

# **The ANC must at all times remain a Peoples' Parliament!**

Presentation on ANC Discussion Documents  
National Policy Conference, 2017

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20 March 2017

# Introduction

- The ANC releases these documents in honour of comrade OR Tambo who said, in 1991, that the ANC must at all times remain a people's parliament and the people must at all times have a say in shaping the positions of the ANC.
- Therefore when we speak of unity in the ANC we refer to the united action of the people through the concert of their organisational parliament, as they put aside their racial, tribal, gender and class differences to map out a common national development trajectory.

# Introduction

- The principal objective is to enable all members of the ANC, at all levels of the organisation, to review the implementation of policies adopted at the 53<sup>rd</sup> National Conference, to assess their adequacy and to propose areas for policy review or new policies towards the 54<sup>th</sup> National Conference, to be held in December 2017. It is only the National Conference of the ANC that adopts policy

# Organisational Renewal

- We are reminded of the words of President OR, who said in 1991; “ *We have devotedly watched over the organisation all these years. We now hand it back to you; bigger, stronger and intact. Guard our precious Movement.*”
- The imperative to guard the ANC is even stronger today, when we know that it is critical for the organisation to overcome its organisational and political challenges.

# Organisational Renewal

- A strong and united ANC is vital to ensure the success of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR).
- The discussion documents are released with the full knowledge that if we do not address our internal challenges and regain back the trust of the people, all these policies and envisaged programmes may amount to nothing.

# Organisational Renewal

- The discussion document acknowledges that the conditions under which the ANC operates, have changed.
- This requires the ANC to renew and change its operational machinery to suit the new conditions.
- The ANC's operational capacity must enable it to act as both a national liberation movement and a political party.
- The paper is explicit on the dangers/ challenges that the ANC face and paints a stark picture on what will happen if these are left unattended.

# Organisational Renewal

- The discussion document reflects on the ten dangers that the ANC as governing party has to contend with and manage
  - Social distance and isolation from the masses
  - State bureaucratic and demobilisation of the masses
  - Corruption and the sins of incumbency
  - Institutionalised factionalism
  - Ill-discipline and battles over the control of state power and access to resources
  - Using state institutions to settle inner-party differences.

# Organisational Renewal continued

- The paper acknowledges that the results of the 2016 Local Government Elections represented the worst performance in an electoral slide that began in 2009.
- This result (and even the ongoing decline in electoral performance) must be seen together with the intense public criticism, as these point to an organisation that is losing the trust of the people.
- Our organisational renewal efforts must be aimed at regaining the trust of the people, restoring our moral character and increasing and maintaining hegemony over society.



# Organisational renewal (continued)

- *Proposals*

- Review the ANC election processes to allow for open contest and transparency. Nominees must be prepared for intense scrutiny of themselves and their manifestoes by ANC structures and constituencies.
- A review of the size and composition of the NEC to ensure that the ANC's best cadres are available for organisational work and that ANC leaders are spread throughout society. (business, academia, the arts, etc). There is an explicit proposal to limit the percentage of the NEC that can serve in Cabinet/ Provincial Legislatures (65%). There must be discussion on whether this will apply to provincial and regional executives.
- That a Revolutionary Electoral Commission be established that will screen cadres.

# Organisational Renewal (continued)

- *Proposals*
  - Review the current ward-based branch system and allow for constitutionally recognised units at institutions of higher learning, workplaces, etc to grow the organisation's reach and influence.
  - That the organisation, as part of a broader drive to modernise and make greater use of IT, implement an electronic membership system.
  - Merging Organising and Political Education to infuse greater political consciousness and discipline into the cadreship of the movemnt.

# Strategy and Tactics

The world has changed since 2007 and the ANC must revise its *Strategy and Tactics* to respond to this changed environment.

The discussion document outlines the ANC's analysis of the global and domestic balance of forces and how these impact on the attainment of the organisation's ultimate goals.

The global environment is characterised by rapid technological advances, developmental convergences among some nations and changing economic balances in favour of developing nations. At the same time, there is a growing protectionist tendency amongst older democracies, narrow nationalism and chauvinism are on the rise.

# Strategy and Tactics

The discussion document puts forward that *“selfish geopolitical pursuits and the rise of the security-industrial complex threaten to worsen global tensions and plunge the world into a devastating inferno.”*

The document also asserts that the world is increasingly characterised by social discord and that at the heart of this social discord are tensions about the distribution of assets and income.

This social discord, it says, is accompanied by the declining legitimacy of political and business elites as a result of their failure to address fundamental questions of social inequality, declining social ethics and mismanagement of global challenges such as migration and terrorism.

# Strategy and Tactics

- As a result of CST and Apartheid, South Africa experiences these social challenges along particularly acute race, class and gender lines. Our task of addressing poverty, unemployment and inequality must thus be informed by a commensurate understanding of the race, class and gender fault-lines of our society.
- South Africa has, largely, succeeded in entrenching political democracy and has a great constitution. We have an independent judiciary and functioning institutions protecting our democracy.
- The ANC recognised, in 2012, that we require a second phase of our transition that puts more intense focus on the full radical economic and social transformation of our country. The NDP/ Vision 2030 was endorsed as the programme to drive radical socio-economic transformation.

# Strategy and Tactics

- This paradigm shift recognizes that the “ core of the ANC’s tasks in the current period is:
  - the renewal of the organisation for it to exercise societal leadership in a changing environment,
  - the consolidation of democracy and
  - the speeding up of programmes of fundamental transformation to attain shared prosperity, social justice and human solidarity.”
  - At the heart of the Strategy and Tactics must be a posture to win over the people’s confidence in that the ANC is indeed a revolutionary movement geared for urgent and radical transformation.

# A Developmental State as key driver for radical socio-economic change

- Guided by the theme: **“The Year of the Freedom Charter and Unity in Action so as to Advance Economic Freedom”** the 2015 NGC adopted the programme of radical economic transformation to address the slow pace of transformation.
- **“At the heart of radical economic transformation is an effective state that is decisive in its pursuit of structural change”**

# A Developmental State as key driver for radical socio-economic change

- We committed the country to radical economic transformation where government and private sector work together in synergistic and mutually reinforcing ways to:
  - ❑ Create decent work
  - ❑ Accelerate shared/inclusive economic growth.
  - ❑ Transform the structures of production and ownership
  - ❑ Enable the talents of our people to flourish to harness and develop their productive potential
- While we continue to make significant progress as an ANC government in delivering the NDP, our people have expressed dissatisfaction at the pace and lack of transformation in the economy



# Capacity of the state

- The ANC adopted the NDP as our blue print to advance radical socio-economic transformation in Mangaung (2012)
- Advancing the NDP requires that we exploit to the maximum the strategic levers that are available to the state, such as:
  - Legislation and regulations (e.g. MPRDA);
  - Licensing (e.g. Mining, Water and Environment);
  - BBBEE and Transformation Charters;
  - National budget and Procurement;
  - State-owned Companies and Development Finance Institutions;
  - Government programmes for redistribution such as Land Reform.

# Capacity of the State

- However, the State has not fully utilised these strategic levers to influence the behaviour of the private sector - to effectively transform the economy and society.
- Key focus of the NDP is the performance and capacity of the State to drive transformation:
  - But this is often inadequate - particularly with respect to organisational and technical capacity and coordination.

## Capacity of the state: *What needs to be done*

- To improve implementation, an effective developmental state is required. To this end we need to:
  - Strengthen planning and implementation
  - Improve coordination across departments and spheres
  - Improve monitoring, including use of IT-based platforms for monitoring, and monitoring post-support to see what happens after state support ends

# Capacity of the State: what needs to be done

- Accelerate professionalisation of the public sector
- Develop a consistent engagement strategy with the private sector and other actors in society in implementing the NDP
- Review the macro-organisation of the State to reduce mandate overlaps and improve efficiency, and effectiveness. This should also include reform and rationalisation of SOCs

# Economic Transformation

The ANC remains committed to fundamentally changing the racial and unequal structure of the economy. The 2012 National Conference resolved as its prime focus radical socio-economic transformation as essence of the Second Phase of the Transition

In the current phase, the goal is to accelerate and consolidate economic transformation to ensure that the historically disadvantaged majority become more economically active; as citizens, workers, entrepreneurs and business leaders.

# Economic Transformation

- The paper endorses that radical economic transformation means “fundamental change in the structure, systems, institutions and patterns of ownership, management and control of the economy in favour of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female.” (SONA 2017)
- Let us illustrate the extent to which SA’s economy remains untransformed. We start with the good news, progress between 1994 – till date.
- Then, we shall highlight a few statistics that illustrate the need to fundamentally transform the economy to benefit the historically disadvantaged majority.

# Progress made by the ANC government since 1994

- From 1994 to 2012 the economy grew at 3.2% a year on average and GDP from R1.6 trillion in 1994 to just over R3.0 trillion in 2015. Growth has slowed significantly since 2012. **We have also:**
- Consolidated fiscal spend to enable expenditure on basic needs and social protection;
- Increased tax revenue significantly - expanding from 3 million taxpayers in 1996 to almost 20 million in 2014;
- Expanded employment (formal and informal) from 9.5 million in 1994 to 16 million at the end of 2015;

# Progress made by the ANC government since 1994

- Grown a vibrant and successful black middle class;
- Halved poverty from 2001 to 2011;
- Substantially expanded the social protection system to cover more than 16.8 million recipients lifting , millions of children and old people out of severe poverty;
- Increased access to housing and basic services by building 4 million new houses since 1994, increasing connections to electricity to 95% of households and 85% of households now connected to water.



# Ownership of the Economy (JSE)

- Majority of black people are still economically disempowered and dissatisfied with the economic gains from liberation - despite more than R600bn of BEE transactions from 1995 to 2015;
- Direct black equity control over the JSE's average market capitalisation of R11.9 trillion as at 30 June 2014 (for Listed Companies), stands at 3% (R358 billion) for shares directly held by black South Africans.
  - ❑ To reach 25% of black control an additional 22% (or R2.6 trillion at current estimated market capitalisation of the JSE is required. This is a gap that still needs to be addressed and funded (NEF, Direct Black Ownership and Control on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, Feb 2015).

# Ownership in our economy (JSE)

- Direct **black equity control over the JSE's** average market capitalisation of R11.9 trillion as at 30 June 2014 (for Listed Companies), stands at 3% (R358 billion) for shares directly held by black South Africans.
- Only 10% of the top 100 companies on the JSE are owned by black South Africans directly - achieved principally through the introduction of the generic code and various sectoral BBBEE dispensations.
- ❑ Of this, about 60% of the shares are in the hands of strategic BBBEE partners (sometimes referred to as narrow-based empowerment), 20-25% in community schemes and 15-20% in the employee schemes.

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# Slow pace of land reform

- Only 8 million hectares of arable land have been transferred to black people, which is only 9.8% of the 82.4 million hectares of arable land in RSA – against a target of redistributing 24 million hectares (30% of the 82.4 million hectares of arable land)
- At this rate, it will take us another **40 years** to reach the set target, which will be the seed of mass revolt against the government
- Furthermore, there are over 7000 land claims outstanding since 1998.

# Slow pace of land reform

- To date black ownership in **mining** is R63.9 billion, which is only equivalent to 2.5% of the market capitalization of the top 49 JSE Mining Companies.
- World Economic Forum ranks **ICT** performance in SA relatively poor in comparison to its peers. RSA is ranked 126th in terms of prepaid mobile cellular and 69th in terms of broadband internet tariffs out of 143 countries. Slow progress in resolving our ICT challenges will result in the opportunities presented by the 4th Industrial Revolution bypassing South Africa.

## **Agriculture and Land Reform: *What needs to be done***

- Provide differentiated support services for black producers, whether subsistence, smallholder or small-scale commercial.
- Operationalise new land reform legislation aimed at establishing land administration structures and accelerating performance - including the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act assented to in August 2013, and the Property Valuation Act assented July 2014;
- Reduce inflated pricing for land acquired by the State for Land Reform by utilising the Expropriation Act where necessary;

# Agriculture and Land Reform:

## *What needs to be done*

- Address budget constraints on Land Reform and perceived corruption especially on Restitution;
- Encourage land claimants to accept land instead of financial compensation - over 90% of claims are currently settled through financial compensation which perpetuates dispossession;
- Develop and enforce spatial planning to address competing uses of the land between mining, agriculture, housing.

# Financial sector

- Diversifying the financial sector and ensuring greater access to finance is at the heart of radical transformation. DFIs (SEDA, IDC, PIC and others) should be more proactive in ensuring that black business, cooperatives and small businesses become active parts of the economy.

# ***Financial Services***

- Banking ownership is still an illusion for Black people
- Financial Services accounted for 22,1% of GDP and 14,7% of total employment in 2016
- Growth in most services is higher than growth in the rest of the economy since 1994. Financial services has grown on average by 4,5% between 1994 and 2016
- Market share of the four tops banks stood at 89% at the end of 2015
- Total banking assets at the end of 2015 amounted to R3,6 trillion comprised mostly of loans, while banks main source of funding remains deposits which in December 2015 constituted about 84% of banks' total liabilities.



# ***Financial Services: What needs to be done***

- Review Financial Sector Charter targets as it relates to access to finance for SMMEs, financial inclusion and affordable and low cost housing
- State and the banks should develop a mechanism for shared risks to lower the cost of borrowing at the lower end of the market
- Lower the barriers to entry to financial markets
- Ensure certainty by harmonising measures to stamp out money laundering and corruption as outlined in the Finance Intelligence Centre Act and related Amendment Bill

## **Development Finance Institutions (DFIs)**

### ***Industrial Development Corporation (IDC)***

- Significant investments towards Black empowered and Black-owned businesses:
  - ❑ From 1996 to 2016 IDC approved R157.7 billion of support. Of this 41% (R64.7 billion) was for black empowered or owned businesses.
  - ❑ Since 2006 to 2016 IDC approved R113.4 billion. Of this 46% (R52.1 billion) was for black empowered or owned businesses.
  - ❑ R2 billion has been approved for Black Industrialists Programme since 2015
  - ❑ 85% of the companies that IDC invested in had over 25% black shareholding.
  - ❑ As IDC pro-actively sought out eligible companies the total investment increased in 2015/6 to almost R3 billion.

## ***Small Enterprise Financing Agency (SEFA)***

- From its formation in 2012 to 2015, the Small Enterprise Financing Agency (SEFA) provided R1,5 billion in loans to 97 000 black-owned enterprises.
- In 2015/6 half of its total financing was of black-owned enterprises. It funded over 100 000 informal and micro enterprises and 2 000 SMEs, with more than half of its funds going to women-owned enterprises and a quarter used to finance youth-owned enterprises

## ***The National Empowerment Fund (NEF)***

- From its inception in 2004 NEF has approved 730 transactions and disbursed R5 billion in loans with over R1,6 billion repaid since 2004. It is estimated that approvals contributed to projects with a projected value of R27 billion

## ***Public Investment Corporation (PIC)***

- PIC manages assets worth R1,9 trillion with 47% in local stock, 34% local bonds, 5% property and 4% cash – the remaining 10% includes foreign and Isibaya (R100m for developmental investments).
- PIC ownership on the JSE is equivalent to 12,5% of JSE capitalization, 25% of total government bonds, and half of total SOC bonds.
- PIC has also invested R6 billion of equity in SMMEs. It has committed in excess of R1.3 billion to be managed by emerging black fund managers in South Africa and the rest of Africa.
- PIC's BBEE private equity portfolio is valued at R18 billion, 50% higher than in 2014.

## **Development Finance Institutions (DFIs): What needs to be done**

- Increase access to finance through DFIs:
  - ❑ Ensure lending practices promote access to finance by black people at affordable rates
  - ❑ Ensure closer monitoring/evaluation of impact of DFI support to companies with clear targets aligned to the NDP

# Financial sector: Debt and Illicit money flow

- The paper puts forward a range of measures to increase investor confidence, such as reducing the rising national debt level, achieving and maintaining good governance at SOEs, maintaining international norms and standards with regard to the regulation of the financial sector and others. It is important that all of these proposals are unpacked and debated.

# Financial sector: Debt and Illicit money flow

- A study estimates that nearly \$70 billion leaves Africa annually through illicit outflows. A UN Panel, led by former president Mbeki, recommend 14 steps that African governments can take to combat illicit flows. These 14 steps are grouped into 5 categories; create government policy on illicit financial flows, promote financial transparency, increase enforcement efforts and powers, tackle tax avoidance and evasion and prevent financial crime.

## ***Support for, growth and access to markets for SMMEs***

- The SMME sector contributes 42% of GDP and 47% of employment
- SMMEs have the potential to be major drivers of growth and employment
- Support for the sector remains highly fragmented and requires increased resources to ensure its sustainability and growth
- High levels of concentration impedes the sector's growth



## ***Support for, growth and access to markets for SMMEs: What needs to be done***

- Consolidate and strengthen differentiated business support for SMMEs;
- Strengthen access to finance for SMMEs from DFIs and private banks by setting clear targets by DFIs and utilising the Financial Sector Charter for private banks;
- Implement the 30% set-aside regulations for SMMEs and improve monitoring and reporting mechanism on SMMEs supported through local procurement;
- Ensure that SOC's set clear targets and reporting for SMMEs.

# Some key pointers on socio-economic transformation

- **Reducing unemployment in general and amongst the youth in particular**
  - A massive increase in youth access to vocational training and apprenticeship programmes in combination with public service youth brigades.
  - Infrastructure programmes and municipal programmes must include set asides for labour-based work programmes.
- **Returning the land to our people and supporting land reform**
  - The land question reflects that the historic injustice perpetrated against the majority has not been adequately addressed. The pace of land restitution and reform has been too slow. We shall codify what is meant by 'just and equitable' compensation, we shall finalize the Expropriation Bill and will accelerate land restitution and reform in line with the Constitution.

# Some key pointers on socio-economic transformation

- **Activating small businesses and cooperatives**
  - A targeted programme to assist black entrepreneurs in setting up small businesses and cooperatives
- **Strengthening social justice and conditions for the poor and working class**
  - Improvement in the quality of education, health services and public transport
  - Better regulation of the private sector so as to avoid price fixing, unfair competition and unfair labour practices
  - Stamping out corruption

# Implementing Freedom Charter policy on mineral rights

- The Freedom Charter says that the ownership of the minerals beneath the soil must be returned to the people as a whole, and the MPRDA vests ownership of these minerals in the state as custodian. Radical implementation of this provision of the Freedom Charter means that the state must take measures to change ownership and control of this sector to include historically disadvantaged individuals.

## Mining and beneficiation

**“The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;”**

- Black people do not benefit from mineral resources, which are overwhelmingly owned by large white-owned companies
- The top 49 Listed Mining Companies have a combined market capitalization of R2,6 trillion.
  - If all the Top 49 Listed Mining Companies had 26% Historically Disadvantaged ownership as required in the Mining Charter, the value of black empowered participation would have been R669 billion in 2014.
  - However, to date black ownership in mining is R63.9 billion, which is only equivalent to 2.5% of the market capitalization of the top 49 JSE Mining Companies.

## Mining beneficiation (continued)

- The Public Investment Corporation (PIC) holds a combined shareholding in mining worth approximately R159 billion or 6% of value of Top 49 Companies
- Ownership is still unrealised in the majority of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment transactions. A key reason is lack of profit, lack of dividends and non-payment of equity for ownership of the mines, due to transfer pricing.

## **Mining and beneficiation continued...**

- Government has granted mining licences to diverse stakeholders, but we continue to lack comprehensive data on the recipients of these mining licences and thus failed to use the issuing of mining licences as a tool for economic transformation and changing ownership
  
- Mining Charter has significant weaknesses
  - Governments' share of ownership is unclear. There are no targets for communities and workers and absence of well-defined numerical targets for most indicators
  - There is no measurement system or scorecard with clear definitions for transformation
  - There is no system to monitor implementation on an annual basis, nor independent verification of B-BBEE contributions and so forth

# Mining beneficiation continued

- State has not effectively intervened to promote beneficiation including leveraging strategic mineral sectors to supply downstream industries
- Operation Phakisa has identified the need to develop strong beneficiation strategies in the iron and steel, platinum and silica industries.



# **Mining and beneficiation: *What needs to be done***

- Consolidate and leverage the state's mineral holdings (State Mining Company, Alexkor, state's equity holdings in PIC and IDC) to improve transformation;
- Promulgate the amended MPRDA
- Utilise **mining licence regime** to increase transformation and participation of emerging miners and broad-based ownership.

# Mining beneficiation: what needs to be done

- Track who has benefitted from mining licences since 1994:
  - ❑ Ensure **transparency** in the issuing of mining licences
  - ❑ Conduct a baseline **audit of all mining licences** issued to date
  - ❑ Establish a monitoring and **reporting system** for mining licences
- Utilise IDC and the DFI's investments to support minerals beneficiation in the platinum and iron and steel sector;
- Implement the Operation Phakisa Delivery Lab initiatives to support mining investment, transformation and beneficiation.

# Manufacturing

- Although manufacturing has declined as a share of GDP, there is potential for developing black industrialists, especially if we combine beneficiaries with increased research, development and innovation.
- The global and domestic growth rates are not where we would want them to be. South Africa's growth rate is dependent on the global economy as we are deeply integrated into global markets. We require high levels of investment to drive inclusive growth which must include the accruing of benefits to the historically disadvantaged majority.

## **Manufacturing:** *What needs to be done*

- Speed-up rollout of Black Industrialists' Programme.
- To drive **local procurement**:
  - ❑ Complete PPPFA amendments (new Procurement Bill)
  - ❑ Vigorously monitor departments and SOCs on how they are meeting procurement targets
  - ❑ Support local suppliers using supplier development programmes at SOCs and large private sector firms
  - ❑ Implement the 30% set-aside regulations for SMMEs
- Enforce revised **BBBEE Codes and Charters** to promote greater participation of black-owned business in manufacturing.
- Enforce **competition** law to open up manufacturing value chains to new entrants.

# Anti-competitive behaviour

- Fighting concentration and anti-competitive behaviour requires the strengthening of the Competitions Authority legislation to curtail monopolistic behaviour in favour of a more vibrant and competitive business environment.
- Recent reports on the financial sector shows how monitoring anti-competitive behaviour is crucial for the health of our economy
- Anti-competitive behaviour help sustain monopoly capital in our economy.

# Communications and Battle of Ideas

- Communications and the battle of ideas remain a central focus of the ANC. The *Communications Discussion Document* focuses on how to maintain ANC hegemony in the context of an unfavourable media environment characterised by greater media convergence (combination of print, radio, television, radio and online media ownership, production and consumption) and consolidation.
- Convergence amongst the dominant media houses continue to entrench editorial positions that are adversarial to the NDR, government programmes and ANC as leader of society.

# Communications and Battle of Ideas

- The ANC must strengthen its communications capacity, across all levels of the organization and in government, in order to participate more effectively in the battle of ideas. One of the proposals calls for a holistic plan to resource the organisation to communicate better with its membership, supporters and society in general.
- The document calls for greater synergy between the work of the ANC and the Alliance in the media space.

# Communications and Battle of Ideas

- The paper highlights that the ANC must lead society in preparation for the impact of the 4th Industrial Revolution –characterized and driven by increased use of ICT in all human activities - and help different segments of society and the economy to adapt to the disruptive epoch. It proposes the establishment of an ANC 4th Industrial Commission as a first step to create the enabling environment and capacity within the ANC.



# Communications and Battle of Ideas

- The paper emphasises that effective participation in the 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution means that technological advances must be utilized to address poverty, inequality and unemployment. It proposes, amongst others, that this area be utilized to build and support ICT SMMEs and innovative start-ups. There is a lot of potential to train and employ young people in the sector.

# Communications and Battle of Ideas

- The document calls for the establishment of a Digital Development Fund that will, inter alia, be a dedicated funding instrument for small businesses and initiatives aimed at building smart communities and smart villages, thereby bringing more citizens into the digital future.
- The paper reiterates the public mandate of the SABC and calls for the strengthening of the public broadcaster to improve governance, modernise the SABC and enable it to serve the public better.

# Communications and Battle of Ideas

- The paper calls for the ANC to broaden the definition of media transformation to include media transformation across the value chain, and to recognise the influence of audio and audiovisual content on traditional print media.
- The ANC must support calls for DFIs to support transformation of the media and fund the development of new voices and media initiatives through support for community media, capacity building and equity equivalent programmes and investments.

# Legislature and Governance

- The ANC's approach is informed by the Freedom Charter's call that "*The People shall Govern.*" This is embodied in the NDP's call for an active citizenry that has a greater say in the developmental trajectory of the country.
- The core theme of the *Legislature and Governance* Discussion Document is the articulation of the people's power through the state institutions. It is a recognition and appreciation by the ANC that people have entrusted the organisation with political power to advance the needs of the people, therefore the ANC's conduct in state institutions must always reflect the will of the people.

# Legislature and Governance

- *Proposals*

- That the ANC must enhance its electoral strategies aimed at recovering lost ground. Whilst the first objective remains ANC remaining the peoples' outright choice for leadership, the organisation must develop policy on entering into coalitions. There must be certainty on the principles informing coalitions, who must negotiate coalitions and what strategic choices must be made when entering into coalitions.
- The Presidency must be strengthened as the strategic centre of power in the state and must drive the NDP, planning and policy, resource allocation and enforcement.

# Legislature and Governance

- Fast tracking the establishment of integrity and ethics management office and building requisite capacity at all levels of government. The scope of this office must extend to the SOEs. There is a specific call for lifestyle audits of senior public servants within the context of the fight against corruption.
- The deployment of cadres to the state based on merit, recruit public service managers with professional and technical capacity, and the strengthening of the School of Governance to build values and capacity among managers needed to lead a developmental state.

# Legislature and Governance

- *Proposals*
  - Hold a consultative conference around issues of concern in traditional areas and develop government policy to regularise powers of traditional leaders and customs, within the ambit of our constitutional democracy .
  - That the ANC must be at the forefront of spatial planning and guiding where development must go. This requires government-led coherent spatial mapping of development nodes and potential, directing where government infrastructure investment must go and maintaining a correct balance of urban and rural development.

# Legislature and Governance

- There is thus a call for developing Planning Legislation that addresses:
  - A new predictable planning paradigm within and across all spheres
  - Clear national and provincial spatial plans, aligned municipal spatial development frameworks and municipal land use management plans
  - Streamlined coordination structures with clear roles and responsibilities.



# Education, Health and Science and Technology

- The *Education and Health* Discussion Document covers four areas, i.e. (1) Science, Technology and Innovation, (2) Basic Education, (3) Higher Education and (4) Health.
- The document highlights that most of its proposals aim at injecting more energy into implementation in the ANC and in government, where government serves as the ANC delivery tool or mechanism.

# Education, Health and Science and Technology

- The paper makes the following proposals, amongst others, with regard to:
- *Science, Technology and Innovation:*
  - Incentivise government and business to increase their use of locally produced technologies
  - Coordinate science and technology policies and incentives
  - Coordinate the use of science and technology within and across the public sector
  - Incentivise learners, students and workers to invent new technologies and products

# Education, Health and Science and Technology

- *Basic Education*

**Review the existing resolution on making education an essential service.**

Take steps to prevent of vandalism at schools and to protect all public property. develop boarding schools for children from poor families, as well as orphaned and other disadvantaged children.

Review the approach to education, from high stakes tests to formative education and assessment.

Turn technical schools into schools of excellence focusing on specific disciplines and skill sets

Develop public schools for talented or specially gifted learners

**Move ECD and pre-schools from the DSD the DBE**

# Education, Health and Science and Technology

- *Higher Education*
  - Focus the sector on TVET
  - Implement a new financial support model by 2020
  - Provide full grants to students from families whose income is below R75 000 a year
  - No up-front fees to attend college or university
  - **Implement a Central Application Service (CAS) by March 2018 and implement across the PSET system by 2022.**
  - **Increase retirement age of academic staff**

# Education, Health and Science and Technology

## Health

- Improve the quality of care in both the public and private sector
- Draft policies to curb the high costs of medical insurance and litigation against medical malpractice.
- Further steps to be taken to implement NHI.
- Finalise amendments to Mental Health Act.
- Develop model to accelerate infrastructure delivery for health sector.
- Improve research into treatments and diagnostics for diseases such as TB ,Malaria, and HIV and AIDS. As well as non communicable diseases.

# Social Transformation

- The *Social Transformation* Discussion Document highlights that our social transformation objectives include prioritizing the rights of children, the creation of national identity as, creation of an inclusive society. That will give effect to some of the goals contained in the Freedom Charter.
- The paper recognises that the ANC has made tremendous strides and improved peoples' access to health care, schooling, housing and other areas. Poverty has halved between 2002 and 2011, according to StasSA. The number of households with access to energy and electricity services increased from 77% to 86% and water infrastructure services from 80 to 86%, between 2002 – 2014, which exceeds the approved RDP standards.

# Social Transformation

## *Proposals:*

- The provision of comprehensive social security remains a fundamental position of the ANC and the Discussion Document makes a range of proposals on social assistance, the social wage and social insurance.
- Promoting nation-building and social cohesion through, amongst others, continuing to highlight the contribution of arts, heritage and culture by providing education, training and skills through formal and informal programmes in traditional and new creative methods and technologies.

# Social Transformation

- Highlight the transformational potential of sport, resourcing sports adequately and drive the introduction of a Sports Ticket Levy to promote transformation and development through sports.
- With regard to human settlements, the paper begins a discussion on whether there should be a limit on who can access government RDP housing. It proposes that government housing should prioritise vulnerable groups such as the elderly and others such as child and youth headed households.



# International Relations

- The *International Relations* Discussion Document reflects on the ANC's historic mandate of progressive internationalism that shaped South Africa's current foreign policy outlook. In this regard, it confirms the centrality of Africa in ANC foreign policy and thereby commits to continue with the pursuit of a peaceful and prosperous continent.

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# International Relations

- The paper confirms the ANC's belief in a holistic economic diplomacy strategy that is coordinated by the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, as it is an important component of foreign policy.
- The paper makes recommendations to ensure that foreign policy remains guided by the NDP injunction to increase foreign direct investment and attract more tourists in order to build a resilient economy.

# International Relations

- The discussion paper reaffirms that a prosperous, stable, secure and peaceful Africa remains an important objective
- It reaffirms the ANC's (and South Africa's) commitment to the AU Agenda 2063 aimed at linking Africa through world-class infrastructure, increased intra-African trade, greater movement of people and goods and ensuring that the remaining occupied territories in Africa, are liberated.
- The paper puts forward that the integration of SADC must be a number one priority of the ANC (and the democratic government)

# International Relations

- The paper calls for renewed campaigns to promote continental and international solidarity
  - Lobby governments to advance progressive positions on Africa's development in the AU, UN and international financial institutions.
  - Engaging the African diaspora
  - Continue support for Polisario Front and support the implementation of the UN and AU resolutions in regard to Western Sahara
  - Condemn the continued occupation of Palestine by the Israeli government
  - A consolidated programme to celebrate Africa Day and Mandela Day as platforms to foster unity, patriotism and fight racism and intolerance.

# Peace and Stability

- The *Peace and Stability* Discussion Document highlights that South Africa remains a relatively stable country and that economic challenges, exemplified by unemployment, poverty and inequality, represent a key threat to the country's stability.
- The paper also highlights threats posed by terrorism, cyber-terrorism and lack of skilled personnel to safeguard against cyber-attacks, illegal migration and others.
- It proposes a whole range of measures to address these threats, such as improving mechanisms to mobilize communities in the fight against crime, improving intelligence and prosecutorial capacity, introducing life style audits, broadened vetting and financial monitoring to curb corruption in the state.

# Peace and Stability

- The paper makes a number of proposals to improve access to justice.
  - Establishing one stop court precincts in small towns, villages and far-flung areas to provide court-related services of both Magistrates and High Courts.
- Transformation of State Legal Services
  - Implementing the State Attorney's Amendment Act that provides a framework for the allocation of state legal work to women and Black Practitioners.
  - Partnering with progressive international law institutions and universities to improve skills on various facets of the law.

# Peace and Stability

- The paper calls for accelerated transformation of the Criminal Justice System, *inter alia*, through
  - Redrafting the Criminal Procedure Act to transform old-order policies and court processes to improve efficiency
  - Improving victim support and implementation of child justice system
  - Enhancing intelligence-driven investigations
  - Developing a corruption-resilient criminal justice system.

# Way Forward

- Branches will call meetings and discuss their positions on the proposals.
- The provinces will consolidate these branch proposals at Provincial General Councils. These consolidated proposals will be sent to ANC Headquarters by mid-June 2017.
- At the same time, the ANC invites engagement from all sectors of society and the NEC sub-committees will embark on a series of consultations with stakeholders and opinion-makers.
- We have also created a web portal for members of the public to access and comment on the Discussion Documents. ([www.anc.org.za](http://www.anc.org.za))



# Conclusion

- National Conference must adopt resolutions that clearly demonstrate what precise steps the ANC and ANC government will take as a programme to ensure radical socio-economic transformation.
- National Conference must adopt resolutions that clearly repositions the ANC in the post 1994 era as a revolutionary organisation whose membership is steeped in sound revolutionary theory. This must be projected nationally and internationally.
- National Conference must adopt resolutions that will consolidate the advanced leadership core (van guard) within the movement as basis for mass mobilisation and providing leadership to society.
- National Conference must demonstrate through adopted resolutions how unity in action will be restored and advanced within the movement.

**Let The Festival of Ideas Begin!**

Thank you!