



RESOLUTIONS

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ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

INTRODUCTION

All commissions at this 52nd National Conference discussed the report of the Policy Conference on Organisational Renewal, together with the President's Political Report and the Secretary General's Organisational Report.

For easy reference, this draft resolution captures all the recommendations made in Chapter 6 of the Organisational Review discussion document, which were generally agreed in the Policy Conference recommendations, without being captured in the Policy Conference Report.

Although all proposals on Organisation were extensively debated at the Policy Conference, delegates were still very keen in re-opening the issues debated by that Conference. However, most commissions reaffirmed the conclusions arrived at by the Policy Conference.

CONTEXT OF THE 52ND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Noting

- 1 That over the 95 years of the existence of the ANC, the movement evolved into a force for mass mobilisation, a glue that held our people together and a trusted leader of the broadest range of social forces that share the vision of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous South Africa.
- 2 That this historical evolution has been largely due to the movement's distinct character and unique features that have enabled it to overcome adversity and the daunting challenges it faced throughout its near-century of existence.
- 3 That there are a range of global, domestic and intra-organisational factors and forces which impact on the organisation – its character, structures and membership – and the ANC needs to strengthen its ability to respond creatively to these factors and the new environment.
- 4 The preservation of the movement's character, culture and values in a changing context and new conditions of struggle is the central focus of the organisational renewal effort in the run-up to the Centenary of the ANC in 2012.

Further noting

- 5 That the 1994 democratic breakthrough ushered in new conditions, providing a unique opportunity to combine state and mass power, in serving the interest of the people. Over the last thirteen years, the ANC as the ruling party has used its control of state power to improve the quality of life, beginning to roll back the

legacy of apartheid and colonialism.

- 6 That since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, a great deal of effort and energy has been put into re-establishing the movement as a mass legal formation, restructuring and re-organising the structures of the movement to face up to the new challenges. These changes include amendments and innovations in organisational structure of the ANC, changes to the duties and powers of organisational structures, the mainstreaming of gender in ANC structures, ensuring more effective disciplinary procedures and structures, strengthening and clarifying the role of branches, cadre development and defining the relationship between organisational and governance structures.
- 7 That the main organisational strengths of the ANC during the last thirteen years have been its ability to broaden its appeal beyond its traditional support base, to recruit into its ranks new members and outstanding community activists, to create a new cadre of public representatives and servants and to adapt to mass work under new conditions.
- 8 That our accumulated weaknesses include inability to effectively deal with new tendencies arising from being a ruling party, such as social distance, patronage, careerism, corruption and abuse of powers; ineffective management of the interface between the movement and the state; a flawed approach to membership recruitment, a decline in ideological depth amongst cadres; and a lack of institutional resources to give practical effect to the movement's leadership role.

Believing

- 9 That the enhanced capacity, inspired vision, organisational cohesion and unity of the ANC are critical success factors for the realisation of our vision of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society.

Reaffirms

- 10 That the ANC was established essentially to serve the people. Thus, the task of all ANC members is to serve the people loyally and selflessly, without expectation of material reward or personal gain.
- 11 That the primary task of the ANC remains the mobilisation of all the classes and strata that objectively stand to benefit from the cause of social change. Thus, Strategy and Tactics 2007 elaborates this role as seeking to mobilise all South Africans to contribute to the ongoing transformation of our country, in the process fostering responsibility for our common destiny among all citizens of South Africa, black and white.
- 12 That at the instance of the 1994 democratic victory, the

ANC became both a national liberation movement and a ruling party at the same. In this regard, mass mobilisation and organisational work had to be combined with a skilful use of state power to pursue the goals of the national democratic revolution.

Conference notes

- 13 The robust debates sparked by the Organisational Review discussion document, the Political and Organisational Reports to Conference and reaffirms the need to place organisational renewal at the centre of our work in the run-up to the Centenary of the ANC. These include improving capacity for (a) mass mobilisation and organisation (b) political education and cadreship development; (c) the political management of governance; (d) the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of policy; (e) international work and party-to-party relations; (f) effective election campaigns; (g) instilling discipline and ethical conduct of ANC members and leaders; (h) organisational management; (i) the funding of the movement; (j) the cohesive functioning of the Alliance and (k) work with broader civil society. Conference therefore adopts the following detailed proposals from the Organisational Review document and the Policy Conference to address the above matters:-

MEMBERSHIP

- 14 Conference emphasises the role of the branch in recruitment, in accordance with the relevant rule in the ANC constitution, namely to:-
- Ensure that all members are inducted and go through basic political education and that new members are presented and introduced to the branch general meeting;
 - Give members tasks and monitor their participation;
 - Keep accurate membership records and remind members about renewal in time; and to
 - Know branch members, their socio-economic profile and their participation;
- 15 Instructs the incoming NEC to:
- Take steps to practically implement the target set by the 1942 Conference of 1 million members by the time of the centenary celebrations. This must be accompanied by intensive branch political education programmes to improve the quality of members.
 - Discuss and adopt regulations that will guide membership verification and auditing, with clear roles and responsibilities for branches, regions, provinces and HQ. This should also include guidelines on a uniform membership administration system and branch and regional levels.
 - Ensure that the technical and administrative problems with the membership system are addressed, to eliminate gate-keeping and fraudulent practices. This should include decentralising aspects of the membership to levels closer to the membership, fast-tracking capturing of data and the issuing of membership cards; and ensure regular and detailed reports on the membership size and profile. We must investigate how the expiry date on the multi-year membership card can be reflected.
- 16 The branch should remind members when their membership is due for renewal, and if a member, after being reminded, fails to renew their membership will lapse automatically after three months. The branch should take steps to ensure that members who cannot afford the subscriptions are not penalised. Such members should notify the branch in writing so as to prevent possible abuse, such as buying of membership.
- 17 The membership system should allow for renewal of existing membership over the internet. The Branch Secretary should be given regular reports on renewals. However, members should still fulfill their constitutional duty to participate in their branches. There was a proposal that our system should allow for applications for membership, but that the actual recruitment of such a new member should take place in person through the branch.
- 18 Branches, as part of their ongoing recruitment and membership administration, must ensure that:
- a recruitment strategy for the branch is in place,
 - recruitment teams are formed, trained and monitored,
 - a system of administering the branch membership forms and fees are in place,
 - new members are formally introduced to the branch, the oath taken at a BGM,
 - induction is organised for all new members.
- 19 Conference instructs leadership collectives at all levels to:
- Develop a comprehensive recruitment strategy to ensure that we reflect the best amongst South African people, the motive forces, national diversity and advanced productive forces, including targeted recruitment teams;
 - Conduct regular studies on the profile and perspectives of ANC members to correctly identify trends in ANC members;
 - Find creative and innovative ways of reaching out to and servicing supporters regularly, doing active political work amongst them, understand and take up their issues and concerns and recruit from amongst them the best in society; in the process building a vibrant and loyal mass base.
- 20 Conference did not agree to the following proposed changes, which would have constitutional implications:-

- On the lowering of the age for joining the ANC, Conference agreed that the status quo of joining the ANC at 18 years remains. Conference reaffirmed the importance of the ANCYL in mobilising and organising young people, and the need for the movement as a whole to target young people in political and ideological work.
- Having thoroughly debated the proposal to exempt ANCYL members that were active in the League before turning 18 from the 8-week probation period to qualify for ANC membership, there is general agreement that the status quo should remain. Those who argued for waiving the exemption, drew attention to the role of the ANCYL as a preparatory school for future ANC cadres. In a branch, if ANCYL members have worked in the League and contributed in the campaigns and work of the ANC, the ANC branch should be in a position, based on the track record of the Youth Leaguer, to pronounce on this exemption. This is a matter that must be taken back to branches for further discussions.

BRANCHES

- 21 Conference re-affirms the role of the branch as the basic unit of the movement, and instructs leadership collectives at all levels to:
- Intensify branch work in each community through the Imvuselelo campaign, to ensure sustainable mass work and establish ANC branches as vanguards of their communities, and to make branches the focus of political and ideological work of senior leadership and cadreship of the movement, including a nationally driven branch political education programme;
 - Allocate resources to support branch work, including implementation of the NGC 2005 decision to reallocate 100% of membership fees to branches, training on fundraising and financial management;
 - Conference agreed to extending the term of office of the BEC to two years, with a constitutional amendment to this effect. There was no support for the introduction of a mid-term Branch General Council;
 - Encourage sharing of experiences on good practice, including through workshops, study visits across provinces;
 - Ensure that the naming of branches is extensively discussed in branch meetings. The NEC should develop guidelines, including for naming branches after deceased cadres and after living veterans of the movement. There is a proposal to also include branches named after important historic events;
 - Maintain the quorum of 50% plus one for all branch meetings and ensure that this is possible at all times

through regular contact with members and by involving them in tasks and activities of the branch.

SUB-REGIONS AND ZONES

- 22 Conference re-affirms the role of sub-regions and zones as important structures responsible for coordinating and playing a supportive role to branches in mass campaigns and mobilisation and political education for branches. These structures need the basic resources and space to operate from and should be aligned to the ANC's Parliamentary Constituency Offices.
- 23 Conference adopted the following further recommendations from the Policy conference:
- That sub-regions should only be established where there are type B (local) municipalities.
 - That zones are relevant coordinating structures in metropolitan regions and they should be strengthened and aligned with parliamentary constituency offices (PCOs).
 - The consensus was in favour of maintaining the status quo, with sub-regions having only powers delegated by RECs.

REGIONS

- 24 Conference appreciates the political and organisational work of regions, who were given constitutional powers at the Stellenbosch conference to play the role of coordinating, building and supporting branches in their work, working with and engaging various sectors in the region and to oversee the work of municipalities in the region and hereby:
- Extends the term of office of the REC to three years, to be effected as a constitutional amendment;
 - Instructs the NEC and PECs to take the necessary steps to strengthen regional offices, including working towards ensuring that all regional secretaries are full-time functionaries;
 - Encourages RECs to form relevant sub-committees to enable them to effectively discharge their three primary tasks of organising and mass mobilisation; political education; and policy and governance;
 - Use councilors' levies to fund the three core functions of RECs and build the capacity of regions for financial management and fundraising.

PROVINCES

- 25 Conference confirms the role of provincial structures of the ANC as a critical component of the movement, with the responsibility to implement the programme of transformation in its jurisdiction, and evolving from the

role and functions of provinces in our country's political system.

- 26 Conference reaffirms the primary roles of provinces as ensuring that there are dynamic branches that can mobilise and lead communities in the province. The core responsibilities of PECs also include conducting political work amongst various sectors and working with them to build a democratic society; assuming responsibility for high-profile campaigns on provincial, national and international issues as a critical point of delivery for political education and training, targeting provincial and regional leadership, public representatives and other cadres. It also has responsibility for monitoring and evaluating policy and overseeing governance and service delivery.
- 27 Resolves to:
- Extend the term of office of the PEC to four years.
 - Build strategic capacity in all provinces to carry out organisation building and mobilisation work, political education and training and political management of governance, including the formation of sub-committees on each of these three primary tasks.
 - Maintain the position of Provincial Secretary as full-time and work towards a more adequate full-time component in the provincial office, including full-time Organising Secretary, Political Education Secretary, Policy Coordinator, Communications Officer and Administrator, as well as a Provincial Office Manager.
 - Ensure the deployment of PEC members to branch and sectoral work, and the assessment of their performance based on this.
 - Strengthen relations with the alliance and other civil society structures through sectoral deployment, including regular meetings with their RECs, branches and organisations representing different sectors.
 - Ensure the adoption of uniform protocols to guide the relationship between the provincial leadership and cadres deployed in government.
 - Introduce a monitoring and evaluation mechanism to help track policy implementation.
 - Ensure all provinces take steps to build financial viability and self-sustainability by the Centenary of the ANC, to finance their own campaigns and administrative overheads and any additional staff. Head office should however continue to fund core provincial staff referred to above. This should be guided by proper human resource policies and fundraising protocols that will safeguard the integrity and moral standing of the ANC. As a start, levies of Members of Provincial Legislatures should be channeled back to provinces, to enable them to fund their own programmes. More funding should also be sourced from legitimate private and public funding of political parties represented in the legislature as part of strengthening democracy.

IMPLEMENTATION OF NEW CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS ON TERMS OF OFFICE

- 28 The first Lekgotla of the incoming NEC should provide guidance to structures on the implementation of new Constitutional provisions, in particular the implications of the extension of the terms of offices of those BECs, RECs and PECs whose term of office has not yet expired, and which were elected on the basis of the 2002 Constitution. In this regard, all AGMs, Regional and Provincial Conferences that are due to take place in 2008/9 should be streamlined to introduce the new terms.

NATIONAL STRUCTURES

- 29 Conference notes that the national constitutional organs play an important role in affirming and reinforcing the unitary nature and national character of the ANC by taking decisions on behalf of and acting in the interest of the movement as a whole, giving leadership to all centres of power and ensuring that the ANC is united, effective, cohesive and focused on its primary mission.
- 30 To enable the constitutional structures to carry out their organisational and political work more effectively, Conference therefore resolves:
- That the NEC should on an annual basis develop more detailed programmes in line with targets and priorities set by Conference.
 - That the incoming NEC must dedicate more time to do mass and sectoral work, by developing a new strategy for deployment of NEC members to organisational work. The SGO should develop reporting and accounting mechanisms by NEC members on tasks they are allocated within the movement.
 - That NEC Committees should pay greater attention to the role of the ANC as both a liberation movement and a ruling party; by developing mechanisms to monitor and support the implementation of policies and programmes, drawing on cadres from diverse experiences and centres of power in their work.
 - The NEC should review the role of the Gender Committee of the movement, in relation to that of the ANC Women's League.
 - To expand the size and composition of the NEC, with the view to have more members to meet the demands of provincial and sectoral deployments, ensure appropriate gender balance and generational mix and that the NEC represent a broad spectrum of the motive forces and has members from different centres of power. The incoming NEC should also clarify the role of observers and their different categories.

ANC CAUCUSES

- 31 Caucuses play an important role in coordinating legislative approaches to ANC policy, and the oversight and monitoring of policy implementation. Caucuses, together with the constitutional structures, are also responsible for the deployment of ANC public representatives to constituencies.
- 32 Caucuses should also assist the TGO at all levels by encouraging public representatives to collect and monitor payment of levies. Firm action should be taken against members who do not pay their levies.
- 33 Caucuses are important links between the constitutional structures of the ANC and government. To strengthen the coordinating and leadership role of Caucuses, Conference resolves that:
 - In deploying leadership to Parliament, Legislatures and Caucuses, we should deploy senior cadres of the movement, particularly but not exclusively, those who serve in the leadership organs of the ANC. Political committees should be chaired by an Official who is also a public representative, so that there is a direct link between the elected leadership organs of the movement and caucuses.

ANC HEADQUARTERS

- 34 Conference notes that Headquarters is the administrative nerve centre that houses the movement's national infrastructure without which it will find it difficult to fulfil its primary mission. Headquarters coordinates, communicates and monitors the implementation of National Conference and NEC decisions and the overall programme of national democratic transformation. To ensure that headquarters carry out these tasks more effectively, it needs to be organised properly and adequately resourced.
- 35 Conference thus instructs the incoming NEC to:
 - Strengthen the capacity in the SGO so that it can carry out overall coordination and organisational management of the entire movement. The SGO should be the nerve-centre of headquarters
 - Re-organise headquarters and its various departments to focus the ANC's work in the pillars of our transformation programme – organisation, state, economy, international relations, civil society and ideological work and the battle of ideas. In this regard, the key departments and institutions of Headquarters should be the Organising Department, the Political School, the Policy Institute, Communications Department, Treasury, etc. As far as possible, all the departments and institutions should be headed by full-time NEC members.
 - There is a need to streamline the headquarters

communications machinery to ensure that the SGO is the main communicator of ANC organisational positions. This includes ensuring that the communication organs of the ANC are used to articulate and communicate collective views and perspectives as well as to facilitate debates among the cadres of the movement.

VETERANS

- 36 Conference notes the decisions of the Bloemfontein and Mafikeng Conferences to establish a Veterans Commission in the Office of the President and of Provincial Chairpersons Offices with a view to facilitate the full integration of all veterans, ex-combatants and ex-prisoners into the mainstream political life of the ANC.
- 37 Conference agrees that veterans are comrades of advanced age, who have given unbroken and uninterrupted service to the movement and the people of South Africa over several decades of struggle. These comrades embody the organisational experience and memory of the movement and the people's struggle for freedom and democracy, and they can and should play an important role in reinforcing the traditions, history, values and unity of the movement.
- 38 Conference thus further resolves:
 - To establish the Veterans League of the ANC, finalising the constitution and uniform, to be fully functioning at all levels by the time of the Centenary anniversary. The ANC membership system should be redesigned so as to recognise veterans.
 - Conference agreed that for this purpose, a veteran be defined as someone who is sixty years and above, and with 40 years of uninterrupted and unbroken service to the movement and the people of South Africa over several decades of struggle.
 - A constitutional amendment will be done by this conference to give effect to the establishment of the Veterans League as a constitutional structure of the ANC.

MKMVA

- 39 Conference acknowledges the role played by Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa, as part of the four pillars of our struggle. Many ex-combatants of MK have been integrated into the political structures and security services of our country and they are continuing to play a key role in the transformation of our society. However, there is a significant number of ex-combatants who are struggling to make ends meet. Conference notes that the issues of the welfare and proper social and economic integration of our ex-

combatants have been raised sharply at the National Policy Conference.

- 40 With regards to MKMVA, Conference mandates the ANC structures through the offices of the Secretary General, Provincial and Regional Secretaries, to receive reports from MKMVA and give reports to ANC structures on its activities and work. Conference instructs the NEC to:
- Address issues raised by our ex-combatants and oversee the proper functioning of MKMVA structures at all levels.
 - Take direct interest in the welfare and reintegration of MK military veterans into civilian life.
 - Ensure, through a programme of action, that MKMVA participates in all programmes and structures of the ANC.
 - Ensure that all resolutions of the previous ANC Conferences on MKMVA are implemented fully.
 - In line with the Organisational Report, take direct responsibility for the continued existence and utilisation of MKMVA members as an organisational resource.
- 41 In terms of the status of MKMVA in the ANC organisational structure, there is agreement that MKMVA functions as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC. Further, MKMVA should submit regular reports on the state of its organisational structures and activities to the SGO.
- 42 Conference agrees that a Presidential Commission on Military Veterans should be established in government and a comprehensive social package for all ex-combatants of former liberation armies be introduced by the state by the end of 2008.

ANC AWARDS

- 43 In addition to Isithwalandwe/Seaparankoe as the ANC's highest honour, and the awards for excellent branches and municipal collectives, this Conference also introduces annual loyal service awards to honour veterans and other cadres who have displayed outstanding and loyal service and disciplined conduct over thirty (30) years and more. The President should announce the awards on January 8 each year, along with the awards for best performing branches and local councils. The NEC should develop guidelines for the service awards, including categories such as for fifty (50), forty (40) and thirty (30) years of service.
- 44 Conference further instructs the NEC to ensure that steps are taken by the relevant structures (Archives, Political Education and Communications) to continuously record and publish the life stories of our veterans as part of building political consciousness of our members.
- 45 The criteria for the annual awards for the best ANC

branch should also take into consideration the state of the Leagues in that ward.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

- 46 Conference resolves that the establishment and institutionalisation of the Political School should be one of the key organisational priorities of the next five years. The Political School should focus on cadre development, facilitating continuous accumulation of knowledge, and contributing to the battle of ideas and the ideological renewal of the movement. On the operationalisation of the Political School, Conference further resolved that:
- The Political School is one of the strategic areas for funding deriving from public funding of political parties;
 - The school should run on a formal and professional basis, offering accredited courses covering all areas of ANC work – including theory, organisation and mass work, governance, economic and social policy and international relations. A review of the political education proposals of 1997/98 should be done to fine-tune these proposals.
- 47 On general political education, training and the development of political consciousness and our human resources, Conference resolves that:-
- Priority be given to building capacity of regions and provinces to run and deliver political education courses on a mass scale for branches, with curriculum development, training materials and training of facilitators done centrally; and with modernised methods of delivery, including distance education technology.
 - Induction be conducted for all constitutionally elected structures at all levels, and ensure that all senior deployed cadres in various centres of power go through political classes to understand the vision, programme and ethos of the movement. Elected leadership should also attend compulsory political education classes, to aid continuous learning and debate.
 - Cadres deployed in government should be encouraged to make use of training opportunities.
 - Special attention should be paid to cadre development for the Leagues, for women cadres and young cadres, with a view to improve the internal capacity of the ANCWL and ANCYL to deliver political education in their structures.
 - The ANC should ensure that there is state-sponsored civic education to raise the level of awareness, human rights, democracy and patriotism and to ensure a well-informed and active citizenry.
 - Integrating issues of disability into our political education work.

POLITICAL MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNANCE

- 48 Conference notes that the democratic breakthrough of 1994 and the overwhelming electoral support for the ANC in elections has placed governance as one of the principal pillars of the current phase of our struggle. We have amassed enormous experience in the art of running the affairs of the state, and our cadres have gained new skills and insights.
- 49 Further noting that the establishment of parliamentary and local government caucuses and parliamentary constituency offices (PCOs) has placed new opportunities and challenges on the organisational machinery of the ANC.
- 50 Given the importance of the pillar of the state in the overall transformation of our society, the political management of the relationship between ANC constitutional structures and cadres deployed in governance need ongoing attention. Conference therefore instructs the incoming NEC to:
- Develop greater coordination between work of the ANC structures and governance work, to give strategic leadership to cadres deployed in the state and to improve capacity to hold cadres deployed accountable.
 - Develop guidelines on how the ANC engages and takes forward its agenda in spheres of government where it is in opposition.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CAUCUSES AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

- 51 The Conference instructs the national and provincial constitutional structures to strengthen caucuses as instruments for robust oversight, mutual accountability, collective leadership and discipline among cadres deployed to government, parliament, legislatures and municipalities. The Political Committees should be chaired by an Official who is also a public representative at that level. The NEC should develop guidelines on how the ANC structures should interface with Caucuses and Executives, including:
- The kind of issues that need to be referred to the organisation before final decisions are made.
 - Clarifying the role of Caucuses as the structures responsible for maintaining party discipline, unity and cohesion among ANC public representatives.
 - Their role in overseeing the implementation of the Manifesto in a particular sphere of government.
 - Reports by caucuses to the organisation through the Offices of the Regional and Provincial Secretaries and Secretary General.
 - Regular, mandatory meetings and communication between the Secretaries and Chief Whips.

ELECTION OF ANC LEADERSHIP

- 52 Conference notes that the movement has established the procedures, as well as the rights and duties of members in the election of leadership, contained in the ANC Constitution.
- 53 Conference further notes that the ANC document "Through the eye of a needle", provides a political and organisational basis for our movement's approach to electing leadership. Conference therefore took the following further decisions on these matters:
- Instructs the incoming NEC to initiate a review of "Through the eye of a needle", including guidelines on lobbying and other internal practices, learning from the experiences of what happened in the run-up to this Conference.
 - That the ANC President shall be the candidate of the movement for President of the Republic.
 - There is general agreement that the ANC President should serve no more than two terms of office. A discussion paper on this matter should be initiated by the incoming NEC as part of the overall challenge of improving the ANC's ability to manage leadership transition.
- 54 Conference instructs the incoming NEC to:-
- Ensure that as part of political education, membership and leadership understanding of the approaches in "Through the eye of a needle" is enhanced and the approaches contained in the document and in the Constitution implemented when leadership are elected at all levels.
 - Develop a political programme – including political education, the enforcement of the supremacy of formal structures of the ANC and the use of the disciplinary code of the movement – to stamp out destructive practices such as smear campaigns, vote-buying and other anti-democratic tendencies that have reared their head in the electoral processes of the movement.
 - This also include initiating discussion on a comprehensive approach to matters of leadership transition in the organisation and government, drawing lessons from other progressive parties in the world.
 - Strengthen list guidelines and processes for public representatives to enhance democratic participation.

DEPLOYMENT OF CADRES

- 55 Conference affirmed that the ANC remains the key strategic centre of power, which must exercise leadership over the state and society in pursuit of the objectives of the NDR. This means that the structures and collectives of the movement must make the decisions on the direction our country should take

collectively.

- 56 Conference thus instructs the incoming NEC to review the political management of the deployment process and ensure the implementation of the 1997 Resolution on Deployment, with a view to strengthening collective decision-making and consultation on deployment of cadres to senior positions of authority. This includes strengthening the National Deployment Committee.
- 57 The conference further decided on the following specific approaches with regards to deployment, as discussed at the National Policy Conference:
- At local government level, the REC should make recommendations of not more than three names of cadres in order of priority who should be considered for mayorship, and the PEC will make a final decision based on the pool of names submitted by the REC. Those members of either the REC or PEC who are being considered for deployment should recuse themselves when decisions affecting them are made.
 - At provincial government level, the PEC should recommend a pool of names of not more than three cadres in order of priority who should be considered for Premiership, and the NEC will make a final decision based on the pool of names submitted by the PEC. Those members of either the PEC or NEC who are being considered for deployment should recuse themselves when decisions affecting them are made. The provincial leadership, especially Officials, should be afforded space to make an input on the deployment of MECs.
 - At national government level, Conference agrees that the ANC President shall be the candidate of the movement for President of the Republic.
 - The prerogative of the President, premiers and mayors to appoint and release members of cabinet, executive councils and mayoral committees should be exercised after consultation with the leadership of the organisation.
 - The incoming NEC should develop criteria for candidates to be deployed to senior positions in government, such as President, Premiers and Mayors.

POLICY FORMULATION, MONITORING AND EVALUATION

- 58 Conference reaffirms the centrality of ANC structures, especially the branches, in the policy formulation process of the movement and the ongoing need for the ANC to give leadership to society and the state. Conference adopts the following recommendations from the Organisational Review discussion document:
- The utilisation of the Policy Institute and the Political School to build more capacity for branches to be

able to fulfill their role in the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of ANC policy.

- Improving the capacity of ANC structures to monitor and evaluate the implementation of policy by cadres deployed in government. A monitoring and evaluation mechanism should be developed by the incoming NEC and should include annual assessment of public representatives by branches and regions and mid-term performance evaluations by provinces and HQ.
- The National Policy Conference should become a consultative platform for policy review and debates in the run-up to National Conferences and a consultative body for the development of the Election Manifesto in the run-up to national and local government elections. The Manifesto will then be subject to final ratification and adoption by the NEC.
- The Policy Institute should be actualised as a matter of utmost priority in the run-up to the Centenary, with funding sourced primarily from a comprehensive system of public funding of representative political parties. It should link closely to NEC committees, as well as the physical infrastructure of the Political School.

LIST PROCESSES

- 59 Conference resolves that we should strengthen list guidelines and processes for public representatives to enhance democratic participation, ensure that we select and deploy the best cadres for public office and involve the broader community in our candidate selection processes. We also need to ensure that we attract people with skills and ensure the broadest possible sectoral spread in our public representative corps. The current guidelines need to be strengthened to enhance accountability mechanisms and performance of public representatives.

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

- 60 Conference affirms the assertion of the "Organisational Review" discussion document that building a strong and vibrant mass organisation, in continuous touch with the people, is the best way to prepare for and win elections. The mass character of the ANC reinforces its capacity to contest elections as a party. Conference therefore adopts the following recommendations:
- To strengthen the capacity of both the state and the organisational structures, particularly branches, to respond to community development needs and aspirations, as outlined in the Imvuselelo Handbook.
 - To build election campaign resources by setting up and building an annual election fund, saving a

portion of funds from public funding and private donations for use at the time of elections.

- Maintain minimum full-time election machinery at all levels.
- Do ongoing research to track changing attitudes and perceptions of voters on various issues of public concern.
- Avoid training completely new election workers during every election and recall experienced election volunteers during elections.
- Our campaign tactics should continue to emphasise direct contact with the people, while at the same time making optimal use of new technology to take our message to both our core supporters and middle ground areas during the different phases of the campaign. This requires a continuous training and retraining of our election workers and volunteers in new techniques.

DISCIPLINE

- 61 Conference reaffirms the need for all ANC cadres to uphold moral integrity and revolutionary discipline. Conference therefore adopts the recommendations of the Organisational Review document and National Policy Conference and instructs the incoming NEC to develop further guidelines that seek to clarify the disciplinary procedures of the movement, including:
- Provision for a procedure that allows ANC members to exhaust internal processes before they take the movement to court on organisational matters.
 - How to deal with court cases against ANC members that are still pending.
 - Timely responses and clear and consistent procedures for dealing with complaints from members
 - Strengthen the clauses on misconduct, so that they are tight, consistent, simple and clear.

ORGANISATIONAL MANAGEMENT

- 62 Conference notes the assertion in the Organisational Review document on the need for an overhaul of a range of organisational management policies. Conference therefore adopts the following recommendations and instructs the SGO to ensure:
- A major overhaul of our HR policies and systems, to be in line with the country's laws and reflect the best values and traditions of the ANC. This should include consideration of such measures as training, development and deployment and redeployment of cadres who have worked full-time in the ANC; remuneration parity across the various areas of party work and a structured programme of learnerships,

internships and mentorships for young cadres at the ANC offices.

- Review of the organisational design of regional, provincial and national offices, based on their core functions as outlined in Chapter 3 of the Organisational Review document.
- The ANC, like other parties all over the world, should make maximum use of some of our cadres deployed in government and legislature positions that allow them to contribute to various areas of organisational work – policy, international relations, communications and political education and training. The Political School and Policy Institute should be structured in a way that houses some of the movement's strategic programme staff.
- The movement should take full advantage of ICT to modernise its operations in branches, regions, provinces and HQ and learn from best practices of other parties and movements in the world. In this regard, we need to review current ICT infrastructure and develop a comprehensive medium-to-long term ICT strategy that will cover areas of organisational work such as political education, organising and campaigns, membership and administration and management.
- The incoming NEC must adopt a comprehensive policy and guidelines on ANC records and archives, including detailed procedures on access and preservation of such documents.

FUNDING

- 63 Conference believes the resourcing of the movement is fundamental to its ability to carry out the mission of the ANC. Conference therefore adopts the following policy positions from the Organisational Review document and the Policy Conference:-
- The ANC should champion the introduction of a comprehensive system of public funding of representative political parties in the different spheres of government and civil society organisations, as part of strengthening the tenets of our new democracy. This should include putting in place an effective regulatory architecture for private funding of political parties and civil society groups to enhance accountability and transparency to the citizenry. The incoming NEC must urgently develop guidelines and policy on public and private funding, including how to regulate investment vehicles.

ALLIANCE, MDM AND CIVIL SOCIETY

- 64 Conference confirms the relevance of the alliance, united in action for the joint programme of social transformation, using its collective strength to continue

to search for better ways to respond to the new challenges. To achieve this, we must continue to enhance coordination amongst alliance partners, and to strengthen the organisational capacity of each individual component.

- 65 Conference confirms the Policy Conference assertion that we should respect the right of individual Alliance partners to discuss and arrive at their own decisions on how they seek to pursue their strategic objectives. Consistent with this principle, the ANC will continue to determine, in its own structures and processes, how best to advance its own strategic objectives.
- 66 Conference further confirms that the leadership role of the ANC places on it the primary responsibility to unite the tripartite alliance and all the democratic forces.
- 67 Conference mandates the NEC to:
- Within three months after Conference, convene an Alliance summit to discuss a joint programme of action, including strengthening local structures of the alliance, and an approach on how the alliance manages with differences and discipline.
 - Continue to assist SANCO to convene its National Conference and help to define its role in the current phase.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ANC CENTENARY

- 68 Conference notes that the ANC will celebrate its centenary anniversary on January 8, 2012. The Centenary will also be the year of the 53rd National Conference of our movement. Conference further mandates the incoming NEC and all the leadership collectives and membership of the ANC to mobilise the vast majority of our people over the next five years to take part fully in the build-up activities towards the Centenary celebrations.
- 69 Central to these activities must be the focus on building vibrant and dynamic branches and unifying the movement at all levels so that it can tackle the social and economic problems facing the overwhelming majority of our people. The ANC must continue to strive to be the moral, intellectual and political leader of our changing society and the repository of the best values of our people and put in place mechanisms to vigorously combat negative tendencies occasioned by being a ruling party.
- 70 Conference therefore mandates the incoming NEC to develop perspectives for discussions in the structures on the most appropriate manner of celebrating this momentous occasion.

BUILDING UNITY AND COHESION AND RENEWING THE ANC'S CORE VALUES, ORGANISATIONAL DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE

- 71 Conference notes that the ANC has been impacted upon, both positively and negatively, by the changing conditions of our struggle since coming into power in 1994. In particular, being a ruling party has exposed the movement to the serious dangers outlined in both the Political and Organisational Reports. In the run-up to this Conference, the process of leadership contestation has put to serious test the ANC's unity and cohesion, core values, character as well as its tried and tested organisational practices.
- 72 Conference therefore instructs the incoming NEC to make its urgent priority to deal with all issues that must help to restore the unity and cohesion of the movement so that by the time we go to the 2009 elections and the centenary our movement marches together in unison.
- 73 Further, conference tasks the incoming NEC to establish a period of renewal of the values, character and organisational practices of the ANC as a leading force for progressive change in our country. Part of the programme of renewal should be a mass political education campaign to be undertaken at branch level within six months after National Conference to report back on substantive Conference outcomes, and to consolidate common approaches and unity within the movement.

TOWARDS THE 2009 ELECTIONS

- 74 Conference notes that the 52nd National Conference takes place less than eighteen months before the next national elections in 2009. Conference is of the firm conviction that the ANC will go into these elections as a united fighting force determined to rally the overwhelming majority of our people to renew the ANC's mandate as a governing party that has popular appeal and mass support across all classes and strata in our society.
- 75 Conference instructs the incoming NEC to put in place processes to prepare for the 2009 elections, including the urgent establishment of the Elections Commission, convening the first national election strategy meeting within the next six months.

CONCLUSION

- 76 52nd Conference acknowledges that organisational building and renewal require consistent attention and reflection, and that the issues are complex and involved. We still believe that the abiding strength of the ANC is its culture of robust debate, which brings

more wisdom to all those who participate in them. Instead of causing divisions, debating matters help us to listen and learn from one another. Collectively, we are wiser after listening to one another.

77 Conference is of the firm view that the energy, enthusiasm and passion that has characterised the

discussions in our branches in the run-up to this Conference and robust debates among delegates are a reflection of the seriousness and high level of interest among ANC members in the political life of the movement.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Noting that,

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

Further noting that,

- 3 In the context of our continued resolve to challenge underdevelopment and eradicate poverty, and, against the background of the huge investment in infrastructure and its attendant possibilities, the emphasis on quality education and health must be recognised.
- 4 We are at the beginning of a long journey to a truly united, democratic and prosperous South Africa, in which the value of all citizens is measured by their humanity, without regard to race, gender, sexual orientation and social status.
- 5 Whilst many families have access to social grants and other poverty alleviation programmes, many of these households and communities remain trapped in poverty, are dependent on the state and thus unable to access the opportunities created by the positive economic climate.

Believing that,

- 6 Central to the task of social transformation is the role of the ANC in Government in confronting the challenges of poverty and underdevelopment.
- 7 At this juncture we can and must re-affirm our commitment to redress poverty and inequality.
- 8 We are building a developmental state and not a welfare state given that in welfare state, dependency is profound.
- 9 Our attack on poverty must seek to empower people to take themselves out of poverty, while creating adequate social nets to protect the most vulnerable in our society.
- 10 Beyond poverty alleviation, interventions must seek to develop exit programmes that capacitate households and communities to empower themselves. It is the duty of the developmental state to achieve this.
- 11 Education and health must be prioritised as the core elements of social transformation.
- 12 Since Mafikeng and Stellenbosch, in the 13th year of our democracy, we are able to reflect on the transition from an inhumane society characterised by racism,

division, inequality, injustice and subjugation to a society that is ostensibly caring, open and democratic, committed to the ethos of non-racialism, non-sexism and freedom.

Therefore recommend that,

ON SOCIAL SECURITY AND BROAD SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT,

- 13 We must reaffirm the Freedom Charter as a premise when discussing social transformation.
- 14 That a comprehensive social security net provides a targeted and impeccable approach in eradicating poverty and unemployment.
- 15 We develop a minimum common basis on all social security intervention programmes by all departments.
- 16 Equalisation of opportunities, lifelong learning, economic opportunities for persons with disabilities.
- 17 Grants must not create dependency and thus must be linked to economic activity.
- 18 We must accelerate all our programmes in pursuit of the Millennium Development Goals.
- 19 We must establish a mandatory system of retirement fund and establish a broad-based retirement fund that covers low-income groups.
- 20 Strengthen collaboration between the departments of Education and Social Development and other related departments in the provision of Early Childhood Development (ECD).
- 21 Low cost retirement fund be created.
- 22 Child support grants be gradually extended to 18 years.
- 23 Pensionable age must be equalised and be set at 60 years.
- 24 Coordinated national drug campaign be intensified to fight substance abuse.

CHILDREN

Recommend,

- 25 The best interest of the child should be paramount, with child-headed households as priority for protection and care.
- 26 To prioritise the welfare of children and in this regard develop, monitor and measure tools that define and deal with child poverty.
- 27 Strengthen the current safety nets that deal with child poverty, ongoing murders, disappearances, abuse and

neglect.

- 28 Strengthen childhood development centres and urge communities to understand and deal seriously with the rights of children.
- 29 Develop a comprehensive strategy on Early Childhood Development.
- 30 This conference sends a special message of condolences to all the families that have missing children and of those that were killed by adults who are meant to protect them.
- 31 The ANC abhors the circumstances under which these children died and commits to continue seeking justice to bring the perpetrators to book.

ON EDUCATION,

- 32 The overarching vision that informs ANC education policy is People's Education for People's Power.
- 33 Vulnerable children of veterans must be taken care of by the state.
- 34 Career guidance be a compulsory subject from grade 8 upwards.
- 35 We must progressively expand the school nutrition programme to include high school learners in poorer communities.
- 36 National norms and standards to be developed to determine the roles, functions and responsibilities of district offices.
- 37 Norms and standards should be developed to classify schools, given the variation of school types in provinces.
- 38 A policy on affirmative measures for HDIs with specific emphasis on infrastructure, access and staff provisioning
- 39 The duality of public servants elected as councilors undermines both or either of the two with regards to efficiency and this must be reviewed.
- 40 To affirm that all principals should undertake a leadership, management and governance course
- 41 To review Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) so as to ensure that it better responds to the skills demand.
- 42 The establishment of a national education evaluation and development unit for purposes of monitoring, evaluation and support.
- 43 The no fee schools be expanded to 60% by 2009.
- 44 Progressively introduce free education for the poor until undergraduate level.
- 45 The ANC to focus rigorously on the quality of education.
- 46 Education must be prioritised as one of the most important programmes for the next five years.
- 47 Maths, science and IT must be promoted and

supported, including through Saturday tutorial programmes and bursaries be offered to teachers in this areas.

- 48 New curriculum must be accompanied with skills development of teachers.
- 49 Building of schools to replace mud schools must be included in the Expanded Public Works (EPW) programme.
- 50 We should recruit from foreign countries on scarce skills such as maths and science.
- 51 The NEC should critically consider the outcomes of the recently held education summit with a view to implementing the proposals that emerged.

ON HEALTH,

- 52 Education and health should be the two key priorities of the ANC for the next years.
- 53 Reaffirm the implementation of the National Health Insurance System by further strengthening the public health care system and ensuring adequate provision of funding.
- 54 To develop a reliable single health information system.
- 55 Government should intervene in the high cost of health provision.
- 56 There should be health cover for Veterans of the struggle.
- 57 We should develop a recruitment and Human Resource Development strategy for health professionals.
- 58 Develop an MoU with foreign countries on the exodus of health professionals.
- 59 The ANC should further consider the matter of making HIV and AIDS notifiable. In this regard a distinction should be made between the two as these are two conditions. In doing this, the ANC should also consider the negative implications of this recommendation, such as stigma.
- 60 We accelerate the roll-out of the comprehensive health care programme, such as through the provision of ARV at all health facilities. At the same time we should strengthen capacity to monitor the side-effects of ARV.
- 61 We accelerate programmes for hospital revitalisation including through innovative solutions that accommodate partnerships.
- 62 We intensify our efforts to create an environment that promotes positive individual behaviour in our communities, especially amongst young people.
- 63 There will be no need to adopt a special HIV and AIDS grant as this will be catered for by the comprehensive social security system.
- 64 The ANC should explore the possibility of a state-owned pharmaceutical company that will respond to and intervene in the curbing of medicine prices.

- 65 More resources be allocated to programmes on sexual awareness. ANC branches must be actively involved in these programmes.
- 66 Introduce a policy on African traditional medicine.
- 67 Caution should be exercised when deciding on PPPs as a solution for the delivery of health services.
- 68 Diseases such as TB and cancer should be given special attention.

ON HOUSING,

- 69 There should be housing cover for Veterans of the struggle.
- 70 Interventions in the housing industry and residential property market to curb the spiraling cost of construction input prices – including the cost of material development and supply.
- 71 We develop appropriate legislation to prevent the mushrooming of informal settlements.
- 72 Provision of housing needs should include alternative housing such as rental stock.
- 73 We adopt a central planning approach for directing resource allocation, distribution and overall coordinated response to human settlements.
- 74 We restructure the funding mechanism and consolidate all housing-related grants and funding streams.
- 75 In order to deal effectively with the challenges of human settlements, land acquisition be accelerated through a dedicated Housing Development Agency.
- 76 A once-off injection of resources and an extraordinary effort be considered for fast-tracking delivery of housing to make a visible impact on poverty.
- 77 Government considers assisting people with building material to encourage self involvement in the provision of housing needs. This will respond to specific conditions that prevail in rural areas, for example.

ON LAND AND AGRICULTURE,

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

- 81 Review the adequacy of post-settlement support in all land reform programmes.
- 82 The management and control of state land must be under one department.
- 83 We reaffirm the 51st Conference resolution on a land audit and resolve that it should be conducted within the next 18 months.
- 84 The allocation of customary land be democratised and should not only be the preserve of the traditional leaders.
- 85 That redundant land belonging to SOEs and municipalities be transferred for low cost housing.

ON BUILDING SOCIAL COHESION THROUGH HERITAGE, ARTS AND CULTURE, SPORTS AND RECREATION,

- 86 Government should integrate Ubuntu principles into public policy so as to comprehensively correct the distortions and imbalances not only in our heritage landscape but also in our social, economic and industrial relations.
- 87 Move away from conservation language to development.
- 88 We develop a policy that clarifies the ANC's approach to the naming and renaming of geographic places such as streets, towns and public facilities. These guidelines should include principles such as the need to change offensive names representing colonial conquest and apartheid statehood, the need to restore the proud heritage of the indigeneous people, the need to accommodate diversity in our national heritage and the need to have an inclusive and democratic process, the need to honour, in a non sectarian manner South Africans who have made a sterling contribution to the dawn of democracy and freedom, the need to recognise distinguished men and women in the international community and in Africa, who have contributed immensely to the struggle for freedom. Political education will be critical in educating our people about the naming and renaming discourse.
- 89 Local government must provide funding for arts and culture.
- 90 Tourism levy should also benefit our heritage.
- 91 Indigenous languages be promoted at all schools with an intention that learners be taught in their mother tongue.
- 92 Affirm the 51st Conference resolution on the establishment of the sports desk at the ANC Head Quarters.
- 93 One emblem for all sports national teams be adopted.
- 94 All schools must offer a minimum bouquet of extra mural, mass participation in sport activities.

- 95 Physical education must be offered as a compulsory subject for learners grade 0-12.
- 96 Mass participation, physical activity and sport programmes must prioritise the involvement of girls, women and people with disability with a view to promoting equity.
- 97 Funding currently under MIG, which is aimed at sports facilities, should be diverted to the departments of Sports and Recreation and Education.
- 98 The ANC must ensure that the country's investments in 2010 should result in a lasting legacy for our communities and our people.
- 99 We review the ANC's draft cultural policy.

ON WATER, FORESTRY AND SANITATION,

- 100 Water allocation reform and the allocation of water licenses to historically disadvantaged persons must be reviewed with regards to water rights and should occur as part of the land reform programme.
- 101 Transformation plan for the forestry sector should be developed.
- 102 Increase the infrastructure construction timelines to allow more labour intensive construction.
- 103 Water resources management must be integral when planning municipalities.

ON YOUTH DEVELOPMENT,

- 104 Immediate implementation of sports desks as per the previous conference resolution.
- 105 A National Youth Development Agency that will ensure seamless integration, sustainability and responsiveness

to the demands and aspirations of South Africa's youth is established through the merger of the National Youth Commission and Umsobomvu. This should be effected during the course of 2008.

- 106 As per the ANC NGC's adoption of the Integrated Youth Development Strategy, that this be made government policy to be implemented by the National Youth Development Agency.
- 107 Massify the National Youth Service Programme and that this must be adopted as government policy.
- 108 The government should engage the private sector to contribute towards the National Youth Service Programme.

ON WOMEN ISSUES,

- 109 In considering the matter of establishing Women Ministry, the commission recommends that a thorough assessment be undertaken by the ANC to analyse current instruments and their relevance, strategies and areas of focus and programmes on matters of women and the impact these programmes made. These assessments should then advise on comprehensive recommendations on the form and content of whatever institutional mechanisms to be put in place in pursuit of women emancipation and broadly addressing gender matters.

MK VETERANS

- 110 All government departments must adopt programmes that are directed at reintegrating ex-combatants into society and provision of health insurance should also be addressed.

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

BELIEVING THAT:

- 1 Our vision of the economic transformation takes as its starting point the Freedom Charter's clarion call that the People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!
- 2 Since 1994 we have made substantial progress in transforming the economy to benefit the majority, but serious challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality remain.
- 3 Therefore, we are still at the beginning of the historic transformation of the economy called for in the Charter. It is a process of economic transformation which aims to realise:
 - a) A thriving and integrated economy, which draws on the creativity and skills that our whole population can offer, building on South Africa's economic endowments to create decent work for all and eliminate poverty.
 - b) Increasing social equality and a growing economy, which reinforce each other and constitute a positive cycle of development that improves the quality of life of all our people.
 - c) National prosperity through rising productivity, brought about by innovation and cutting edge technology, labour-absorbing industrial growth, competitive markets and a thriving small business and cooperative sector and the utilisation of information and communication technologies with efficient forms of production and management
 - d) The progressive realisation of socio-economic rights, through fair labour practices, social security for the poor, universal access to basic services and ongoing programmes to defeat poverty.
 - e) A mixed economy, where the state, private capital, cooperative and other forms of social ownership complement each other in an integrated way to eliminate poverty and foster shared economic growth.
 - f) An economy that is connected to the world, and which benefits from vibrant and balanced trade with the rest of the world. In particular, an economy that is increasingly integrated into the Southern African region and our continent as a whole, in furtherance of the goals of development and regeneration of Africa.
 - g) A sustainable economy, where all South Africans, present and future, realise their right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being.

- 4 The changes we seek will not emerge spontaneously from the 'invisible hand' of the market. People acting collectively in the spirit of human solidarity must shape the patterns of economic development. In this process the state must play a central and strategic role, by directly investing in underdeveloped areas and directing private sector investment.

AND FURTHER BELIEVING THAT:

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

determining a clear and consistent path forward, it must also seek to build consensus on a democratic basis that builds national unity. Whilst acting effectively to promote growth, efficiency and productivity, it must be equally effective in addressing the social conditions of the masses of our people and realising economic progress for the poor.

THEREFORE RESOLVES:

- 1 To build the strategic, organisational and technical capacities of government with a view to a democratic developmental state, through:
 - 1.1 A strengthened role for the central organs of state, including through the creation of an institutional centre for government-wide economic planning with the necessary resources and authority to prepare and implement long and medium term economic and development planning.
 - 1.2 The integration, harmonisation and alignment of planning and implementation across all three spheres of government, and with the development finance institutions and state-owned enterprises, including through the development of coherent inter-sectoral plans at national level and the alignment of local implementation in terms of the IDPs of metro, district and local municipalities.
 - 1.3 Building the human capacity of the state by establishing uniform and high entrance requirements and standards of employment in the public service, emphasising professionalism, discipline and a commitment to serve and ensuring adequate numbers of personnel to ensure delivery, particularly in the case of front line staff in areas such as education, health and policing.
 - 1.4 Building the technical capacity of the state to engage with, understand and lead the development of dynamic and globally integrated economic sectors.
 - 1.5 The developmental state should maintain its strategic role in shaping the key sectors of the economy, including the mineral and energy complex and the national transport and logistics system. Whilst the forms of state interventions would differ, the over-riding objective would be to intervene strategically in these sectors to drive the growth, development and transformation of the structure of our economy.
 - 1.6 A developmental state must ensure that our national resource endowments, including land, water, minerals and marine resources are exploited to effectively maximise the growth, development and employment potential embedded in such national assets, and not purely for profit maximisation.

- 1.7 Strengthening the role of state-owned enterprises and ensuring that, whilst remaining financially viable, SOEs, agencies and utilities – as well as companies in which the state has significant shareholding – respond to a clearly defined public mandate and act in terms of our overarching industrial policy and economic transformation objectives.
- 1.8 Building and strengthening development finance institutions, as well as non-financial institutions, which are accessible to the people, and which are able to effectively channel financial and institutional resources towards a variety of economic transformation objectives, including industrial diversification and development, small businesses and cooperatives, small-scale agriculture, micro-enterprises and local and regional economic development, and the empowerment of youth and women.
- 1.9 The building of small and micro enterprises is also a critical developmental challenge, which requires the state to deploy resources to build capacity and institutions. The mobilisation of small businesses into cooperative organisations is a critical part of the solutions to this challenge. So is the education of our people in entrepreneurial skills, the provision of financial support and training to small businesses. At the same time we should ensure that fundamental worker rights are protected in small enterprise.
- 1.10 Building the capacity of the state to mobilise the people as a whole, especially the poor, to act as their own liberators through participatory and representative democracy.
- 2 To pursue a programme of economic transformation based on the following pillars:
 - 2.1 Making the creation of decent work opportunities the primary focus of economic policies. This central objective should be reflected in the terms of reference of development finance institutions, bodies such as the Competition Commission, the terms of public procurement and public incentives, the sequencing of industrial and trade policy reforms and our sustainable macro-economic policy stance.
 - 2.2 Accelerating shared economic growth by:
 - Acting decisively to address the most significant obstacles that limit the pace of economic growth and intervening in favour of a more equitable growth path.
 - Continuing to roll out a state-led infrastructure investment programme, and promoting strategic investments in productive activities with the aim of diversifying the economy and building towards an overall investment to GDP ratio of 25%.

<p>2.3</p>	<p>Transforming the structures of production and ownership, including through:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active and well-resourced industrial and trade policy aimed at creating decent work through expansion of labour absorbing sectors, diversifying our industrial and services base, pursuing an active beneficiation strategy, building sustainable export industries, and expanding production for domestic and regional consumption. In general, industrial policy should lead our overall approach to sector development, whilst trade policy should play a supporting role and be sensitive to employment outcomes. • Broad-based BEE aimed at broadening and deracialising the ownership and control of productive assets by black people, women and youth, promoting new black enterprises which are engaged in the production of goods and services, building the skills required by the economy and advancing employment equity in every area of work and economic endeavour. • Anti-monopoly and anti-concentration policy aimed at creating competitive markets, broadening ownership and participation by our people, addressing monopoly pricing and other forms of rent-seeking and anti-competitive behaviour and overcoming barriers to entry that inhibit the growth of small enterprises, including strategies to increase competition by promoting the emergence of new players in both South Africa and the SADC region. • Many of our monopolies are based on the nation's natural resources and we must find ways and means to intervene, including through state custody of these resources on behalf of the people and regulation to ensure competitive pricing of inputs for our downstream manufacturing sector. Furthermore, the small size and relative isolation of our economy leads to monopolies in certain sectors which could be overcome by increasing regional economic integration with Southern Africa and the continent as a whole. • Policies that promote and sustain small business, micro-enterprises, small scale agriculture and cooperative forms of ownership by providing financial and non-financial resources and building institutions that can effectively access and develop these sectors. 	<p>land for social and economic objectives, must transform the patterns of land ownership and agrarian production, with a view to restructuring and deracialising the agricultural sector.</p> <p>2.5 Overcoming spatial patterns of economic marginalisation and fragmentation and reversing the geography of apartheid in both urban and rural areas.</p> <p>2.6 Expanding the opportunities for sustainable livelihoods and supporting the growth of second economy activities in urban centres through better access to the centres of economic growth and through financial and institutional support for cooperatives and micro-enterprise.</p> <p>2.7 Directly absorbing the unemployed through:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labour intensive production methods and procurement policies. • A significant expansion of the public works programmes linked to the expansion of economic infrastructure and meeting social needs with home-based care and early childhood development on a massive scale. • A much larger national youth service and ensuring the linkage of industrial strategy with key youth development programmes in the form of an integrated Youth Development Strategy. • Programmes that target the employment of women. <p>2.8 Expanding the social wage by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensuring universal and subsidised access to basic services, health care, affordable transport and access to government information. • Free and compulsory education and ongoing campaigns for adult literacy. • Maintaining and where appropriate expanding the provision of social grants and finding ways and means of alleviating the burden of low income earners. <p>2.9 Investing in priority skills and education, including through:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving our performance in maths, science and technology. • Significantly expanding the resources devoted to our capacity as a people for knowledge production and expanding the resources devoted to innovation and research, including through an innovation management framework which includes the promotion and development of indigenous knowledge. • Improving our entrepreneurial, business and financial skills, and building our public and project management capacities.
<p>2.4</p>	<p>A comprehensive and clear rural development strategy, which builds the potential for rural sustainable livelihoods, particularly for African women, as part of an overarching vision of rural development. Strong interventions in the private land market combined with better use of state</p>	

- Reviving the role state-owned enterprises in skills development and training, and building partnerships between the state, parastatals, the union movement and the private sector in the quest to improve skills.
 - Placing Further Education and Training colleges at the centre of a popular drive to transfer skills to our people including by providing these institutions with more resources, and scaling-up dedicated bursary schemes to popularise and subsidise attendance at FET institutions.
- 2.10 The use of natural resources of which the state is the custodian on behalf of the people, including our minerals, water, marine resources in a manner that promotes the sustainability and development of local communities and also realises the economic and social needs of the whole nation. In this regard, we must continue to strengthen the implementation of the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA), which seeks to realise some of these goals. Our programme must also deepen the linkages of the mineral sector to the national economy through beneficiation of these resources and creating supplier and service industries around the minerals sector.
- 2.11 Ensuring a security of supply of energy resources, and pursuing an energy mix that includes clean and renewable sources to meet the demands of our fast growing economy without compromising our commitment to sustainable development.
- 2.12 Integration of the South African economy on a fair and equitable basis with the economies in the Southern African region and building stronger economic linkages across the continent of Africa as a whole as a basis for increasing our market size through deepened economic integration.
- 2.13 Participating in world trade, pursuing strategic partnerships with countries of the south and agitating for a fairer world trade system. In particular, this means ensuring policy space to find new opportunities for employment should not be compromised. The position adopted by South Africa in global trade reform talks must continue to emphasise the need to retain policy space on tariffs and industry protection for developing countries and avoid obligations to significantly liberalise our manufacturing or services sector.
- 2.14 Macro-economic policies that support and sustain growth, job creation and poverty eradication on a sustainable basis.
- 3 To enhance the capacity of the African National Congress to monitor and evaluate the implementation of economic policy, including through:
- Establishing dedicated capacity, with the requisite resources, to monitor policy implementation and conduct ongoing assessment and engagement around economic policy issues, at national, provincial and regional level.
 - A national programme of economic literacy for ANC members.
- 4 To take the lead in mobilising and uniting all South Africans around our common vision of economic transformation.

CLIMATE CHANGE

NOTING THAT:

- 1 The ANC's position on environmental issues has been consistent and is reflected in the RDP document. It is this vision that has informed the various policies, programmes and actions of government since 1994.
- 2 During the apartheid period the vast majority of our people bore the brunt of poor sanitation, were located in areas where the most polluting industries existed, and denied the basic right to defend themselves against harmful activities. The ANC's vision has therefore sought to embrace a transformative environmentalism based upon the idea of sustainable development, which is built upon the inter-connection of environmental, social and economic justice.
- 3 Acting together with other progressive forces, the ANC ensured that environmental rights were firmly entrenched in our Constitution so that both individuals and communities are able to defend their right to a safe and sound environment. This Constitutional base has provided the framework and orientation for a variety of laws. Environmental justice is firmly entrenched as an integral part of the National Democratic Revolution.
- 4 The ANC has played a leading role in shaping global debates on environmental justice, including through our participation in the Rio Earth Summit, followed by South Africa's hosting of the World Summit for Sustainable Development in 2002. At these historic forums the ANC has consistently championed a progressive response to the environmental dimensions of development challenges facing Africa and the countries of the South.
- 5 In the light all this, it is critical that the ANC continues to provide leadership on environmental issues. This includes working with progressive forces in South Africa and throughout the world to ensure that environmental issues continue to receive the prominence they deserve.

AND BELIEVING THAT:

- 6 Our vision of the future includes a sustainable economy where all South Africans, including present and future generations realise their right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being.
- 7 Since the industrial revolution average global temperatures have risen significantly, and are continuing to rise. The cause is the increased quantities of greenhouse gases in our atmosphere generated by human activities that include burning of fossil fuels, deforestation, industrialisation, inefficient road transportation and intensive methods of agricultural

production. We must take up the challenge of acknowledging this and act together to save tomorrow by what we do today.

- 8 There is now general agreement that the world is rapidly moving towards a point where rising temperatures will result in dramatic and irreversible climate related impacts that will have dramatic effects on human society and on our natural environment. The polar ice caps are melting; changes are taking place in sea currents and sea levels. The hottest temperatures in recorded history have been measured in the last decade, as have the most intense storms, the most destructive floods and the longest lasting droughts.
- 9 These unusual and unpredictable weather events jeopardise human settlements, livelihoods and infrastructure particularly in low-lying coastal areas; they are the beginning of changes in climatic patterns that will result in a shift in rainfall quantities and distribution affecting flora and fauna and fundamentally changing current commercial as well as age-old patterns of agricultural production and hence of livelihoods.
- 10 Poor communities will bear the brunt of the costs resulting from climate change in direct inverse to their contribution to the phenomenon of global warming. Scientific research predicts that in all of this the African continent is likely to be one of the most seriously affected parts of the world. Africa continues to face the challenge of high levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment, low levels of infrastructural development and high reliance on primary commodities and agriculture. Many African regions and countries will, therefore, lack the capacity to generate effective adaptive responses to changes that climate change will bring.
- 11 In South Africa itself the impacts of climate change are predicted to include a reduction in rainfall and increase in droughts in the western side of the country. This will exacerbate water scarcity and have potentially devastating effects on agricultural production as well as on the survival of the Cape Floral Kingdom and our country's priceless biodiversity. Climate change can impact on our tourism industry, and many new industries developing around the use of natural products – affecting as a result jobs, and livelihood opportunities for the poor.
- 12 Global warming is also likely to result in wetter and hotter temperatures in the eastern side of the country resulting in the spread of diseases such as malaria to large populations that are presently unaffected by it. In addition, rises in sea levels and the increasing

frequency of destructive weather events will threaten our coastal cities. Consequently, loss of incomes, jobs and investment will undermine existing investments and initiatives.

- 13 There is also already evidence that climate change, which is leading to the warming of temperatures in the oceans, is affecting the flow and temperature gradient of the Benguela current, which has been responsible for the nourishment of various types of fish crucial to our fishing industry on the Atlantic sea-board. Changes in temperature are already beginning to affect the availability of traditional fish stock, such as certain types of pelagic fish and crayfish.
- 14 The bulk of the world's greenhouse gas emissions are generated by the developed world. However, as the pace of development increases, developing countries including China, India and ourselves are contributing an increasing amount to the concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.
- 15 South Africa is responsible for about 1% of the world's greenhouse gas emissions. This is a relatively small proportion, but it means that we are the world's 14th largest producer of greenhouse gases and along with India and China we are seen as one of the "large" developing country emitters. The reason for this is our country's heavy reliance on coal as the main source of our energy. This places an obligation on South Africa, in terms of fulfilling our international responsibilities, to demonstrate our seriousness and commitment to greenhouse gas reduction.
- 16 South Africa is a signatory of the Kyoto Protocol and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. Although South Africa does not have targets for reducing its share of greenhouse gases, as is the case for developed economies, we do have responsibilities under the Convention and Protocol. For a developing economy South Africa's share of carbon dioxide emissions is not insignificant.
- 17 The South African economy is growing rapidly. The economy is likely to reach 6% growth. In order to ensure continued growth, the supply of power will have to be doubled in the next 15 to 25 years. Coal generated power will result in increased carbon dioxide emissions.
- 18 A growing economy also means that as people become more affluent private transport will increase. We are already seeing increased number of cars on our roads, and the consequences in terms of traffic congestion and pollution are all too evident.
- 19 South Africa has huge untapped potential for renewable energy. A shift towards renewable energy will reduce our emissions, and hold substantial sustainable development benefits, including the development of sustainable livelihoods and small businesses and job creation opportunities.

THEREFORE RESOLVES TO:

- 1 Recognise that climate change is a new threat on a global scale and poses an enormous burden upon South Africans and Africans as a whole because we are the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change. The risks to the poor are the greatest.
- 2 Recognise that the evidence for climate change is indisputable and that immediate action by all governments and the public as a whole is needed.
- 3 Set a target for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions as part of our responsibility to protect the environment and promote sustainable development, and to participate in sharing the burden with the global community under a common framework of action.
- 4 Support the meeting of the target through:
 - a) energy efficiency improvements in industry, in households and by setting vehicle fuel efficiency standards;
 - b) diversifying energy sources away from coal, including through nuclear energy and renewables – especially solar power;
 - c) putting a price on the emission of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases;
 - d) allocating significant additional resources for the research and development of innovative clean and low-carbon technologies, including by retrofitting existing technologies;
 - e) further exploration and development of carbon capture and storage methods;
 - f) the introduction of a tariff system that promotes the efficient use of electricity; and,
 - g) the promotion of affordable public transport, the expansion of rail logistics and the reversal of the apartheid spatial legacy.
- 5 Escalate our national efforts towards the realisation of a greater contribution of renewable energy sources, including solar and wind power, as part of an ambitious renewable energy target. The hydroelectric potential of the SADC region should be included in our plans.
- 6 Further ensure that our economy benefits from the global growth potential of the renewable energy sector, including through the provision of incentives for investment in renewable energy infrastructure as well as human resources to ensure that institutions and companies are ready to take full advantage of renewable energy opportunities. Moreover to promote the realignment of institutional mechanisms which will fast-track the utilisation of renewable energy to mitigate the climate change effects, including the implementation of a feed-in tariff.
- 7 Move to an energy efficient economy should take due regard of the imperative to create jobs. Consideration should be given to launch a green jobs programme.
- 8 Mobilise the public, business and other players to act

responsibly and save energy both as collectives and in their individual capacity, including through a mandatory national energy efficiency programme. Industrial and commercial buildings have particular potential for efficiency improvements. The government, as a huge consumer of electricity, has a special responsibility in this regard. Government buildings and installations must be given mandatory targets to become energy efficient.

- 9 Encourage further and increased efforts to raise public awareness about energy saving. Energy saved reduces both greenhouse gases and the need to build new power plants.
- 10 Escalate our efforts to encourage efficiency in the consumption of energy, including through the integration of energy-saving technologies into our social programmes and by leading campaigns to encourage environmental and energy-conscious consumer behaviour.

- 11 Further integrate climate change considerations with sustainable development strategies, the science and technology agenda, integrated energy planning, transport policy and the evolving industrial policy. In this context to maximise the integration of a full cost accounted economy in which the life cycle of products is internalised and the goal of zero waste production is pursued.

- 12 Continue pro-actively building our capacity, and develop a comprehensive strategy, to adapt to the inevitable impacts of climate change, including in the roll-out of basic services, infrastructure planning, agriculture, biodiversity, water resource management and in the health sector.

- 13 Introduce environmental studies and the appreciation of nature in the school curriculum, and,

- 14 Build partnerships between state institutions, business, trade unions, civil society and communities to address these challenges together.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT, LAND REFORM AND AGRARIAN CHANGE

NOTING THAT

- 1 Colonialism and apartheid were rooted in the dispossession of the African people of their land, the destruction of African farming and the super-exploitation of wage labourers, including farm workers and their families. Poverty, inequality and joblessness are the consequence of centuries of underdevelopment and exploitation consciously perpetrated on the majority of the population, which had its most destructive and enduring impacts on rural South Africa. Consequently, the structural faults that characterised the apartheid rural economy remain with us today.
- 2 Although one third of our people live in former bantustan areas, these regions account for one half of the poorest households. Joblessness is disproportionately high in rural areas, where the majority of those with jobs earn poverty wages. This burden of rural poverty falls hardest on women who are the majority in rural communities.
- 3 The challenges of urban poverty and migration to cities are inseparably bound with the struggle to defeat poverty, create work and build a better life in rural South Africa. The poorest amongst the urban population have the strongest connections with rural areas. Limited opportunities of sustainable livelihoods in rural areas, insecurity of tenure and widespread evictions contribute directly to the growth of informal settlements in cities and towns. Moreover, the predominance of capital intensive farming on vast tracts of land in 'white' South Africa is directly linked to the reproduction of high population densities and land degradation in former bantustan areas.
- 4 Many rural areas still lack basic infrastructure such as roads, water and electricity supply. This lack of infrastructure entrenches the problems of chronic poverty and limits the potential of communities to sustain economic growth, rural livelihoods and social development. Our efforts to extend free basic services to all our people are slowest to reach rural areas and farm-dwellers, even while the majority have access to free basic services in the urban areas. Moreover, access to government services such as education and health care are the weakest in rural areas.
- 5 Interventions such as the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme have made significant, but insufficient progress. Social grants are making a huge contribution to pushing back the frontiers of rural poverty, fighting hunger and improving potential for economic growth in rural areas. However, in the struggle to build a better life for all, grants are no substitute for a broader strategy of rural development and employment creation.
- 6 Municipalities in the poorest and most rural parts of South Africa are amongst the most deprived in terms of human, physical and financial resources. This lack of capacity limits the extent to which rural municipalities can act as catalysts for growth and development.
- 7 The current structure of commercial agriculture is the outcome of centuries of dispossession, labour coercion and state subsidy for the chosen few. Since 1994, commercial agriculture has continued to develop in a manner that is characterised by growing concentration of ownership and farm size, underutilisation of vast tracts of land, capital intensity, job-shedding and the casualisation of labour.
- 8 While deregulation, liberalisation and the resulting competitive pressures on the sector have eliminated many of the privileges of the large scale farm sector, various aspects of policy and legislation still reinforce the legacy of the past, including tax regimes that promote capital intensity and farm consolidation and laws such as the Subdivision of Agricultural Land Act that make it difficult to redistribute land to a modern and competitive smallholder sector. At the same time commercial agriculture has also reacted to legislation intended to protect the rights of workers and farm dwellers by sharply reducing their number, resulting in significant job losses and painful evictions of people living on farms.
- 9 Concentrated ownership, price collusion and the high degree of vertical integration in farming, agro-processing and retail limit the space for new entrants, particularly small holders, and undermine our efforts to build sustainable livelihoods in rural areas. Monopolistic practices also reinforce the recent rises in food prices, which undermines economic growth and the fight against hunger and poverty.
- 10 Water is critical both for agricultural production and sustainable livelihoods in rural areas, but is a scarce resource throughout Southern Africa. Access to water has been skewed by apartheid agricultural policies in ways that reinforce inequalities and foster waste.
- 11 Millions of our people farm on small agricultural plots in the former bantustan areas and make a substantial contribution to poverty reduction and the creation of sustainable livelihoods in the most adverse conditions. Part-time and full-time agriculture in these areas remains a critical opportunity in our people's efforts to

combat poverty, provide social security for themselves and build sustainable livelihoods. Our efforts to support them have been inadequate.

AND FURTHER NOTING THAT:

- 12 The Constitution enjoins the state to take action to enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis; to ensure security of tenure for people and communities and to realise the restitution of land rights for those dispossessed after 1913.
- 13 Current approaches to land reform are not achieving the scale or outcomes required for the realisation of a better life for rural South Africans. In particular:
 - a) We have only succeeded in redistributing 4% of agricultural land since 1994, while more than 80% of agricultural land remains in the hands of fewer than 50,000 white farmers and agribusinesses. The willing-seller, willing-buyer approach to land acquisition has constrained the pace and efficacy of land reform. It is clear from our experience, that the market is unable to effectively alter the patterns of land ownership in favour of an equitable and efficient distribution of land.
 - b) Land reform has not been located within a broader strategy of rural development or a commitment to supporting smallholder farming on a scale that is able to improve rural livelihoods. As a result, changes in land ownership have not realised their full potential to transform social relations, combat rural poverty and promote rural development.
 - c) The lack of popular participation in land reform has limited its impact and undermined our efforts to accelerate redistribution. Our approach has been overly reliant on officials and consultants, and has not succeeded in empowering the poor through people-centred approaches to planning and implementation.
 - d) The legal framework continues to make it difficult to establish smallholder production in general, and peri-urban farming in particular.
 - e) Land reform beneficiaries, as well as new and existing producers in the former bantustans, have often failed because of the inadequate provision of extension services, capital, infrastructure and market access. Insufficient budgetary support for targeted interventions in the land market and post-settlement support systems has resulted in slow progress and a disappointing economic and social impact.
 - f) The tendency to encourage beneficiaries not only to hold the land under common ownership, but also to organise themselves into collective production arrangements has constrained the success of land reform programmes, as has our inability to sub-divide vast and inefficient land holdings which are

the distorted outcome of years of subsidy and protection.

- 14 Rural development is constrained by the insecurity of tenure among farm dwellers and people living in the former bantustans. Despite the enactment of progressive laws, the realities of abuse, both by farmers and some traditional authorities, continues to undermine security of tenure in many rural communities.
- 15 Widespread evictions of farm-dwellers are in direct contradiction with the goals of the National Democratic Revolution in general and the objectives of land reform in particular. Notwithstanding the best intentions of government and parliament to protect the tenure rights of farm workers and farm-dwellers through legislative interventions, the evictions, human rights abuses and super-exploitation of farmworkers and farm-dwellers remain a blight on the conscience of our society and a serious obstacle to the creation of a vibrant rural economy. Critically, weak organisation of farmworkers deprives them of a voice and of the ability to take advantage of the rights provided under the Constitution and labour laws.
- 16 The industrialised nations continue to provide lavish subsidies and other forms of protection to farmers with the aim of sustaining their agricultural sectors, maintaining social cohesion and ensuring national food security. The effect of this is to undermine rural livelihoods and exacerbate poverty in the developing world, especially in Africa.
- 17 Our country is water constrained. Water allocation could be a key instrument in rural development and land reform.

AND BELIEVING THAT:

- 1 Rural development is a central pillar of our struggle against unemployment, poverty and inequality. High levels of rural poverty and inequality inhibit the growth of our economy and undermine our efforts to ensure that growth is more equitably shared amongst our people.
- 2 Gender equality must be a critical ingredient and important outcome of all our programmes of rural development, land reform and agrarian change. Correcting the injustices of the past requires that women increasingly become the beneficiaries and decision-makers in respect of strategies to overcome poverty in rural areas.
- 3 Our programmes of rural development, land reform and agrarian change must be integrated into a clear strategy that seeks to empower the poor, particularly those who already derive all or part of their livelihoods from the exploitation of productive land. In line with the Freedom Charter's call that 'the land shall be shared among those who work it', the critical beneficiaries of change must be rural women, farm-dwellers, household

producers in former bantustans, small businesses and rural entrepreneurs and residents of urban and peri-urban areas that wish to engage in agricultural livelihoods.

- 4 The developmental state has a central role to play in leading and sustaining rural development. This includes leading the process of land reform, promoting sustainable change in social and economic relations and supporting the goals of growth and development in the rural economy. The mobilisation of communities is central to all of these objectives.
- 5 The agricultural sector is critical for the economic development of rural areas and the country as a whole because of its potential to:
 - Create work, both as a direct employer and through its linkages to other sectors;
 - Provide the basis for sustainable livelihoods and small business development on a mass scale in rural communities;
 - Raise rural incomes and build local economies;
 - Ensure the efficient production of affordable food and other wage goods, assure food security for the poorest, and contribute to a climate of low inflation.
- 6 Black economic empowerment and the deracialisation of agricultural ownership is a necessary but insufficient condition for the realisation of our transformation goals in rural South Africa.
- 7 A more equitable distribution of land is necessary both to undo the injustices of history as well as to ensure higher productivity, shared growth, employment and sustainable livelihoods. Our approach to land redistribution must be integrated into our programmes to ensure social and economic transformation. Successful land reform means integrating land acquisition with support for new farmers. Therefore, our approach to land acquisition should include, where appropriate, planned acquisition and distribution, expropriation and demand-driven market transactions.
- 8 The participation of the poor in the design, implementation and monitoring of rural development programmes is a key objective of the developmental state, and must be supported by appropriate structures to give voice to affected communities and structure their engagement with government programmes. Social movements and land-owners all have an important role to play in the realisation of our vision. The ANC and its alliance partners too have a critical role in mobilising and organising rural communities behind the objectives of the NDR in general, and the goals of rural development in particular.
- 9 It is vital that we re-build the culture of agricultural livelihoods and rural entrepreneurship, which apartheid and colonialism dedicated so much effort to uprooting from black communities. In order to build rural entrepreneurship and productivity, people must have

security of tenure on the productive land that they occupy.

- 10 All our people have a right to access basic government services, irrespective of where they live and that the provision of services must take account of changing settlement patterns and the need to develop effective delivery systems for relatively remote households.
- 11 Macro-policies should endeavour to support agriculture, particularly labour intensive production, and avoid any bias against the broader goals of agricultural development.

THEREFORE RESOLVES TO:

- 1 Embark on an integrated programme of rural development, land reform and agrarian change based on the following pillars
 - a) The provision of social and economic infrastructure and the extension of quality government services, particularly health and education, to rural areas.
 - b) Fundamental changes in the patterns of land ownership through the redistribution of 30% of agricultural land before 2014. This must include comprehensive support programmes with proper monitoring mechanisms to ensure sustainable improvements in livelihoods for the rural poor, farm workers, farm-dwellers and small farmers, especially women.
 - c) Agrarian change with a view to supporting subsistence food production, expanding the role and productivity of modern small-holder farming and maintaining a vibrant and competitive agricultural sector.
 - d) Defending and advancing the rights and economic position of farm workers and farm-dwellers, including through improved organisation and better enforcement of existing laws.
- 2 Strengthen the voice of rural South Africans, empower poor communities and build the momentum behind agrarian change and land reform by supporting the self-organisation of rural people; working together with progressive movements and organisations and building forums and structures through which rural people can articulate their demands and interests. ANC branches together with alliance partners will assist in the organisation, unionisation and empowerment of farm workers.
- 3 Build stronger state capacity and devote greater resources to the challenges of rural development, land reform and agrarian change. In particular to:
 - a) Create an over-arching authority with the resources and authority to drive and coordinate an integrated programme of rural development, land reform and agrarian change.
 - b) Implement the Freedom Charter's call to help those working the land with implements, seed, tractors,

- infrastructure for irrigation and other forms of material support.
- c) Implement large-scale programmes to establish new smallholders and improve the productivity of existing small-scale and subsistence farmers, and to integrate smallholders into formal value chains and link them with markets.
 - d) Build dedicated state and private institutions that are accountable to their users for the effective and directed support to land reform beneficiaries in general and small holder agriculture and family farms in particular, including through financial support, research and extension, the provision of tools and equipment and the facilitation of market access and cooperation.
 - e) Review the mandate, capacity and operations of institutions such as the Land Bank in order to ensure that the state is able to provide directed credit and capital for investment in support of a transformed agricultural sector and rural economy.
 - f) Improve the ability of government to take the lead in innovation, research and development and extension services appropriate to the development of a small-holder farming sector.
 - g) Build the capacity of rural local governments to lead the processes of development, land reform and agrarian change including through the leadership of decentralised, participatory and people-centred programmes that are linked with wider development priorities, particularly through the Integrated Development Plans of municipalities.
 - h) Improve the capacity of the state to monitor and collect information on the use of land, including through the conduct and publication of regular land audits.
 - i) Ensure that the state regulates the land market effectively with a view to promoting the goals of rural development and agrarian change, limiting the unsustainable use of land for elite purposes (such as the conversion of prime agricultural land to golf estates) and ensuring that land remains predominantly in the hands of South African residents. To this end the management and control of state land must be consolidated under one roof.
- 4 Review and change all institutional, legislative, regulatory and tax-related policies that create a bias in favour of large-scale, capital intensive, environmentally damaging agriculture and under-utilisation of land and which constrain the emergence of a vibrant, pro-poor rural economy, including in particular:
 - a) Repeal any legislation which prevents the sub-division of land and other policies which promote the concentration of ownership in land and the under-utilisation of land.
 - b) Introduce a special land tax and other progressive tax measures with the aim of creating incentives for the disposal of under-utilised land and the deconcentration of land ownership, and act urgently to remove biases that currently exist in the tax system that provide incentives for the ownership of large tracts of land, capital intensity and the underutilisation of agricultural land.
 - c) Revisit national agricultural policies, particularly in respect of subsidies, tariffs and marketing institutions, and the relationship between these and our objectives in respect of rural development, land reform and agrarian change as well as food security and inflation.
 - d) Combat monopolistic practices in the markets for agricultural land, inputs, finance and outputs.
 - 5 Where appropriate, work together with commercial agricultural and the private farming sector to promote black economic empowerment, create partnerships between emerging and established farmers, create linkages between large and small farmers including through procurement and 'contracting-out' and build institutions to contribute towards more equitable structures of production and ownership in rural South Africa, including through collective ownership, employment equity, skills development and support for new enterprises in the agricultural sector
 - 6 Support the growth of rural market institutions including through the provision of infrastructure and by helping rural communities and small farmers to build organisations which help them to access markets, build links with formal sector value chains and coordinate their activities to realise economies of scale. Such organisations may include producer co-operatives, small-holder associations, input supply co-ops, marketing co-ops and/or state regulated institutions designed to support and promote market access and collective action amongst small rural producers. Special attention will be given to the empowerment of women in co-operatives.
 - 7 Where necessary, expropriate property in the public interest or for public purpose in accordance with the Constitution to achieve equity, redress, social justice and sustainable development. All legislation pertaining to expropriation must be aligned with the Constitution.
 - 8 Ensure adequate resources are available for the creation of agricultural colleges and extension services specialising in the tasks of rural development, land reform and agrarian change. Community Development Workers in rural areas must be inducted properly on land and rural development issues in order to support an accelerated land reform programme and to ensure compliance with laws affecting farm workers.
 - 9 ANC branches will work together with the progressive trade union movement, particularly the Food and Agricultural Workers Union, government agencies and civil society to build national organisations for farm

workers and farm dwellers dedicated to the realisation of their rights, combating human rights abuses and super-exploitation, and the provision of support and advice to communities living on farms. Furthermore, to ensure the vigorous implementation of laws that protect farm workers and farm-dwellers by strengthening the capacity, resources and resolve of government to protect and advance their interest. This will include the review and strengthening of relevant legislation.

- 10 Ensure that the allocation of customary land be democratised in a manner which empowers rural women and supports the building of democratic community structures at village level, capable of driving and coordinating local development processes. The ANC will further engage with traditional leaders, including Contralesa, to ensure that disposal of land without proper consultation with communities and local governments is discontinued.
- 11 Integrate land rights and water rights into a common programme.
- 12 Find ways to stabilise food prices in order to prevent inflationary surges, protect food security and combat

hunger.

- 13 Accelerate the roll-out of rural infrastructure, particularly roads but also other services including potable water, electricity and irrigation and ensuring in particular that the former bantustan areas are properly provisioned with an infrastructural base for economic and social development, and that farm dwellers, like all South Africans benefit from universal access to free basic services. In this regard, the ANC reaffirms our objective of realising universal access to free basic water, electricity and sanitation before the centenary of the ANC and recognises that the bulk of this challenge is in rural South Africa.
- 14 Improve the coordination and synergy between departments and all levels of government to ensure an integrated approach to land reform and rural development.

TRANSFORMATION OF STATE AND GOVERNANCE

PREAMBLE

This 52nd National Conference of the ANC engaged with matters relating to the transformation of state and governance. Conference resolved on the organisation of the state; system of electoral representation; providing a broad framework for governance; transformation of the judiciary thus giving our movement clear strategic direction in this area.

This resolution should provide enduring and useful guidance for the ANC as a whole, but in particular for those cadres that we deploy to government and legislatures to implement policy and develop tactical responses to a dynamic and constantly evolving society.

By building a broad consensus on the governing strategy we can confront the challenges we face over the next decade with confidence, as a united movement with a clear vision of the road ahead.

ELECTORAL SYSTEM

NOTING THAT:

- 1 The factors that led us to opt for a proportional representation system for national and provincial elections remain relevant. We are still a nation in transition and must ensure that we facilitate representivity across the various sectors of our communities through a credible, generally accepted and understood electoral system.
- 2 Our current system can best help us reach the true objectives of the NDR within the framework of our founding Constitutional principles.

BELIEVING THAT:

- 1 The imperatives to retain the current electoral system remain and call upon us to improve our responsiveness to the electorate.

RESOLVES THAT:

- 1 The current electoral system should be maintained and be strengthened, further to enhance the links between the people and their public representatives.
- 2 The formula used to calculate the allocation of seats in local government elections should be reviewed to ensure that it does not disadvantage parties that get more ward votes.
- 3 Appropriate requirements should be set for persons wishing to contest elections as independent candidates.

FLOOR CROSSING

NOTING THAT:

- 1 The issue of allowing public representatives to join another political party whilst keeping their seats has been under discussion since the start of the constitutional negotiations that established our new democracy.
- 2 Because of our divided political history, many public representatives had a false understanding of political organisations to which they had not been exposed but after interacting with members of these organisations, realised that they stood for similar principles as they did and therefore wanted to join them.
- 3 As a result of the political dynamics at the time, the ANC agreed in 2001 that floor crossing should be provided for to allow public representatives who had changed their mind about the party of which they were a member to join another party.
- 4 A number of political parties requested that floor crossing be provided for. This was finally legislated in 2002 and was supported by the overwhelming number of parties in Parliament.
- 5 Since the floor crossing legislation came into effect in 2002 a number of difficulties and unforeseen consequences with the implementation of the legislation have emerged.

BELIEVING THAT:

- 1 The political terrain which necessitated floor crossing has changed.

RESOLVES THAT:

- 1 Floor-crossing should be abolished and that public representatives of other political parties should be encouraged to join the ANC regardless of whether or not they retain their seats.

SINGLE PUBLIC SERVICE

NOTING THAT:

- 1 The 2002 National Conference of the African National Congress:
 - a) Advocated the consolidation of the democratic order through the transformation of institutions of governance to facilitate the pursuit of the goal of creating a better life for all, the promotion of a

culture of democracy and human rights, non-racism and a new patriotism and African unity for reconstruction and development;

- b) Highlighted the need for cadres actively to build a developmental state, capable of implementing the objectives of our national democratic revolution, including the creation of a better life for all, addressing the legacy of apartheid colonialism and patriarchy, and acting as the driving force for socio-economic transformation;
- c) Emphasised the role of the state as the key instrument for the delivery of basic services to develop appropriate systems and structures in order to facilitate capable and sustainable service delivery machinery; and
- d) The 2004 Manifesto of the African National Congress promises better cooperation among national, provincial and local governments with integrated planning, monitoring and evaluation, and a common system of public service.

RECOGNISING THAT:

- 1 The Constitution provides that our country is one, sovereign, democratic state and that the government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated.
- 2 The Constitution requires all spheres of government to provide effective, efficient, transparent, accountable and coherent government to secure the well-being of the people and the progressive realisation of their constitutional rights.
- 3 One of the most pervasive challenges facing our country as a developmental state is the need for government to redress poverty, underdevelopment, marginalisation of people and communities and other legacies of apartheid and discrimination.
- 4 This challenge is best addressed through a concerted effort by government in all spheres to work together and to integrate as far as possible their actions in the provision of services, the alleviation of poverty and the development of the people and the country.

BELIEVING THAT:

- 1 The creation of a Single Public Service initiative will
 - a) enable administration in all three spheres of government to be organised and to operate in ways that ensure efficient, quality, collaborative and accountable service delivery to promote social and economic development for the people of the Republic;
 - b) enhance service delivery through flexible structures that enable and promote operational and front-line integration, innovation by means of amongst others

electronic government, human capital and talent management, managerial accountability, performance and people-orientated service culture; and

- c) further enhance service delivery through systematic information and knowledge management and collaboration between institutions within and across spheres of government as well as between those spheres and private and development sectors.

RESOLVES THAT:

- 1 The African National Congress should continue to lead and drive the process of the unification of the administration in the three spheres of government in a Single Public Service.
- 2 A structure be established within the Legislature and Governance Sub-committee of the NEC to support the implementation of the Single Public Service by facilitating engagements within Alliance structures and the ANC Caucuses across the different spheres of government.
- 3 The envisaged structure must monitor the implementation of the Single Public Service.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE JUDICIARY

NOTING THAT:

- 1 A number of the issues regarding the transformation of the judiciary that were decided upon at the National Conferences held in Mafikeng and Stellenbosch, and the 2005 National General Council have not yet been implemented.
- 2 Implementation of these decisions is long overdue.
- 3 There have been processes undertaken by both the executive, as well as the legislature, to consult all relevant role players, including the judiciary, on these policy issues, over a very lengthy period.

RESOLVES THAT:

- 1 A single, integrated, accessible and affordable court system must be established, including the integration of the Judicial Service Commission (JSC) and the Magistrates Commission (MC) into a single appointment mechanism and the establishment of a single grievance procedure for judicial officers.
- 2 The Constitutional Court should be the highest (apex) court for all matters, constitutional and non-constitutional, with the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA) as an intermediate court of appeal, with the proviso that this should not lead to undue delays in the hearing of appeals. Decisions of the SCA will be final if the Constitutional Court does not grant leave to appeal in a matter. Full bench appeals at the level of the High Court should be abolished and circuit courts shall be

introduced at the level of the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA).

- 3 The High Court system should be rationalised into a single High Court, with each province having, at least, a division of the high court, and the courts of appeal should be structured as described in paragraph 2. Each division of the High Court should have a single Judge President and a single territorial area of jurisdiction.
- 4 Skills resulting from specialisation must be retained as we move towards a single, integrated, streamlined court system. Therefore, specialist skills must be retained, but located within the single court system, for example, the Competition Appeal Court, the Electoral Court and Tax Courts must be so integrated. The Labour Appeal Court should be integrated into the SCA, as a separate chamber. The Labour Court should be integrated into each division of the High Court, possibly as separate Chambers. The creation of further specialised courts outside the single court system should be discouraged.
- 5 Judicial training and skills development of our judiciary is non-negotiable and must be vigorously pursued. Appropriate mechanisms must be urgently established to pursue the priority of establishing an adequate pool of judicial officers who are steeped in and reflect the progressive values of our constitution.
- 6 The re-demarkation of courts to enhance access to justice, especially in rural areas, must be urgently expedited. Magisterial Districts must be re-demarkated by taking into account the boundaries of the other levels of government, especially municipal boundaries and the distribution of courts in accordance with population demographics, especially in previously disadvantaged and marginalised communities. Outdated court descriptors (titles / descriptions) should be renamed. The various jurisdictions, mandates, boundaries etc. must be rationalised, integrated and aligned.
- 7 A new layer of Regional Civil Courts should be established by extending their jurisdiction to civil law matters; the functions of the old "black" Divorce Courts must be taken over by the new Regional Civil Magistrates Courts.
- 8 "Community" courts, municipal and small claims courts must be promoted and expanded where practical and practicable.
- 9 There must be an alignment of traditional courts with our new constitutional dispensation and particular attention must be paid to the incorporation and development of our indigenous law
- 10 There needs to be an integrated system of court governance, within a single judiciary, with the Chief Justice as the head of the judiciary.
- 11 Whilst justice is an exclusive national competency, there is a need to look at the matter carefully in the context of co-operative governance with particular

reference to access and equity. We reaffirm the need for everyone to respect the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary, especially in so far as the adjudicative function of the courts is concerned. The judiciary must adjudicate without fear, favour or prejudice, but should also respect the areas of responsibility of other arms of the state and not unduly encroach in those areas.

- 12 The principle of separation of powers and the independence of the judiciary must be respected by all spheres of government. In this context:
 - a) The Chief Justice, as head of the judicial authority, should exercise authority and responsibility over the development and implementation of norms and standards for the exercise of all judicial functions, such as the allocation of judges, cases and court rooms within all courts in the court system.
 - b) The administration of courts, including any allocation of resources, financial management and policy matters relating to the administration of courts, are the ultimate responsibility of the Minister responsible for the administration of justice.
- 13 There must be a single rule-making mechanism for all courts, which is inclusive of all role players, to process rules through the Rules Board, which is a specialist advisory body consisting mainly of legal practitioners, with the rules being approved by the Minister and Parliament, and in the process of adopting rules to allow for public participation.
- 14 Every person must enjoy the right to use an official language of his or her choice in all court proceedings of first instance. Interpretation services must be provided, as far as is possible, where the language in criminal proceedings is not the accused's official language of choice or is conducted in a language he or she does not understand. In the case of an appeal / review against the findings of the court of first instance, the record must be typed in English, for use in the court of appeal/review. Any written court process (for example, a summons or writ of execution) should be produced and printed in English and, if it is the wish of a litigant, in one other official language, as prescribed.
- 15 This resolution, including past resolutions, must be urgently implemented by the end of the present term of government.

REVIEW OF PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

NOTING THAT:

- 1 Government has launched and completed the first phase of the provincial and local government policy review and that the public in all sectors has taken the process seriously, with more than one hundred and thirty submissions received. These submissions

provided practical insights and lessons about thirteen years of provincial and local governance and contain proposals to make the system more efficient, equitable and accountable, and able to provide a better quality of service and governance to South Africa.

- 2 Inputs from political parties, provincial governments and national departments were not as numerous as expected, which means that the policy review process is denuded of the benefit of unlocking the practical experiences and insights of important stakeholders.
- 3 That the provincial and local government policy review will be completed in early 2009, with a draft policy and review released in mid-2008.

RESOLVES

- 1 That the incoming NEC must ensure that an ANC summit is held to formulate an input into process to develop a White Paper on Provincial Government and to review the Local Government White Paper.

ETHICS AND INTEGRITY

BELIEVING THAT:

- 1 The ANC has through its 95-year history always embodied and aspired to the highest morality and values of South African society.
- 2 Service to and in the name of the African National Congress requires the highest level of ethical conduct and integrity.
- 3 Any unethical conduct by public officials destroys the trust of citizens in public institutions and governance processes.
- 4 Corruption is a systemic and institutional phenomenon involving all sectors of society and undermines democratic processes and corporate governance and erodes social cohesion and values. Measures to combat corruption must deal with both those who corrupt as well as those who are corrupted.

FURTHER BELIEVING THAT:

- 5 The South African national integrity system encompasses the legislative, executive, judicial, business and civil society sectors and must be underpinned by our revolutionary morality and historic values.
- 6 The public have a crucial role to play in exposing corruption. Preventative measures including awareness and communication should be used to ensure ethical conduct.
- 7 All sectors, especially the legislatures and judiciary need to be strengthened actively to promote and support integrity.
- 8 Anti-corruption standards of the African, OECD and United Nations legal instruments must be made

applicable to South Africa through national legislation.

RESOLVES THAT:

- 1 ANC members and leaders in particular should continue to actively promote ethical and democratic values and lead by example.
- 2 ANC members and leaders in particular must avoid conflicts of interest or perceived conflicts of interest.
- 3 The ANC must provide leadership to society as a whole in the fight against corruption.

AND FURTHER RESOLVING THAT:

- 4 The private sector in its national and foreign business dealings must be held to comply with and promote the highest standards of sound and ethical corporate governance and social responsibility.
- 5 The public sector should continue to play a leadership role in ensuring ethical conduct and integrity in all aspects of the national integrity system through multi-sectoral forums such as the National Anti-Corruption Forum.
- 6 South Africa should continue to promote its anti-corruption values and interests in continental and international structures.

THE FOLLOWING ISSUES WERE REFERRED TO THE INCOMING NEC FOR PROCESSING:

VOTING AGE

RESOLVES THAT:

The proposal that the voting age be lowered from 18 to 16 needs serious investigation and discussion.

POST-TENURE/EMPLOYMENT RULES FOR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS

BELIEVING THAT:

- 1 Public service to the people of South Africa is a revolutionary duty of all cadres of the ANC that should be executed with dedication and selflessness, in particular by those deployed to serve in executives, legislatures and the public service at all levels.
- 2 The highest standards of integrity are required of all elected representatives and appointed public officials.
- 3 The rampant and selfish quest for personal wealth undermines the values and revolutionary morality of the national democratic society we seek to build.

RECOGNISING THAT:

- 1 Legitimate, ethical economic activity and the flow of

skills and experience between the public and private sectors are necessary to grow the South African economy.

RESOLVES THAT:

- 1 The NEC needs to urgently develop a clear framework to guide the flow of skills between the public and private sector. This framework must specify:
 - a) a period during which public representatives and senior officials in the public service should be prohibited from accepting appointment to a board of directors, any form of employment or any other substantial benefit from a national or international private sector organisation to which a contract, tender or partnership arrangement has been awarded, or in the process of negotiation by the public organisation to which the official was attached.
 - b) compensation for public representatives and senior officials who are prohibited from the above.
- 2 Public representatives and senior officials must desist from using their former public office, including supplying any information or other strategic advantage, for the benefit of any private sector organisation;
- 3 Mechanisms currently in existence must be strengthened to curb the possibilities of the abuse of public office for personal gain.

FURTHER RESOLVES THAT:

- 4 The NEC must provide mechanisms to assist cadres requiring guidance in individual or collective interests they may want to pursue.
- 5 Career-pathing and other measures should be put in place to prepare deployed cadres for the possibility of redeployment.

DEFENDING THE DEMOCRATIC STATE

BELIEVING THAT:

- 1 It is the responsibility of the members and structures of our movement and the broad democratic movement to defend the democratic state and its institutions.

RESOLVES THAT:

- 1 The need for respect for the institutions of the

democratic state by members and supporters of our movement; respect for the institutions of the democratic state and public property owned by the people as a whole, during the exercise of the entrenched democratic right to engage in public demonstrations, be reaffirmed.

- 2 The use of force during public demonstrations and mass protests resulting in such unacceptable actions as violent assaults against the people, intimidation in various forms, looting and destruction of property should be unequivocally condemned.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A WOMEN'S MINISTRY

NOTING THAT

- 1 The ANC has led South Africa in ensuring that the empowerment of women is brought to the centre of development.
- 2 South Africa has addressed issues of women empowerment through all government departments and by monitoring through the gender machinery set up in the Presidency.
- 3 Fighting poverty is a key objective of the ANC and that poverty affects women disproportionately.
- 4 There is a need to consider the impact of all government policies on women and for the coordination of the necessary redress.
- 5 The experience of countries such as Chile and Tunisia demonstrate the need for a Women's Ministry.

FURTHER NOTING THAT:

- 1 The ANC's objective is to halve poverty by 2014 and work towards the eradication of poverty.
- 2 Further investigation is necessary on the appropriate government structures to address issues affecting women, including the establishment of a Women's Ministry.
- 3 The increasing feminisation of poverty in SA and globally.

THEREFORE RESOLVES THAT:

- 1 The ANC's policies and programmes need to address the increasing feminisation of poverty in South Africa.
- 2 Serious consideration is given to the establishment of a Women's Ministry.

PEACE AND STABILITY

Noting:

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

Further noting:

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

Therefore resolves that:

- 5 Implementation of all resolutions on peace and stability adopted at the 51st Conference be finalised and clear time-frames must be drawn.

SINGLE POLICE SERVICE

- 6 The constitutional imperative that there be a Single Police Service should be implemented.
- 7 The municipal, metro and traffic police, be placed under the command and control of the National Commissioner of the South African Police Service, as a force multiplier.
- 8 The Directorate of Special Operations (Scorpions) be dissolved.
- 9 Members of the DSO performing policing functions must fall under the South African Police Services.
- 10 The relevant legislative changes be effected as a matter of urgency to give effect to the foregoing resolution.

COMMUNITY SAFETY FORUMS (CSFs)

Noting that:

- 11 Community Safety Forums are established to monitor and coordinate the functioning of the Criminal Justice System at the local/municipal level.
- 12 There is a strong need to support and strengthen the implementation of Community Safety Forums.
- 13 Serious thought be applied concerning where to locate Community Safety Forums within the structures of government so as to ensure that they perform their functions adequately.

Therefore resolves:

- 14 Community Safety Forums must be located within the Provincial Safety and Security Departments.
- 15 All necessary steps must be taken to speed up the

establishment, management and funding of CSFs.

- 16 Align all the structures of the justice cluster system, viz., police, justice, and correctional services to municipal boundaries and develop appropriate programmes that address all issues of safety and security and justice.
- 17 The ANC Peace and Stability Desks at provincial, regional, and branch level must make sure that CSFs are established and function adequately.
- 18 Noting that the location of police stations continues to follow patterns established under the apartheid system, this arrangement needs to be reviewed as part of the introduction of CSFs.
- 19 The programme of School Safety and Tourism Safety must be located within the Community Safety Forums.

CRIME PREVENTION AND MASS MOBILISATION

Noting that:

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

Therefore resolves:

- 22 ANC/Alliance needs to encourage its members and communities to participate in CSFs, prioritise and run campaigns around peace and stability issues, based on a clear programme that is linked to the Moral Regeneration Campaign.
- 23 There should be a programme of mobilisation and integration of structures such as School Governing Bodies and Parent-Teacher Associations with safety and security structures in order to defeat crime in our communities.
- 24 Traditional leaders should be mobilised to play a more significant role in promoting peace and stability in rural areas.
- 25 The Rural Safety Plan must be implemented and made visible in rural areas.
- 26 Young people must also be involved in a massive programme of community policing and safety that would include night street patrols and have stipends paid by government as part of the national youth service to instill the value to serve and protect the community and public property amongst our youth.
- 27 There is a need for a firm resolution on Social Crime Prevention.

- 28 Police stations must be centres for coordinating mass mobilisation against crime.

JUDICIARY

Noting that:

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

Therefore resolves:

- 31 To establish a single, integrated judicial system with various divisions. Because many South Africans (particularly the poor) interact with the judicial system at local courts, more resources should be allocated to lower courts to improve their capacity and accessibility.
- 32 To establish High Courts in all the provinces so as to make it possible for our people to have easy access to the Supreme Court of Appeals in all the provinces.
- 33 Adoption and Implementation of transformative bills that are currently being debated.
- 34 Need to recruit law graduates (especially black) and devise means to keep them within the profession.
- 35 To devise means in terms of which all official languages are used in the courts, in order to enhance access to Justice.

MILITARY VETERANS

Noting that:

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

Therefore resolves:

- 37 That the Ministry of Military Veterans be established as a matter of urgency.
- 38 That the Special Pension of Military Veterans be subjected to a specially crafted tax system.
- 39 That the Non-Statutory Force (NSF) pension should be redrafted to allow for the payment of a lump sum at the end of the person's pensionable age.
- 40 That military veterans and members of the SANDF travel on public transport in the same way as members of the South African Police Service are allowed to benefit from this scheme.
- 41 That the age limit of 35 years for beneficiaries of the Special Pension in terms of the relevant Act should be reviewed to include groups that were excluded on the basis of age.

- 42 That MKMVA must participate in the NEC Peace and Stability sub-committee at all levels.
- 43 That the Military Veterans Affairs Act, no 17 of 1999 must be amended with respect to, for example Section 3, Section 7 and other clauses, to enable full participation of the non-statutory forces.
- 44 That a transformed and all-embracing SANMVA should be the official representative body of all South African Military veterans as soon as the said Military Veterans Affairs Act has been amended.
- 45 That amended constitution of the SANMVA define the organisation as an administrator of all military veterans' projects, identify training areas and intervene on behalf of veterans for recognition of prior learning, training and skills qualifications acquired outside the SA borders.
- 46 That the Housing Ministry should reserve a certain percentage of RDP houses per province for military veterans.
- 47 That the possibility of the establishment of a special Medical Aid Scheme for military veterans be investigated.

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEES

Noting that:

- 48 Immigration control and the management of refugee affairs pose a challenge to the state

Therefore resolves:

- 49 The Immigration Act be revised to make it more comprehensive to ensure that while it promotes development, national and regional security concerns are addressed.
- 50 The ANC structures must take a lead in fighting xenophobic practices and ensure the integration of refugees in society and that security of children, women and the elderly is protected.
- 51 The ANC must facilitate the process of establishing local committees to assist with the promotion of cooperation, mutual understanding, monitoring and integration to build solidarity between South Africans, refugees and immigrant communities.
- 52 The Immigration Act should be revised to allow for stringent screening processes to prevent law fugitives from other countries from entering the country as refugees.
- 53 The Department of Home Affairs should continue to establish refugee centres with the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

POLICING FUNCTIONS OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

Noting that:

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

Therefore resolves:

- 56 The policing functions performed by traditional authorities must be determined and monitored closely so as to align them with mainstream policing.

PRIVATE SECURITY COMPANIES

Noting that:

- 57 A large number of private security companies have mushroomed in the last couple of years and are often guilty of noncompliance with the laws of the country, including labour legislation resulting in malpractices such as the exploitation of workers.

Therefore resolve:

- 58 The legislative and regulatory framework within which the private security companies operate should be strengthened.
- 59 That the powers of the Secretariat for Safety and Security be extended to allow them to monitor the activities of private security companies in conjunction with the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA).
- 60 The Department of Safety and Security and the Department of Labour as well as relevant labour unions collaborate with regard to the establishment of an appropriate regulatory framework for the purpose of enforcing compliance.

COMMUNITY SAFETY CENTRES / VICTIM EMPOWERMENT/SUPPORT CENTRES

Therefore resolve:

- 61 Victim centres must be funded fully and be made accessible to all communities.
- 62 Establish and capacitate assisting places of refuge for abused women and children.
- 63 Launch extensive national campaign on the Charter for

Victims of Crime.

- 64 The ANC should lead the private/public partnerships in the campaign on the charter for victims of crime with relevant role-players.

INTELLIGENCE

Therefore resolves:

- 65 To capacitate the Intelligence services to be able to pro-actively deal with matters threatening peace and stability of the country

CORRECTIONS

Noting that:

- 66 The number of awaiting trial detainees is still high and in particular for minor offences.
- 67 Correcting offending behavior is the responsibility of society as a whole.

Therefore resolves:

- 68 A comprehensive remand system be developed
- 69 Alternative mechanism be introduced for dealing with offenders other than incarceration for deserving cases.
- 70 Encourage community participation in parole boards and corrections, rehabilitation and reintegration initiatives.

CHILDREN IN CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

Noting that:

- 71 Children, youth and hardened criminals are often detained in the same cells.
- 72 Issues of children in conflict with the law require improved coordination and facilitation of the transformation of the child justice system.

Therefore resolves to:

- 73 Capacitate existing Secure Care Centres and accelerate the establishment of additional centres.
- 74 Capacitate the currently existing Reformatory Schools and accelerate the establishment of additional centres.
- 75 Increase innovative solutions for the rehabilitation of youth in conflict with the law.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION:

- 1 The situation in the world has changed radically over recent years. More and more people than ever before live in democratic societies. In many of the African countries the guns are silent and mechanisms towards peaceful resolution of conflicts are in place and peace is being realised. This situation gives us confidence and hope that we are on the right path towards a possible "just world and a better Africa" for humankind. We can today proclaim that a "just world and a better Africa" is a possibility.
- 2 Conference in general agreed with the characterisation of the international situation as outlined in the Strategy and Tactics as adopted at the 52nd National Conference. However the conference decided to further elaborate on the following issues; which continue to shape and characterise the balance of forces with contesting ideological views and aspirations for a particular world order.

Noting that:

- 3 Imperialism has mutated into a sophisticated system in the globalised world, often associated with violence and aggression in its pursuit for exploitation of resources in the developing countries and its impact on the African continent.
- 4 Globalisation is also being shaped by the agenda of the dominant global forces, these include transnational corporations controlling trillions of Rands of humanity's wealth, alliances around one "hyper-power" whose dominance is reminiscent of empires of bygone era, and cultural domination reflected in trends towards homogenisation of media content and the arts. A critical consequence of all this is the undermining of a system of global governance.
- 5 We live in a situation in which an exploitative socio-economic system rules the world, and the danger should not be underestimated of widening wars of conquest and other more sophisticated means of subversion in search of resources, markets and geopolitical advantage.
- 6 That the system of capitalism holds sway across the world; and it is underpinned by the unique dominance of one "hyper-power". This situation of unipolarity also has secondary multi-polar features reflected in geopolitical blocs among developed and developing countries.

Believing that:

- 7 In responding to this challenge of imperialism, the ANC needs to strengthen itself and other progressive forces and develop a common agenda with an objective of

realising a just and a better world. Such a world order must be characterised, inter-alia by greater security, peace, dialogue and greater equilibrium between the poor and the rich. In this we are guided by the ANC principles of "a better life for all and a vision of a better Africa and a just world".

- 8 Internationalism is a crucial feature in the unique character of the ANC inspired by the spirit and ideals of human solidarity.
- 9 That the ANC correctly became part of the progressive forces that fought against colonialism, racism, poverty, patriarchy and other social ills, and the founders defined the movement as a unifier and premier representative of the African people beyond the borders of South Africa.
- 10 The international front was one of the key pillars of the struggle that led to the defeat of the apartheid regime in 1994 and remains one of the catalysts in the creation of a better world.

Recalling and reaffirming:

- 11 All previous resolutions on international relations of the ANC 50th Conference of 1997 in Mafikeng and the 51st Conference of 2002 in Stellenbosch including those from the National General Council (NGC) of 2005 such as on:
 - 11.1 Consolidating the reform of global governance structures,
 - 11.2 Democracy, Good Governance and Human Rights,
 - 11.3 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,
 - 11.4 Affirmation of the 2005 National General Council (NGC) Resolution on the Group of Eight (G8),
 - 11.5 Affirm the 2005 NGC Resolution on "Making Poverty History" Campaign.
- 12 Reaffirmation of the resolutions from the Stellenbosch ANC 51st Conference in 2002 as still valid and relevant as most are work in progress and should continuously be reviewed in line with new challenges and developments that occur in the world.

Commitment to:

- 13 Pan African Infrastructure Development Fund
 - 13.1 Having noted that the Pan-African Infrastructure Development Fund was launched with a projected collection of \$1 billion from governments of Africa. The proposal of both the establishment of the Fund together with the proposal for the South African Development Partnership Agency could be used as instruments to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and could be the

beginning of Africa being less dependent on outside aid.

14 Millennium Development Goals

- 14.1 **Recognising**, that all eight of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), will not be achieved by the developing nations and in particular by those in Sub-Saharan Africa by 2015.
- 14.2 **Noting that**, although developed nations have cancelled certain debts to Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) this has not been a comprehensive cancellation of debt.
- 14.3 Conference further expressed its disappointment in the failure of the West, in particular the G8 Countries and other major donor countries, for not honouring their commitments to the MDGs.
- 14.4 **Therefore calls** on the developed nations to honour their commitments through implementation of increasing aid, making available 0.7% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to poor countries, removing subsidies on agricultural goods and finalising the Doha Round of negotiations for a free, fair and sustainable trade regime.
- 14.5 At the same time we should be encouraging and assisting each other as countries in the developing world in honouring our own commitments for good governance, the fight against corruption and on the implementation of our economic reforms for the benefit of our economic growth and development.

Therefore resolves on the following policies:

ON THE AFRICAN UNION GOVERNMENT

- 15 Towards an African Union Government based on the current analysis of the continental and international political environment and challenges, which require a united continent of Africa capable of engaging other powerful nations and thus being in line with the ANC vision of building a better Africa:
- That the revival of the idea of an African Union Government is welcomed, as one of the goals that inspired the African leaders of the anti-colonial struggles.
 - In principle the Conference supports the establishment of the African Union Government and the creation of such a government as a step toward a strategic goal for the unification of Africa. However, the process must be informed by a developmental agenda for Africa with immediate focus on building Regional Economic Communities/ regional blocs (RECs), with emphasis on regional integration.
 - In addition, the Conference agreed with submissions from provinces such as: strengthening of the AU and all its organs in its role as a catalyst towards the

formation of the African Union Government.

- To strengthen the legislative body of Africa (the Pan African Parliament) and promote the harmonisation of laws in Africa.
- Further use the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as the developmental blueprint in the continent through mobilisation and promotion of programmes.
- To develop a common approach, through involvement of civil society and the general citizenry for their active participation in continental programmes.
- That South Africa be proactive in the debate and processes that lead towards the creation of the African Union Government including the mobilisation of the progressive forces (and governments) towards a common understanding of the strategic plan.
- ANC should engage its structures and the South African public in general to develop a better understanding of the agenda for Africa and the world. In guiding the discussions in our structures, in the movement and society in general the ANC needs to develop a discussion paper containing proposals on the form, character and shape of the African Union Government. The paper should also capture the debates and history by the post-independent Africa leadership in the early 1960s before the formation of the OAU and later towards the formation of the African Union.
- In addition, the ANC should call a consultative summit to consider the theological (spiritual and religious) and social implications of this proposal and this being done in consultation with the NEC International Relations Committee.
- The ANC to initiate a debate on the future of the Pan African Parliament on whether or not it should have legislative powers as the mandate stands and its shape and character.

ON THE SADC REGION

- 16 The conference strongly recommends the consolidation of SADC as a Regional Economic Community as a first step towards the development of the African Union Government.
- 17 Also noting that the SADC region still faces a number of challenges that need to be resolved so as to ensure its effective functioning. Conference also recognises the need for political will within the SADC countries and its leadership to be able to achieve SADC objectives.
- 18 The ANC has to play a prominent role in strengthening and consolidating the region politically.
- 19 To achieve our economic and political programmes as agreed by the SADC regional leadership – our

approach should be developmental and ensure diversification of the economies of the member states.

- 20 Furthermore, the SADC Parliament should be established so that it could engage and contribute to a common approach on issues in the region.

ON SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT PARTNERSHIP AGENCY (SADPA)

- 21 The idea of a Developmental Partnership is one of the key strategies that could assist the ANC and government in pursuit of our vision for a better Africa. The Development Partnership will enhance our agenda on international relations which rests on three pillars namely; (i) consolidation of the African agenda, (ii) South-South and (iii) North-South cooperation.
- 22 The national budgetary processes should commit the necessary resources to such a developmental partnership. The fund should be located in the Department of Foreign Affairs as is the current situation, functioning as the African Renaissance Fund.

ON THE PRINCIPLE OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

- 23 Conference resolves to support the principle of strategic partnership outlined in the ANC policy discussion document. This strategic partnership, while assisting the ANC in achieving our strategic goals, must also ensure consolidation of the African Agenda, with the following provisions:
- 23.1 Continued engagement with India and Brazil (IBSA) as well as with China is supported as part of consolidating South-South Relations; and
- 23.2 Such strategic partnerships are not narrowly interpreted as relationships at government level only, but also independently include party-to-party relations as well as civil society formations.

ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

- 24 Conference noted that the advent of democracy has created new opportunities for South African business both in Africa and in the world, particularly in the retail, mining, construction, engineering, banking services, communication services, agricultural, agri-processing etc.
- 25 It further noted that this opportunity, whilst welcomed, brings with it new challenges in the relationship between South Africa and other African countries. Therefore:
- 25.1 The conference endorses the idea of strengthening economic capacity in South African embassies to assist South African businesses to gain access to available business opportunities

abroad and on the continent; at the same time to encourage African countries to engage in intra-African trade and take advantage of positive economic developments on the continent. This will encourage trade and investment amongst African states and in the South, thus supporting national and continental interests; and further resolves that:

- 25.2 The ANC, through government, should ensure that the intensification of economic diplomacy leads to changes of colonial patterns of economic relations, and creates possibilities for equitable and balanced North-South relations, transformation and beneficiation of African natural resources, sustainable flows of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), market access for products from the South to generate employment, and contribute to poverty eradication.

A BUSINESS CODE OF CONDUCT IN THE CONTINENT

- 26 The Conference took note of the concerns regarding the practices by South African companies doing business in the continent. It further noted the need for the development of a code of good business practice, which should be complied with by companies trading in different parts of the continent.
- 27 It was therefore resolved to give in principle support for the development of such a code, which will need to be legislated and regulated without restricting the competitiveness of those companies.
- 28 In the development of the code of conduct we need to also interact with the countries in Africa:
- To encourage them to strengthen their labour and trade laws.
 - To encourage the private sector/business to comply with the standards of the International Labour Organisation (ILO).
 - That South African business should project local experience of good practices in the countries in which they operate.
- 29 The following principles will guide the development of the code:
- The code of conduct should have general standards that guide it, such as prohibition of child labour, discouragement of bribery and that those who practice such actions be criminalised.
 - The standards on the code of conduct should include among others, the encouragement of recruitment of local labour, imparting of skills, prohibition of child labour and contribute to the social responsibility programmes of that country.

PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

- 30 Conference realised a need for the ANC to develop a clear policy guide for parliament, legislatures and municipalities in their engagement with the international bodies to which they are affiliated and in the establishment of Memorandums of Understanding (MOU) between these bodies. Conference therefore resolves that:
- 30.1 There is a need to develop capacity to monitor all these processes and ensure that there is coordination at all levels and everyone pursues common goals and objectives as in our foreign policy.
- 30.2 There should be proper training of all cadres involved or participating in the foreign/international activities in pursuance of our programmes.
- 30.3 South African embassies should play the role of providing delegations with information, advice and protocol without undermining the separation of powers as dictated in the SA constitution.

POLITICAL PARTY FOUNDATION FUNDING

- 31 The Conference supports the proposal as tabled in the policy document as this will assist in the building of the progressive movement in Africa and in the World
- 32 The funding mechanism should be linked to the proposal in the Organisational Review on the funding of political parties through public funds.

REBUILDING ASSOCIATED BODIES OF THE AU

- 33 In addition to ECOSOC, the Conference supports the revival and strengthening of structures of the then Organisation of African Unity (OAU) like Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO) and Pan African Youth Movement (PAYM).

RELIGION AND POLITICS

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

PARTY-TO-PARTY RELATIONS

Conference resolves that:

- 35 Party-to-Party relations amongst former liberation movements like SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO, ZANU PF, PAIGC, CCM, SPLM/A, etc, must be prioritised by the ANC and meetings and structured support of the former liberation movements in the region must be pursued.

- 36 An audit be conducted 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.
- 37 A deliberate effort be made to strengthen relations with all progressive and like-minded parties in the region, continent and the world.
- 38 Relations with other ruling parties in the continent that might not share the same vision with the ANC must be promoted and such relations could be based on common interests.

CURRENT POLICIES THAT REQUIRE REVIEW, STRENGTHENING AND REINVIGORATION

MIGRATION, IMMIGRANTS AND XENOPHOBIA

On migration:

- 39 Conference identified challenges regarding the movement of people, the mobility of labour and skills which characterises the world outlook. With it come new challenges that confront us such as xenophobic tendencies and lack of appreciation of the new developments and its positive spin-offs. The Conference therefore resolves that the ANC reviews the current policy and systems including our laws that also take on board the new decisions on the free movement of people and regional economic communities.

On illegal immigrants:

- 40 Conference further resolves that there is a need to work closely with SADC countries to harmonise immigration policies with particular reference to combating of crime associated with illegal immigrations.

On Refugees:

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

On Xenophobia:

- 42 Conference resolves that the ANC needs to:
- work on improving the relationship between South African communities and foreign nationals;
 - conduct awareness campaigns amongst our communities to prevent incidents resulting from xenophobia;
 - acknowledge the valuable skills many immigrants bring to the country, while preventing exploitation;
 - ensure that our policy formulation is guided by the resolutions of the World Conference against Racism, Xenophobia and other Intolerances.

TWINNING OF PROVINCES, CITIES AND MUNICIPALITIES

- 43 Conference agreed that we need to develop a policy on twinning agreements with clear objectives and guidelines and develop capacity to monitor implementation and report to the next NGC for consideration of such a policy and implementation programme, and to also review some of the MOUs already signed by municipalities and Provinces.

BUILDING A PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD

Conference resolves:

- 44 That the ANC embarks on a programme to strengthen the progressive movement in Africa and formalise relations with the global progressive movement in particular Latin America and East Asia.
- 45 To task the ANC International Relations Committee to develop a concept political discussion document which will guide the debate. Already the ANC is being asked to initiate or play a leading role on progressive parties.
- 46 Lastly to task the NEC to commit resources and space for the holding of a first meeting of the progressive parties/movements in Africa, with a view to holding an international meeting of all progressive parties/movements in the world before the next conference of the ANC.

STRENGTHENING SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY

- 47 **Conference notes** that our approach to international relations is based on South African domestic policy as well as our national interests. Hence the dominant features of our foreign policy are:
- the struggle against poverty and underdevelopment especially in Africa guided by the NEPAD programmes;
 - peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts;
 - peace-keeping activities;
 - partnerships;
 - building and reforming institutions on the continent; and,
 - ensuring influence on political global issues.

Therefore recommends that:

- 48 The Department of Foreign Affairs should change from the Department of Foreign Relations and having embraced the development partnership proposal and should include International cooperation aspects and be renamed, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, abbreviated as DICO.

- 49 The ANC and government through the Department of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with other departments, need to ensure that there is a deliberate educational programme on our international work and achievements to ensure its deeper understanding within our structures.
- 50 To also emphasise the coordination of international engagements across the different spheres of the government and in the organisation.

AFRICAN DIASPORA

- 51 Africans in the Diaspora are those brothers and sisters whose origins are in Africa but are in parts of the world due to forced slavery, long years of migration but who continue to identify themselves as Africans and are making efforts to reconnect with the continent.
- 52 As a result of this consciousness, identity and reconnection move, programmes are unfolding to take advantage of the developments.
- 53 Most of them have skills which they have acquired in their countries of residence and naturalisation that can benefit Africa.
- 54 The ANC notes with keen interest and resolves to support initiatives towards a summit on the African Diaspora, which we are hosting as South Africa. We should share perspectives and policy considerations that will be debated in the summit
- 55 Calling on all ANC Members and the mass democratic movement to debate and understand the concepts and the resolutions that emanate from such conferences as the Summit on African Diaspora.

REAFFIRMED NGC RESOLUTIONS AND NEW RESOLUTIONS AND CAMPAIGNS:

ON ZIMBABWE

- 56 The people of Zimbabwe in the main would find a solution to their current problems. The Conference expressed support for South Africa's mediation effort as mandated by the SADC region.

ON WESTERN SAHARA

- 57 Recalling the historic relations of comradeship and solidarity existing between the ANC and the Frente Polisario/Polisario Front as allies in the struggle against injustice, colonialism and apartheid.
- 58 Recalling that Western Sahara is the only remaining colony in Africa.
- 59 Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence.

- 60 Recalling all relevant UN Human Rights reports and reports of other international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, etc.

Therefore resolves to:

- 61 Urge 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.
- 62 Call upon the African Union and progressive forces to join efforts in solidarity with Frente Polisario/Polisario Front for the realisation of independence, freedom and self-determination of the Saharawi people.
- 63 Express firm solidarity with Saharawi political prisoners and human rights defenders as well as urging the international community on the protection of Saharawi civilians, including support both materially and otherwise, and encourage delegations to visit the occupied territories and refugee camps.
- 64 Call on the international community to be mobilised to achieve the immediate lifting of the military, security and media blackout imposed in the occupied territories of Western Sahara, the removal of the wall, to initiate and lobby the international community for the wealth of Western Sahara to be under the mandate of the United Nations.
- 65 Salute the struggle and determination of the Saharawi people, both in occupied and liberated zones, as well as in refugee camps under the leadership of Frente Polisario/Polisario Front.

ON PALESTINE

Noting:

- 66 The 60th Anniversary of the Palestinian catastrophe, known as the Nakba, which resulted in the dispossession of Palestinian lands and their birthright through a systematic policy of colonial expansion, ethnic cleansing and military occupation of the most brutal kind, which as South Africans we readily recognise from our own experience of apartheid.
- 67 Our support for the numerous United Nations (UN) resolutions as well as submissions of our government to the International Court of Justice which recognised the illegality of the Israel occupation, the illegal settlements, the building of the apartheid wall, the system of road blocks, seizure of land, detentions without trial, extra-judicial killings and the imprisonment of over 10,000 Palestinians including women and children;
- 68 That given our own experience in our liberation struggle, we South Africans know the force of an international solidarity campaign in bringing to bear on an oppressive regime to force it into real negotiations

and a just solution.

Resolves:

- 69 To intensify our solidarity efforts supporting a just solution, including the strengthening of a sovereign, independent Palestinian state, which will help to bring peace to the region and an end to the conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis.
- 70 To become a leading part of the world-wide movement, which includes South African civil society, supporting the struggle and campaigns led by the Palestinian people.
- 71 To continue to support the efforts by our government to encourage an inclusive peaceful process of a negotiated settlement between the concerned parties.
- 72 To lead efforts to strengthen and coordinate a broad-based Palestinian Solidarity movement.
- 73 To also support the ANC efforts in engaging with all parties in Israel and Palestine to find an amicable resolution towards the settlement of the Palestinian question and peace in the Middle East.

CUITO CUANAVALÉ

- 74 We congratulate the governments and peoples of Angola and Cuba on the 20th Anniversary of the historic battle of Cuito Cuanavale, which constituted a decisive defeat of South African racist forces and their UNITA surrogates and accelerated Namibia and then South Africa's liberation and independence.
- 75 We resolve:
- 75.1 To ensure that the people of South Africa are made fully aware of this historic victory, of the sacrifice of Angolans and Cuban forces and their contribution to our liberation in the glorious spirit of internationalism.
- 75.2 The ANC to organise celebratory events such as those planned by the South African Parliament with its counterparts in Angola, Namibia, Cuba and Russia.

PAWO

- 76 Noting that the ANC Women's Section was among the founder members of the Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO) in 1962 which was later recognised by the OAU;
- 77 Welcoming the decision of the last PAWO Congress held in Zimbabwe that requested South Africa to host the next conference;
- 78 Believing that PAWO is playing a major role in the emancipation of women in the continent
- 79 Further believing that the revival of PAWO to meet the new challenges in the continent, will make an important contribution to Africa's Renaissance;

- 80 Therefore the Conference resolves to support the hosting of the Pan African Women's Organisation Conference in the coming year (2008) and wishes the women of the continent a successful conference.

RESOLUTION ON INTERFAITH INITIATIVE ON THE CONTINENT

- 81 Recognising the important role played by religion in the greater part of the population throughout Africa, the ANC urges the NRLF to take active steps including public consultative processes to promote interfaith initiatives to promote unity, peace and prosperity on the continent.

RESOLUTION ON AFRICOM

Noting:

- 82 The current moves by the United States of America (USA) to enlarge its military presence in Africa under the cover of fighting terrorism, fundamentalism and extremism;
- 83 Encouraged by the overwhelming rejection by the African countries of this latest American design to interfere in continental affairs;
- 84 The conference urges Africa to remain united and resolute in the rejection of the African Command Centre (AFRICOM).

The following resolutions from the 2005 National General Council:

- On the release of the Cuban 5 and the illegal blockade on Cuba,
- On Swaziland,
- On Sudan,

are being recalled for the purposes of developing campaigns and accelerating our efforts to find solutions.

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

Noting that:

At the 51st National Conference, a comprehensive and detailed resolution on Communications was passed.

- 85 This 52nd National Conference hereby reaffirms the Stellenbosch resolutions on media transformation but expresses concern at the slow pace of implementation.
- 86 Conference recognises that while there has been much progress in engagement with the Media much still needs to be done as some fractions of the media continue to adopt an anti-transformation, anti-ANC stance.
- 87 This remains our responsibility to engage with.
- 88 The ANC is faced with a major ideological offensive, largely driven by the opposition and fractions in the mainstream media, whose key objective is the promotion of market fundamentalism, control of the media and the images it creates of a new democratic dispensation in order to retain old apartheid economic and social relations.
- 89 This offensive against our movement, in its content and form, is part of a global offensive against progressive values and ideas. The increasing concentration of ownership, control and content within the international media environment is reflected in the local industry and re-enforces this offensive.
- 90 The ANC's commitment to media freedom is well known and entrenched. This principle is reflected in the Constitution Act of 1996. The ANC's commitment to freedom of expression in society, including the media, is located within the context of the Constitution of the Republic. These rights need to be weighed against other constitutional rights, such as the right to human dignity and privacy.
- 91 Despite this, the ANC notes that in many instances the media in pursuit of the application of this freedom of expression principle, conducts itself to the detriment of the constitutional rights of others.
- 92 The ANC is of the view that the media needs to contribute towards the building of a new society and be accountable for its actions. The ANC needs to make creative use of a range of mechanisms to communicate with the widest spectrum of South Africans.
- 93 With particular reference to the print media, the ANC notes that the current form of self regulation as expressed in the form of the Press Ombudsman/ Press Council is not adequate to sufficiently protect the rights of the individual citizens, community and society as a whole.

- 94 The print media industry is not covered by a sectoral Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Charter, and that where media houses have concluded BEE transactions, these have not necessarily translated into a diversity of views, underlying the fact that advertising profiles and key management positions remain largely the same.
- 95 The apparent lack of skills within the media to analyse and explain the complex economic and social transformation through which South Africa is going is a both a challenge and a constraint. In the pursuit of capital accumulation owners of media houses do not readily invest in the development of journalism. Often they rely on syndicated reports, grouping editorial content, etc. Commercial interests are thus increasingly impacting negatively on editorial quality. These and other related factors constitute the real threat to media freedom, diversity and democracy.
- 96 There is a strong public broadcaster on whom millions of our people daily depend for information, and which has an important role to play in the deepening of democracy and involvement of the people in the process of social and economic change. The ANC notes the negative impact of advertising revenue on the cultures & values that we seek to inculcate through the Constitution and ANC philosophy.
- 97 The ANC notes the special role that both the SABC and the mainstream media can play in promoting the developmental state, social cohesion and nation building.

Believing that:

- 98 In our National Democratic Revolution, the media should contribute to the transformation of a country
- 99 The Media is a contested terrain and therefore not neutral, but reflects the ideological battles and power relations based on race, class and gender in our society
- 100 Press freedom is an important human right enshrined in our constitutional dispensation, which must be protected and promoted. It is important to note that rights go hand in hand with responsibility hence the need for a balanced, independent mechanism to adjudicate complaints between the media and society
- 101 The public broadcaster, the SABC, continues to play a critical role in shaping opinions of our Nation and therefore remains an important role player in the NDR
- 102 The debate on the influence of the advertising and

marketing industry over the public broadcaster's programming content and the value system that the ANC seeks to inculcate in the building of a non-racial non-sexist and democratic society, must be deepened.

- 103 Building social cohesion and promoting values of a caring society are an essential part of the battle of ideas and must underpin and inform the manner in which the media operates.
- 104 Likewise, arts and culture is a cornerstone of a National Democratic Revolution and a fundamental pillar in the transformation of any society. In this regard, media needs to take on a specific responsibility.
- 105 The accountability and fairness of the public broadcaster are central to the objective assessment of the gains of the NDR.
- 106 The role of an objective and progressive media is critical in building a vibrant democracy. The SABC is therefore strategically placed to foster the principles of the Constitution, social cohesion, and nation-building;
- 107 The ANC has previously taken resolutions on increasing the funding of the public broadcaster, which has not been implemented. Its current funding model compromises its public service mandate;
- 108 The debate on the battle of ideas must begin within the ANC itself, the Alliance and the broader democratic movement.

Resolves:

ON UNITY AND COHERENCE OF THE MOVEMENT

- 109 The unity and coherence of the ANC is an absolute requirement for the ANC to successfully pursue its revolutionary task in the battle of ideas in the advancement of the NDR.
- 110 Conference therefore recommends that the incoming NEC should, within six months, institute a specific programme aimed at restoring the unity and coherence of the ANC, the Alliance and the broader democratic movement. This programme should be accompanied by a comprehensive communications strategy at all levels of the organisation;

ON THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

- 111 To vigorously communicate the ANC's outlook and values (developmental state, collective rights, values of caring and community solidarity, ubuntu, non sexism, etc) versus the current mainstream media's ideological outlook (neo-liberalism, a weak and passive state, and overemphasis on individual rights, market fundamentalism, etc.)
- 112 That the battle of ideas must be conducted in deeds not

only theory and these deeds must find practical expression through the ANC structures.

- 113 to encourage a more representative and diverse media environment which must also address the qualitative transformation of the newsrooms that reflect the transformation agenda of the country;

ON BUILDING ANC INTERNAL MEDIA CAPACITY

- 114 The ANC should establish its own platforms for the production and distribution of Information within and outside the organisation;
- 115 At the same time, the ANC needs to improve the capacity of its communications cadres, including the resuscitation of the 51st National Conference resolution on establishing media organising committees (along the lines of the previous DIP within the ANC) at both national level and in each REC and committees at sub-branch level to coordinate and disseminate information to the people and engage in the battle of ideas;
- 116 Related to this, the ANC should strengthen its interaction with journalists in all media;

ON GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATIONS

- 117 improve its own internal and external communication tools and to strengthen government communications platforms;
- 118 take practical steps to influence and engage the output of the creative, media, academic and intellectual communities;
- 119 introduce a framework to establish a centralised government advertising unit which would enable government to utilise advertising economically;
- 120 investigate the extent to which the prevailing administrative environment enables government to communicate effectively;
- 121 ensure concrete communications initiatives required for effective local government communication.

ON REGULATORY CAPACITY

- 122 Conference recognises the need to continuously strengthen the capacity of the independent communications regulatory body (ICASA) in light of the changing technological and market environments.
- 123 The ANC and its Government should ensure adequate resourcing of this important institution.

ON THE ALLOCATION OF FREQUENCY SPECTRUM

- 124 The ANC and its Government should ensure that the allocation of spectrum - which is a scarce national public resource - must contribute to the promotion of national interests, development and diversity. This should involve increasing the amount of spectrum and licenses dedicated to public use; for example, community radio and TV, and mobile technologies.

ON MEDIA FREEDOM

- 125 The ANC must promote the school of thought which articulates media freedom within the context of the South African Constitution, in terms of which the notion that the right to freedom of expression should not be elevated above other equally important rights such as the right to privacy and more important rights and values such as human dignity.

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MEDIA APPEALS TRIBUNAL (MAT)

- 126 Conference adopts the recommendation of the Policy conference that the establishment of a MAT be investigated. It accordingly endorses that such investigation be directed at examining the principle of a MAT and the associated modalities for implementation. Conference notes that the creation of a MAT would strengthen, complement and support the current self-regulatory institutions (Press Ombudsman/Press Council) in the public interest.
- 127 This discourse on the need for a MAT should be located within a proper context. It has to be understood as an initiative to strengthen the human rights culture embodied in the principles of our constitution (Constitution Act of 1996) and an effort to guarantee the equal enjoyment of human rights by all citizens.
- 128 It particularly relates to the balancing of human rights in line with section 36 of the Constitution of the Republic. This especially relates to the need to balance the right to freedom of expression, freedom of the media, with the right to equality, to privacy and human dignity for all.
- 129 The investigation should consider the desirability that such a MAT be a statutory institution, established through an open, public and transparent process, and be made accountable to Parliament. The investigation should further consider the mandate of the Tribunal and its powers to adjudicate over matters or complaints expressed by citizens against print media, in terms of decisions and rulings made by the existing self-regulatory institutions, in the same way as it happens in the case of broadcasting through the Complaints and Compliance Committee of ICASA.

- 130 The investigation should further consider remedial measures which will safeguard and promote the human rights of all South Africans.
- 131 The Media and other stakeholders, including civil society, shall be consulted to ensure that the process is open, transparent and public. Parliament will be charged with this mandate to establish this MAT, in order to guarantee the principle independence, transparency, accountability and fairness.

ON THE PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE

- 132 The state must substantially and urgently increase its funding of the public broadcaster from the current 2% to a minimum of 60% by 2010, so that the SABC can properly fulfil its public mandate. This is in accordance with the 51st Conference resolution which has not yet been implemented.
- 133 Through government, encourage the SABC to increase its support and promotion of local content that is consistent with the outlook of the country's Constitution and the values of the ANC including a specific focus on women, the disabled and the youth.
- 134 That, in accordance with the provisions of the Broadcasting Act, the appointing body, ensure that the SABC Board is representative of all sectors broadly in our society.

ON THE GOVERNANCE OF THE INTERNET

- 135 The ANC resolves that the matter of global governance of the internet should be democratised. Practical measures to deepen the debate and discussion on this important issue should be implemented.

ON DISABILITY

- 136 The ANC resolves that the media should commit itself to the principle of guaranteeing access for the physically challenged to the media, by ensuring that people with disabilities have access to media opportunities both as producers and consumers of content.

ON GENDER

- 137 Conference resolves to encourage and accelerate the commitments and practical mechanisms to promote gender parity within the media industry. Accordingly it calls upon public and private institutions to intensify and accelerate the implementation of such programmes.
- 138 Conferences also resolves to ask the incoming NEC to ensure that gender relations are transformed in and through the media.

ON ADVERSE IMPACT OF ADVERTISING ON SOCIETY ESPECIALLY YOUTH AND CHILDREN

- 139 Conference resolves that measures be instituted to protect and safeguard children and youth against negative effect of harmful advertising.
- 140 Those measures have to also ensure that advertising that continues to entrench gender stereotypes and commodification of women is curbed.

ON 2010 AND THE MEDIA

- 141 Conference resolves to ensure that the media legacy of 2010 includes the development of digital broadcasting and broadband infrastructure rollout to every part of S.A. especially rural.

ON SENTECH

- 142 Conference recognises the strategic role of Sentech in the transformation and development of broadcasting. Conference thus reaffirms government's position that Sentech is a strategic asset and must remain in public hands, in order to guarantee the availability of TV and radio signals to all parts of the country; to ensure Sentech is adequately funded to ensure the digitisation of the infrastructure and access to broadband, especially for rural areas and public institutions;

ON THE MEDIA DEVELOPMENT DIVERSITY AGENCY

- 143 Access to information and a choice of media for all, is a fundamental right of citizens, especially the poor. All South Africans should have equal access to a diverse choice of media (public, commercial and community).
- 144 Conference notes the increasing concentration of ownership and control of the media, especially print media. Conference is of the view that the initiatives that are in place to diversify the ownership and control,

views and opinions should be strengthened. In accordance with this, conference recommends that there should be a substantial increase in the funding allocated to the MDDA to fulfil this strategic task/mandate as enshrined in the MDDA Act.

- 145 Conference reaffirms the need to accelerate the rollout of community radio stations to reach a target of a minimum of one community station per each district. Similarly, the MDDA should pay equal attention to the development of community television and community print media across the country and strengthen community media, ensure it has access to the latest available technologies;
- 146 Similarly, the MDDA should facilitate the development of media aimed at youth, women, children and people with disability.
- 147 Government must ensure that citizens have access to media in all languages, and in particular support indigenous languages in print, TV and internet-based media. Support to content development and production in indigenous languages should be given.
- 148 Conferences resolved on leveraging government advertising power to support community media

ON OTHER RELATED MATTERS

- 149 Conference resolves to address the quality of training of journalists together with other stakeholders such as the South African Newspaper Editors Forum (SANEF) and the Presidential Working Group on Higher Education.
- 150 Conference calls on the media industry to comply with the spirit and intention of the sectoral Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Charter; including the possibility of establishing its own media charter.
- 151 Conference resolves that at Local Government level, the government ensures that arts and culture desks in each municipal district are put in place and ensures the necessary funding.