



Report of ANC Veterans League Online Roundtable on the NGC Base Document 26 October 2025 ANNEXURE A

On Sunday, 26 October, the ANC Veterans League held a facilitated discussion on the National General Council (NGC) Base Document to hear from as many Veteran League members as possible, recognising their knowledge and wisdom.

The report below summarises the brief inputs from the facilitators and the contributions in the discussion. The report, together with video clips of some of the inputs, is being circulated to VL structures for further discussion and input in the run-up to the NGC.

Thanks to the comrades who participated in the webinar and sent in comments, which have enriched this document.

1. Introduction

Cde Monica Mnguni opened the meeting, set the context, and summarised the key thrusts of the NGC Base Document as follows:

Context

Seventy years since the Freedom Charter and 31 years of democracy, we have made significant gains, including a constitution that guarantees freedoms and compels the state to play a developmental role and an expansion of basic infrastructure and services.

However, the country faces multiple crises, including the fact that the Apartheid-colonial political economy persists, there is a rise in poverty, inequality, unemployment, crime, corruption, and a decline in infrastructure and service delivery. The ANC's organisational decline has been unfolding over the past 20 years, leading to the NDR

being at a crossroads and requiring the ANC to ask if we are in stagnation, regression, or defeat.

Core theme of the Base Document

The Base Document argues that renewal is not a slogan but a strategic response to the existential crisis of the ANC and NDR, requiring practical action in the following five areas:

- *Societal renewal*: People centred, people driven, equitable and sustainable development trajectory
- *Organisational renewal*: Rebuild and renew the ANC – calibre of membership and leadership, reconnect the organisational life with issues of the motive forces, exemplary, inspiring and ethical conduct and capacity to govern and deliver
- *Ideological renewal*: Reaffirm values and instill discipline, deepen political consciousness and commitment, root out criminals and corrupt elements from the ranks of the ANC
- *Raising the bar on the quality of leadership* across sectors and spheres of society. Conscious initiatives to attract and build talent in the ranks of the movement
- *Consolidate and unite the Alliance* and the broad democratic movement

Strategic pillars of intervention

The Base Document identifies the following strategic pillars:

- Stay the course on a progressive developmental path by *transforming the economy*, creating jobs, building and maintaining infrastructure, delivering services, governing the country well, and resisting neo-liberal restructuring while reversing the hollowing out of state capacity
- Foster and revitalise *nation building* through building social cohesion, fighting racism and sexism, and empowering the motive forces
- *Renewing the ANC* and the alliance
- *Navigating geo-political shifts* with a focused foreign policy, including defending SA's sovereignty and national interest and rooting SA's growth and development strategy in Africa.

2. Key considerations

Cde Joel Netshitenzhe raised the following key considerations arising out of the NGC Base Document for discussion:

- Whether cautious reform and half-hearted measures can, in the current conjuncture, lift us out of the current situation, characterised by a significant transition in global power balances leading to major tensions and possible war
- What strategic choices should we make to take full advantage of our geo-strategic location and leverage the strategic minerals that we have in abundance?

- How do we reassert the legitimacy of the transformation agenda in the face of attempts to freeze our social relations in the apartheid colonial mode – including through the courts and mass action?
- How do we unite the South African nation behind the progressive ideals of the Constitution in the face of intense manifestations of ethnic mobilisation in some provinces, loss of support among the Coloured and Indian communities, declining enthusiasm among the urban working class, the black middle strata, and our inability to win over significant sections of the white community?
- Are we able to consolidate the motive forces for changes behind the progressive ideals enshrined in the Constitution, as we did in the early 1990s, and who would those be?
- Can organisational renewal happen with the current members, branches and culture that has set in over the past three decades? What constitutes an organisational state of emergency that would enable us to win the masses' confidence? It is in the lived experience of the people in terms of the revival of economic growth and addressing second economy issues, as well as in the provision of basic services, that they will be convinced that we are serious about renewal.

The provocation ended with a quote from Amilcar Cabral: *Always remember that the people are not fighting for ideas, nor for what is in men's minds. The people fight and accept the sacrifices demanded by the struggle in order to gain material advantages, to live better and in peace, to benefit from progress, and for [a] better future [for] their children.*

3. Defining the current conjuncture

Cde Mandla Nkomfe, facilitated a discussion on defining the current conjuncture, after a brief input, drawing on the NGC Base Document. The summary of Cde Mandla's input and discussions is set out below

The current conjuncture is characterised by a crisis that threatens to reverse the gains of the democratic revolution and constitutes an existential threat to the ANC and its liberation allies.

At the core of the crisis is a global social system that, in itself, is fragmenting, resulting in intense geopolitical conflicts. We are living through dangerous times with war on many fronts. The old order is breaking, and the new order is struggling to emerge.

Some of the features of the current period include:

- A rising right wing and complex global balance of forces, including the changing terrain of tariffs.
- Threats to democracy
- Moral decay and rising gender-based violence.
- Weak organisation, including the ANC/SACP/COSATU.

The discussion elaborated on the current conjuncture, including consideration of the objective and subjective factors facing the country and the ANC. Points raised included:

- *The 1994 transition:* We negotiated from a position of relative weakness in 1994, and in hindsight, could the constitution have been a stumbling block to the reversal of Apartheid's legacy? When we took power, there was a symbiotic relationship between the apartheid government and white business. There were two worlds, one predominantly occupied by white business and another occupied by blacks, which persist until this day.
- *How we have exercised state power:* We have had inappropriate social and economic policies responding to the socio-economic crisis. The post-1994 state has had an inadequate impact on the fault lines of race, class and gender. Racialized patterns of development, class structures, and patriarchal systems remain a challenge.
- *ANC policy implementation:* There is a gap between ANC strategies and policies and how the ANC implements them. We should also examine whether we have not boxed ourselves between the co-existence of Colonialism of a Special Type (CST) and democracy. We may address democracy but leave out consideration of the legacy of CST.
- *The erosion of People's Power:* We have lost our ability for broad mobilisation, instead only using electoral politics. We have a social transformation project which is statist.
- *Disconnection from the masses:* We are no longer influenced by the masses and we are not seen as listening to our people.
- *Corruption and state capture:* We are seen as 'kleptocracy', regarding the ANC as an employment opportunity where we gain for ourselves. Corruption has now been weaponized in a racial tone: it is black in colour and ANC in character and the role of the private sector is not raised, even while it takes two or more to enter into a corrupt relationship.
- *The ANC:* The ANC is weak and compromised, thus unable to effectively lead and deliver the basic needs of the people. A culture of arrogance, flaunting our gains, and the lack of discipline in our ranks, so that there is no confidence in political

representatives and officials. A top-down approach has killed the ANC's vibrancy in our people's spirit and there is a lack of revolutionary morality

- *Lack of state capacity and governance failure*, especially at a local level: This impacts negatively on people's lived experiences when they are seeking services from government. They often assume that front desks are staffed by 'unfit' ANC deployees.
- *International positionality*: We should review our relationship with the USA and find other trading partners.
- *Employment*: Outsourcing and tendering have led to certain jobs that are regarded as only available to those with 'connections'. Instead, we should hire people permanently to serve our communities.

The above objective and subjective factors have precipitated an existential threat to South Africa as we know it and an existential crisis for the ANC.

4. Who are the motive forces that the ANC seeks to mobilise to address the current conjuncture

Cde Mike Sutcliffe, ANC VL member, facilitated a discussion on the motive forces after summarising what the NGC document says and sharing some electoral statistics

Summary of NGC Base Document on the motive forces

- *The working class* is the core motive force, while recognising informalisation and high numbers of unemployed
- *Rural masses* where the land question is key (point 79) and where traditional leaders remain influential (point 80)
- *Black middle strata*, where the ANC is losing support
- *Patriotic bourgeoisie*, which, unlike monopoly capital consists of white and emergent black capitalists whose interests are materially tied to the democratic project (point 90)
- *Women*, while patriarchy remains deeply entrenched (point 95)
- *Youth* who have been a motor and moral conscience of the struggle, but now youth energies are fragmented and often fleeting (point 102).

Changing ANC support base

The tables below show the changing nature of the ANC support base, who should be made up of the motive forces. Table 1 shows the decline in ANC voters.

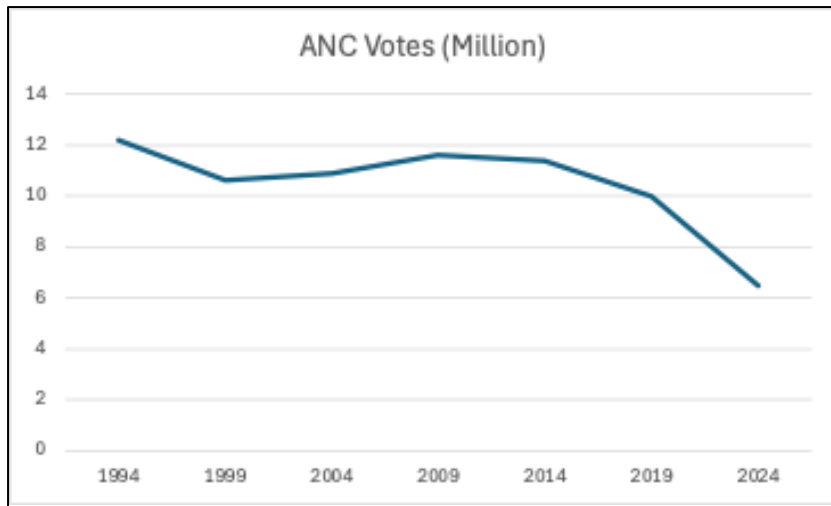


Table 1: Decline in ANC voters

In the seven free and fair elections to date, election splits have largely been around personality and not ideology. Table 2 shows how support has gone to emerging political parties, often splits from the ANC.

PARTIES	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019	2024
ANC	62,6	65,0	68,3	64,2	60,7	56,7	39,6
--UMKP							14,4
--EFF					6,3	10,7	9,4
--UDM		3,3	2,3		1,0		
--COPE				7,2			
NNP	20,4	7,1	1,8				
--DA		8,8	11,9	16,5	22,6	20,5	21,5
--FF+						2,3	1,3
--ACTIONSASA							1,2
IFP	10,5	8,8	7,2	4,9	2,6	3,3	3,8
--NFP					1,8		
PA							2,0
ACDP		1,4	1,6				
ID			1,6				
VOTES CAST	19,5 mil	16,1 mil	15,5 mil	17,3 mil	18,1 mil	17,7 mil	16,3 mil

Table 2: Votes cast for political parties 1994 – 2024

Table 3 and how we have declined from:

- 79 to 55 per cent support in wards with areas of high levels of Black African.
- 77 to 60 percent among unemployed.
- 52 to 29 percent support amongst those with post matric education.

	Ave. %ANC 2009	Ave. %ANC 2024
Black African		
0-25%	23,0	16,3
25-50%	36,8	22,8
50-75%	58,5	35,2
75-100%	79,3	54,9
Unemployed		
0-25% Unemployed	43,9	26,8
25-50% Unemployed	78,0	52,3
>50% Unemployed	76,9	59,7
Post Matric		
0-15%	72,5	61,8
15-30%	75,5	49,3
>30%	51,7	28,6

Table 3: ANC support amongst Africans, employed and post-matric voters

Table 4 demonstrates turnout. In 2009 in all wards the turnout was over 75 per cent but in 2024, our strongest wards only got 50,6% and our weakest wards had almost 61,8%

%ANC	%Turnout 2009	%Turnout 2024
0-25%	78,3	61,8
25-50%	75,9	57,3
50-75%	75,7	52,7
>75%	74,5	50,6

Table 4: Turn out in wards related to ANC voters

Discussion on the motive forces

The following key points were made on the motive forces:

- The composition of the motive forces of the NDR is *changing*.
- We must understand the *interests of the identified motive forces and address them*, so that the motive forces can understand that ANC is taking their interests at heart. The decline in ANC support shows that the motive forces are not happy about how we are representing their interests. We should ask what provinces like the Eastern Cape, Limpopo, and Mpumalanga are doing correctly to continue enjoying more ANC support, albeit it is also decreasing.
- The motive forces are in the *wards, voting districts and in the branches* – if we want to remobilise them, we need to improve connections between branch, zonal, regional structures of the ANC. National, regional and local leadership have lost contact with the motive forces. Deployees do not do constituency work and are not visible in our communities.

- *Government* also works in silos and does not involve branches and wards in local economic development. As a result, ANC voters do not benefit at a local level after voting for the ANC, especially women, and sometimes youth who are predominant in ANC gatherings.
- The state of the economy, unemployment and poverty including the decline of manufacturing (e.g. steel mills) has impacted the changing nature of the *working class and black middle-class formation*. Private sector trade unions are decreasing because members are retrenched, and workers are now forced to work as contractors without benefits e.g. in coal mining. Rebuilding the economy and integrating the formal and informal economy can strengthen these motive forces.
- *Workers* as motive forces have changed, with increasing divisions leading to the President going to a May Day rally in Rustenburg and getting booed. Similarly, Cde Gwede was not allowed to speak at a Conference of the NUM.
- Merely calling for *one country one federation and one union one industry/sector*, when the objective conditions between the 1980s and 2025 have changed, and the role of finance capital has sown deep divisions within union leadership and membership, will not help. On matters of trade union unity, there should be consideration of calling for a Confederation.
- The policies from 2011 have marginalised the poorest of the poor in the rural areas meaning that *rural masses* are not being served by the ANC. For example, in the OR Tambo District, no wards are led by the opposition, but a lack of service delivery leads to glaring voting apathy. Rapid urbanisation also impacts on the rural masses, who used to be an important motive force. In addition, there can be tensions within rural areas - If traditional leaders are influential, access to land by women might be problematic, raising the gender question.
- The rise of *ethnicity, tribal and ethnic politics* impacts on the motive forces voting based on ethnic groups. Tribalism and ethnicity are beginning to be used in the growing xenophobia/afriphobia.
- We face a critical challenge from the *middle strata*, including the black middle class, who, while benefiting most from democracy, are moving away from the ANC to opposition parties and have become our biggest critics. While the middle strata can be seen as a component of the motive forces, one should be wary of advocating for the building and beefing up of the bourgeoisie, black and white. An unproductive middle class has to be excluded from the motive forces; whether they contribute to empowerment programmes ought to be the deciding criterion.
- The pro-poor focus of Government through a good transformation policy, excludes the *missing middle*. This, together with corrupt human resource practices within government, leads to a reduction of potential voters who feel neglected and disrespected.

- *Youth* are not mobilised and have become against the ANC. In the past the activism of the student movement injected life into the NDR – we need to move with the times and revitalise youth and students through social media platforms. We need to support young people e.g. through the NYDA.
- *Mobilisation* into our ranks has also changed, we no longer focus on the motive forces but have strived for greater numbers. It was said that the broad church has split off into ‘different congregations’
- While VL members are advantageous in terms of revolutionary morality, most of the *ANC leadership* is found to be wanting. That is why motive forces are moving away from us. ANC is perceived only making promises, not telling the truth and as a corrupt organisation in the eyes of the people.

How to mobilise the motive forces behind the ANC again

The discussion did not focus significantly on this, but the following points were made:

- Our ability to build a strong mass-based movement for transformation in the past was partly due to *our focus on sectoral issues and campaigns*, material changes and building alliances at all levels with mass-based organisations of workers, women, youth, students, professionals etc. This approach has been weakened and needs to be revitalised.
- There is a need to *balance short term and long-term solutions* to our challenges. Our short term and immediate challenge is voter apathy, service delivery and addressing negative perceptions. In the long term we need to review and identify the key motive forces and the vehicle suitable to take the NDR forward.
- We should go *back to basics* and focus on specific areas and issues that should be delivered.
- The ANC should advocate for the uplifting and empowerment of all with the aim of building a moderately prosperous society all around. This is the approach that has made China successful in the execution of its simple but all-encompassing anti-poverty programme, whilst 30 years of BBBEE has produced a few millionaires and pushed millions into greater poverty.
- We need to *work on the ground*. A comrade from Mpumalanga shared how they meet as a BET each week and then mobilise 150 volunteers to clean a street or a school on a Friday.

5. Addressing the national question

The NGC Base Document refers to the unfinished business of the national question as it relates to non-racialism, non-sexism, social cohesion, racism, tribalism, chauvinism, and international migration.

The Document also asks whether a revolution triumph without a corresponding revolution in values and ideas and suggests that the democratic movement is being transformed by the system it seeks to transform (point 63). Issues raised include moral decay, gender-based violence, the right-wing backlash and within the movement, 'revolutionary phase mongering' (points 64 – 67).

Cde Maggie Govender, VL NEC member, raised the following key points before facilitating the discussion:

- The ANC historically has led the process of leading society and national building but this has fallen by the wayside. The ANC is no longer seen as a non-racial movement.
- While racial discrimination was outlawed and policies to implement and redress past inequities were implemented, there are worrying trends.
- We have political fragmentation along racial and ethnic lines and have seen the emergence of new ethnic and regionally based parties. When politics is balkanized, this is a concern for national unity.
- In the ANC itself, there is a declining presence of all national groups, particularly the national minorities. Our branches are almost exclusively African. This can become a self-perpetuating trend because fewer members from those communities mean there are fewer messages that we tailor for those communities, fewer policies that we use to address issues there, fewer organic leaders, and we therefore would further alienate these voters.
- There are perceptions of alienation. In the coloured community, for example, many people feel alienated, particularly working-class coloured people, from the democratic project and employment opportunities.
- They feel alienated from the democratic project – in coloured and Indian communities especially. It doesn't take much for racial conflict to emerge such as in July 2021.
- Right-wing voices among sections of the white are becoming very vocal and have drawn support from forces outside of our country. The narrative of white victimhood continues to camouflage the reality that whites have benefited and continue to benefit disproportionately from our economy because the face of poverty and unemployment is black, is female, is young.
- We should also acknowledge the trend of growing inequality within the black community, with a few within the community that have integrated into the advanced part of the South African economy, but it is a few.
- It's a challenge because there is common interest amongst these sectors. The working class is the working class. Poverty is poverty. Black poverty, white poverty, Indian colored, etc. It's poverty.

- There are huge deficits in a strong shared patriotism. Although we have national symbols and holidays and sporting successes and we celebrate them, but when there are stress issues, many people retreat into their group identities.
- Xenophobic attacks against foreign African nationals also reflect a social reality that has been poorly managed.

In the facilitated discussion the following points were raised:

- Over time, the national question has acquired a *racially based flavour*. It should rather be about how to give effect to the Freedom Charter and the achievement of a non-racial, united and prosperous nation. We should consider changing the racial descriptors we embraced from apartheid that we use in the ANC and government today
- In government, we have not done enough to address *apartheid spatial patterns* and dismantle structural racial divisions. The apartheid government did a good job in ensuring second- and third-class citizens – Indian and Coloured communities were built better houses than those of Africans, but were not afforded the same as Whites. This has contributed to DA support today.
- In *Indian areas* in Gauteng, Indian people feel disappointed in the ANC and believe they are penalised for not being African. Our ANC branches are not diversified, reflecting non-racialism, and sometimes Indian councilors are scared to attend meetings.
- The ANC has become an *indigenous organisation*, rather than a political party uniting all the people. If we look at ANC structures, they are predominantly black and often the contributions of other races are disregarded or not considered such as having a white premier.
- The ANC has failed to communicate our *definition of black* and that it includes Indians and Coloureds, we do not reach out to them such as during the time of the UDF. The unity between, for example, the Cape Flats and African areas such as Gugulethu no longer exists; however, their material conditions are the same.
- We do not push back on attacks on BBBEE and transformation, such as from AfriForum and the DA
- We have scored several own goals, such as keeping quiet or laughing instead of addressing the matter when a certain leader referred to certain blacks as ‘clever blacks’. There is an anti-intellectualism where we are afraid of people who come from a different grouping, including minorities. As a result, minorities and even African people say they can no longer identify with the ANC.
- We need to locate *First Nations* people in our discourse.
- Strategies for dealing with *illegal immigration* should be developed

6. Political and organisational renewal and modernisation of the ANC and cadre development

The NGC Base Document's motivation for arguing that we have suffered a strategic setback is because while the ideals of liberation still enjoy overwhelming support among the motive forces, we face a crisis of legitimacy in the ANC as the primary vehicle of liberation". This relates to the state of the ANC and the challenges it faces in its renewal.

Cde Trish Hanekom, VL NEC member facilitated a discussion in two parts – firstly focusing on modernising the ANC and cadre development, and secondly on ethical leadership. A summary of what the NGC document says about the state of the ANC and what is to be done is attached as Annexure A.

The following points were made on the problem statements facing the renewal of the ANC, in addition to those made above, before proposals were presented:

- We are no longer guided by important documents such as the *Eye of the Needle* when it comes to elections and deployment.
- The *centre is not holding* or leading and this affects the entire organisation including in the inability of ANC leadership to hold its members at all levels to account. This lack of accountability and consequence management has cascaded through all spheres of the ANC and therefore has a direct impact on the delivery of services.
- The *ANC no longer values 'generational mix'* – now in branches, young people are leading, and veterans are not part of branches and play ex-officio roles in other structures. Veterans can bring knowledge and experience, where a certain percentage should come from the ranks of the VL.
- Members feel *powerless* to change or correct the scourge in our organisation
- *Ethical behaviour* requires political consciousness. But those who do wrong things, do so knowingly. Corruption needs to be dealt with decisively.
- The practice of *stepping aside* only after an ANC members has been charged should stop. This is because the public views us as corrupt, not because of the people charged and convicted, but by mere implication. The impression that we are tolerant towards corruption has been accelerated by implicated members continuing with their work as if nothing has happened.
- Most branches do not function outside of '*money politics*' – with getting the right numbers to support you through vote buying becoming the only thing that branches

are about. If you disagree with a certain slate, you will not make it as part of the BEC or REC. We have sacrificed quality at the higher altar of quantity.

- One comment said that the ANC spends lots of money during regional and provincial conferences, but come elections, volunteers have to beg for food and transport.
- There are *branches which are captured* - where for example genuine members of the ANC are replaced with 'hired' youth. These members are then disillusioned since they have no appetite to meddle in dirty politicking. And as a result, those not orientated to the principles of the organisation have joined. Defending wrong doers, thieves and thugs has not also helped.
- Renewal can't happen without raising the bar on the quality of *leadership and without political will*.
- There is lack of implementation of *resolutions* from ANC Conferences
- There are challenges with the *membership system*.

Proposals on cadre development and political education

To reposition our movement, politically capacitated cadres of integrity, humility, honesty and accountability are required. This includes a new crop of volunteers alert to the new world order. Political education should focus on young people and students from Cosas, Sasco and PYA who are our future leaders.

The current cadre induction processes are not achieving their aims. Political education and cadre development must be modernised, and modern technology must be embraced. Cadre development must also be responsive and flexible enough to cater for individualised levels of understanding, needs, interests and developmental/organisational imperatives.

Suggestions included:

- To have video modules in manageable segments, which comrades have to go through and pass an online quiz to test understanding.
- Relevant core topic should then be the subject of group discussions at branch level.
- Ongoing membership induction programme at branch level, which is improved on ongoing basis
- VL should formulate cadre development guiding principles for branch training.
- Members who are trained should compile a portfolio of evidence as to what they have done e.g. on education and health.
- Having a points system where each year a member must accumulate points, which can be used as part of an assessment for leadership roles and to be deployed in government.

While participation in political education should be mandatory for full membership, it was pointed out that this process does not guarantee ethical behaviour. That needs to be promoted through stringent enforcement of organisational discipline.

Proposals to strengthen branches

A functioning branch should be the nerve centre for community development and organisational development, including running of political discussions and community-focused programmes. It should run practical programmes that address the daily challenges faced by our people

Before BEC elections, the Branch should identify challenges in their area, come with solutions and then identify who has the capacity to assist in addressing these. Branch leaders have to be exemplary, humble, disciplined, and able to articulate what the ANC understands by the NDR. No one should hold an ANC position if they are unable to comfortably explain what the ANC is and what it is about.

To shift branches away from being conference branches to becoming actively involved in social transformation, they should be reconfigured and restructured.

Consideration should be given as to whether branches should only be at the ward level. They could also be at a VD, factory or tertiary institution level. VDs can be a better unit in certain urban and rural contexts. Branches are the level of which workers and students can enable cadre development to build the country better.

The threshold of 100 members per branch should be reviewed as well as the quorum. It is sometimes difficult to recruit 100 members in a ward. It was also suggested that branches in good standing should not be determined by the number of paid-up members but by their activities in assisting the communities to get service delivery and making elected counsellors accountable to their communities.

Branches are aligned to our wards so that councillors can tell higher levels, that they were put there by branch members. However, if we remove the idea that branches are there to elect politicians, this can shift. Instead, branches should serve as places for cadre development and community service. Higher structures should not control branches

Since every second year there are elections – nationally, local government or within the ANC - there is never time to build the organisation and develop cadres. That's why inter alia branches are not involved in working with communities to address their concerns. If we align electoral cycles, there may be more time to prepare cadres.

Other considerations to strengthen branches is to have shorter meetings, consider the language of meetings and use translation.

The VL is suggesting several proposals to amend the ANC Constitution to address membership and branch issues were raised since a weak constitution, weakens ANC. Renewal involves modernisation and keeping abreast with dynamic situation. These amendments are squarely informed by political objectives of ANC and focus on strengthening membership provisions, branches and enforcing ethical conduct.

Propose amendments relate to:

- Who is a member in our ranks
- Strengthening the oath to include the need for exemplary personnel contact, honesty, integrity, participation in political education, and strict adherence to Constitution
- Complementing ward-based branches, which are the cornerstone of the ANC, with sectoral forums that will focus on enriching policy discussions e.g. on education, health, and economy.

7. Building ethical leadership, succession and elections of leadership and public representatives

The prize of a renewed ANC

“If the ANC can demonstrably renew itself – for example, by the next election presenting a slate of credible, honest candidates taking visible action against corrupt elements, and highlighting real improvements in communities driven by ANC activism – then public attitudes towards the movement could shift from cynicism to cautious optimism” (point 203 of NGC Base Document)

Responding to the previous discussions, this section looks at proposals to address ethical leadership and elections.

Improving ethical leadership and discipline

Proposals were made, including that:

- All ANC members who have been implicated in corruption in any officially and legally constituted commission should be obligated to step aside.
- Enforcement of disciplinary conduct should not be outsourced to the courts of law of the country

- Integrity Committee needs to be revisited and revamped to have more 'bite'. The NEC should not ratify their decisions.
- Since the ANC is a voluntary organisation, there should be speedy processes to remove a member who has done something wrong.
- Vote buying, slates and corruption of electoral process should be punishable offences, with expulsion from the ANC as a mandatory sanction.
- If an ANC member steps aside or is placed on special leave, they should not be allowed to address ANC activities.
- Vetting process for members needs to be more aggressive and transparent
- Meritocracy must be upheld
- Lifestyle audits and declaration of assets and business interests should be made compulsory for all NEC members
- There should be a hotline or a way to raise allegations against NEC members who are involved in corrupt activities
- Reviewing Sections 2.10 and 3.2. of VL Constitution on the role of veterans intervening in ethical disputes.

Elections

ANC must evolve to respond to current conditions in respect of elections, including reviewing the current methods of voting by branch delegates. Using technology, it is possible to have one member, one vote, and examples were given of Brazil.

The selection and election process for candidates must be overhauled and every weakness and loophole rectified.

Candidates who stand for election must be above reproach, very loyal to the movement and its people, not corrupt and corruptible. More work should be done in strengthening and upholding the agreed-upon guidelines in identifying and selecting those who may lead in the Movement, including withdrawing them if they don't subscribe.

Other suggestions on elections include:

- The need to develop a succession plan to ensure that future leaders are groomed and equipped to lead the country. Different options for choosing leadership should be considered.
- The use of money in individual leadership campaigns should be discussed.
- Nomination processes should involve a spread of candidates. Branches should not be sent a list of candidates to be rubber-stamped.

- Candidates must submit CVs and motivate why they should be elected. Vvs should be made public before the election date for general membership scrutiny and comments
- Vetting by the Integrity Commission or an Independent body.
- There must be undisputed evidence of proper processes at branch level, and failure thereof must invite disqualification.

Way Forward/Other

There was a view that we require a substantial re-organisation of the structures and membership of the ANC. This is for a variety of reasons, including that mass recruitment have led to us having members who are compromised and who have introduced a 'foreign culture' in the ANC. It was also stated that there is a limitation on the current leadership to drive the implementation because in most instances, an arrow is pointing at their direction. It was argued that one or two of the ANC constitutional structures, should drive the renewal programme and assist in the establishment of new structures.

Others said that calls for the disestablishment of ANC structures and the holding of a consultative conference are misplaced, as it reflects the failure of the ANC.

A last proposal was that these sessions should be held provincially and regionally

Annexure A

State of the ANC and What is to be done – summary from the NGC Document

State of the ANC

- ANC branches have become inactive or mobilised only for conferences and nomination processes
- The link between ANC structures and communities/masses have frayed
- Endemic factionalism and internal divisions – often along the lines of patronage and personality cults – have sapped energy and credibility
- Political education and cadre development in the ANC waned, leading to a decline in ideological coherence and rise of careerism
- Core values and ethos – humility, selflessness and service to the people have been undermined by scandals of corruption and ill discipline (point 123)
- Alliance has strained and each component has its own weaknesses

What is to be done to restore the ANC as the leading agent of change

- Eradicate factionalism and patronage
- Reassert political discipline and cadre accountability
- Modernise internal processes
- Strengthen ideological training and leadership skills
- More rigorous leadership succession including informal term limits and encouraging rotation in certain roles, especially at local level
- Enhance the integrity of candidate lists
- Reinvigorate the Alliance interface with more regular meetings and joint political education and policy platforms
- Recommit to classic practices of grassroots mass work
- Renewed values and political culture
- Monitor and evaluate renewal progress