out of the Wireless Open Access Network.
- 3.25 In preparation for and to enable the 4th Industrial Revolution, government should establish specialized ICT institutions of higher education, and the use of specialized TVETS for the massification of e-skills. There must also be a consideration of the model of dedicated University on ICT, data, innovations and new innovations, to promote creativity, innovation and ready the country for the 4th Industrial Revolution in line with the 53rd National Conference Resolutions.
- 3.26 The Postbank must be licensed and capacitated to play meaningful role in providing banking services before the end of term of office of the current Government administration.
- 3.27 The ANC must further encourage efforts by Government and the private sector to deploy broadband infrastructure and services and also ensure accessibility of free Wi-Fi as part of the development of economic inclusion. Free Wi-Fi must also be provided in rural areas as well as Metros and in all public schools, clinics, libraries, etc.
- 3.28 Strategies must be developed to derive benefits from the opportunities including through taxes, incentives, etc. Approach to ICT policy should locate the sector within the broader economic policy context thereby positioning it to drive the restructuring of the SA economy.
- 3.29 Policies and strategies must ensure asymmetrical regulation of telecommunications services to address existing dominance in the mobile telecommunications industry, fair and open competition, and the growth of SMMEs and MVNOs.
- 4.2 ANC must invest in developing and producing the best cadres, win hegemony, trust and belief in the society, in order for it to be the leader of society.
- 4.3 Government must be capacitated and restructured in preparation for the 4th Industrial Revolution, in a manner that will optimize efforts to grab the opportunities. The 4th Industrial Revolution must be regarded as an economic catalyst.
- 4.4 The local content industry development strategy should be introduced without delay alongside the review of the broadcasting policy and in line with the digital broadcasting plan.
- 4.5 The SABC needs rebranding and turnaround to ensure that focus is on content and less on governance issues and challenges. The SABC should primarily focus on cultural identity and development as a repository of our heritage and identity.
- 4.6 Language is important in enhancing and ensuring effective communication, with emphasis on supporting indigenous languages. Language used in the public media especially the SABC should be accessible.
- 4.7 Digital broadcasting migration programme remains a priority in the country. The success of this initiative will depend on inter alia the availability of new content that appeals to the broader South African viewership, and the uptake of STBs and Integrated Digital Television sets by the non-subsidised households. Government should therefore continue to mobilize all role players and the general public to participate in this endeavour as it also brings other social and economic benefits.
- 4.8 Digital migration switchover should be completed by June 2019. The completion of this programme will also enable the freeing of the critical radio frequency spectrum needed for the rollout of broadband.
- 4.9 The advent of digital broadcasting technologies that allow multichannel platforms should also ensure the representation in all languages.
- 4.10 DTT presents an opportunity for the SABC to introduce multichannel programming to ensure its viability as a broadcaster of choice and this could ensure that Parliamentary channel, community TV could be on the SABC's platform. SABC must be positioned as a content provider of choice, protect and be a repository of our cultural identity, etc.
- 4.11 A TV channel to broadcast parliamentary news, e-government, and other local content information addressing development must be established. The channel should be interactive to enable public participation in the unfolding discourse on various topical issues.

4. On Broadcasting

Hereby Resolve that:

- 4.1 The strategic ownership of media assets is important but must be understood in the context of viewership and listenership. Sustainability of broadcasting services is a challenge and need to be taken into consideration.

- 4.12 Broadcasting policy review should be concluded without delay, and should apply to the entire broadcasting landscape and not just the SABC & should be underpinned by the desire to create a diverse broadcasting landscape. Policy should aim to attain over 70% local content quotas within five years from the 54th National Conference.
- 4.13 DTT should also include skills development and capacity building throughout the value chain, consistent with the Broadcasting Digital Migration policy and other aspects of the DTT programme.
- 4.14 Digital disruptions affect the media industry throughout the value chain hence the need for an economy-wide strategy on the impact of the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- 4.15 ANC must through government policy and competition interventions ensure a fair, regulated subscription broadcasting television addressing market competition issues.
- 4.16 The ANC must ensure that policy and regulatory interventions are strengthened in order to address the existing monopoly in the pay television market.
- 4.17 Support for community broadcasting must be improved and strengthened. This must also include increase in funding for Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) to address signal distribution and other challenges in both radio and television services. Other innovative measures should be considered to ensure the sustainability and viability of this important sector.
- 4.18 There must be more efforts on investing in research & development and innovation.
- 4.19 As part of the efforts to increase the uptake and usage of ICTs, there must be active action driven to foster partnership with institutions of higher learning and to also encourage universities to specialize in skills in digital technologies.
- 4.20 There is a need to redefine and clarify the role of the different SOCs in the context of the digital age, namely: NEMISA, USAASA, MDDA, and rationalize their mandate. This should be done within the context of the SOC Reform and should include the regulatory institutions such as .ZDNA and the Film and Publications Board.
- 4.21 Government must support the development of digital radio and this should be understood in the context of the need to support the rollout of diverse, affordable broadcasting receivers.
- 4.22 SEZs should be used as manufacturing centers for ICT and broadcasting devices, gadgets such as IDTV.
- 4.23 Internet radio and Internet TV should also receive attention as part of the framework to regulate OTTs (Over-The-Top).
- 4.24 Small businesses owned by young people should be licensed to provide ICT and broadcasting services taking advantage of new innovations such as Over the Top and Internet broadcasting.
- 4.25 Cyber Security policy should also protect broadcasting services.
- 4.26 The local broadcasting industry should also focus/prioritise content from the African continent.
- 4.27 Television signal should be improved especially along the geographic marginal areas and borders of our country enabled through digital broadcast transmission.

5. On Media Transformation, media diversity and accountability mechanisms

Hereby Resolve that:

- 5.1 ANC policy promotes media diversity to ensure media transformation thereby gaining plurality of views in society, and therefore is against dominance.
- 5.2 There has been some changes in the sector post the 53rd National Conference, including changes of ownership in print, the introduction of the New Age, the new ownership of Independent Newspapers by Sekunjalo, birth of the Community Newspaper Initiative (CNI), growth of the Association of Independent Publishers, birth of Association of Black Communications Practitioners, birth of Forum for Journalists Transformation, numerous licenses awarded (subscription, commercial radio in the Free State and Eastern Cape as well as in cities, community radio and TV), Press Freedom Commission (PFC), Digital and Print Media Transformation Task Team (PDMTTT), reviewed Press Council and Press Code, withdrawal of Independent Newspaper from the Press Ombudsman, closure of the Print and Digital Media SA (PMSA), etc.
- 5.3 There exist a number of community and small commercial print media, who all face the challenge of sustainability. The acquisition of small established titles/small commercial media by the big players work against the policy of media diversity as espoused by the ANC and warrant further consideration.
- 5.4 Government (under DoC) held the Print and Digital Media Transformation Summit and a Discussion Document has been developed and will follow the public inquiry through Parliament on the measures and steps needed to ensure media transformation.

- 5.5 There is a need to review the ANC Media Charter and conduct a Parliamentary inquiry on the desirability and feasibility of a media appeals tribunal.
- 5.6 The review should include the Press Freedom Commission (PFC) recommendations in the Parliamentary processes.
- 5.7 The empowerment charter should promote Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment in the print media sector, and strengthen the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) to support community and commercial entities towards more diversity
- 5.8 The Competition Commission to investigate all possible anti-competitive practices in the print and commercial media. In addition the Competition Commission should investigate the barriers to market access by small and medium enterprises. There is a need to enhance the sanctions that can be imposed by the Competition Commission through the review of applicable laws.
- 5.9 To prioritise transformation of the advertising industry.
- 5.10 Media transformation must include ownership and control, racism in the media and progressive ideas. The transformation of the advertising industry through the implementation of the Advertising Charter must form part and parcel of media transformation.
- 5.11 The utilisation of outdoor media and billboards platforms must be explored. Outdoor media, especially in light of digitization which needs* to be transformed as it is currently dominated by international companies, is important.
- 5.12 The ANC must support community and small commercial media including efforts to prevent the take-over of community newspapers by the big companies, thereby increasing media diversity.
- 5.13 In line with the previous resolutions, government should use its advertising spend to advance diversity. Government advertising to community and small commercial media must be increased in line with the 30% set aside provisions. The 30% of media buying from community media needs to be implemented without delay.
- 5.14 Print media empowerment charter must be developed to drive media development, transformation and diversity, informed by the radical socio-economic transformation approach. Print media ownership remains highly racialised & this calls for transformation throughout the value chain. Print media will remain even in the digital environment & thus transformation should remain a priority. There is a thin line between media ownership and control thus we need a holistic approach to transformation. The ANC must appreciate that having black editors does not mean transformation.
- 5.15 An enabling environment must be created for SMMEs to encourage innovation and creativity in order to position our country for the Fourth Industrial Revolution and to create necessary and relevant jobs.

RESOLUTIONS

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

1. The Conference considered and endorsed a number of recommendations from the National Policy Conference and Provincial General Councils, and agreed to the following resolution on radical socio-economic transformation.

Noting that:

2. The ANC's vision for the South African economy is guided by the Freedom Charter's clarion call that the people shall share in the country's wealth. The ANC is committed to building a more equal society, in which all can find decent work and enjoy a sustainable livelihood.
3. Since the 1994 democratic breakthrough, significant progress has been made in meeting the basic needs of the people. This progress has found practical expression in, among others, increased protection for workers, the expansion of the black middle strata, the extension of the social security net, and the expanded provision of social and economic infrastructure.
4. Current factors such as persistent low levels of economic growth, rising national debt, some weaknesses of state owned companies, low levels of business and consumer confidence, low investment levels, credit rating downgrades, policy inconsistencies and public and private sector corruption have limited the ANC-led government's ability to drive socio-economic transformation and address South Africa's triple challenge of inequality, poverty and unemployment.

Further noting that:

5. Despite the economic advances of the past 23 years of freedom and democracy, the legacy of colonialism and apartheid is still deeply entrenched in our society and in the structure of the South African economy.
6. This legacy expresses itself in racialised patterns of poverty, inequality and unemployment, in land and spatial disparities, in infrastructure and service backlogs, in concentrated structures of ownership and

control and in the weaknesses of the SMME and cooperatives sector.

7. There has been slow progress in building a developmental state that has the capacity and capability to mobilise society and direct resources towards developmental goals.

Reaffirming:

8. The 53rd National Conference in Mangaung characterisation of the current phase of the National Democratic Revolution as the second phase of our ongoing transition from colonialism and apartheid to a National Democratic Society.
9. The ANC's adoption in Mangaung of the National Development Plan (NDP) as our guiding programme for accelerated and radical socio-economic transformation in South Africa, with the aim of achieving shared prosperity for all the people.
10. In addition to adopting the NDP, the focal areas of the Mangaung's economic transformation resolution are as follows:
 - Placing emphasis on mineral beneficiation;
 - Support for women and youth owned small business and cooperatives;
 - The establishment of a State Bank;
 - Rural development and land reform, and
 - Supportive macro-economic framework.

Believing that:

11. Within the context of radical socio-economic transformation, the ANC's strategic relationship with private capital is one of cooperation and contestation. This requires, among others, that the state must actively seek partnerships with the private sector and provide leadership to guide the country towards its developmental goals.
12. In order to revive South Africa's economy, sectoral growth plans must be developed for industry, agriculture, mining, construction and services. There

must also be programmes to ensure increased investment in infrastructure, expanded research and development and a rapid improvement in education and training in order to equip the people to participate fully in the global economy's ongoing fourth industrial revolution.

Conference therefore resolved:

On reigniting growth

13. South Africa must act urgently to reignite economic growth. Active steps to achieve accelerated economic growth include:
 - Uniting government, labour, business and communities in an investment pact;
 - Isolating and rooting out corrupt elements in the public and private sectors;
 - Stabilising the governance and finances of State Owned Companies (SOC) and ensuring that SOC's play a developmental role;
 - Ensuring a measured and balanced path of macroeconomic management;
 - Working to avoid further downgrades to South Africa's credit rating and regain an investment grade;
 - Regulating uncompetitive structures and conduct in the economy; and
 - Reviewing and recalibrating the NDP regularly in order to ensure improved implementation.

On Land Redistribution

14. We must pursue with greater determination the programme of land reform and rural development as part of the programme of radical socio-economic transformation.
15. Expropriation of land without compensation should be among the key mechanisms available to government to give effect to land reform and redistribution.
16. In determining the mechanisms of implementation, we must ensure that we do not undermine future investment in the economy, or damage agricultural production and food security. Furthermore, our interventions must not cause harm to other sectors of the economy.
17. The ANC's approach to land reform must be based on three elements: increased security of tenure, land restitution and land redistribution. Concrete interventions are required to improve the functioning of all three elements of land reform. These inter-

ventions should focus on government-owned land and should also be guided by the ANC's Ready to Govern policy document which prioritised the redistribution of vacant, unused and under-utilised state land, as well as land held for speculation and hopelessly indebted land.

18. The accelerated programme of land reform must be done in an orderly manner. Strong action must be taken against those who occupy land unlawfully.
19. The programme of land reform must have clear targets and timeframes, be guided by sound legal and economic principles, and must contribute to the country's overall job creation and investment objectives.
20. In addition it was resolved to:
 - a) Ensure active measures be put in place to drive land redistribution, such as a land tax, support for black farmers and preferential allocation of water rights and infrastructure provisions to black farmers.
 - b) Ensure effective programmes to increase training and support measures that will ensure the success of beneficiaries of land reform.
 - c) Ensure land reform enhances food security for poor families and maintain food security for South Africa as a whole.
 - d) Empower local governments to effectively advance land reform in their areas both for agricultural and other purposes.
 - e) Accelerate the rolling out of title deeds to black South Africans in order to guarantee their security of tenure and to provide them with instruments of financial collateral.
 - f) Democratize control and administration of areas under communal land tenure.
21. It was further resolved that the expropriation legislation currently in process should be finalised and that an ETC workshop on land reform would be held to develop a detailed ANC approach to accelerated land reform and to allow for a report back on the land audit that has been undertaken by government.

On State Owned Companies

22. The main purpose of SOC's is to operationalise the broad socio-economic development plans of government.
23. Firm action is required to improve the governance and performance of SOC's by ensuring the appointment of skilled staff and qualified board members and protecting public institutions from improper interference.

On Labour Market and Executive Pay

24. The gap between incomes of executives compared to workers remains very high. The wage gap has continued to deepen. This should be addressed as a matter of national priority, through a national incomes policy, underpinned by legislation where necessary.
25. The livelihoods of the poor, their employment opportunities, prospects for employment; and their capacity to roll back poverty and destitution should be prioritized. This principle includes the orientation of the macroeconomic policy so that economic growth takes place within an overarching strategy of job creation. We will strive to create employment that delivers fair incomes and social protection for workers and their families.
26. The national minimum wage must be implemented as a matter of urgency as the new minimum wage regime will impact positively on the lives of many low paid workers.

On the South African Reserve Bank

27. Reaffirm the resolution of the 53rd National Conference Resolution on the mandate of the South African Reserve Bank which states: *“South Africa requires a flexible monetary policy regime, aligned with the objectives of the second phase of transition. Without sacrificing price stability, monetary policy should also take account of other objectives such as employment creation and economic growth.”*
28. The South African Reserve Bank is the central bank of the Republic. It performs its functions independently, but in regular consultation with the Minister of Finance. The right to issue paper money, set interest rates and regulate the financial system resides wholly with the Reserve Bank.
29. It is, however, a historical anomaly that there are private shareholders of the Reserve Bank. Conference resolves that the Reserve Bank should be 100% owned by the state.
30. Government must develop a proposal to ensure full public ownership in a manner that does not benefit private shareholder speculators.

On the Financial Sector Transformation, State Bank and DFIs

31. The state must develop a more effective programme to ensure access to, and ownership of, financial institutions by black people, youth and women. This should include new approaches to regulation and licensing that fosters competition and enables diversified ownership. The forthcoming Financial

Sector Transformation Summit should provide a clear framework for the acceleration and deepening of transformation in this sector.

32. The use of state banks to promote economic development must be stepped up. The Postbank should be registered as a bank as a matter of urgency. The NEC must receive reports at each sitting on progress in this regard.
33. Development finance institutions and state banks should give greater emphasis to employment creation, empowerment, industrial diversification and development, small businesses and cooperatives, small-scale agriculture, micro-enterprises and local and regional economic development.
34. Development finance institutions’ mandates should include the development of black-owned companies. Public finance institutions must be given clear developmental mandates.

On economic concentration

35. The high levels of concentration of ownership in many sectors of our economy is dysfunctional to growth, entry of black South Africans in the economy and effective competition.
36. Conference calls for effective measures that expand the mandate of the competition authorities to identify high levels of concentration and to have the powers to act to de-concentrate levels of ownership, in order to open the market to new, black-owned companies.
37. The penalties for uncompetitive behavior must be increased.
38. The Competition Commission needs to be strengthened with additional resources to build on its current capabilities.

On investment and allocation of resources

39. Government should introduce measures to ensure adequate financial resources are directed to developmental purposes. A new prescribed asset requirement should be investigated to ensure that a portion of all financial institutions funds be invested in public infrastructure, skills development and job-creation.
40. A Sovereign Wealth Fund should be set up to ensure that the free-carry shares in mining and other resource sectors be retained by the state, acting as the custodian of the people as a whole.

On strengthening Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE)

41. State procurement should be used as an empowerment lever.
42. The PPPFA should be significantly amended to fully realize all objectives set out in s217 of the Constitution. Set asides must be further strengthened so that they work more effectively in promoting black businesses.
43. Government should intensify the use of state concessions as a policy tool for economic development and transformation, including in minerals, petroleum, fishing, spectrum, land, water, energy, etc.
44. A worker empowerment component should be introduced in the policy framework to massify share-ownership among workers and to provide for worker representatives sitting on the boards of companies.

On manufacturing, creative industries and tourism

45. Manufacturing continues to be a major sector of South Africa's economy, providing a significant base for skilled employment opportunities. Through its Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP), government seeks to transform the structure of South Africa's manufacturing base through creating new levels of dynamism and competitiveness in the sector.
46. A renewed emphasis must be placed on localisation, particularly linked to infrastructure projects and to procurement by government and state-owned companies.
47. There must be increased designation of products that are locally produced to facilitate an expanded buy local campaign.
48. The black industrialist programme should be strengthened and support programmes should be developed for other sectors.
49. Conference recognised the potential of the creative industries as a socially transformative sector that provides jobs, drives economic growth, innovation and allows many young people to make a living from their talent.
50. Conference resolved that the ANC must upscale interventions to support the creative industries. We must ensure the protection of artists, including the development of a strategy to promote trade, fight piracy and map the value chains of this sector.
51. Advancing transformation in the tourism sector is paramount. The popularity of South Africa as a tourist location highlights the need for more streamlined support, including alignment of the

goal of increasing tourism activity with the security of tourists and the visa policies of the country.

On the skills revolution

52. The challenges of new technology and the 4th industrial revolution require a revolutionary approach to training and skills development.
53. Initiatives that accelerate the placement of youth in employment opportunities that generate skills and experience should be intensified.

On improving the industrial and economic impact of public expenditure

54. Infrastructure spending remains a lever through which industrial development and economic growth can be sustained.
55. The infrastructure programme should actively support youth employment, localisation, black industrialists and other developmental goals.
56. Procurement institutions must be strengthened to ensure a close monitoring of adherence to revised preferential procurement regulations.
57. The most potent way to build and strengthen backward and forward industrial linkages in our economy is through local procurement. This will improve our trade balance and ensure that fiscal policy has an increased multiplier impact on economic growth, employment and long term development.

On beneficiation and building high value-added value-chains

58. New measures to inwardly orient those components of mining and upstream production such as petrochemicals and basic iron and steel, which are crucial for metals fabrication, capital goods production especially engineering activities, need to be put in place in support of a coherent strategy of industrial development based on raw minerals beneficiation.
59. The state should apply export taxes to strategic minerals where required to ensure local beneficiation.
60. Encourage recycling, especially of metals and other products such as plastics, rubber and paper. This will require that we promote the local re-cycling industry, especially metals re-cycling in order to significantly reduce energy consumption in the process of metals production and fabrication. In this connection, we should continue to limit the export of scrap metal.

On small businesses and co-operatives

- 61 Government measures to support small business and cooperatives need to be scaled up to ensure their impact is felt across the economy. The stimulation and protection of township-based economic activities is also important in this regard.
62. Youth employment must be prioritised, including through effective public employment programmes, internships, job placement, youth set-asides, procurement from youth-owned enterprises and youth entrepreneurship programmes.
63. Effective use and resourcing of the National Youth Development Agency is important as it offers support services to young people, especially those in rural areas and in working class urban communities. Youth support must be incorporated as one of the areas in the scorecards for firms from which government procures goods and services.

On Mining

- 64 There was support for the overall objectives of the newly promulgated Mining Charter, but it was agreed that further discussion is required with mining industry in order to ensure investment and employment levels are not negatively affected.
65. Beyond a narrow focus on individuals, increased ownership targets in the mining sector should primarily benefit the state, community and employee ownership. In particular, free-carry shares should be held in trust by the state rather than allocated to a few individuals.
66. The well-being of near mine communities and mine safety and rehabilitation are also all priority factors.
67. In line with the Mangaung Conference resolutions, the State Owned mining company must be strengthened, so that it can play a significant role in the mining sector.

On the oceans economy and forestry

68. The ANC must ensure expanded participation in the entire value and supply chain linked to South

Africa's Oceans Economy. Priority interventions must include:

- a. Finalising the fishing quotas and ensure they are given effect to immediately.
 - b. Development of a marine-policy that ensures the use of South African ships as part of our trade with the rest of the world.
69. Similarly interventions must be put in place to fully utilise the potential of South Africa's forestry sector to drive empowerment, transformation, economic growth and decent work.

Taxation

70. The state must develop a proposal for an appropriately structured wealth tax, possibly linked to the land tax, to promote equity and raise revenues.
71. In the current economic climate, there should be a review of the proposed sugary beverages tax with particular emphasis on the potential impact on employment relative to the health benefits
72. Government must urgently crack down on tax avoidance and illicit capital outflows.
73. In order to make available critical inputs for downstream industries, we must consider instituting export tariffs as an important tool for promoting local beneficiation.

On improved implementation, monitoring, accountability and evaluation

74. Conference reaffirmed the need to strengthen the developmental state in order to ensure seamless implementation for radical socio-economic transformation. The capacity of the state is a macroeconomic issue because it influences the behaviour of the economy as a whole.
75. With this in mind, Conference resolved to affirm the NEC decision to create an accountability framework to ensure that deployed comrades at all levels are held accountable to the implementation of ANC policies.

RESOLUTIONS

EDUCATION, HEALTH, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

ANC Policy cycle

Noting that:

- The ANC policy cycle is five (5) years; and that
- The ANC would benefit and be relieved of the burden of unnecessary and frequent policy changes if it were to be accorded enough time to implement, monitor and evaluate policy.

Therefore resolve that:

- The policy cycle should be at least ten (10) years with a five yearly review.
- The ANC increase its policy, monitoring and evaluation capacity.
- The ANC must ensure that there are Subcommittees on Education and Science and Technology and Health at branch level.

National Development Plan 2030

- The ANC must ensure that government develops five year and annual implementation plans based on the NDP to facilitate monitoring and evaluation of progress.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Noting:

The decision of the ANC 53rd National Conference

- That investment in Research, Development and Innovation must be 1.5% of GDP by 2019 with 5% accepted as the ideal for the country.
- That the National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030 states that science, technology and innovation must play an increasing role in skills development, job creation and economic growth.

- The ANC's commitment to transformative Science Technology and Innovation (STI) policy expressed in resolutions adopted at different conferences.
- That the Department of Science and Technology (DST) is developing a new White Paper on Science, Technology and Innovation.

Therefore resolve that:

- The decision to increase investment in Research and Development (R&D) to 1.5% of GDP by 2019 must be implemented.
- Grassroots and social innovation must be encouraged in order to develop innovative products, services and technologies.
- Prioritise learners with disability for science and technology training.
- Science literacy programmes should include a focus on village and township communities; and the creation of Wi-Fi spots in rural areas.
- The ANC must ensure that professions in science and technology are careers of choice and that public education institutions are resourced to advance this ideal.
- All sectors must account on progress being made in using science, technology and innovation; working with institutions such as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

Further resolve to:

- Invest in the digital economy as it has the potential to create new jobs in the context of the 4th Industrial Revolution.
- Link innovation and entrepreneurship with higher education and training to assist students who are innovative.
- Embark on effective programmes to accelerate the beneficiation of minerals.

On the use and increase of uptake of locally produced technologies

Noting:

- That technological innovations developed in South Africa have difficulty in becoming recognised and commercially viable due to limited visibility and support from public and private procurement;

Therefore resolve that:

- Government, labour and business encouraged or directed to use and increase their uptake of locally produced technologies.

On the coordination and harmonisation of policies and incentives related to STI

Noting:

- That there are a range of policies, incentives, and initiatives sponsored by various government departments in support of STI and that these are not always well coordinated, resulting in these achieving less impact than desired;

Therefore resolve that:

- The ANC ensures that a focused process is set up between government departments to coordinate and harmonise policies and incentives, especially those related to STI, to encourage and support innovation.

On the use of STI within and across the public sector as an enabler of service delivery

Noting:

- That the take up and utilisation of STI by the public sector is not always recognised as providing possible solutions to improved delivery of services to communities by provinces and local government;

Therefore resolve that:

- A coordinating mechanism be established and implemented to improve the use of STI within and across the public sector.
- STI be used to improve interventions at local and provincial government levels so as to enable and accelerate service delivery.

On the promotion of new innovations and invention of new technologies

Noting:

- That, although people experience and make use of STI in their daily lives, this wide spread acceptance and usage of STI is often not realised by our com-

munities, sometimes as a result of historical deprivation from access to the sciences;

- That there is a need to expose children and communities to science, technology and innovation.

Therefore resolve that:

- Policies be adopted to promote the recognition of the prevalence of STI in daily life and that this serve to encourage learners in schools, students at colleges and universities and workers in every sector to invent new technologies and products by analysing and learning from those imported and used daily in their lives.
- Public engagement on and promotion of science, technology and innovation be intensified.
- The ANC leads society to think more positively about ourselves and our innovation capabilities; and publicises advances that have been made by South African scientists and innovators.

EDUCATION

Noting that:

- We reaffirm that education remains an apex priority for the African National Congress and the ANC government.
- Education is an organising and coordinating body providing skills for the country.
- We continue to implement policies and programmes of the ANC as adopted in previous conferences and elaborated in resolutions contained in our documents.
- The various legislation, policies and programmes of the Departments of Basic Education as well as Higher Education and Training, which are intended to give effect to and achieve the vision and goals of the ANC in relation to an integrated education and training system, embody and articulate the ideals of the Freedom Charter, ANC policies, and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

BASIC EDUCATION

Further noting:

- Progress that has been made in providing scholar transport and the ongoing need for such services.
- Existing challenges of inequity between rural and urban schools;
- That some schools in rural areas still face the challenge of lack of basic services.
- The need to digitalise learning and teaching support material.

- The welcome expansion of vocational, technical and occupational education in schools.
- That education facilities are increasingly targeted for vandalism and destruction during public unrests.
- That the lack of electricity, libraries and laboratories diminishes the capacity of schools to offer science and technology.

Therefore resolve that:

- The Basic Education sector working with the Higher Education and Training sector and the Treasury must by the end of this term ensure that a comprehensive review of the education and training system has been conducted to ensure that it is relevant and responds to the demands and imperatives of the radical socio-economic transformation and the 4th Industrial Revolution by preparing young people for life, higher education and training programmes; technical, vocational and occupational skills; and the world of work. This includes preparation for post-school education.
- Having achieved commendable targets pertaining to access, redress and equity, the ANC must further ensure that there is strategic alignment and repositioning of the basic education sector by prioritising policies and strategies targeting the achievement of quality teaching and learning outcomes, enhancing the skills and competencies of educators, including the school management team comprising the school principal, deputy principal, and subject heads; and enhancing accountability systems to ensure the achievement of quality outcomes and the efficiency in the basic education sector.
- Steps should be taken to implement operation Phakisa in Education decisions on the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in schools.
- The ANC should lead society in protecting public facilities such as schools, libraries, colleges, universities, hospitals and clinics; and in ensuring that active steps are taken to prevent vandalism and to protect all public properties.
- The ANC must direct government and its relevant clusters to work together in developing strategic programmes and skills and education interventions geared towards young people who are not in employment, nor in education and training (NEETs).
- The ANC must ensure that there is systematic relocation of the responsibility for Early Childhood Development (ECD) from the Department of Social Development to the Department of Basic Education.
- The Departments of Social Development, Basic Education, and Health should coordinate efforts to

optimise Early Childhood development. Furthermore, particular attention should be given to children with special needs, for example autism.

- The ANC must deal decisively with challenges of inequity between rural and urban education by ensuring that there is adequate resourcing of village and township schools through the provision of quality, efficient, innovative, and inclusive education and training programmes and solutions. Incentives, through which teachers can be attracted and retained in rural and farm communities, must be explored and sustainably implemented and monitored.
- The ANC sets aside the resolution of the 52nd National Conference on making education an essential service. Furthermore the ANC and its alliance partners must work together to ensure joint responsibility for the maintenance and sustaining of good labour relations within the Basic education sector, and the reduction of conflicts which may lead to labour unrest, loss of teaching and learning time, and damage to property and educational resources.
- The ANC must put in place a legislative framework to guide in addressing executive, management and administrative lapses in the system, which result in interventions in terms of section 100 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996.
- The ANC directs the Departments of Basic Education, Arts and Culture, as well as Sport and Recreation to develop, implement and monitor transformed, strategic and sustainable recreational sport, arts and culture programmes which are intended to promote the democratic values of Ubuntu and social cohesion among South African schools and learners.

Further resolve that:

- The findings of Presidential Commission on remuneration in the Public service and Administration must be released in the first half of 2018.
- Intensify and prioritise programmes to improve literacy and numeracy of all learners.
- Expand the establishment and use of boarding schools in order to further improve the quality of learning and teaching.
- Technical schools must be made schools of excellence focusing on specific disciplines and skill sets; and that the ANC develops a policy on schools that will provide for a focus on talent development, e.g. development or establishment of public schools for talented or specially gifted learners.
- The ANC adopt a policy to introduce a minimum of three (3) languages into the curriculum in schools each must include at least one African language.

- The ANC consider the feasibility of establishing a single and inclusive examination board for the entire school system.
- ANC branches must submit an audit of mobile schools and clinics that need to be replaced with permanent structures to the incoming ANC NEC Subcommittee for follow-up and intervention.
- The sector accelerates the programme of resourcing of schools, particularly the provision of laboratories and libraries in village and township schools.
- All Provincial Departments of Education adopt and implement the Second Chance Opportunity Programme for matriculants.
- There are uncapped rental rates and severe shortage of student residences for students from poor and working families, particularly those in historically disadvantaged institutions;
- Since 1994, as shown by the transforming demographic profile of students, the ANC government has made significant strides in widening participation in higher education for youth from African households and communities;
- The need to conclude a model for providing fee-free higher education for the poor and working class.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Funding for the higher education and training system, especially the college sector, and for students in the sector

Noting:

- The Provision of free and quality higher education and training for poor and working class students until undergraduate degree is a standing and binding resolution of both the ANC 52nd and 53rd National Conferences;
- There must be progressive introduction of free education for the poor and subsidised education for the working class and “missing middle” subject to the availability of resources.
- The ANC has made huge strides towards providing fee-free higher education to all undergraduate level students from poor families through massive increases in funding;
- The release of the report of the Presidential Commission into the Feasibility of Fee-Free Higher Education and Training in South Africa.
- That the higher education and training system, especially the college sector, is hugely underfunded.
- A newly structured student centred model and central applications process to access financial aid has been implemented across the university and TVET college systems;
- A full review of the NSFAS Act and Regulations is underway, and that this will redefine the NSFAS’s definition of “poor and working class students”;
- A proposed model has been developed and is being tested to enable free higher education for the poor and working class and subsidised higher education for the working class and “missing middle”;
- That there is a need to strengthen collaboration between basic education and higher education and training;
- We reaffirm that education remains an apex priority of Government’s pro-poor policies and that it is a central pillar of our fight against the triple challenge of poverty, inequality and unemployment as outlined in the National Development Plan Vision 2030 and that failure to accelerate inclusive access to higher education and training directly threatens the achievement of this key objective.
- The ANC must continue to strengthen measures that will improve access to higher education with the ultimate goal of achieving free higher education for the poor and “missing middle”. This should not be limited to the role that NFSAS plays but should also include the role of the private sector in this regard.
- In line with the resolutions of the ANC 52nd and 53rd National Conferences, the ANC government accelerates the implementation of a new financial support model to ensure that academically capable, poor, working class and middle strata students are supported to access higher education, and receive fully subsidised free higher education and training by 2018, subject to availability of funds.
- Steps should be taken to expand the TVET and Community College sector and to ensure that it is adequately funded.
- The programmes of TVET colleges must respond to skills needs and unemployment.
- TVET colleges must foster partnerships with universities of technology and various industries for work experience for both lecturers and students.
- The provision of digital programmes must be expanded.
- The Human Settlements budget must include support for increased student accommodation.
- In order to achieve its intended access and success rates, fully subsidized cost of study will include tuition fees, accommodation, meals, transport and essential study materials or learning resources, and a stipend to cover meals and other essential living

needs – that is the full cost of study fees. No poor or working class student should be partially funded, depending on the availability of resources;

- All students receiving grants and loans from the state to access higher education should receive additional academic and psycho-social support to increase their chances of success;
- Finalise framework for regulating higher education fees.
- Redesign funding formula for the college and university sector.
- The incoming NEC Subcommittee should convene a dialogue with stakeholders on sustainable higher education.

Central Application Service (CAS)

- Implement a Central Application Service (CAS) in universities by March 2018 and implement CAS across the PSET system by 2022.

Sector Education and Training Authorities

- The programme of realignment of the SETA landscape should serve to improve the work of under-performing SETAs. The role of both state and private sector by granting access to the workplace for experiential learners remains critical for the success of the work of the SETAs.

Marketing technical and vocational education and training as the first choice

Noting:

- That progress has been made in the PSET system, especially with regards to the migration of the full college functions to the Department of Higher Education and Training from the 1st April 2015
- That Technical and Vocational Education and training is important for skills development towards an inclusive economy;

Therefore resolve that:

- Technical and vocational training should be marketed as the first choice leading to attractive career options for the majority of learners ahead of university education;
- Sufficient resources be made available for increasing access, infrastructure, lecturer in service training bursaries and curriculum transformation;
- Higher Education and Training, and Basic Education sectors are called upon to align technical and vocational offerings in schools and colleges; and

- TVET colleges needs to progressively offer qualifications for Grade 12 entrants on Levels 5 and 6.

The College sector in the Post-School Education and Training System

Noting:

- That the Post-School Education and Training (PSET) system is currently skewed towards university education, and will not self-correct; and that it requires a massive focus on Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) and Community Education and Training (CET) in order to develop the system, change perceptions and culture and make TVET colleges attractive institutions of choice as envisaged in the White Paper on PSET.

Therefore resolve that:

- The ANC must develop policies to clarify the nature and role of the entire college sector that comprises Community Education and Training (CET) colleges, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges and other colleges for specialised purposes such as agriculture, nursing, emergency care, policing and teaching. The entire sector has to be re-imagined in terms of the White Paper on PSET. There must be clarity on programmes offered by all colleges, especially TVET and nursing colleges.
- Research must be undertaken into the cost effectiveness of training students at university in mid-level courses such as Primary Health Care (PHC) and health promotion to determine where such courses would best be delivered; and that note must be taken of the possible resistance offered to a changed approach from universities and organisations such as the South African Nursing Council (SANC) and the Democratic Nurses Organisation of South Africa (DENOSA).
- The sector must conduct an audit of skills in colleges to determine competencies of educators and support staff for better quality learning, education and training in these institutions.

Focus on education and training in social sciences

Therefore resolve:

- Colleges and universities must continue prioritising mathematics, science and technology, but also focus on education and training in the social sciences.

Institutional autonomy

- The legislation on institutional autonomy for universities must be enforced.

People's Education for People's Power

- The ANC must discuss and be a thought leader on the broader ideological and political issue of decolonisation which is captured in People's Education and People's Power.

Retirement age of professionals and academics

- The retirement age of academics should be increased.

Improving the alignment between college and university programmes to the requirements for employment

- That the ANC must consider policy changes that will make it compulsory for colleges and universities to obtain concurrence and approval to offer a course from relevant ministries, especially in the health sector. This should aim at improving the alignment between college and university programmes to the requirements for employment in different sectors under the governance of relevant ministries, especially in the health sector

Work-readiness of graduates and diplomates

- That the ANC explore ways and means of ensuring that diplomates and graduates are work ready at the time of their completion of studies in colleges and universities.

Funding commitments of the NDP 2030

- The ANC and government pledge to fund commitments that are stated in the NDP 2030.

Further resolve that:

- The ANC considers establishing specialised colleges and universities in specific metropolitan municipalities.
- An audit of teachers be done for purpose of planning so as to guarantee adequate supply and replacement.
- Members of college and university councils be monitored to ensure accountability.

HEALTH

Noting:

- Health is a priority for the ANC, government and country.
- The White Paper on the National Health Insurance (NHI) has been finalised and adopted by government.
- The need to intensify programmes to ensure ongoing improvement in the quality of health care.

Therefore resolve that:

National Health Insurance and Health Financing

- The ANC reaffirms its resolutions on the National Health Insurance (NHI).
- The ANC should ensure that the implementation of the NHI remains a priority of government.
- NHI pilots should be expanded to include other areas that are currently excluded.
- The ANC must ensure that legislative framework on the NHI must be finalized by end of the current term.
- In implementing the NHI specific emphasis must be given to Primary Health Care as the first and most important port of call.
- The ANC supports the policy proposal by the health sector to use the money allocated to tax rebates to medical aids to fund the NHI.
- National Treasury in collaboration with the Health Department must develop measures that health budget allocation takes account of population movements.
- Measures should be developed by the health sector to address the burden on the health system that is a consequence of international patients using the public health system without assistance provided by sending countries or international health agencies and institutions.

Improving the management of the National Health System

- The ANC must pay special attention to the four major issues that bedevil the public health system, namely human resources, procurement and supply chain systems, financial management and infrastructure maintenance.
- Retired health professionals such as nurses should be utilised primarily for mentoring.

Training of Health Professionals

- The medical school in Limpopo should be supported both in terms of financial and human resources.
- The Nelson Mandela-Fidel Castro Health Collaboration should be assessed in light of the expansion of the health professionals training platforms in South Africa.

Traditional medicine: practice and research

- That the Provincial District and Local structures of Traditional Health Practitioners must be supported and strengthened. This should include coordination and prioritization of traditional medicine research in liaison with universities.

Healthy lifestyle

- The ANC must ensure that all structures of government; including municipalities, must provide requisite amenities in communities, which will encourage healthy lifestyle and improve the quality of health of the people.
- The ANC reaffirms its resolution that the Health Promotion Commission must be fast-tracked.
- The health sector must intensify health promotion programmes such as regular examinations and tests especially the (big five), cervical, prostate, breast, lung and colorectal cancers.

School health

- School health services must be strengthened and nurses should be deployed to schools to implement health plans.

Health infrastructure

- The ANC must adopt and employ the method of accelerated infrastructure planning, delivery, maintenance and revitalisation that is similar to the Accelerated School Infrastructure Delivery Initiative (ASIDI) used by the Basic Education sector.

State pharmaceutical company

- Conference re-affirms its previous resolutions on the establishment of a state-owned pharmaceutical company.

Medical malpractice, medical insurance and litigation

- Litigation and medico-legal hazards must be decreased through improving clinical care, introducing mediation and the use of legal tools. The health sector must continuously strengthen measures to improve the quality of care delivered by health practitioners in the public and private sectors.
- Policy on curbing high costs of medical insurance and litigation against medical malpractice should be developed.

Elimination of vaccine-preventable diseases

- The health sector adopts a policy for the country to eliminate on or before 2027 all vaccine-preventable diseases which have existing vaccines with proven efficacy.

Revitalisation of military health facilities

- Facilities used by the South African Military Health Services (SAMHS) should be prioritised for revitalization in line with the infrastructure programme pursued in the context of the NHI. South Africa's main military hospitals should be prioritized for optimization of management, human resources and equipment. Military and civilian health services must be well-coordinated without compromising the combat-readiness of the SAMHS.

RESOLUTIONS

LEGISLATURE & GOVERNANCE

1. POLICY CONTEXT

1. The ANC's approach to state power is informed by the Freedom Charter and the principle that *"The People Shall Govern"*. The attainment of power by the ANC is a means to fulfil the will of the people and ensure a better life for all.
2. The ANC state transformation agenda entails building a legitimate state that serves the interests of the overwhelming majority, which is based on a democratic Constitution and a culture of human rights, and which uses public resources to better the lives of the majority, especially the poor.
3. Despite the highlights and gains of the democratic state, the challenges still facing South Africa are immense, with poverty, inequality and unemployment still affecting vast sections of the people. The state's ability to drive transformation in society and the economy is fundamental, but to date it has not demonstrated sufficient capacity to drive this change. This requires a comprehensive re-evaluation.
4. The main goal of state transformation as articulated in the ANC's Strategy and Tactics is "building a developmental state that provides effective basic services and with capabilities to take forward a far-reaching agenda of national economic development, whilst at the same time placing people and their involvement at the centre of this process". This objective is the guiding principle for the ANC's management of the state.
5. Chapter 13 of the National Development Plan (NDP) outlines the challenges in achieving a Developmental State, caused primarily by weaker forms of coordination and collaboration within and across spheres of government and a non-responsive public service.
6. The building of a capable and developmental state at all three spheres of government must be achieved through the following measures:
 - i. Strengthening political institutions to deliver on their mandate.
 - ii. Ensuring the state plays an important role in

driving the economy and society.

- iii. Building effective, integrated planning and service delivery systems.
- iv. Ensuring civil society works with the state in achieving these goals.
- v. Strengthening and professionalizing Public Administration, particularly top management and the delivery sectors.
- vi. Building the educational feeder system to produce developmental skills, technical and professional personnel.

2. RECALLING AND REAFFIRMING

7. The ANC 53rd National Conference embraced the National Development Plan (NDP) Vision 2030 as *"a platform for united action by all South Africans to eradicate poverty, create full employment and reduce inequality as critical building blocks towards a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society."*
8. Previous ANC Conferences adopted key policies that are central to the transformation of the state. This covers mostly the ANC resolutions of the 52nd National Conference, the 3rd National General Council (NGC) and the 53rd National Conference and 4th NGC. The 5th National Policy Conference endorsed policy decisions specifically related to:
 - 8.1. Need for More Integrated Cooperative Governance;
 - 8.2. Future of Provinces;
 - 8.3. Differentiated Local Government Model;
 - 8.4. Role of District Municipalities;
 - 8.5. More effective governance in municipalities;
 - 8.6. Strengthening Ward Committees as part of Community participation;
 - 8.7. A review of the Local Government Financial System;

- 8.8. A review of the role, scope and composition of the MDB;
 - 8.9. Strengthening systems to detect and act against corruption;
 - 8.10. Strengthening Local Government Systems.
9. A number of policies have been adopted but not implemented – or not implemented in the spirit intended. An internal institutional machinery must be established to ensure that the ANC guides, monitors and ensures the implementation of conference resolutions.

3. RESOLUTIONS

3.1 Consolidating political power

Believing that:

- i. Political power is attained not for its own sake, but to pursue political and socio-economic objectives. The ANC is a national liberation movement that contests elections to obtain a mandate to exercise state power to further the transformation objective.
- ii. Our overall approach is that the ANC must remain the strategic centre of power in order to deliver on its mandate.
- iii. ANC policies remain valid, but our primary problem is the consistency of their implementation.

2.1.1 And whereas:

- i. The maturation of the political system has resulted in elections for all levels of government which are highly contested and extremely competitive. We have a system of government in which parties can lose elections, and our planning must contemplate different outcomes and the ensuing strategic partnership arrangements.
- ii. In instances where they are necessary, coalition governments must be about gaining access to consolidated power in order to continue to advance the National Democratic Revolution strategic objectives. Decisions and scenario planning about coalitions are tactical in nature and are entered into based on the needs of a pragmatic modern and mature political party.

2.1.2 Resolves that:

- i. Consistently winning elections depends crucially on the calibre of the cadres that are deployed to elected office, their integrity and

commitment to serving communities, and their performance while in office. The ANC must rigorously ensure that its candidates reflect these attributes, and establish mechanisms to hold them accountable for delivering on the ANC's Elections Manifestos.

- ii. A clear Accountability Framework which articulates the roles and responsibilities of cadres operating in the state should be developed. The Accountability Framework must include provisions for enforcement and consequence management where cadres do not perform as expected.
- iii. The ANC Constitution already specifies that there should be 50% gender representation amongst public office bearers. The proposals for 40% youth representation and the current provision for 60% continuity for should be debated further by branches prior to finalisation at National Conference.
- iv. The ANC must establish an Electoral Commission in order to:
 - Ensure ANC public representatives undergo a transparent selection and capacitation process to assume leadership and deployment.
 - Improve the quality, integrity, and sustainability of the selection and election of public representatives, from local to national sphere. This would incorporate much of what the List Committees deal with currently.
 - Institutionalise the selection process and make it transparent in order to reduce the possibility of current leadership organs from interfering with processes.
 - Have an independent capacity to manage these very demanding processes, but that are essential to organisational unity and legitimacy, and quality of the public representatives that are put forward by the organisation for public elections.
- v. The ANC must professionalise its capacity as a modern political party to fight and win elections, and create dedicated capacity to undertake ongoing mass media mobilisation, regular polling, and techniques of modern multi-party electioneering such as projection of key leadership personalities.
- vi. Where the ANC is in power, it should exercise that power in ways that anticipate future electoral contestation, including asserting the legitimacy and superiority of the ANC programme, and exposing the divisions and mor-

- al bankruptcy of the opposition. It should also aim to build state organs under its control with sufficient institutional resilience to continue under future electoral configurations.
- vii. Where the outcome of an election does not give the ANC an outright majority it must consider entering into strategic governance partnerships or other forms of coalition arrangements in order to gain access to state power. Our starting point for such arrangements must be the ANC alliance and more broadly the Congress movement. Where the ANC enters into coalitions, its focus must always be on achieving access to state power on an 'issue-by-issue' basis, in order to implement programmes aimed at transforming society and building a better life for all.
- viii. The ANC must also build its internal capacity to give policy direction to its elected representatives as well as creating a monitoring mechanism. In this regard, the ANC must ensure the creation of a Governance Support Team whose aim is to work with deployed cadres to ensure the ANC policies are monitored and implemented. The team should also assess the capacity of the State to implement policies, and include expertise in the legislative and management environments of government.
- ix. Legislation on funding for political parties must be amended to provide for the increment and transparency in party funding and apply to all three spheres of government.
- x. The funding of political foundations linked to political parties represented in parliament. The mandate of these foundations would include, but not be limited to: research, policy development, political education, as well as the hosting and management of party archives. State funding for foundations should be separate and ring-fenced from general state funds to political parties.
- ii. Previous ANC Policy Conferences, NEC Makgotla, NGC's, National Conferences, and the NDP have emphasized the need for strengthening alignment in intergovernmental coordination and collaboration. We need a more predictable and coordinated system of how macro policies and priorities are set, and translated into integrated planning instruments and how budgets are developed, deployed and implemented, within and across spheres of government.
- iii. There is weak vertical macro-policy coordination across spheres of government and poor horizontal collaboration across departments and agencies of government due to misunderstanding of the devolution and decentralisation of powers within a unitary state, and an inappropriate configuration of the centre of government
- iv. There is an urgent need to introduce new public administration reforms through uniform public administration norms and standards to ensure that public administration is development-oriented and participatory, and that citizens trust government to deliver services in an integrated manner.

Resolves that:

- i. The Presidency is the strategic centre of governance. The strategic centre must be the central driver of the developmental state and the following core resource based administrative functions must form part of the centre of government to support the strategic centre: state macro-policy and planning; budget and resource allocation and prioritisation; cooperative governance; public services; and performance management.
- ii. Cooperative governance legislation must be enacted to deal with issues relating to: the efficacy of provincial and national government support to local government and provinces; harmonisation of powers and functions of provinces and local government; and a framework for accountability of Provincial and Local Government.
- iii. The Presidential Commission to review the powers, functions and number of provinces must be urgently established.
- iv. The Legislature and Governance Subcommittee should analyse the mandate overlaps and recommend consolidating and reconfiguring functional mandates and roles between entities and departments to inform the appropriate configuration.

3.2 Macro-configuration of government

3.2.1 Whereas:

- i. The ANC government established a constitutional framework within the architecture and configuration of a unitary state within a decentralized form of governance arrangement in three spheres of government. The constitution provides for principles of cooperative governance across the spheres of government that are distinctive, interrelated and interdependent, which binds and defines their interface.

3.3 Capability and Capacity of the Public Service

3.3.1 *Believing that:*

- i. The NDP addresses the issues of capability and capacity of the state, and these should be understood separately. Capability deals with the structures, processes, systems and governance instruments at a macro level, and capacity deals with human resources and skills necessary for driving the state machinery.
- ii. The ANC has not made sufficient progress in transforming middle management in government and legislating for gender parity within the administration.
- iii. Youth employment and absorption into the public service remains a challenge and must be addressed.

3.3.2 And whereas:

- i. There are four areas where targeted action is particularly important:
 - The political-administrative interface and the clear separation of roles between the political executive and the administration
 - The intergovernmental system and the articulation of roles between national, provincial and local government.
 - Building a meritocratic and professional public service that serves government of the day in a loyal manner, but has sufficient institutional autonomy to build and retain skills and be protected against political patronage.
 - Development of technical and specialist professional skills, and appropriate career paths for technical specialists.

3.3.3 *Resolves that:*

- i. The merit principle must apply in the deployment to senior appointments, based on legislated prescripts and in line with the minimum competency standards. However, employment strategies for young people into entry level positions within government should remove any impractical barriers of entry.
- ii. The Transformation and Modernisation of Public Administration should incorporate ANC policy positions and deal comprehensively with: human resources development; capacity building and professionalization of the public administration; and the establishment of necessary systems and processes.
- iii. The National School of Government should

play a central coordinating role in capacitating employees in all spheres to achieve the goals of the NDR. The NSG must provide support for talent management across the spheres of government, and provide guidance for appointments, succession planning and career development.

- iv. The Office of Standards and Compliance must be established to set and oversee implementation of uniform norms and standards in public administration in all three spheres in order to move towards a single public service.

3.4 Government Planning, Implementation and Performance

3.4.1 *Believing that:*

- i. The ANC through National Conferences, NGC's, Policy Conferences, Makgotlas and the Manifesto sets policy and priorities for government. The challenge is to ensure government executes ANC policies effectively and timeously.
- ii. The NDP is the planning framework for a developmental state and the NPC was created to provide predictable planning scenarios.
- iii. The centrality of coordinated macro policy coherence and planning and enforcement will ensure the required implementation impact. There is clear evidence of sufficient policy provision developed and adopted by ANC, but the missing link is coordinated macro-planning and execution of the policies.
- iv. The government historically, as well as, through the DPME, has put in place numerous monitoring and evaluation frameworks that enable the state to measure its impact and identify shortcomings. However, there are still challenges of coherence and coordination and collocation of related planning functions. IGR in planning is not yet working, and issues arising from Izimbizo are not linked into IDPs and budgets.

3.4.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. The centrality of integrated macro policy planning and coordinated implementation is affirmed and supported.
- ii. The DPME must be strengthened and transformed into a department for Policy and Planning, focusing on macro policy coherence and planning; policy impact assessment; resource prioritisation linked to the budget strategy mandate paper; and spatial planning.

- iii. IDPs should remain the central planning tool in which all other spheres of government participate to address alignment of planning – both bottom up and top down. Alignment of planning cycles and budget cycles, especially with respect to local government must be achieved. Planning cycles must also align with ANC planning and evaluation makgotla.
- iv. The above changes must be effected through a new planning regime that addresses the following:
 - A new predictable planning paradigm and discipline within and across spheres;
 - Clear national and provincial spatial plans aligned with municipal Spatial Development Frameworks and municipal land use management plans;
 - Streamlined coordination structures with clear roles and responsibilities in planning, budgeting, integration of plans and implementation modalities;
 - Strengthening Inter-sphere institutional coordination mechanisms;
 - Clear operational and implementation systems, processes and modalities.

3.5 Managing municipal spaces for radical socio-economic transformation

3.5.1 *Noting that:*

- i. There is proliferation of spatial analysis of municipal space, and that plans are not targeting the same areas and emphasize different priorities, resulting in incoherent impact at local level.
- ii. The primary priority is addressing spatial transformation, integration, inclusion and economic growth. It is of paramount concern that within the twenty years of democratic governance we have not been able to reverse the apartheid spatial legacy.
- iii. Within the context of addressing rapid urbanization, growing urban sprawl, the balance between urban and rural development, the challenge of urban management, the Integrated Urban Development Framework provides a government-wide policy framework to create a shared understanding across government and society about how urbanisation should be managed to ensure resilience and inclusion.

3.5.2. *Resolves that:*

- i. The ANC must play a leading role in driving the IUDF to reverse apartheid spatial patterns, ensure resilience and quality of human settlements, and sustainability and efficiency of the overall system.
- ii. The top 100 urban settlements as well as their rural hinterlands must be prioritised to achieve the goals on integration, inclusion and economic growth, thereby creating a more equitable spatial economy and deracializing communities.
- iii. The overriding spatial challenge is overcoming the legacy of apartheid, densifying and integrating urban and rural development nodes and activity corridors. This requires government departments and spheres to work together in new ways that achieve coordinated impact.

3.6 Legislatures

3.6.1 *Believing that:*

- i. The Legislatures are a critical instrument of advancing people's power and fast tracking the transformation of our society. They are constitutionally empowered and positioned to fulfil their functions of law making, oversight and public participation. This applies to all Legislatures, comprising the two houses of National Parliament, Provincial Legislatures and Municipal Councils.
- ii. The key role of the Legislature is to exercise oversight over the Executive, facilitate public involvement in its work and pass legislation to transform society and change the status quo. The oversight role is to ensure accountability and compliance, as well as to instil a developmental approach to the state.
- iii. Legislatures are constitutionally required to provide a platform for public dialogue on issues of strategic and national importance. Legislatures play an important role in social transformation and the realization of socio economic outcomes.
- iv. The three arms of state, being the Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislatures, are each led by a single office as prescribed by the Constitution, except for the Legislatures.

3.6.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. An assessment of the configuration of the legislative sector across all spheres of government must be undertaken, with a focus

on the efficacy of the legislative sectors. The assessment must establish whether the legislative sector is appropriately configured, adequately resourced, optimally functioning and works cooperatively with other arms of the state across all spheres.

- ii. The Constitutional role of the NCOP must be reviewed with the intention to strengthen the NCOP. Mechanisms must be developed to ensure the NCOP plays a catalytic strategic role in articulating provincial and local government matters. Ways of strengthening the representation of provinces, SALGA and the National House of Traditional Leaders should be considered.
- iii. The position of Speaker of Parliament should be created as the overall political institutional head of Parliament, with the mandate to lead the legislative sector as a whole.
- iv. The majority party Chief Whip in Parliament should be accorded the necessary political and institutional recognition as the Chief Whip of Parliament, and similar arrangements should be implemented at provincial and local level.
- v. The ANC Caucus must effectively use Parliament to regain the confidence of our people in the run-up to the 2019 Elections. The ANC Caucus must be at the forefront of championing the needs of the people and building the trust and confidence in the ANC led democratic state.
- vi. Parliament should investigate the establishment of a Parliamentary Institute to build the capacity of parliamentarians and public representatives in the three spheres of government.
- vii. The research capacity to assist ANC Caucuses in the Legislatures in the three spheres of government must be boosted, and young people should be employed to do research and provide support to Committees.
- viii. Constituency Offices should coordinate between programmes of government and the representatives of the state. All PCOs must be occupied and working on Mondays which are ANC days. Deployees of the three spheres should develop a joint programme for each PCO, including a full time researcher.

3.7 Institutions Supporting Democracy (ISDs)

3.7.1 *Whereas:*

- i. Chapter 9 Institutions are creatures of the Constitution. However the constitution it-

self, including its Human Rights bodies, must assist to overcome the legacy of racial or national oppression of the black majority in general, and Africans in particular.

- ii. The human rights culture must be in constant conversation with the liberation culture.
- iii. The central political question that must be addressed is how these bodies assist us to fundamentally transform and democratise the State, its Administration, Judiciary and Legislature.

3.7.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. The Ad Hoc Committee report on ISDs and its recommendations must be looked at afresh, in order to review which recommendations are outstanding.
- ii. The rationalisation of ISDs and establishment of a unitary human rights body should be investigated by Parliament, including consequent Constitutional and other amendments.
- iii. Parliament must review the regulations, policies and laws regarding the accountability and reporting of ISDs to Parliament.

3.8 Governance of State Owned Enterprises (SOEs)

3.8.1 *Believing that:*

- i. The state's developmental agenda must be enhanced through SOEs (including those operating at a municipal level) in order to ensure dedicated focused capacity of the state to deliver effectively and efficiently. The SOE's must be channelled towards the implementation of the objectives of the democratic state.
- ii. Government plays a critical role as a shareholder and executive authority. The ANC government should be concerned with the agenda of SOE's, their mandate and functionality.
- iii. The challenge of weak leadership in both Executive and Non-Executive Board Members seems to be persistent and undermines the critical roles of SOEs. Coupled with this, allegations of corruption in the SOEs are also on the rise.

3.8.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. The multiplicity of SOEs including Municipal Entities and their alignment with departments and accounting authorities must be reviewed.

- ii. The ANC must focus on the mandate and role of SOEs, and make necessary inputs and policy guides to the Presidential SOE Council. Government must audit the mandates of the major SOEs and ensure alignment with the development objectives of the state.
- iii. The ANC government must strengthen the oversight mechanisms on SOEs. The ANC in Parliament must take the lead in ensuring this sector is properly managed and monitored.
- iv. Legislature & Governance to develop a protocol on oversight of SOEs by legislatures across the three spheres of government.
- v. A policy paper on repositioning the SOEs as catalyst of socio-economic transformation must be developed, including ways in which they can enhance local economies. This must take into consideration the PRC recommendations.
- vi. Corruption must be uprooted in all SOEs. The legislatures in their oversight must pay attention to AG reports on corruption and make necessary follow-ups. SOEs must immediately report all corruption to the law enforcement agencies

3.9 Local Government

3.9.1 *Believing that:*

- i. Local government forms part of the ANC's overall socio-economic transformation agenda and is the sphere of government closest to the people.
- ii. The service delivery agenda of local government is key to achieving a better life for all communities.
- iii. Government programme for improving the performance of LG has been launched through the "Back to Basics" approach, the core elements of the Back to Basic include:
 - Bringing government closer to the people;
 - Fast-tracking delivery of quality basic services to the people;
 - Improving financial management;
 - Employing capable and qualified staff;
 - Dealing decisively with fraud and corruption;
 - Ensuring accountable and transparent LG systems;
 - Compliance and consequence management for poor performance;
 - Capable political leadership and oversight management

3.9.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. The pilots where the separation of legislative and executive powers in local government has been tested must be analysed and the legislative amendments proposed to give them effect. The approach should be incremental starting with the highly capacitated municipalities.
- ii. The governance arrangement of intermediate cities and dense rural settlements should be reviewed, with the intention of extending the number of single tier (category A) municipalities. This process should be incremental with a properly researched policy on rationalisation developed and adopted to outline how such moves to single tier municipalities would occur and which may be affected first. This process must also involve an analysis of the implications of a municipality becoming a Category A municipality for surrounding municipal areas.
- iii. District Municipalities must support local municipalities and may be differentiated in terms of the Powers and Functions they exercise. District municipalities must continue to exist in some parts of our country and continue to deliver on their developmental mandate.
- iv. The financing model and the Equitable Share for local government needs to be comprehensively reviewed in order to align resources with Constitutional mandates. The system of intergovernmental grants should be restructured, taking account of changing settlement patterns, poverty, topography, capabilities and other contexts. Local government's own revenues and revenue collection efforts must complement the proportion of the fiscus made available to municipalities in order to ensure there are no unfunded or underfunded mandates.
- v. The current differences in the location of electricity reticulation as a municipal function should be reviewed, and national sectoral departments (Recreation, Human Settlements, Water, etc.) must have strategies aligned with municipal IDPs.
- vi. The definition of what is rateable must be reviewed in terms of the Property Rates Act.
- vii. The impact of the MFMA on the functioning and performance of local government should be reviewed and provisions formulated that will enable local government to play its developmental role.

- viii. The role and orientation of the Ward Committee system including community participation should be strengthened to improve service delivery and promote social cohesion, including increasing size and providing them with responsibilities.
- ix. Develop principles and policy framework to determine full time vs. part time councillors, their conditions of service and basis on which councillors should be remunerated. This should be phased in beginning with, for example, Committee Chairs. In addition, the additional tasks of Ward councillors in addressing provincial and national local government community-based issues should also be taken into account.
- x. The impact of the provisions in Section 56 and 57 of the Systems Amendment Act for managers to be on contractual terms on institutional memory, available capabilities and the like should be properly researched.
- xi. There must be a review of the inter-governmental processes and structures to ensure municipal governance becomes more effective in advancing its developmental mandate. This includes the alignment of planning cycles and financial years.
- xii. A systematic approach to ANC deployment to local government must be developed to ensure the right capabilities exist in councils. This includes a need to review the idea of retention such as reducing the 60% retention at national and provincial levels. Here, research must be done on the impact retention has had as reducing levels should not have a great impact on the skills and experience
- xiii. Councillor assessments before they are accepted as councillors and during their term of office must include the degree to which the community at large knows them and is happy with their selection and performance.

3.10 Demarcation of Boundaries

3.10.1 *Noting that:*

- i. The delimitation and alignment of jurisdictional boundaries is crucial to the process of aligning government planning and programmes.
- ii. However the frequent re-delimitation of municipal boundaries is destabilising to the local government system as well as government service delivery more broadly.

3.10.2. *Resolves that:*

- i. All government functional boundaries must be aligned with municipal boundaries.
- ii. In terms of ward delimitations, a national review should be undertaken of ways in which they create challenges such as dividing communities, recognising that wards are the building blocks of government participation processes.
- iii. The Municipal Demarcation Act must be amended to restrict delimitation of outer municipal boundaries to a 10 yearly cycle, linked to the National Census.
- iv. The restructuring of the Municipal Demarcation Board must be accelerated in line with previous conference resolutions.
- v. The ANC must develop internal capacity to guide its deployees in the demarcation processes.

3.11 Traditional leaders

3.11.1 *Believing that:*

- i. The new South Africa ushered in a Democratic State in 1996, which dismantled among others, the apartheid homeland structures, which were used as instruments for “indirect rule”. Some of the critical elements of a democratic state expressed in the Constitution of South Africa are “*the Republic of South Africa is one, sovereign, democratic state founded on the following values among others: human dignity, non-racialism, and non-sexism*”.
- ii. CONTRALESA was established in 1985 on account of the counsel of the late President of the ANC, Comrade O.R. Tambo to form part of the broad progressive forces opposed to apartheid colonialism, and particularly to undermine the destructive strategy of the apartheid colonial regime of ‘divide and rule’, effected through the system of Bantustan and ‘self-governing states’;

3.11.2 And whereas:

- i. The ANC has taken a number of resolutions at various conferences, resolving on the need for the institution of traditional leadership to be transformed so as to align it with the broader democratisation process, within the republican and Constitutional system, not much attention has been paid on the institution of traditional leadership;
- ii. The White Paper on Local Government (1998), made some concrete proposals for

integrating elected and traditional leadership at local level; and

- iii. CONTRALESA has continued to engage the ANC since the advent of negotiations and the democratic breakthrough of 1994, and up to date, with the November 2017 Traditional Indaba.

3.11.3 *Noting that:*

- i. While the Constitution of the Republic recognises the institution of traditional leadership and provides for legislation for the establishment of its institutional capacity and infrastructure;
- ii. The department responsible for local government and traditional affairs has been established to inject new energy on the sector of traditional affairs, thus registering remarkable progress;
- iii. Issues of traditional courts, land-use planning tools, land and tenure rights, gender emancipation, political relationships and adequate support to the institution of traditional leadership for its sustainability, independence and transformation, continue to be critical issues;
- iv. Land is one key factor that represents the pride of any people, and the democratic government must prioritise land as one of the progressive steps towards restoring the dignity of our people and helping to make a significant contribution towards a more inclusive economy, especially for the rural areas.

3.11.4 *Resolves that:*

- i. Our approach to traditional leadership must be incorporated within our understanding of a developmental state, under the guidance of the National Development Plan.
- ii. Government policy should take account of and promote cooperative governance with respect to overlapping jurisdictions between local authorities and traditional authorities with respect to land management.
 - a. To this end, municipal councils must consider the institution of traditional leadership as a strategic partner and not just as a stakeholder, especially in matters of development planning and land-use management like SPLUMA; and
 - b. The relevant government department must investigate a Special Cooperative Governance Dispensation that will effectively manage the relationship of

municipalities and traditional authorities

- iii. The institution of traditional leadership is recognised in the Constitution, but concerns raised about powers and functions of the institution as previously reflected in the Interim Constitution is a complex matter that needs further engagement.

- a. To this end, Conference Resolves to enjoin the relevant government department to pursue further consultative engagement and necessary political and legislative considerations in examining any possible Constitutional proposals.

- iv. The current legislative proposals of integrating the traditional customary legislative system within the broader legislative system of the republic must help in leveraging on the customary system to reduce and ultimately eliminate backlogs in the courts.

- v. The 'opt out' clause in Traditional Courts legislation must be considered by both the department of justice and the institution of traditional affairs as a pilot to further help determine the most appropriate and acceptable judicial dispensation for traditional communities.

- a. To this end, a Ministerial or Inter-ministerial commission must be appointed to facilitate an investigation and monitoring of the implementation of the 'opt-out' approach in the traditional court system and formulate proposals for a permanent customary judicial system within the next two years after the pilot commencement;

- b. A consultative process with the sector of traditional affairs must be pursued during and after the pilot stages, to ensure an inclusive outcome of the proposals for implementation.

- vi. The institution of traditional affairs must be encouraged to embrace the Constitutional provisions on gender equality and current positive developments of women ascending positions of leadership must be commended.

- a. To this end, traditional leaders must further discourage and prohibit practices that limit and deny women rights enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic like the right to represent themselves and be represented in customary courts, right to own land and assets and inherit the same from their late

- spouses, and to be protected against untold suffering of violence, 'ukuthwala', genital mutilation, and the bride price considered a financial transaction for a commodity;
- b. The relevant state institutions to continue to engage the traditional sector to work together towards the transformation of the sector and align it with the republican and Constitutional democratic system.
- vii. The land that is in state control (13%) and not in dispute or subject to any land claim must be considered for transfer to traditional communities to help leverage the regeneration of rural economies and development.
 - a. The state must courageously help change the land ownership patterns by restoring land ownership to the majority of our people who continue to be landless and land-hungry.
 - b. To this end, the 13% in the state custody must be transferred to the institution of traditional leadership to be held in trust on behalf of the traditional communities;
 - c. To further engage in a consultative and inclusive process by all stakeholders to devise appropriate and empowering modalities of releasing land to members of traditional communities in a way that will not put such land to risk of medium to long term ownership loss, insecurity of tenure and/or concentration by a trust.
 - viii. The rest of the land (87%) in private hands, excluding that owned by private individuals, should be pursued through legitimate claims for restitution, and parcels of land not productively utilised to be transferred under state control for purposes of public good and interests.
 - a. In furtherance of fair restoration and redistribution of land to the people, the ANC must convene a Land Summit within the year 2018. The summit must consider all the available and possible mechanisms and modalities, legally and politically, that will ensure consultative and inclusive processes that will help to safeguard economically productive utilisation of land and food security, without harming efforts to balance the promotion of national unity and transforming the economy to benefit all the people equitably.
 - ix. The implementation of the Communal Property Associations (CPA) Act to be evaluated and appraised with an intention of review in a way that will help reconcile the right of rural communities to own land and their relationship to institutions of traditional leadership geared towards positively impacting rural communities and their lives.
 - a. To this end, the review must seek to address all the unintended consequences of significant undemocratic practices within CPAs that limit the right to land use by intended beneficiaries, as well as inadequate support that CPAs receive to help propel productive utilisation of the land claimed.
 - x. Political matters with regard to the relationship of the ANC and CONTRALESA must continue to be engaged. CONTRALESA will continue to form part of the important sectors within the mass democratic movement who played a significant role within the liberation struggle.
 - a. To this end, the ANC must consider a structured engagement with CONTRALESA as part of a process that CONTRALESA must pursue, that of redefining its role within the new democratic dispensation without alienating any section of the broad and diverse traditional communities that it must continue to represent.
 - xi. All other matters that relate to the adequate support and service to the traditional sector by the relevant state institutions are to be addressed by the relevant departments.
 - a. This support and service to the traditional sector must be to address all matters relating to their tools of trade, benefits, infrastructure and developmental support that help restore the dignity and decorum of the institution and accord traditional leaders the respect they deserve, and empowering them to play a more developmental and transformative role in their communities.

3.12 Job Creation and Community Works Programme

3.12.1 *Noting that:*

- i. Public employment programmes, including the Community Work Programme (CWP), are playing a key role in providing work op-

opportunities in poor areas where markets are failing to do so.

- ii. The purpose of the CWP is to provide an employment safety net for those without access to alternative work opportunities to lift them out of poverty. Participants receive a stipend in return for useful work that they undertake in their own communities.

3.12.2 *Resolves that:*

- i. State institutions must prioritise job creation opportunities in their procurement programmes, including filling all available positions or vacancies.
- ii. Labour maximisation methods should be prioritized in project executions. Every effort must be made to build and support the inclusion of small businesses and emerging enterprises.
- iii. EPWP contractual periods should be extended to avoid frequent instability in employment.

There needs to be better alignment between government departments and spheres in terms of management of Community Development Workers.

- iv. Accredited training in public employment programmes is crucial to their successful implementation.

3.13 Fighting corruption in the state and broader society

3.13.1 *Believing that:*

- i. Corruption is a social ill that cuts across all sectors of society.
- ii. There is a societal outcry regarding the problem of corruption in the organs of the state and in society more broadly.
- iii. The ANC government must rigorously root out all forms of corruption including, tender rigging, fraud, bribery and nepotism in

all state institutions.

3.13.2 *Resolves that:*

- iv. The ANC needs to lead the moral regeneration of society, and this programme must be adequately funded and accounted for. The religious community and traditional leaders should be mobilised into a ‘whole of society’ approach.
- v. The ANC must mobilise communities and society around issues of corruption, and position itself in a leadership role with respect to a culture of exposing corruption and rewarding whistle blowers within the organization.
- vi. The ANC government and leadership must implement a programme to prevent irregular or fraudulent practices within the ANC and in government, including: ethics; monitoring; transparency in procurement decisions; checks and balances and oversight mechanisms; the disbarring of both public servants and public representatives at all levels from doing business with the state; and the introduction of probity and life style audits.
- vii. The public service and administration portfolio should fast track the establishment of Integrity and Ethics Management Office and build requisite capacity at all levels of government. The scope must extend to the SOEs.
- viii. Reporting corruption to law enforcement agencies must be compulsory in the public sector. The capacity of prosecutorial divisions must be boosted.
- ix. Government must introduce new regulations in terms of PAMA to implement the above provisions for dealing with corruption in the public sector.
- x. Parliamentary oversight mechanisms must pay special attention to corruption.

RESOLUTIONS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

1. The ANC in pursuing its International Relations objectives is informed by the Freedom Charter that states: “There shall be Peace and Friendship”; the African Claims adopted in 1943, and successive National Conference Declarations that have reinforced the ANC’s historical role in the global Progressive Movement. Therefore International Relations is utilised by the ANC to form friendships, cooperation and to work towards peace in the continent and the world, whilst pursuing South Africa’s National Interest.
 2. The ANC moves from the premise that our International Relations policy is directly informed by our domestic policy, and vice versa. Both domestic and international policy are mutually reinforcing with an umbilical link. Therefore, six guiding pillars anchor international work, namely:
 - I. Building a better Africa and world
 - II. Continental and international solidarity
 - III. Party-to-Party, intra-party and multiparty relations
 - IV. Transformation of Global Governance
 - V. Policy Development issues
 - VI. Campaigns.
 3. The ANC remains committed to the founding values of the Struggle: namely for a humane, just, equitable, democratic and free world.
 4. Africa and its development remains the central objective of the ANC’s international perspective and policy, with the African Renaissance remaining a key policy objective.
 5. International Relations remain a pillar of the ANC’s strategic approach.
- continued ideological contestation between reactionary forces on the one hand; and progressive forces on the other.
8. The election of Donald Trump as the President of the United States of America can be generally viewed as a reversal of progress achieved under the previous Obama administration. However, we note that even under President Obama, there was no substantive change in policy with regards to either the economic system or foreign policy of the US as a superpower.
 9. Multilateral institutions, including the United Nations (UN), continue to reflect a post World War 2 reality in terms of composition, hence the need for their reform.
 10. The emergence of growing economic powers, especially China, India and Brazil, have a perspective that is informed by their respective struggles. They are inclined to acting multilaterally and therefore share our commitment to rebuilding and transforming all the institutions of global governance.
 11. Africa has also seen a growing scramble for economic power between the West and the emerging markets. It is therefore imperative for South Africa to forge beneficial and strategic partnerships.
 12. That the global financial crisis – with its epicenter in the developed countries of Western Europe and the United States, has had ramifications for the developing world and overall negatively affected the transformation of the global economic and financial system.
 13. The hypocrisy of developed countries and the NATO military alliance - consistent with their divisive policies in the Middle East and North Africa.

Recognising that:

6. As the governing party, the ANC has used its progressive internationalism as a prism through which it looks at the world. The organisation continues to maintain an independent foreign policy stance.
 7. What we are witnessing on the global stage is the
- Reaffirming:*
14. The resolutions of the 2007 Polokwane National Conference and 2012 Mangaung National Conference and the recommendations of 2015 National General Council.
 15. That ANC has been active on the continent and in the world through party-to-party relations; partic-

ipating in international forums; conflict resolution on the continent; in campaigns continentally and globally; addressing some of the transformational global governance issues; and ensuring ongoing policy development.

16. The International Relations Department at ANC Headquarters remains inadequately capacitated to execute all its functions and tasks optimally; develop policy; lead campaigns; and partner with like-minded organisations.
17. The ANC and the ANC government remains committed to a peaceful and prosperous Africa – in pursuit of the aspirations of Agenda 2063 of the African Union (AU).

Therefore the ANC 54th National Conference resolves:

CONTRIBUTING TO BUILDING A BETTER AFRICA AND BETTER WORLD:

Building a Better Africa

18. African Union (AU):

- a. The ANC remains committed to the African Union and all its attendant institutions and programmes, including albeit not limited to the Pan African Parliament (PAP), the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Development Bank (ADB).
- b. Although South Africa and Southern African Development Community (SADC) has played a pivotal role in the development of policies and decisions of the African Union, South Africa and SADC can do more to strengthen the AU.
- c. The AU Commission should continue to focus on rationalising the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) into a maximum of five geographically aligned (5) REC's in order to avoid duplication and overlapping memberships.
- d. The ANC calls on African countries to utilise their natural resources such as land, mineral and marine resources; as well as infrastructure development programmes - for the benefit of their population and actively fight against illicit financial flows.
- e. The ANC calls on the AU to request that member states discuss regulating the conduct of multi-national companies on the continent, without necessarily inhibiting investment.

- f. The ANC government should continue to participate in the AU-Commission led discussions on increasing and deepening the involvement of the African Diaspora in the development of the continent.
- g. The ANC government should encourage the AU to work towards being self-reliant.
- h. The ANC government should have discussions with fellow African leaders within the sub-region as well as in the continent, on the regulation of internal migration on the continent.
- i. South Africa should continue to play a meaningful role in SADC and the AU's peace-making and peace-building efforts in amongst others, Lesotho, South Sudan and Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). These interventions are based on the objective of finding peaceful solutions (such as post-conflict reconstruction and development) as opposed to military interventions.

19. Pan African Parliament (PAP):

- a) The South African government should continue to play a role in strengthening the PAP and its work.
- b) The ANC should continue to play an active role in the debate on the future of the PAP, and its transformation into a legislative body of the AU.
- c) The South African government should create awareness around the PAP in South Africa.
- d. The South African government should assist the PAP to be a key catalyst for the unity and further democratisation of Africa and its member countries.

20. Southern African Development Community (SADC):

- a. The South African government should support SADC in the promotion of democracy in the region.
- b. The South African government should ensure the process of regional integration in Southern Africa takes into account the varied social, labour, economic, and political systems within the region.
- c. The South African government should work with SADC in transforming the SADC Parliamentary Forum into a regional Parliament.

22. Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO):

- a. The ANC, together with the ANCWL and DIRCO should work with other countries to strengthen the PAWO Headquartered in South Africa.
- b. The ANC must assist PAWO with its programme of promoting gender equality on the continent.
- c. The ANC must ensure that the resolution on the formation of a Young Women's structure within PAWO is expedited.
- d. Since the AU has declared PAWO as a specialised agency, South Africa must enter into a host country agreement with PAWO.
- e. A Special Envoy must be assigned to PAWO to revitalise the organisation.

23. Pan African Youth Movement:

- a. The ANC reaffirms its support of the African Union's Decade of Youth Development (2008- 2018).

24. All-Africa Student Union:

- a. The South African government should recommend the resuscitation of the All- Africa Students Union to the AU.

Building a Better World

CONTINENTAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

25. Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa (BRICS):

The following was noted:

- The historical connection of South Africa with the emerging powers: therefore cooperation through forums such as BRICS is of primary importance to our Movement
- The strategic importance of BRICS membership as part of our overall International Relations strategy
- That our membership within BRICS must be leveraged to advance our developmental goals.
- That as much as our trade has increased with some of our BRICS partners, the balance of trade is still not in our favour.
- That our national programme of industrialization must also improve if we are to benefit from favourable trading relations with BRICS partners, particularly China.

Conference therefore resolved:

- a) To leverage our chairing of BRICS in 2018 to be beneficial to South Africa and the continent;
- b) That the South African government should support the setting up of the BRICS Ratings Agency;
- c) To align our bilateral programmes with the People's Republic of China with those of FOCAC;
- d) To educate ANC members and the broader public on the relevance and importance of our membership in BRICS. The ANC should utilise the hosting of BRICS meetings in SA as events that can promote the work and the relevance of BRICS among its membership and the South African community at large. The Tenth Summit due to be hosted by South Africa, is an ideal opportunity to ensure greater community understanding and interaction with BRICS;
- e) That the BRICS Bank that has been established must be used effectively to provide an alternative Global Financing Mechanism.
- f) That the ANC and the ANC government should effectively use our membership in BRICS to deepen and align our policies with each of the individual BRICS countries.
- g) That the ANC should discuss with BRICS countries how the G20 can be better utilised to promote a progressive agenda;
- h) That the ANC and ANC government should promote student exchange programmes for South African students with the BRICS countries as part of skills development.
- i) That the ANC should work with other BRICS member parties to sign a joint BRICS party – party agreement.

26. Sudan and South Sudan:

- a) The ANC to continue engaging with all political parties in both countries so as to ensure that as and when tensions arise there are mechanisms for dialogue and engagement
- b) The ANC and the ANC government must continue to directly assist in the development of South Sudan as a new state.
- c) The ANC must continue to assist and advise the SPLA/M to transform from a military to a political organisation.
- d) The ANC government must continue to support the work of the Special Envoy, and his mission of promoting peace in South Sudan.

27. Western Sahara:

- a. Recalling the historic fraternal relations between the ANC and the Polisario Front as allies in the struggle against injustice, colonialism and apartheid.
- b. Recalling that Western Sahara is the only remaining colony in Africa.
- c. Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence.
- d. Recalling all relevant UN Human Rights reports and reports of international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, etc.

Conference therefore resolves that:

- The ANC condemns the withdrawal by Morocco from the UN-led peace process and supports UN efforts to bring both parties back to the negotiating table.
- The ANC should engage with a wide range of players to ensure that the proposed UN Referendum in Western Sahara takes place.
- The ANC urges the international community, and the United Nations in particular, to assume without further delay, their legal and moral responsibility on granting respect to the inalienable right for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara.
- The ANC expresses solidarity with Saharawi political prisoners and human rights defenders and calls on the international community to provide material support to the Saharawi.
- The ANC urges the international community to call on Morocco to immediately lift the military, security and media blackout imposed in the occupied territories of Western Sahara, to remove the wall and to initiate and lobby the international community for the natural resources of Western Sahara to be under the mandate of the United Nations.
- The ANC salutes the struggle and determination of the Saharawi people, both in occupied and liberated zones, as well as in refugee camps under the leadership of the Polisario Front
- The ANC will intensify its solidarity campaign with Western Sahara with more practical initiatives such as humanitarian aid, solidarity marches, seminars etc.
- Morocco's re-admission into the African Union should be used as an opportunity for us to further our support for the struggle of Western Sahara.
- That the South African Government should appoint a Special Envoy on the Western Sahara issue.

28. Somalia:

- a) The ANC welcomes the formation of the new Somalian government, which marked an end to the transition period.
- b) The ANC will continue to promote political dialogue in Somalia and its Federal formations and provide support to assist Somalia to achieve peace and development.
- c) The ANC commends the peaceful settlement of the issues through dialogue.
- d) The ANC calls on the AU and UN to galvanise collective action to stop piracy, illegal fishing, waste dumping on the Somali coastline, including international maritime formations.
- e) Commends the strengthening of the Somali judicial system and the promotion of rule of law and justice for the Somali citizens.
- f) The participation of women, youth and minority groups in Somalia and the commitment to work in an accountable manner will remain vital.
- g) The ANC supports the efforts of AMISOM, and encourages them to do all they can to ensure that the elections will be held in a safe environment as possible.
- h) The ANC continues to support Somalia in its efforts towards nation building, national unity and reconciliation.

29. Cuban solidarity

- a) The ANC continues to call on the United States to remove the illegal economic embargo/blockade against the Republic of Cuba.
- b) It further calls on the South African government to increase trade between South Africa and Cuba as a reinforcement of our foreign policy and international solidarity with Cuba.
- c) Call upon the DA-led Western Cape provincial government to cease its discriminatory action of denying opportunities for deserving youth from the Western Cape to study in Cuba.

30. Islamic Republic of Iran:

- a) The ANC welcomes the conclusion of negotiations that led to the lifting of sanctions against Iran.
- b) The ANC encourages the South African government to engage Iran through meaningful bilateral relations in a wide range of fields.

31. Syria:

- a) The ANC supports the efforts of Russian Federation and Turkey towards brokering peace amongst the main actors in Syria.
- b) The ANC will continue to monitor developments in the region and will engage with all parties and stakeholders in a quest to find a resolution to the country's numerous challenges.

32. Bahrain:

- a. The ANC calls on the world to speak out against the violent actions of the Bahraini government targeted at its own citizens.

33. Sri Lanka:

- a. The ANC will be steadfast in ensuring that its role serves to enhance global support for a political process characterised by integrity, fairness and empathy.
- b. The ANC supports the fundamental approach to ensure the creation of an environment conducive for fair and equitable participation of all credible representatives in genuine negotiations towards a lasting political solution in Sri Lanka.

34. Palestine:

- a) The ANC notes the extraordinary recent development whereby the US administration has taken an unprecedented and provocative decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.
- b) The ANC both unanimously and unequivocally condemns this provocative step by the USA and urges that the President Trump administration immediately reverse its decision.
- c) Consequently, and in order to give our practical expression of support to the oppressed people of Palestine; the ANC has unanimously resolved to direct the SA government to immediately and unconditionally downgrade the South African Embassy in Israel to a Liaison Office.
- d) The ANC calls on the Palestinians to review the viability of the two state solution in the light of the current development.
- e) The ANC must encourage interaction with Palestinian social bodies, especially those involved in peace building such as women groups.

- f) the ANC also calls for the unity of the Palestinians as an imperative to sustainable and lasting peace

36. Kurdish People:

- a) The ANC supports the Kurdish people's struggle for human and political rights, peace and justice in the Middle East.
- b) The ANC urges all role players to engage towards a political solution in the conflict.
- c) The ANC further calls for the release of Kurdish people's leader, Abdullah Ocalan, and all political prisoners.

PARTY-TO-PARTY, INTRA AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS

37. ANC participates in a number of international organisations.

- a) The ANC needs to urgently develop a clear policy on international participation to ensure that proper international protocols and conduct are followed by comrades - including those deployed to government - whilst conducting their international work.
- b) The ANC needs to strengthen its affiliation to like-minded international organisations and participate actively in them, including strengthening our proactive participation in structures such as the Socialist International and the Sao Paulo Forum.
- c) The strengthening of Socialist International (SI) by working towards renewing and restructuring the organization to enable it to deal with current and future challenges facing the Progressive Left across the world. We must utilize the African Chapter of SI to strengthen the SI.
- d) Educate members and the broader South African public on the reasons for our participation in the SI.
- e) The ANC congratulates Comrade Ebrahim Ebrahim on his election as the Vice President for the Africa chapter, as well as Comrade Gwede Mantashe who serves in the Ethics Committee of SI. This reflects the level of our participation and involvement in the SI.

38. Party-to-Party Relations:

- a) Party-to-Party relations amongst former liberation movements like SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZANU PF CCM etc, continues to be

- prioritised by the ANC. Structured support of the former liberation movements in the region must be pursued.
- b) A study must be undertaken to establish a better understanding of the ideological orientation and character of the parties in the continent - and identify those that share the same political vision as the ANC.
- c) A deliberate effort must be made to strengthen relations with all progressive and like-minded parties in the region, continent and the world.
- d) Relations with other governing parties in the continent that might not share the same vision with the ANC must be promoted. Such relations could be based on common interests.
- e) The ANC Women's League and the Youth League should strengthen party-to-party relations as well as relations with other progressive women and youth organisations across the world.

TRANSFORMATION AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

39. G20:

- a) South Africa continues to play a role in the G20. This is an important platform for our international work.
- b) South Africa should ensure that the G20 discussions are focused on stabilising the world economy by building global partnerships to eradicate global poverty and realise a more equitable global economic system.

40. IMF and World Bank:

- a) The ANC continues to call for the reform of the IMF and World Bank.
- b) The ANC should partner with international organisations and alternative think tanks that have consistent programmes directed at the reform of the IMF and World Bank.
- c) The ANC call on the SA government to utilise platforms like the G20 to discuss the reform of the IMF and the World Bank.

41. The International Criminal Court

- a) The Conference reaffirmed the resolution of the 2015 ANC National General Council (NGC) to withdraw from the ICC. Furthermore, South Africa must ratify the Malabo Protocol on Amendments to the Protocol on

the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights and encourage the speedy operationalization of the African Court of Human and People's Rights.

- b) The South African government has re-commenced the reviewing of the domestication of ICC-related legislation; post this process the withdrawal notification will be made to the ICC.
- c) Government has begun a process of approaching the AU Member States to reconsider the Malabo Protocol insofar as it concerns the ratification of the African instruments.

42. United Nations

- a) The ANC recognises that reform of the UN is a key priority of the global multilateral system.
- b) The ANC continues to advocate for the expansion of the UN Security Council (UNSC) to ensure that all continents are represented and that the reformed UNSC reflects the current global realities.
- c) The ANC notes that since the AU adopted the Ezulweni Consensus ten years ago there has been little to no progress. The ANC calls for the review of the position.

43. OECD

- a) That the ANC government maintains its current observer status as opposed to taking full membership of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

44. Parliamentary Diplomacy

- a) The ANC must ensure that its Parliamentarians deployed to global forums like the International Parliamentary Union (IPU), SADC Parliamentary forums, various Parliamentary Associations and others are empowered with knowledge on foreign policy issues. This begins with the ANC branches.
- b) The ANC should ensure that Parliament together with Government promote public education in both urban and rural areas of South Africa on foreign policy issues. An example is SA positions in multilateral bodies like the United Nations (UN) and elsewhere - as well as around South Africa's other foreign policy objectives to create a better understanding in the public domain.

- c. The ANC should develop a strategic document towards understanding the need to engage all players in the international system with a view to advancing our interests, values and aspirations.

45. Economic & Cultural Diplomacy

- a) The ANC holds the view that economic diplomacy is not limited to basic economic knowledge, but should be able to increase South Africa's voice and choice in international relations and cooperation.
- b) Economic diplomacy relates to the connection between international relations and domestic imperatives or interests as the enhancement of South Africa's economic diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy, for example our State-Owned-Enterprises (SOEs) should invest in development projects on the continent.
- c) The Department of Trade and Industry and Department of International Relations and Co-operation should ensure that they improve their co-ordination with regard to economic diplomacy.
- d) The South African government missions abroad should include cultural diplomacy as a strategic component of our foreign policy.

46. SADPA

- a) The ANC directs government to accelerate the establishment of the South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA) to assist the ANC and government in pursuit of our vision for a better Africa.

47. European Union

- a) That an analysis on the pending withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, also known as Brexit.

48. Phenomena of Cities

- a) That the role of cities in international development should be coordinated at a country level and not through imposition of structures by the international community. The phenomenon of rapid urbanization is not the sole preserve of cities.

CAMPAIGNS

49. Africa Day:

- a) The ANC should mandate its structures and encourage government and the broader South African public to promote Africa Day. The African Union anthem should be learnt and sung by all South Africans as part of our commitment to the African continent and recognition of our African Heritage
- b) The ANC should consider submitting to government that Africa Day is declared a Public Holiday.

50. Mandela Day:

- a) The Conference resolved to intensify the role of the ANC, particularly ANC branches, in co-ordinating events on Mandela Day, which should not be dependent on government-sponsored or organised events.
- b) The ANC should promote Mandela Day across the continent and the world as a symbol of our commitment to a human rights culture, a humane and caring society, and fostering solidarity and unity.
- c) The centenary celebration of the life of President Mandela, should reflect on his commitment to Progressive Internationalism and be used to rally all global progressive formations behind international solidarity work.

51. Swaziland:

- a) The Conference reflected on the nature of the Swazi Monarchy where the King wields executive, judicial and legislative power.
- b) It further discussed that the people of Swaziland still suffer gross human rights violations as well as reflecting on the status of political activity of PUDEMO, SWAYOCO and SSN that are now proscribed in terms of anti-terror legislation in Swaziland.
- c) ANC should find mechanisms to open up talks between the people of Swaziland and their government.
- d) Accordingly, the following 53rd Resolution of the ANC Mangaung Conference on Swaziland be implemented:
 - That the ANC calls for the release of all political prisoners, including South Africans incarcerated in Swaziland, such as Amos Mbedzi.
 - That the ANC explore mechanisms of strengthening its solidarity campaigns on Swaziland.

- That the ANC encourage the progressive Swazi political and civil organizations to lead the Swazi struggle.
- That the ANC support the call by the people of Swaziland for the unbanning of political parties.
- That the ANC formalize its party-to-party relations with PUDEMO.
- That the South African government should upscale its strategic influence of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU).

52. Note the solidarity campaigns mentioned earlier in the document such as Cuba, Western Sahara and the Palestine.
53. In recognition of the sacrifices endured by the various African countries arising from the actions of the apartheid government, we therefore call on government to collaborate with various countries in the establishment of monuments in honour of our fallen heroes and heroines, if possible where they fell, as well as a monument to the Fallen Soldier.

54. **Myanmar**

Conference notes that:

- a) The positive agreement between the governments of Myanmar and Bangladesh that will allow for the repatriation of an estimated 700,000 Rohingyas who were forcibly displaced from the country of their birth to the barren refugee camps in Bangladesh.
- b) The ongoing humanitarian support from the South African public and organisations.

Conference therefore resolves that:

- a) The South African government and its allies urge the Myanmar government to ensure the safe return of the Rohingya people, and that their citizenship be recognized so that that they live and work in peace and dignity.
- b) The ANC and the South African government continue to urge that humanitarian support be extended from the international and South African community.

Capacity Building and Coordination

55. **Capacity & Work of the International Relations Department:**

- That all Provinces engage in international solidarity work through training and other forms of empowerment for its members; including

raising awareness around attacks against foreign nationals.

- That the ANC consider International Relations as a module to be integrated into the Online ANC political education programme.
- That the 53rd Conference Resolution on establishing a liaison office in Tshwane is implemented and further agreed to strengthen IR Sub-Committees in all nine provinces.
- That there is a full-time Head of International Relations (IR).
- That branches include a standard item on International Relations issues in the agendas of Branch General Meeting.
- That an easy to read booklet of the NDP and Agenda 2063 of the AU be produced for distribution amongst ordinary South Africans.
- That there be a focus on gender equality within our International Relations policy.
- Resolved to establish ANC forums outside the country, where the South African Diaspora is located.

56. **Alliance programme on International Relations**

- a) A combined programme on IR with the ANC's Alliance partners should be developed which incorporates:
 - Climate change, trade and the reform of multilateral Institutions.
 - Solidarity campaigns: on Cuba, Western Sahara, Palestine and Swaziland. In particular. The Alliance needs to undertake a full discussion on our approach to the situation in Swaziland.
- b) The Alliance should convene an International Forum to strategise and plan joint campaigns.
- c) The Alliance should share critical information on international relations.
- d) The Alliance should hold an annual meeting to assess global events and undertake joint planning.
- e) The ANC should establish an International Solidarity Forum to ensure that all campaigns fall under one umbrella.

SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS

Declaration on President Donald Trump's announcement to relocate the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem

Noting:

1. The announcement that the USA will move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and further that this announcement has been roundly condemned by nearly every world leader except the Prime Minister of Israel.
2. That a number of protests against this move have broken out in Jerusalem itself, as well as in Ramallah and Bethlehem following the announcement; and several armed groups in the region have labelled Trump's announcement as 'a declaration of war'.
3. The disappointment at the State of Israel's lack of commitment towards peace.
4. The continued illegal occupation of Palestine and East Jerusalem by Israel - now in its 50th year as well as Israel's continued violation of international law and successive UN resolutions. We recall the Nakba calamity and 100 years of the colonial British Balfour Declaration laying the basis for the creation of the State of Israel.
5. The recommendation of the 5th ANC National Policy Conference of on 4 July 2017 to downgrade or shutdown South Africa's diplomatic relations with the State of Israel.
6. The annual ANC January 8th Statements, including specifically the 2015 ANC NGC decision to "*encourage disengagement with Israel especially within government and legislatures, unless promoting solidarity and resolving the conflict. In particular, travel to Israel will be discouraged*".
7. Israel's continued military occupation of Palestine and the diminishing prospect of realizing the ideal of an independent Palestinian State, living side by side and in peace and security with the State of Israel due to Israel's offensive policy of illegal settlement expansion through land confiscation.
8. The illegal Israeli settlements are in contravention of international law and UNSC resolutions, including Resolution 2334 of December 2016 which declared that Israeli settlements in Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem, have no "*legal validity and constitute a flagrant violation under international law*".
9. There are now over 600 000 settlers living in hundreds of settlements in the West Bank (430 000) and East Jerusalem (208 000). The Israeli regime is increasingly acting with impunity with no regard

for the rights of Palestinians.

10. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that the Israeli administration is operating on a "no solution -playing for time", seeking to change the international pattern of voting in favour of its goal to render impossible Palestinian self-determination.

Conference resolves to:

1. Condemn in the strongest possible terms the decision by the USA Administration to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This blatantly provocative act severely undermines the spirit of multilateralism and is a significant setback to a fragile and already stalled peace process.
2. Call on the US Administration to reconsider its unilateral and provocative decision on Jerusalem, in the light of the negative ramifications for the cause of a just and lasting peace including that "*the US has driven itself further away from its role as a mediator and sponsor in peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians*".
3. Call on other countries with resident diplomatic presence in Tel Aviv not to follow suit but maintain their Embassies in Tel Aviv.
4. To affirm the OIC position that East Jerusalem is the recognised capital of the future State of Palestine.

LIBYA / SLAVE TRADE

Noting:

1. Conference discussed the negative developments in Libya as a consequence to the regime change agenda, and the ongoing conflict in Libya, which is presently controlled by various militias based in cities.
2. There are, presently, two Libyan authorities claiming to represent the Libyan people in addition to a UN recognised third authority.
3. The Libyan people are suffering from a lack of control of their own rich resources, resulting in poverty, lack of water, electricity and importantly food and human security.
4. The inhuman treatment of migrants and economic refugees crossing the Libyan desert to find greener pastures in Europe. Their plight is being exploited by human traffickers. The action of European countries stopping the flow of migrants attempting to cross the Mediterranean has resulted in persons thrust into camps controlled by greedy criminal gangs. This has led to some people who can be characterised as being enslaved.

Conference resolves to:

1. Condemn in the strongest terms this abominable crime against humanity.
2. To direct the SA government to work together with the Libyan authorities, the AU and the international community for an immediate end to these criminal practices and ensure the wellbeing of the migrants and refugees.
3. Welcome the ongoing efforts aimed at ending these criminal practices and resolved that the ANC directs the SA government to work together with the Libyan authorities, the AU and the international community to eliminate this scourge.
4. Call for support to the Libyan authorities, through international cooperation, in undertaking immediate action to fight against the perpetrators of such crimes.
2. That the ANC as the custodian of the legacy of Nelson Mandela has a responsibility to preserve the principles and values that he cherished and espoused in his lifetime.
3. That in recognition of Nelson Mandela's contribution to humanity, the United Nations has declared July 18 as the Nelson Mandela International day for Freedom, Justice and Democracy.
4. His contribution to the birth of a new democratic, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa.
5. That Nelson Mandela continues to inspire people all over the world as a symbol of humility, peace and reconciliation.

Resolution on the Nelson Mandela Centenary, 2018

Noting:

1. That the ANC government has declared the year 2018 as the centenary of the late Isithwalandwe Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.
1. Develop a year-long programme of activities and events to mark the momentous centenary of Nelson Mandela in 2018.
2. Mobilise all sectors of society to engage and participate in activities and events celebrating the centenary of Nelson Mandela.
3. Engage the International Community with a view to organising events and programmes that mark the centenary of Nelson Mandela.

RESOLUTIONS

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The Conference adopted the Social Transformation Report of the 2017 National Policy Conference. The highlights of the rich discussions and debates are presented below:

- a. Our Social Transformation agenda is part of the continuing journey of social change that began in 1994 when we entered into a Social Contract in the form of the Reconstruction and Development Programme through which we sought to create A Better Life For All, so that together, we can create a South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it as articulated in the Freedom Charter;
- b. Accordingly, the Policy Proposals that are being presented, are aimed at building A Better Life For All; and ensuring that we accelerate our march towards a truly reconstructed, transformed, unified and developed South Africa, whose citizens, Black and White, equally enjoy better and fulfilling lives;
- c. This we do within the context of the Resolutions of the 53rd ANC National Conference which committed all of us to ensure a radical socio-economic transformation aimed at ending oppression, poverty and inequality; and create a society in which all belong, live freely and prosper.
- d. We would like to emphasise at all times the co-existence of socio-economic rights. There is a tendency to emphasise radical economic transformation at the expense of radical social transformation which is an inalienable right, a First Generation Right in The Constitution, and the foundation of the Freedom Charter.
- e. Among others, our critical responsibilities are to transform our society and to prioritise the rights of women, children, and people with disabilities as well as the previously disadvantaged; work tirelessly to reduce discrimination and violence against women and discrimination and violence against children. As the ANC we need to lead in the de-linking of “women and children” as a near singular ‘vulnerable’ group as it tends to entrench the idea that women are minors as was the case under apartheid era laws. At the same time it also brings into stark relief the inequality under law that children face. We therefore welcome the recent High Court decision that nullified the common law defence of ‘reasonable chastisement’ as a legal defence for parental and care-givers assault of children. This brings the legal framework in line with criminal law of assault as it pertains to adults. This development will contribute significantly to reducing overall levels of inter-personal violence and the cycle of violence as South Africans will need to embrace the idea that violence is not an acceptable means to deal with conflict or differences. At the heart of fundamental social change and transformation are changes at the level of ideation so that people think and act differently and in ways that builds a more peaceful society.
- f. Our Social Transformation agenda has been very clear over the years that we are in fact in the processes of building a new society. We are not ‘re-building’ as this almost gives the impression that there was a time in our history where universal equality, respect for human rights and dignity existed for all. Colonial oppression, discrimination and violence including violence associated with systemic social and economic exclusion is what we have inherited and we need to build a new society that is peaceful, equal and just as envisioned in our National Development Plan, the UN’s Agenda 2030 and Africa’s Agenda 2063.
- g. We make the case that inequalities at the social and economic levels over centuries needs to be addressed if we are to reduce social ills in our society. There is global evidence that societies that are unequal socially and economically are more prone to have people who engage in the harmful use of alcohol and drugs, to have high levels of violence and high levels of gender based violence.;
- h. In any society plagued by high levels of social and economic inequality and related social ills there are of course people who are particularly vulnerable. It is for this reason that we take an intersectional approach to protect the most vulnerable amongst us. An intersectional lens will show us that black lesbians living in poor rural and urban spaces are amongst the most vulnerable. They are subjected

to discrimination based on their gender (being women), their sexual orientation, their race and class. This intersectional lens and concomitant strategies will allow us to protect people like Eudy Simelane a star player in Banyana Banyana who was killed in April 2008, at the age of 31 years, because she was openly lesbian.

- i. Similarly, the girl-child is just as vulnerable. We have a historical responsibility to in particular stop the sexual exploitation of the Girl-Child so that they, are allowed to grow up in safe, loving and nurturing environments and have the opportunity to play their important roles in society. We point out that the sexual violence meted out to the girl-child, can only be fully addressed when we build a society that does not condone sexual violence in anyway and that we build a culture where no person, no matter how powerful or important feel that they have a level of impunity in terms of raping women. The most recent incidents of what we term rape promoting cultures was evident when young women at Rhodes University were banned for life from studying due to protest action against leniency by university authorities towards sexual predators including a young man convicted of rape.
- j. Further, we have to ensure effective protection of the Child, including the Right of Children to Education; ensuring, among others, that children are not used to highlight and/or settle political and social grievances;
- k. In line with earlier references to 'ideation' being necessary for building a new society and one that also seeks to address the cycle of violence we have to engage constructively around whatever challenges and problems we may have, and thus help each other not to engage in violent protests, including the unnecessary destruction of property as a means of highlighting grievances; the strengthening of local community based organisations that are not party political, such as advice offices may contribute to building new forms of engagement among people and also how people engage with government. At the same time constructive engagement by communities requires more responsive and accountable local governance and generally government at all levels that is accountable to its own rules and procedures and where there is no room for those who are corrupt and use government for personal enrichment while there are such high levels of poverty and inequality. Government must lead by example. And for government to lead by example, the ANC must be exemplary with respect to building accountability within its own structures.
- l. Through these policy proposals, we have to help the youth to grow up as responsible citizens; for our youth to engage in sporting and cultural activities and to concentrate on the important aspects of growth, especially concentrating on their education and skills development;
- m. We have a duty to ensure that the Youth grow-up as disciplined and responsible adults, who shall have learned great attributes consistent with those imparted to all of us by such leaders of the ANC as Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and many others who have made it possible for us to gather here today as free citizens;
- n. At all times, and in all the things we do, we have to increase the levels of women empowerment. While we have made some important progress in the public sector on this matter, we need to ensure that we effect more improvements.
- o. Obviously, in this regard, the biggest challenge is still in the private sector, and therefore our policies have to help us to make drastic and visible changes in women empowerment in this area, so that through the empowerment of women in this sector, we are able to help bring more social transformation;
- p. As we do this, we have to continue our struggle against patriarchal beliefs and tendencies that continue to suppress and oppress women; while we have significant challenges in relation to violence against women and sexual violence in particular, we have also made significant progress since 1994. One of our ore stellar achievements was the huge reduction in the mortality rates associated with unsafe abortion through the passing of the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act which explicated the constitutional provisions of the right to bodily integrity and autonomy. The ANC must, therefore, vehemently oppose the proposed changes to this Act made by the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) as it will not only rob women of their constitutional rights but also rob them of their very lives as these proposals will again push women into the hands of illegal and dangerous back-street abortion providers.
- q. Again, as part of the important work of helping the people to escape the degrading conditions of poverty we must also improve our implementation of integrated human settlements developments; improve our fight to eliminate the squalor of informal settlements; and help give dignity to the people by eliminating the title-deeds backlog and household tenure security;
- r. We have a duty to help our Military Veterans through the improvement and implementation of the various Policies directed at this important sector of our society;
- s. As we engage in these efforts, of improving the

lives of our people, we must make sure that we do so guided by the ethos of Batho Pele, so that whatever, we do, as ANC deployees at all levels of government, we strive to bring real social transformation to our communities;

- t. Of importance, we have an on-going duty to achieve Social Cohesion and accelerate the project of Nation Building so that we are able to create a just and inclusive society that draws on our rich heritage;
- u. Clearly, we must, at all times ensure that through policy and practical implementation we fight and defeat racism, because failure to do so, would mean we could never achieve the lofty objectives contained in our Constitution;
- v. Overall, ANC policy is in place, and while refinements and adjustments to policy are necessary to meet the changing and shifting societal demands, the key task is ensuring the accurate implementation of our policies. To this end, the ANC capacity to facilitate, monitor and evaluate this implementation must be strengthened.
- w. We have no doubt that all these policy resolutions, will help us move forward towards the attainment of our historical mission of Socio-Economic Transformation to which, we, as ANC members, have committed ourselves.

1. In relation to Social Cohesion, Nation Building and the Development of Society, the Conference RESOLVED that:

- 1.1. ANC branches must be effective agents of change as leaders in communities if the ANC is to drive the radical social transformation agenda, and to achieve social cohesion and nation building.
- 1.2. To this end ANC members must be exemplary in their conduct in their families, in their community and in their organisations.
- 1.3. ANC branches must lead our communities in a programme of regular community dialogue throughout the year on issues of social ills, and on social cohesion and nation building.
- 1.4. ANC branches must be clear on the difference between the ANC anthem and the South Africa National Anthem and must sing the National Anthem with appropriate respect and etiquette. ANC branches must utilise the government information booklets on National and AU Symbols as well as Anthems, to ensure that national symbols are known in our communities and treated with appropriate etiquette.

- 1.5. There should be more local production and content screened on our televisions and broadcast in national and community radios to reflect our values. A practical and sustainable percentage must be determined
- 1.6. ANC branches must strengthen their relationships with key stakeholders such as inter-faith organisations, sports and cultural leaders, private sector and traditional leaders to enhance moral regeneration, social cohesion and nation building. Furthermore, ANC branches must intensify their communication and engagements with ANC government, Local Municipalities and Provinces
- 1.7. Relevant legislation in relation to hate crimes should be better enforced; all forms of racism, crude and subtle, including tribalism or xenophobia, must be eradicated; the mind-set shift from an image of an African as being a victim to being a victor must be addressed.
- 1.8. African history and African symbolism should be promoted including pre-colonial African history. The struggle for freedom and democracy must be documented in all languages. Libraries must promote the literary works of local and African writers. The use of indigenous languages must be promoted. This must include the urgent inclusion and diversification of statues on the Union Buildings Precinct and other high profile places in order to reflect African history.
- 1.9. The cultural values of diverse communities, including in particular African cultural values, which advance togetherness and co-existence across the spectrum of human existence must be promoted.
- 1.10. Patriarchy divides society and must be combatted in all its forms. Gender-stereotyped socialisation of girls and boys must be addressed to build social cohesion. As part of this work the active agenda of promoting women representation in key levers of power should be intensified. Leaders of society should be capacitated to deal with matters of gender abuse.
- 1.11. The public must be educated on the consequences of criminal damage to public property during protests. Government needs to impose heavy penalties to those who damage and destroy public property.
- 1.12. The Social Cohesion Advocates should be allocated across the provinces to support the Premiers in driving the moral regeneration and social cohesion initiatives.

2. **In relation to Safety of Women and Children, Eradication of Substance Abuse and Gangsterism, and Promotion of Sports, Arts and Culture, and Empowerment of vulnerable groups, the Conference RESOLVED that:**

- 2.1. Education, sport, recreation, arts, cultural and heritage activities, clubs and programmes are important vehicles to combat substance abuse, gangsterism, violence against women and children, and other social ills, as well as to achieve social cohesion and nation building, and should also be localised.
- 2.2. Street, Block and Village Committees, in which ANC members are active, are key vehicles of social protection and social transformation. These Street, Block and Village Committees must know exactly what is happening in each street in relation to violence against women and children, substance abuse, crime and be able to ensure that there are safe houses for victims, and that the police and social workers fulfil their functions. ANC branches must also be active in and strengthen the Community Policing Forums and Community Safety Forums. Members of the communities must know their neighbours and be concerned about their lives.
- 2.3. The ANC needs to lead the processes related to removal of offensive names and signage and the geographic name changes. Part of this work involves the decentralisation of administration of heritage to the provincial level. There should be Arts and Culture units at each municipality, and local Arts Councils as well as community arts centres. Municipalities should be encouraged to support local cultural industries through the LED programme. Local arts and culture programme should be implemented. Municipal facilities such as town and community halls should be utilised for local arts, culture activities and indoor sports.
- 2.4. The ANC should bring back the ANC Cultural Desk with representation of Creative and Cultural Industries Federation of SA (CCIF-SA) and have cultural ambassadors to pursue cultural diplomacy. The ANC's Cultural Desk needs to develop a Cultural Diplomacy Document. A Cultural and Creative Industries Transformation and Performance Charter needs to be introduced. ANC should ensure that there is continuous building of national monuments to commemorate and remember our rich history and heritage.
- 2.5. ANC branches cannot remain silent on violence against women and children, on vulner-

ability of the elderly, people with disabilities, people living with Albinism, of the LGBTIQ community. ANC branches must be aware of changing forms of crimes against vulnerable groups arising out of anti-social beliefs.

- 2.6. The provision of safe public transport, in particular for girl learners who live far from schools, is an important element of prevention of violence against women and children.
- 2.7. In particular, ANC men must be visible in 365 days campaigning against all forms of violence and abuse in particular violence and abuse against women and children. ANC branches should rise and hold men's marches against all forms of violence and abuse in their communities under the banner of Not in My Name - Count Me In.
- 2.8. Overall, ANC policy is in place, and the key task is ensuring the implementation of the policy. To this end, the ANC capacity to monitor and evaluate this implementation must be strengthened.
- 2.9. The social challenges of racial tensions, xenophobia, violence against women, children and other vulnerable groupings, substance abuse and gangsterism will all be vastly improved through strengthening integrated human settlements, through an active sports and culture programme in schools and in communities and through improving the implementation of existing social transformation policy.
- 2.10. Inequality, unemployment, and poverty underpin the social ills in our communities, and so, education and skills development, and internships and work exposure programmes that equip the youth with skills required and appropriate to the economy and economic opportunities are also important pillars of building social cohesion and the nation.
- 2.11. Effective resourcing of government structures to fulfil their functions must be focused on and in particular sport and recreation facilities must be properly resourced. The Department of Women needs to be fully capacitated to discharge its mandate effectively including enhancing its provincial footprint.
- 2.12. Izindaba on the progress on the empowerment of women per sector needs to be held on a regular basis.
- 2.13. The State must provide sanitary towels to girls and women, starting with the indigent girl learners and young women and those in the care of state institutions. Measures to improve affordability of sanitary products must

- be implemented including zero tax rating.
- 2.14. The comprehensive strategy for and the co-ordination and monitoring of the protection of vulnerable groups led by the Department of Social Development must be resourced to enable effective protection of children, the elderly, people with disability, and people with Albinism across relevant departments and spheres of government.
 - 2.15. The ANC must conclude its review and processing of the Kader Asmal Report on Chapter 9 and other Institutions supporting constitutional democracy.
 - 2.16. The Charter of Positive Values must be included in the curriculum of Life Orientation in schools. The revitalization of Provincial Chapters of the Moral Regeneration Movement should take place in all provinces, driven by the Premiers and relevant MECs to ensure greater coherence with the national programme. Part of this work includes the revival of the ANC's Commission for Religious Affairs to coordinate the efforts of the ANC with the religious sector, as well as the ANC's programme of action on moral regeneration.
 - 2.17. The socialization of our children, and in particular the socialization of boy children, to respect each other, to be healthy and active citizens, to take on roles in a non-gender stereotyped manner, is the foundation of addressing social ills, and ensuring the mind-set change necessary for social transformation, gender equality, non-racism, and social cohesion. Take a Girl Child to Work should be expanded to Take a Child to Work.
 - 2.18. Parenting was identified as a key area of weakness in addressing social ills and in driving the social transformation agenda. Support to parents to develop appropriate parenting skills must be strengthened through government services, and through dialogue involving key stakeholders such as religious, sports and traditional leaders. Public education on the safety of children, including the prevention children being left in the care of strangers, must be undertaken by ANC branches.
 - 2.19. Abuse of religion for sexual predation by some religious leaders must be combatted
 - 2.20. Gender parity in sport must be promoted at all levels, including national teams. Green jackets must be awarded for all sporting codes.
 - 2.21. Standardisation of school sports across the country both in poor and affluent areas. Sporting infrastructure must be extended to rural and township schools and be part of all new school building. Sport should liaise with Traditional Authorities in the roll out of sport facilities and programmes to rural areas. Parents should be encouraged to support their children in their sporting activities.
 - 2.22. Sport and physical education must be integral to school curriculum from Grade R to Grade 12. Sports professionals must be utilised to teach sporting codes. Anti-doping programmes in school sports should be introduced.
 - 2.23. A 5% sport ticketing levy should be introduced for all major and designated sport tournaments to fund sport development.
 - 2.24. The Draft Bill to ban alcohol advertising should be converted to a Money Bill with a levy to fund sports, arts and culture and educational programmes.
 - 2.25. Policy review to determine the school sports policy should be the prerogative of the Ministries of Basic Education and Sports and Recreation -and not the SGBs.
 - 2.26. Policy is required to regulate mushrooming unethical churches and traditional practices.
 - 2.27. Legislative review is necessary to amend all laws relating to children that is inconsistent with the Constitution, particularly in relation to age of marriage, age of consensual sex, and statutory rape.
 - 2.28. The calls to decriminalise Sex work must be subjected to a high level discussion and engagement with relevant multiple stakeholders, and to continue to engage society on this to determine the societal norm. Sex workers must be protected.
 - 2.29. ANC must strengthen and capacitate neighbourhood watch and CPFs to continue working with law enforcement agencies, and in particular SAPS, to combat human trafficking and sex slavery.
 - 2.30. The need for police stations and service delivery institutions should be determined by considering the population size, proximity to residents, and the nature of services required.
 - 2.31. Decisive action against drug lords and environments for anonymously reporting crime should be created.
 - 2.32. The Victim Empowerment Centres, Victim Support Units, and Thuthuzela care centres should be up scaled and fully resourced, in-

- cluding up-scaling the availability of social workers, including in schools. The integration of services and the utilisation of the Gender Based Violence Command Centre must be taken forward. SAPS officials must be trained in gender sensitivity and appropriate practice in dealing with victims of sexual offences and domestic violence.
- 2.33. Public education and awareness on criminal evidence required for successful prosecution of cases of violence against women and children is required.
 - 2.34. The full might of the criminal justice system, including the denial of bail and the sentence regime, should be utilised in the combatting of violence against women and children, particular in relation to domestic violence and sexual offences.
 - 2.35. In new courts, the Children's Courts should be designed to prevent children from exposure to other dimensions of the criminal justice system. Cases involving children should be prioritised for speedy finalisation in the courts.
 - 2.36. The user friendly of disability specific access to government buildings for people with disabilities should be accelerated.
 - 2.37. A comprehensive programme must be implemented that addresses minimum qualifications required for ECD practitioners, minimum norms and standards of ECD infrastructure, State remuneration for practitioners who work with children up to the age of 4 as they provide an essential service.
 - 2.38. Regulation of advertising using children and women, and reporting on abuse of women and children, must be reconsidered to avoid undue social media exposure of children and young women.
 - 2.39. Explore the introduction of mechanisms for organisations and employers to access information in the sex offender register to protect children.
 - 2.40. Child headed households including street (homeless) children must be prioritised in social protection policy, in EPWP opportunities.
 - 2.41. The child support grant should be extended from the age of 18 to 21 for beneficiaries that are still studying in order to eliminate the advent of vulnerability.
 - 2.42. The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (PEPUDA) must be amended to enhance the promotion of equality between men and women public representatives.
 - 2.43. Municipalities must regulate the location of taverns and liquor retailers to be away from schools and religious establishments. The Liquor Amendment Bill should also address this matter.
 - 2.44. SASSA national administration should be aligned with provinces to ensure that there is seamlessness decision making and ensure that there is accountability of provincial offices to the national office. SASSA needs to urgently speed up the process of provision of adequate and decent pay points as older person are often paid in the rain or heat.
 - 2.45. The government's internship programme offers valuable work exposure for graduates and thus entry requirements must enable and not unduly restrict entry and access. Part of this work must intensify career guidance programmes for the youth, as well as allocation of more bursaries.
 - 2.46. TVET college qualifications must be de-stigmatised through a prestige programme of partnering with local business and local municipalities to create opportunities of streamlined job access for graduates.
 - 2.47. The NYDA must be strengthened and resourced to deliver effective youth programmes with the national youth service, the EPWP youth programmes and other youth employment programmes as flagships of youth development in government. Consideration should be given to reinstating the Young Pioneers and the Masupatsela as leading information disseminators. Youth employment programmes should embrace new technologies.
 - 2.48. There is a need to professionalise youth work for all youth development practitioners.
 - 2.49. The mind set of dependency among the youth should be discouraged.
3. **In relation to Social Cohesion and Social Transformation through Human Settlements, the Conference RESOLVED:**
 - 3.1. To implement structured support to black-owned companies in the housing and residential property sector, with special attention to those owned by women, youth, military veterans, and people with disability. 30% set aside should benefit these designated groups.

- 3.2. Transformatory urban planning and management that changes apartheid spatial residential patterns must be focused on, with a move away from dense single-use residential areas to those with appropriate recreational and sports facilities, other socio-economic amenities and the necessary public transport systems.
- 3.3. In the creation of new cities and towns, planning should promote de-racialisation of society and development consolidation of peri-urban areas
- 3.4. This must include accelerated implementation and consolidation of human settlements development legislation to utilise suitably positioned land for housing, and the enforcement of existing law and by-laws.
- 3.5. Land invasions must be curbed through appropriate by-laws. Fast track the amendment of the Prevention of Illegal Eviction Act 1998 (PIE) to deal with land for housing development.
- 3.6. To implement a rapid urban land re-distribution and release through constitutional means in order to meet development needs in a structured manner. Mining and other private sector land-owners should be encouraged to release their land to the state for human settlement purposes.
- 3.7. The sale of subsidised houses by beneficiaries should be prevented and beneficiaries who no longer need the house must be assisted to return the house to the State for compensation or allocation of an alternative opportunity in another area. The rental of subsidised houses to non-beneficiaries be discouraged especially in the face of growing need. Accelerate the issuing of title deeds and registration of subsidy houses in favour of the “family” rather than the individual beneficiaries.
- 3.8. Uniformity in the standard of housing provision across all provinces must be addressed and remedial improvements of houses at risk must be completed.
- 3.9. Provision of housing for military veterans must be fast-tracked and completed, with appropriate consultation, in line with applicable legislation.
- 3.10. To conduct an audit of all unfinished housing programmes and implement a programme to complete unfinished housing projects.
- 3.11. Human settlements housing options must include site and service schemes, options for people to build their own houses, high rise accommodation, affordable rental stock for those who are transitional residents in urban areas for work and other purposes, the transformation of hostels into family units, and the provision of student accommodation and other priority needs.
- 3.12. The causes of shack farming are in part as a result of the need for income generating opportunities, and must be addressed by plot size control and by laws regulating the building of informal housing.
- 3.13. The allocation of subsidised houses must be consulted with Traditional leaders when developed on land availed by traditional leaders.
- 3.14. Water provision must be addressed as an integral part of human settlements and the Water Act should be reviewed to ensure that water resources are a public good.
- 3.15. Our communities must be served by water tankers where permanent infrastructure is not yet provided to the community.
- 3.16. Municipalities must commission viability studies for building of small dams to ensure water security
- 3.17. Sanitation at community and household level must be improved and the bucket system eradication must be intensified.
- 3.18. Community libraries, parks and socio-economic amenities should reflect on the planning of new communities from the initial planning stages.
- 3.19. Institutionalise and mainstream Programmes aimed at youth development such as a Housing Youth Brigade in order to ensure their sustainability
- 3.20. The ANC should champion proper service delivery especially in areas named after our leaders.

Conference RESOLVED that following the 54th Conference, the NEC must adopt a Social Transformation Action Plan to:

- a) Facilitate implementation of these policies with specific roles of the ANC in the national, provincial and municipal spaces;
- b) Enable accurate monitoring of progress in implementing the policies.
- c) Outline the role of the ANC in championing and leading community development.

RESOLUTIONS

PEACE AND STABILITY

1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1. The Conference affirmed previous resolutions on peace and stability taken at the 53rd National Conference in Mangaung and the recommendations from the National Policy Conference. Conference also acknowledged progress done on the implementation of the resolutions. However, it was noted that there are some resolutions which have not been fully implemented. Further, Conference accepted the description that since the advent of democracy, the country is relatively peaceful and stable, compared to other countries of the African continent in particular, and the world in general.
- 1.2. The Conference further re-affirmed the thrust of the mandate as outlined in the National Development Plan 2030 that: *“people living in South Africa feel safe at home, at school and at work, and they enjoy a community life free of fear. Women walk freely in the street and children play safely outside. As a result of substantially reduced levels of serious and violent crime, businesses are thriving and local and foreign investors are establishing new businesses. This in turn leads to the creation of new job opportunities and the reduction of poverty and inequality. The Criminal Justice System is well-resourced, professional and is staffed by highly skilled officials who value their work, serve the community, safeguard lives and property without discrimination, protect communities and citizens against violent crime and respect people’s rights to equality and justice. South Africa’s borders are effectively safeguarded, secured and well-managed”*.
- 1.3. There was acceptance of the security assessment which identified the four broad categories of threats facing South Africa. Those are; threats to the territorial integrity of the Republic, threats to the authority of the state, threats to the well-being and safety of South Africans and threats to the country’s economic development. There was acknowledgement of its fundamental mandate in supporting economic growth towards the realization of radical socio-economic transformation in the current local and global economic climate. The Conference acknowledged the reality that the work of the security cluster is labour intensive and therefore the mechanical reduction in its budget

and personnel will invariably weaken its capacity and capability to reassert the authority of the State, protect the territorial integrity of the Republic and ensure that all South Africans feel safe.

- 1.4. The paradigm shift in the international space with regard to Peace and Stability in particular the following developments since the National Policy Conference:
- A. Slave trade in Libya and human trafficking;
 - B. US recognising Jerusalem as the Capital city of Israel;
 - C. Escalation of terrorism on the African continent.

The Conference noted political developments in Zimbabwe and expressed the hope that conditions of peace and stability continue to prevail.

- 1.5. Pursuant to the foregoing, the Conference identified the following key focus areas as critical for the Peace and Stability Subcommittee for the consideration of Conference, namely: state of peace and stability as relating to the sectors of Correctional Services, Home Affairs, Defence, Military Veterans, Private Security companies, Justice and Constitutional Development, and Fighting Crime and Corruption.

2. SOUTH AFRICA’S STATE OF PEACE AND STABILITY

- 2.1. Despite relative stability, the Conference noted a plethora of challenges facing the country which requires urgent attention of the ANC led government. Those challenges include, but not limited to the following:
- a) Activities of Foreign Forces seeking to undermine our revolutionary advances mainly perpetrated by Foreign Intelligence Services (FIS);
 - b) Continuing lawlessness and impunity which threaten the authority of the state;
 - c) The porousness of our border environment which threaten our territorial integrity;

- d) Acts of crime and criminality which threaten the well-being and safety of our people;
- e) Slow economic transformation which threaten our country's economic development;
- f) Problem of Terrorism;
- g) Information and cyber.

2.2. *Therefore, based on the foregoing challenges, the 54th National Conference resolves as follows:*

- a) The need to tighten the current laws dealing with the activities of Foreign Intelligence Services, the abuse of the diplomatic immunities and acts of espionage in order to provide for the imposition of harsher sentences to serve as a deterrent. The Ministries of Defence, State Security, International Relations and Home Affairs should develop a framework to regulate the above matters.
- b) The Department of Defence should deploy members of the South African National Defence Force to assist members of the Police Service in dealing with illicit mining.
- c) Expedite the implementation of the Border Management Authority to address the question of irregular migration and border management.
- d) Conclude treaty agreements with the countries of origin of the incarcerated foreign nationals in order to allow for the exchange and repatriation of inmates serving minor sentences.
- e) Finalise the Immigration and Refugee Act in line with the approved White Paper on International Migration in order to manage migration taking into account the protection of low skilled jobs and certain economic sectors in the interest of locals.
- f) Government should allocate adequate additional financial resources to the security cluster to effectively deal with the territorial integrity of the country.
- g) Government to ensure the compliance and enforcement of the Public Gatherings Act
- h) Effect the amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act to categorize vandalism of public properties as economic sabotage and be classified as a Schedule 6 crime.
- i) ANC branches working with local municipalities to champion the awareness and public education on the rights to protest without negatively impacting on the rights of others.
- j) ANC branches should work with the Law Enforcement Agencies and local government to deter human-trafficking, illegal migration and

champion the fight against the manufacturing, distribution, smuggling and the use of narcotics.

- k) ANC branches should lead the process of reviving Community Safety Forums and Street Committees to fight crime in their localities.
- l) Ensure the enforcement of appropriate legislation on transfer pricing and illicit economy such as illicit financial flows.
- m) Ensure the speedy implementation of Lifestyle Audits, broadening of vetting and financial monitoring to curb corruption.
- n) Review all pieces of legislation relating to terrorism in order to strengthen our counter terrorism measures.
- o) ANC should lead the process of raising awareness in communities through branch structures of radicalisation of community members by terror groups including through internet and social media platforms.

3. CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

3.1. The Conference noted that South Africa does not have an interstate exchange programme with other countries. This is reflected by the following:

- a) South Africa holds in its correctional centers approximately about 6440 sentenced foreign nationals serving custodial sentences averaging 10.6 years for various crimes. This puts a heavy burden on the already strained fiscus. Four-in-ten of the 6440 foreign nationals have committed serious crimes.
- b) Further, the Conference noted with concern the manner in which the country deals with matters related to parole and its review processes. These challenges include the following:
- c) Correctional Services is segmented into two main streams, the custodial and non-custodial services that are governed in terms of the Correctional Services Act, (Act No 111 of 1998) as amended, and the envisaged Parole and Supervision Act.
- d) International trends show that numbers of offenders serving their sentences within their communities are much higher than those in custody, with custodial sentences reserved for crimes regarded as very serious.

3.2. *Based on the above, the 54th National Conference resolves as follows:*

- a) There should be serious consideration given to approval of a new policy to enable Prisoner Transfer Agreements to be concluded at bilateral level and on multilateral platforms.

- b) Government must develop mechanisms to enable the state to try, in our community courts, any offender who committed petty crimes, repatriate those foreign nationals convicted of petty crimes and introduce measures to prevent foreign offenders, from re-entering South Africa.
 - c) The composition of the Parole Board should be transformed to include key stakeholders such as community leaders, and other eminent members of the community.
 - d) The Parole Board should solicit views of the victims before releasing offenders on parole, including repatriation in cases of foreign nationals.
 - e) Review sentencing and parole legislation to ensure that persons committing serious offences spent a longer time in custody.
 - f) ANC branches should undertake educational campaigns in their areas to facilitate the reintegration of offenders into their communities.
 - g) The South African Police Service and the Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services should regularly meet and develop mechanisms to address overcrowding in Correctional centers.
 - h) The Department of Correctional Services should educate released offenders on their options of expungement or presidential pardon where appropriate in order to facilitate their reintegration into the society and their participation in the economy.
- modernise and maintain its systems and processes for the safe keeping and maintenance of records.
 - c) South Africa is facing a high influx of immigrants largely due to porous borders, weak legislative measures governing asylum seeker management, weak enforcement capabilities and the existence of good socio-economic opportunities and benefits which serve as the pull factors.
 - d) The African Union (AU) has developed a protocol on free movement of people within the Continent without visas, this protocol provides for the progressive implementation of free movement of persons, the right to residence and the right to establishment.

4.2. *The 54th National Conference resolves as follows:*

- a) Legislation be developed to reposition the Department Home Affairs as a core security cluster department with adequate resources to enable it to achieve its vision of a modern and secure department, managed by professionals.
- b) Put in place policies and legislation that give effect to its full mandate on the management of identity and international migration in order to ensure national service delivery, economic development and security goals.
- c) Implement operational and organizational models appropriate for the management of identity and international migration in a digital world, including its law enforcement capacity.
- d) Accelerate the integration of the existing bio-metric data sets, strengthen cyber-crime counter measures across the criminal justice system value chain.
- e) ANC branches together with Councilors should develop and maintain Ward profiles in order to account for all the residents in their respective wards and participate in the DHA Stakeholder Forums.
- f) Accelerate the development of the National Identification System linked to a biometric database of both citizens and foreign nationals lawfully residing in South Africa.
- g) Review the security clearance status to all DHA staff and repeat such procedures at appropriate intervals not exceeding five years as a condition of employment in order to address the issues of unethical conduct
- h) Expedite the development of refugee processing centers next to, or near the ports of entry to accommodate asylum seekers while

4. HOME AFFAIRS

4.1. The Conference noted that the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) bears the mandatory function to confirm and protect the identity and status of all citizens and all persons within our borders and to regulate immigration and the entry and exit of persons through ports. Further, the Conference noted the following key matters regarding the department:

- a) DHA operates largely outside of the security apparatus of the state and does not receive sufficient funding for protecting its officials, systems and data, yet its work has a major impact on national security, social cohesion and the achievement of our Country's developmental goals.
- b) The DHA does not have advanced technology, sufficient information technology professionals or legislation required to optimally

their applications are being considered.

- i) Expedite the finalisation of the Border Management Authority (BMA) legislation and implementation thereof, including the provision that BMA assumes frontline customs function at ports of entry and revenue collection must remain a SARS function supported by BMA.
- j) Finalize the development of the White Paper on International Migration including supporting legislation.
- k) Support the vision and implementation of the AU protocol on free movement of persons, provided that it is in compliance with South African laws.

5. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE

5.1 The Conference noted that the Department of Defence remains a key strategic player in the maintenance of South Africa's territorial integrity. The Department of Defence has the full legislative mandate to ensure the protection of South Africa's borders, including the maritime and airspace. The SANDF has undergone significant professionalization. The SANDF protects our Nation and contribute towards the maintenance of peace and stability in the African continent at large.

In addition, the Department of Defence plays a major role of disaster management. Further, the Conference noted the following key matters regarding the department:

- a) The department is facing serious financial constraints owing to the decline in its annual budget allocation. This is illustrated by the department's inability to fulfill its legislative mandate to fully deploy in the border areas.
- b) The challenges of the Department of Defence are exacerbated by the limited resources allocated to support dedicated research and development pertaining to innovation, which can unlock the potential for military innovation being used for civilian purposes. The location of the DENEL under the Department of Public Enterprises denies the Department of Defence the necessary control over sovereign capability and sensitive intellectual property relating to strategic defence technologies.
- c) The investment in the defence sector plays a leading role in the successful industrialization and transformation of the economy through comprehensive research and development, and dual use of technologies.

5.2. *Based on these challenges, the 54th National Conference resolves as follows:*

- a) The Department of Defence be exempted from using the services of the Department of Public Works for the purposes of maintaining their physical infrastructure and permit the Department of the SANDF Works Formation.
- b) Government should ensure that the budget allocation to the Department of Defence is adequate to enable it to effectively implement the Defence Review.
- c) The SANDF should play a central role in the education of the youth on issues of patriotism, discipline and military skills development.
- d) The responsibility for the Executive Authority and oversight of DENEL should be migrated from the Department of Public Enterprises to the Department of Defence to ensure proper planning and control of strategic and sovereign defence capability.
- e) Promote investments in the Defence industry to ensure economic growth, job creation, research and development of dual use technology.

6. MILITARY VETERANS

6.1. *On issues of Military Veterans, the 54th National Conference resolves as following:*

- a) Re-affirm the resolution of the 52nd National Conference, that the Government should establish a stand-alone Ministry of Military Veterans to be fully implemented by 2018/2019 financial year.
- b) Military Veterans should be fully utilized in all the areas of the security services such as securing of National Key points.
- c) Military Veterans should play a central role in uplifting the values and discipline in the ANC.
- d) The department of Military Veterans should strengthen engagement with the South African Military Veterans Association (SAMVA) on matter affecting military veterans.
- e) The Department of Military Veterans should facilitate health services in remote areas where there are no military hospitals to cater for veterans.
- f) The Department should fastrack the review and amendment of the Military Veterans Act of 2011.

- g) The Department of Military Veterans should be part of the provision of housing for the military veterans.
- h) The Department of Military veterans should consider extending certain services (e.g health and education) to dependants of veterans and deceased veterans.
- i) The incoming NEC to consider the issue of the usage of military paraphernalia and weaponry of disbanded former liberation military structures as well as other groupings in the country.

7. PRIVATE SECURITY

- 7.1. The Conference noted that the industry has grown and contributes to job creation. However, of serious concern is the continued illegal employment of foreign nationals and the exploitative labour practices of some of these companies. Further, the Conference noted the resistance by the sector towards transformation which is characterized by their undue pressure against the enactment of the Private Security Regulation Amendment Act.
- 7.2. Further, the Conference noted that the Private Security companies acquire weapons of high calibre while having poorly trained personnel.
- 7.3. Further, the Conference noted that some in the industry coordinate and send South Africans to provide security services in conflict zones outside the country.

The 54th National Conference resolves as follows:

- a) Enactment and implementation of the Private Security Industry Regulatory Amendment Act should be expedited.
- b) Develop regulations to set out minimum requirements for the registration and certification of security personnel.
- c) Amend the National Key Point Act to restrict the utilization of the private security companies in the protection of National Key Points which are owned by the State.
- d) Department of Labour must strengthen its capacity to monitor the exploitation and abuse of employees employed by the private security firms.
- e) That consideration should be given to the utilization of Military Veterans in the provision of security services for government buildings and institutions.
- f) Government to stop outsourcing security of national key points and other strategic installations to foreign owned private security companies.

- g) Enforcement of the Foreign Military Assistance Act.
- h) The state should consider a possible partnership with the sector to affect its transformation.
- i) More effective implementation and scrutiny of employment practices in this sector.
- j) The usage of military-styled camouflage uniforms by private security companies must be outlawed.

8. JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- 8.1. The Conference noted the following matters in relation to the transformation of the Criminal Justice System:
 - a) Integrated Criminal justice system has not been fully realized
 - b) Access to justice for vulnerable communities remains elusive;
 - c) The quality and capacity of state legal services remains with a number of challenges;
 - d) The project of transformation of the judiciary and the entire legal services has not been achieved beyond Employment Equity imperatives;
 - e) The issue of the doctrine of the separation of powers and independence of each arm of the state has been a cause of strain in the recent period.

8.2. The 54th National Conference resolves as follows:

- a) The doctrine of separation of powers of three arms should be clearly regulated by development of rules of engagement without any arm of state undermining the constitutional authority of the other.
- b) Integrating and modernising systems of the Criminal Justice System through the use of cutting edge technology.
- c) The Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (as amended) should be reviewed to deal with the low rate of successful prosecution.
- d) Department of Justice should bring free Legal Aid services closer to communities
- e) The Court working hours should be extended including the possibility of using week-ends in order to address the high case backlogs.
- f) ANC branches and relevant institutions should conduct awareness campaigns on Human Rights matters.

- g) Expedite the passing of the Traditional Courts Bill.
- h) Introduce harsher sentences for defaulters of child maintenance orders.
- i) Government must introduce especially harsher punishment for offenders who have committed murder against women and children.
- j) Reaffirm the 53rd Conference resolution that *“Government should strengthen briefing black lawyers so as to equip them with defending the state, thus creating a pool for potential judges”*.
- k) The ICJS must focus on the following:
 - i. Redraft the Criminal Procedure Act to radically transform old-order policies and court processes to improve the efficiency of the criminal justice system;
 - ii. Accelerate the modernisation of the criminal justice system to enhance efficiency.
 - iii. To improve victim support and the implementation of the child justice system.
 - iv. Strengthen the capacity of the State to maintain domestic peace and stability and to deal effectively with threats to domestic stability caused by illegal migrants.
 - v. Enhance intelligence-driven investigations.
 - vi. Develop a corruption-resilient criminal justice system.
- l) Expand the capacity of DOJ&CD to work with other Departments with respect to the location, identification, exhumations and reburials of remains of former combatants.
- e) Further noted that the current number of police officers on the ground is insufficient to the population of the country. The current ratio of the number of police officers to the population is 1:350 (conservative). The Conference noted that like many other countries in the African continent, South Africa continues to face a plethora of national security threats, top among which is the challenge of common crime. The scourge of crime affect the entire nation regardless of class, race and geographic footprint.
- f) Further, the Conference noted that there is limited dedicated and integrated ICT capacity and capability within the Criminal Justice System in South Africa. Further noting that Criminals in South Africa are becoming more sophisticated. This limited capacity hampers the work that should be done by the various role players in the CJS.
- g) The lack of national norms and standards for policing in South Africa.
- h) Further noted that the current lack of norms hampers planning, budgeting and deployment of resources to service communities. The police population ratio as its stands is inadequate and not aligned to a growing population in South Africa. Policing needs and priorities are not aligned to new spatial development including the current community and industry expansions.
- i) There is slow progress in the implementation of the Judge Farlam Conference recommendation with regard to the professionalization and the demilitarization of SAPS. Further noting the appointment of the panel of experts and SAPS Ministerial Transformation Task Team to champion the transformation for the police service in line with the provision of the NDP.

9. FIGHTING CRIME AND CORRUPTION

9.1 The Conference noted that:

- a) Coordination between anti-corruption agencies needs strengthening.
 - b) Cooperation between the investigators, forensic experts and prosecutors is uneven and consequently some corruption cases are lost due to poorly constructed dockets and cases presented to courts.
 - c) Strengthen implementation of legislation preventing public servants from conducting business with the state.
 - d) The focus on anti-corruption activities should extend to issues like land, buildings, licenses and permits, and provision of government services.
 - j) The FICA review has been finalized and enacted by the President.
 - k) South Africa has the highest illicit tobacco incidence in the region and is listed amongst the top five illicit markets globally. This not only poses a danger to the health of the nation, but also undermines revenue collection for the fiscus, whilst sustaining criminal networks involved in human trafficking, drugs and violent criminality.
- 9.2 *The 54th National Conference resolves as follows:*
- a) There should be enhanced cooperation of all anti-corruption agencies.

- b) Investigations should be intelligence driven and prosecution led to ensure a high conviction rate.
- c) Public servants including those in the security cluster should be periodically rotated in their areas of deployment so as to prevent unprofessional, overly familiar and frequently corrupt relations with clients, service providers and other persons they interact with and/or are responsible for.
- d) Government should conduct a vetting audit for all employees of the State across all levels including related entities.
- e) The vetting process should be expedited for government employees and all related entities
- f) There should be a single vetting agency for the State to strategically place public servants (including State owned enterprises) including those who reject promotion even though it comes with improved remuneration packages
- g) The Deployment Committee policy must include vetting and integrity assessment of deployees.
- h) ANC should take decisive actions against all members involved in corruption including those who use money to influence Conference outcomes.
- i) Challenge the leadership of the public and private sectors to subject itself to instruments of financial interest disclosure, vetting and lifestyle audits.
- j) Increase the capacity of police officers in line with the reality on the ground (ideally 1:150 over a period of five years) including increasing the number of vehicles and the police stations.
- k) Community Police Forums (CPFs) must be strengthened and adequately trained and resourced.
- l) The Ministry of Police should develop norms and standards for policing.
- m) All new community infrastructure developments should integrate policing and safety plans.
- n) ANC branches must ensure that they actively participate in Community Police Forums.
- o) Reaffirm the 52nd National Conference resolution that, ANC branches are to establish Street Committees and ensure that the matter is a standing item in all BEC meetings.
- p) All ANC Branch Executive Committees must establish a portfolio of a Safety officer.
- q) ANC should strengthen consequence management system against comrades who participate or found guilty of corruption.
- r) Reaffirm the 2015 NGC resolution that, ANC leaders and members who are alleged to be involved in corrupt activities, should, where necessary step aside until their names are cleared.
- s) The ranks of senior police officials must be reviewed, in order to adequately align functions and responsibilities.
- t) Reaffirm the ANC policy decision for the establishment a Single Police Service.
- u) There must be a closer working relationship between police and social workers, especially for aftercare programmes for women and children who have been abused.
- v) There must be more police visibility in our tourist routes and sites.
- w) Perpetrators of crime against women and children must be subjected to harsher sentences.
- x) ANC Volunteers must be encouraged to join and participate as police reservists.
- y) ANC branches in partnership with faith based and other Community Based Organizations (CBOs) must champion Moral Regeneration campaigns in various communities.
- z) ANC branches and Local Municipalities must intensify campaigns on the fight against drug and alcohol abuse.
 - aa) The Liquor Boards must review trading hours of liquor trading outlets in the townships and villages
 - bb) The Ministry to remain fully accountable as the custodian of the transformation of the South African Police Service.
 - cc) The FICA regulations should be urgently developed and implemented.
 - dd) All Municipalities must establish and institutionalize Community Safety forums.
 - ee) Enhance the role of Traditional Council structures on community safety and security.
 - ff) Law enforcement agencies, led by the South African Police Service and the South African Revenue Services must work closely with business and social partners to eradicate illicit trade in tobacco, liquor and medicine.

RESOLUTIONS

FINANCE AND FUNDRAISING

Noting:

- a) The 53rd National Conference Resolution acknowledged the need to enter into more radical second phase of the National Democratic Revolution towards the attainment of the National Democratic society, through the implementation of programmes to achieve radical socio-economic transformation in a scarce resources environment.
- b) The ANC funding sources through membership, donations, deployees levies, and fundraising events, as well as minimal investments remain unsustainable. This requires critical assessment and innovative funding methods. Which shall constitute effective resource mobilization aimed to efficiently implement the radical second phase of the National Democratic Revolution.
- c) The resource to renew and rebuild the organisation for success is central to ANC members' commitment. History suggests that brand loyalty and costly Public Relation (PR) exercises, ballooning of advertisement and increased election budgets need a stable transactional balance so that the organisation is able to sustain adequate liquidity to meet both short-term needs. In the probability of uncertainty in terms of future cash needs this based on volatile operating demanded cash. The organisation need to therefore maintain a larger precautionary balance to avoid the risk of experiencing a cash shortfall.
- d) The high costs persist to contribute towards building strong and campaigning structures, which are politically and ideological equipped with cadres and activists grounded within the masses and the general South African society. However, these continue to be among fundamental challenges which require further attention from conference, as it has become unsustainable.
- e) It is a reality that ANC remain a revolutionary movement that requires an independent resource that is sustainable to continue the works of the organisation. It is estimated that conference in particular, the incoming NEC need to establish a diverse source of funding to advance both NDR and ANC works for the realization of the radical socio-economic change for an estimated 5(five) year period. On the other hand, additional resources need to be raised to service ANC financial debt. These require and demand open minded approaches, taking into account the organisation's fundamental values, customs and cultures, but more importantly, the founding principles of the organisation.
- f) The Treasurer General's Finance Report to the 54th National Conference acknowledges ANC fundraising challenges, regardless of the public dependence on the "BRAND ANC". The current public expression about the ANC is that the organisation is characterized by infighting, factions, poor behavioural conduct, and ill-discipline among its ranks and file. The perception of corruption have negatively impacted the support the ANC, and this need an urgent attention to continue broaden the membership pool, support, admires, and friends that see it fit to continue support and contribute time and resources to the ANC well-being.
- g) Almost 70% (seventy) of the 53rd National Conference Resolution on finance and fundraising have been implemented, including party funding bill that makes provision for an improved funding of political parties from the fiscus. The party funding bill regulatory framework define funding models of political parties, outline areas of funding prohibition for parties either by government agencies and or foreign government, as well as foreign agencies. This legal framework is aimed to provide national interests protection from policy distortions, unscrupulous domestic and foreign tendencies manipulations. The legal framework needs to be interpreted as such and be adhered to accordingly.
- h) The effect of the subdued economic growth impacts various sectors of the country's economy, which subsequently effect the basic resource critical for ANC fundraising initiatives. The fact that the organisation is partly reliant on donor funding and fundraising strategies. Almost 65% of ANC generated revenue result from donor funding and IEC grants estimated at 17%.

- i) It is noted that operational such as personal costs, conferences, rallies and elections campaigns remain major organisational costs drivers.
 - j) The current institutional arrangement rethink and redesign of adequate strategies and approaches designed to equip the organisation to attain the objectives of the NDR, which also ensures the organisation modernise and adapt to competitive political environments based on accountability and excellence.
 - k) The 53rd national conference emphasised the need to comply with General Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP). The financial report has demonstrated that this principle is embraced, based on the fundamentals of financial management and accounting measured against Corporate Governance Systems that comply with King Code of Governance Principles. The Treasurer General's report to the ANC 54th national conference recommit and re-emphasise adherence to financial and accounting prudence and professionalism.
 - l) The Treasurer General's report to the 54th national conference of the ANC further commits to improve on expenditures and limit rising costs, wastage and further creates a platform that ensures a culture of resources savings.
 - m) The incoming NEC need to look at the extent to which the organisation balance sheet represents the current position or organisation value. The urgent valuation of organisational assets will be able to regularise the situation currently at hand.
 - n) As part of implementing the 53rd National Conference resolution on the contribution of members ANC equitable to their income, the Progressive Citizen Forum (PCF) was established and in 2013. The PCF contributions have rapidly risen to R16 million in 2016. However, 2016/2017 recorded a decline in rates collections. Further constraints resulted from an estimated 51% failed collections amounting to R14 million per annum. These constraints need to be analyzed effectively to achieve expected collection levels.
- an organisational level given that every member is regarded as a fundraiser for the well-being of the organisation.
2. The incoming NEC will need to develop a comprehensive strategy for driving rigorous party investments, taking into account the existing regulatory framework. The office of the Treasurer General led by the newly elected Treasurer must continue with the already started road-shows to provinces to broaden participation of more members in these forums and other related fund raising forums.
 3. The incoming NEC to develop a comprehensive resource mobilisation strategy with clear targets for the term, including utilisation of other means of mobilising resources, such as investment, endowment, purchase of short-term securities, etc.
 4. The incoming NEC need to establish mechanisms essential to help settle long standing debts and liabilities, including a consideration to assign a responsibility of fundraising to a specific financial committee either outsourced or internally managed and monitored from the treasure general office.
 5. That the NEC must create a new platform similar to the Progressive Citizen Forum, which allows foreign based ANC members to participate in the life of the organisation, including contributing in the organisation's resource base. Such a structure need to be urgently institutionalized with ANC renewed organisational structures and be launched to take a formal constitutional structure format with immediate effect.
 6. The NEC to focus membership on founding ANC principle towards building a strong ANC structure based on politically and ideologically well-equipped cadre grounded within society. This needs to be appreciated as a long term-base relationship and an influence to society as a major marketing investment instrument of the BRAND ANC. Public Relations and marketing should be treated as a complimentary tool to cement the long standing work relations between society and the ANC.

Therefore Resolve:

1. To welcome the adoption of the 53rd conference on political party funding bill that proposed a pool of donations from both private donors and the state, and undertake to implement the regulation of public funding; adhere to the prohibition of direct donations to political parties from state organs, state owned enterprises, as well as foreign governments and agencies. Further that the incoming NEC analyse and evaluate the implications of the new Political funding bill and its legal requirements against resource mobilisation mechanisms. The NEC must also find ways of managing this at
7. The ANC need to decisively attend and act to issues of corruption, ill-discipline, and misconduct across ANC membership. As this need to be considered a vehicle to improve electoral support base and strengthen the development of BRAND ANC.
8. In the quest for stabilising resource mobilizations, the ANC must maintain professional management and accountability systems in accordance with the GAAP principle of accountability with an aim to become an efficient and effective organisation.

9. The process of organisational redesign that started in 2013 must be concluded and implemented, including adoption of:
 - the proposed accountability and management frameworks;
 - appropriate institutional arrangements such as the once proposed in the Organisational Redesign document, which include, inter alia, operational and management structures;
 - creation of commercial property portfolio to realize the time value of existing assets;
 - establishment of endowment fund and asset management portfolio to build reserves;
 - proposed establishment of policy, political education, Heritage and charitable institute/s;
 - proposal on the establishment of mechanisms to facilitate and regulate other organisational commercial initiatives;
 - proposal to explore the establishment of an entity for the management of events and elections.
10. The incoming NEC will have to immediately professionalise a property management entity with a specific function that allows for property commercialisation and use. Further, consider either building commercial and or industrial viable properties. So as to enable organisational growth and revenue generations. The ANC assets and properties might need to be valued to establish the extent of organisation's fair values either in and or outside the country (domestic and abroad), as such undertake to register in accordance with GAAP standards and requirements.
11. The NEC need to look at the development of an application "app" mainly to focus and improve membership accessibility and allow for membership information update. This allows for individual members to continuously update data. Further proposed that monitoring mechanisms be integrated to help determine membership validity and branch awards, with an aim to encourage membership development and growth.
12. The NEC to review or revoke current resolution on full membership allocation to the branches and or provinces, due to high operational expenditure demands and expectations at ANC Head Quarters as compared to branch, region, and or provincial levels. For this condition remains unsustainable, and therefore require to revert to ANC traditional allocation format and formula(e) wherein funds are allocated according to a quarter of branch contribution. And further that it is imperative for the organisation to consider the upskilling of individual treasurers at branch or any level of the organisation to improve funds management capacities.
13. The incoming NEC in particular the Treasurer need to urgently activate and reactivate dormant bank account of all branches, so that transactional activities of funds allocations and donations are transacted and managed in accordance with acceptable standards.
14. The resolution of the 53rd Conference which directed that all membership fees be returned to branches be rescinded. Precisely because, of the high cost of managing the membership system, which renders the system unsustainable. Therefore, membership fee(s) formula prior 2012 should be restored.
15. The Treasurer General and Finance Committee need to investigate various funding models implications such as individual donations, commercial entities as guide to the organisational renewal and management of donor relations.

CLOSING ADDRESS BY ANC PRESIDENT COMRADE CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

National Chairperson, Cde Gwede Mantashe,

Outgoing President of the African National Congress,
Cde Jacob Zuma,

Members of the newly-elected National Executive
Committee,

Members of the Electoral Commission,

Representatives of the Alliance, fraternal parties and
observers,

Distinguished guests,

Delegates,

This is a deeply humbling moment, to address the closing session of the 54th National Conference of our beloved and glorious movement, the African National Congress.

There is no doubt that this has been a Conference of enormous importance and great significance.

In the months and weeks before this Conference, speculation was rife that this 54th National Conference would either not be held or that it would collapse.

Your attendance at this Conference, representing your branches, is a victory over the doomsayers and those who do not wish our movement well.

We therefore congratulate you for having defied the negative speculative predictions by making this Conference happen and ensuring it is successful.

There were some who even suggested that Nasrec would represent the end of the ANC as we would emerge from here divided.

We are still here. Standing almost 106 years later. United.

Nasrec 2017 has not only united us. It has strengthened us.

It has galvanised us and rejuvenated us.

We continue to confound our critics.

Over the course of the last five days, our movement has grappled with the challenges and tasks of this critical moment in the history and life of our people and our country.

The ANC has listened to the aspirations, hopes, wishes, cries and concerns of our people through the voices of the delegates representing our people from the length and breadth of our country.

As delegates representing branches of our movement you have given expression to our peoples hopes through the resolutions you have adopted here and the leadership you have chosen.

In electing the leadership, you, as the delegates to this Conference, have turned your back on the politics of the slate.

You have insisted that the people who lead this movement should not be from one or another faction, but should serve our people in their own right as representatives of the membership as a whole.

This Conference has given us an opportunity to confront difficult truths.

In recent times, we have seen the ANC at its worst.

We have seen an organisation divided against itself.

And yet, we have also seen glimpses of the ANC at its best.

Over the last few days, we have seen the ANC that we know and love.

As representatives of nearly a million members, you as delegates have demonstrated that the ANC is an organisation that is alive to the needs of the people and that it is hard at work to develop policies and programmes that respond to these needs.

More than that, we have seen at this Conference a movement that is determined to enhance its policies, to strengthen implementation and to work with greater determination to unite its members and build its structures.

Our people will judge this Conference not only by what we have done here over these five days, but – perhaps more importantly – by what we do next.

The people of South Africa want action. They do not want words.

Our people want an ANC that lives up to its promise and is true to its mission.

They want an ANC that lives the values that it espouses and holds fast to the principles that have long defined it.

They want an ANC that uses public office not to serve vested interests, but to build a truly developmental state and a vibrant, inclusive economy that creates jobs and improves lives.

As we leave this Conference, we are resolved to humble ourselves before the people.

We are resolved to respect our people and earn their respect.

We are resolved to cast aside those attitudes and practices that have seen a gulf grow between those in public office and those they were elected to serve.

The African National Congress wishes to send a clear message to all South Africans that we are resolved to be a more responsive and more accountable leadership and movement.

We will continue to be rooted in communities through our branches and always seek to champion the interests of the people.

We must examine, critically and honestly, our commitment to gender equality.

We must be conscious of the practices and attitudes that reinforce patriarchy within our organisation and society – and we must work together to end them.

We need to become a more youthful organisation, more representative of the age profile of our population.

This Conference has resolved that we engage and pay heed to the views and insights of the veterans of our movement, organisations that have always worked with us, and many others.

We will reach out to community organisations and other organs of civil society, understanding that they are critical for the exercise of people's power and are valuable partners for development.

We shall do so because we have a historic responsibility as the ANC to lead society.

The Alliance has faced many challenges and problems in the recent past.

We will work with our Alliance partners to repair relations between the four formations that our people expect to lead the National Democratic Revolution.

As this Conference, we are in agreement that the ANC cannot be strong and effective unless we are part of an Alliance that is strong, united and cohesive.

We are confident that the outcomes of this Conference will assist in advancing efforts to unite the former combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We must make the achievement of unity between MK-MVA and the MK National Council a priority of the incoming leadership.

As we leave this Conference, we are resolved to pursue with greater determination a radical path of socio-economic transformation, premised on growth, job creation and equitable distribution of income, wealth and assets.

The issue of land has been a matter of great concern to our people whose land was taken from them.

We will accelerate our programme of land reform and rural development as part of our programme of radical socio economic transformation.

This Conference has resolved that the expropriation of land without compensation should be among the mechanisms available to government to give effect to land reform and redistribution.

It has also resolved that in determining the mechanisms of implementation, we must ensure that we do not undermine the economy, agricultural production and food security.

As the ANC, we have been the central driver of progress in our country and the economy over the last 23 years.

Our efforts have been aimed at eradicating poverty, inequality and reducing unemployment

We have placed the challenge of unemployment at the forefront of all our actions in the economy.

Our focus on education and skills training is beginning to bear positive results.

Our social social development programmes have been aimed at addressing poverty amongst our people.

The policies we have adopted here provide a platform for faster and more meaningful implementation of the National Development Plan.

We will elaborate the decisions of this National Conference more fully when we release the NEC Statement on January 13 when we celebrate our 106th year of existence.

At the state level we must confront the reality that critical institutions of our state have been targeted by individuals and families who, through the exercise of influence and the manipulation of governance processes and public resources.

This has led to the weakening of our State Owned Enterprises whose governance structures need to be revamped.

Whether we call this state capture or simply corruption, this has undermined the integrity of our institutions, cost our economy hundreds of billions of rands and contributed to the further impoverishment of our people.

Given all these challenges we are called upon to act against corruption, collusion and other economic crimes prevalent in the public and private sector.

We must investigate without fear or favour the so-called 'accounting irregularities' that cause turmoil in the markets and wipe billions off the investments of ordinary South Africans.

This Conference has resolved that this must be acted upon and stopped.

We must also act fearlessly against alleged corruption and abuse of office within our ranks.

We embraced the Integrity Commission at our NGC and endorsed that decision at the 53rd National Conference.

The setting up of the Integrity Commission is therefore not in question as there is consensus that the Integrity Commission should be supported and empowered to do its work without fear, favour or prejudice in order to restore the Integrity of the ANC and help cultivate and promote ethical leadership.

The terms of reference including its duties and powers should be discussed and finalised by the National Executive Committee.

This Conference has resolved that corruption must be fought with the same intensity and purpose that we fight poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Through your deliberations, we have together developed a clear line of march for the movement and for the new leadership.

You have, over and over again, emphasised that the ANC is the strategic centre of power for all its cadres.

The actions of Comrades who are deployed by the movement should always be informed by the interests of our members and our people, not personal gain.

Their actions should always be a source of pride, and not a cause for embarrassment.

They should take us closer to the National Democratic Society to which we aspire, not undermine it.

This National Executive Committee that you have elected commits itself to follow the instructions that you have issued from this, our 54th National Conference.

You have instructed us to forge a united ANC.

You have also directed us to unite the Alliance and ensure that its programmes are underpinned by unity.

Another overarching task you have charged us with is to unite the people of South Africa and work harder to heal the wounds of conflict and division.

We must focus afresh on the task of building a non-racial country, guided by the injunction in the Freedom Charter that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

Personally, I wish to thank you, with all humility, for the confidence that you have shown in me.

I shall strive to serve our members, our supporters and the nation with commitment and diligence.

As the newly elected National Executive Committee, and as President I speak on our behalf, we accept without reservation your clear instruction that we must work together as a collective, undivided and motivated by a single purpose – the service of our people.

We are aware that leadership in our movement is not confined to those who hold office.

I wish to pay tribute to Cde Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, who contested the position of President, for the manner in which she demonstrated commitment to our movement during the campaign.

Together with the other candidates, we all pledged to work closely in pursuit of the objectives of our revolution whether we succeeded in our election bid or not.

On your behalf, I wish to thank those people who have made this Conference possible – the management of NASREC, the Electoral Commission and the Elections Agency, technical staff, marshalls, security officials and the many service providers, donors and exhibitors.

The SGO and the Steering Committee have done a sterling job to ensure that we hold a most successful conference.

I wish to thank the media for having reported the proceedings of this Conference to our people and the broader global community.

As revolutionary democrats, we recognise the vital role that the media plays in facilitating the free flow of information and in promoting transparency and accountability.

We register our concern about an incident at this Conference involving a journalist and security officials.

We have sought a report on what happened and must look at how we ensure such incidents do not occur in the future.

I wish to thank our Alliance partners, representatives of civil society organisations, guests from fraternal parties and members of the diplomatic corps who have been

with us in various capacities over the past five days.

Above all, I wish to thank all our branch members, whose wishes and aspirations we had come here to represent.

To all delegates thank you for your attendance and patience and forbearance with delays in voting and programme planning.

As Officials we have already observed a number of things we can improve.

We will make sure that our next NGC and Conference becomes a better experience for all delegates.

Please travel safely, arrive alive and have a peaceful festive season.

Make sure to have a good rest and come back from the holidays revitalised for the hard work that lies ahead in 2018 and beyond.

We look forward to meeting again at the ANC's 106th anniversary celebrations in East London on the 13th of January.

Next year, we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of our founding President, Isithwalandwe Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

True to his legacy and inspired by his remarkable life, let us hold fast to the principle that guides us as the ANC – that we serve the people of South Africa!

We serve them with humility, integrity and unwavering commitment.

We serve them without expectation of reward or recognition.

We serve them because we have chosen, each one of us, to become members of the African National Congress and thereby to become selfless agents of revolutionary change.

Finally, I would like, on your behalf, to thank President Jacob Zuma for the 10 years he has spent as the President of our movement and for a lifetime of service to the people of this country.

It was during your tenure Nxamalala, and thanks to your vision, that the National Planning Commission was established and produced the country's first National Development Plan.

This is a framework for economic and social change that will guide our country for many years to come.

History will record that it was at your insistence that South Africa expanded its antiretroviral programme rapidly and progressively to be the largest in the world.

Through your intervention, we have made great strides in combating the epidemic, many lives have been saved and many infections prevented.

We cannot close this, the 54th National Conference of the African National Congress, without paying tribute to you for your contribution over many decades to the struggle for freedom, democracy and development.

I thank you.

