

# THE BATTLE OF IDEAS, MEDIA TRANSFORMATION & DIVERSITY, AND ACCELERATING DIGITAL FUTURE

## INTRODUCTION

1. This document seeks to provide a mid-term report on the implementation of the 53rd Conference Resolutions. It will evaluate gaps, provide analysis of the challenges faced in the implementation of Conference Resolutions, outline interventions needed between now and the Policy Conference, as well as provide new policy considerations in preparations for the 2015 National General Council (NGC). It builds on the decisions of the 53rd conferences and also takes into account ongoing endeavours by the ANC and the Government with respect to delivering services to the citizens.
2. The structure of the document follows the outline of the Battle of Ideas, ICT and Media Diversity Resolutions adopted during the 53rd ANC National Conference. These resolutions are grouped into the following sections:

### 2.1 Battle of Ideas

### 2.2 ANC Internal Communications

### 2.3 Government and Legislature Communications

### 2.4 Information and Communication Technologies

### 2.5 Broadcasting Infrastructure and Services

### 2.6 Print Media Transformation, Accountability and Diversity

### 2.7 Postal Infrastructure and Post Bank

### 2.8 Research, Development and Innovation

3. The hegemony of the ANC and the democratic forces in the battle of ideas remains central to the advancement of the National Democratic Revolution. The ANC must operate in a coordinated and disciplined manner to set the agenda in the battle of ideas. Our interventions must be informed by the ANC Strategic and Tactics, and Organizational Renewal.

## THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

4. The 53rd National Conference noted the raging battle of ideas and the need for the ANC to engage in the ideological work in order to lead society during the current phase of the NDR and the second phase of the transition towards the complete economic emancipation of our people. The resolution noted the battle of ideas between the theoretical and practical underpinnings of the democratic developmental state and the neo-liberal paradigm. The use of market forces to try to dislodge the democratic forces as the drivers of change and the substitution of the NDR objectives with a neo-liberal market driven paradigm was noted.
5. The ANC 53rd Conference further noted the serious advances made by the ANC, the Alliance and democratic formations in transforming South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist democratic society.
6. Conference resolved on increased participation of ANC cadres in public debates and that cadres

should be trained to respond effectively to the growing onslaught against the movement in all media. The Conference also resolved that ANC Political education syllabus should be inclusive of media training, research and ICT literacy. A National Dialogue was observed as critical to reignite and deepen the battle of ideas with the aim to reassert the position of the ANC as a progressive leader of society and to forge unity for accelerated transformation. The 53rd Conference also resolved that editions of **ANC Today**, **Umrabulo** and other ANC publications should always include articles from ANC government executives (Ministers, MECs and Mayors).

7. Globalisation has also sharpened inequalities between regions and nations, and within nations, producing winners and losers and a core and a periphery. The ANC policy is aimed at fighting this segregation and inequality, and working nationally, regionally and internationally to ensure a more just social order.
8. In the context of radical transformation in this second phase of the transition, robust discussions are needed to help the ANC and society to emerge with new policies and decisions that will increase the pace of transformation, development, innovation, creativity, service delivery and integration of our society.
9. The ideological and political battles have intensified since the adoption of these resolutions. The news media has been filled with raging attacks on the nature and character of the movement. Opposition parties who lost the elections have been provided with ample space to question the outlook of the mass democratic movement and substitute with their own visions. There is a ganging up on the ANC and the movement's representatives by the media analysts, media commentators, the ultra-left and ultra-right forces. All the media outlets including unfortunately the public broadcasting outlets are dominated by the persistent attack on the NDR.
10. The ANC has not been able to systematically respond to this escalating ideological and political attack. The spokespersons of the ANC remain largely lone voices as there is no coordinated machinery that draws on the collective political and ideological base of the movement. As a result the ANC has failed so far to set the agenda in the national discourse through the limited dialogues on all media platforms. In the meantime, the ANC cadres deployed in Government have not actively contributed to the degree required into ANC publications.
11. Some progress has been achieved in the re-organisation of the ANC Communications Team to provide capacity to engage the media and counter the onslaught. The ANC War Room demonstrated the potential impact such a coordinated and well-oiled effort would have on the battle of ideas. The winning of the May 2014 National Elections and the several Local Government By-Elections is an indication that despite the propaganda against the ANC, the movement still commands hegemony and is entrenched with the masses of our people.
12. The operations of the War Room at all levels should be scaled up and be operational throughout the year and not just in times of elections if the ANC would be able to effectively deal with the propaganda onslaught.
13. War rooms must be strengthened, repopulated with requisite skills, cost the war room, meet daily and a Clearing House comprising of ANC H/O, ANC Parliamentary Caucus, Government spokesperson and Legislature) should be established in terms of the ANC Internal Communication Policy.
14. The ANC need to develop a "battle plan" that mobilizes the collective strength of the cadres and organizational capacity. The battle plan should be coordinated at Headquarters but executed at Provincial and Regional levels. The battle plan should include engagements with strategic allies and other progressive forces that can influence media and help drive the thrust of the national democratic revolution in the media platform spaces. The battle plan should help reignite the national dialogue and focus it on the radical transformation trajectory. The battle plan must encompass all platforms and provide creative and innovative ways of bringing about the mass participation of ANC cadres beyond the official spokespersons of the movement in order to set the agenda.
15. The ANC has not effectively demanded its rightful share of the media space. In many instances the "right to reply" to baseless attacks have not been followed upon. It is now usual to hear one sided discussions, attacking the ANC, in print, radio and

television platforms without ANC cadres and spokespersons participating. There is a need for co-ordination of the participation by ANC Cadres on the different platforms where the ANC voice is in deficit.

16. Facilities to manage multiple digital media platforms must be utilized to actively monitor news and debates on all media platforms and develop daily message in collaboration with the ANC communications team and disseminate the messages.
17. ANC should measure its successes where it governs, package the success stories and disseminate them through all media platforms.
18. An ANC Business Plan for communications must be developed.
19. ANC network must be strengthened, optimally use Community Television (CTV), mobile CTV vans for each province, employ LED screen, identify Schools of Journalism of choice, revive ANC News Service and incorporate these onto the ANC Communications Business Plan.

### ANC INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

20. The war of ideas must be fought like a real war therefore, there must be strict coordination of content and messages between all structures of the organisation. The advent of community and public media offers an additional potentially progressive opportunity for the ANC, depending on the ability to influence this media and provide it with adequate support.
21. The 53rd National Conference resolved that the National Executive Committee (NEC) should develop an ANC Internal ICT Policy and strategy to drive the ANC's administrative and political systems, ANC structures must be connected with high speed ICT services, ANC build a unified ICT capacity enabling it to engage with all its members using latest technologies including social media platforms, avail ANC content on several platforms, improve membership systems using new technologies, develop social media policy and establish a political champion to drive ANC ICT Policy and Strategy.
17. The resolutions correctly identify the need for the ANC to adopt the modern means of communications in its own organisational and political work so as to augment the different mass mobilisation and engagement tools it has utilised over the decades. The resolutions spoke of how the administration of the ANC, the involvement and management of its cadreship and the dynamic link with various communities can benefit greatly from adopting the modern communications tools. Importantly these tools were identified as important to mobilise the mass of the people into action advancing the democratic revolution and to deepen their interaction and involvement with the programmes and daily activities transforming South Africa.
18. The ANC Communication machinery has since been revamped and reorganized. A draft ANC Internal Communications Policy has been developed for consideration by the NEC. Access to affordable high speed technologies remain a challenge throughout the country and thereby affecting the implementation of the 53rd Conference resolutions. In the meantime, innovative use of bulk SMS, group email accounts, ANC apps, etc. has been explored by some provinces and branches. These innovative systems have not been maximally used throughout the country and explored to potentially enhance internal ANC communication. New technologies have also not been maximally used to improve membership systems. An online interactive ANC cadre database to assist track ANC professionals and skilled cadres has not been developed. The Social Media policy has been included in the drafted ANC Internal Communication Policy.
19. The draft ANC Internal Communications Policy provides for political discipline, framework, protocol and coordination of ANC approach to communications and the battle of ideas.
20. A draft ANC Communications Strategy (Comstrat) has been developed for consideration by the NEC. The strategy is intended to guide and focus ANC communication, informed by the ANC Internal Communication Policy.
21. Implementation of the 53rd National Conference resolutions is hampered by amongst others lack of resources and lack of access to affordable high speed broadband infrastructure. In order for the ANC to maintain its hegemony and sustain its societal leadership, it must improve its capacity to

- innovatively and creatively explore the use of new technologies and social media to communicate its principles, policies and programmes. Accordingly, the 53rd National Conference resolutions remain relevant and must be implemented.
22. The ANC Media Charter (1992) must be reviewed guided by the new technological developments, SA Constitutional dispensation, the current media landscape and the need to respond to the radical transformation agenda. The revised ANC Media Charter should outline the role of media in the development of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. It should also outline the role of public media (including the Public Broadcasting Services and the Parliamentary Services) in the provision of platforms for the effective participation of all the people in the democratic dispensation. The Charter must outline the role of independent media regulation and accountability within the framework of the new SA Constitutional dispensation. The evolution of community media and the participation of small and medium sized commercial media entities should form part of the policy principles. The funding mechanisms that will support public, community and small/alternative commercial media in order to realize media plurality and diversity. The Charter should also provide an ANC policy perspective on the reflection of African voices in the global arena including SADC platforms for regional reflection and continental platforms.
  23. There is a need to train ANC communicators at all levels of the organization and continuously train all deployed cadres in media handling. ANC cadres deployed in Government must be obligated to attend media coaching and training. Strengthening the ANC's own network of sympathetic circle of analysts and journalists is important.
  24. The ANC needs to strengthen and develop its capacity to stimulate demand to increase broadband usage and uptake by generating relevant content, across different communication medi-ums and for different target audiences. This includes its online presence, improving its research and monitoring capacity, strengthening forums for ideological and policy reflection such as ANC Today and Umrabulo, and developing writing skills, communications skills, skills relating to website and social media development amongst its cadres and leaders.
  25. The ANC reaffirms that communication is an ongoing exercise that requires continuous interaction and forward and backward engagement. The ANC Today should further be a publication of choice for engaging, responding and debating current issues related to and or affecting the ANC. As part of organisational discipline leaders of the ANC should desist from discussing ANC internal issues outside of the ANC structures and forums. ANC Today is one such a forum and original articles generated from it do migrate to mainstream media after serving to educate and inform primarily our membership and support base.

## **GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATURE COMMUNICATIONS**

26. Effective and coherent government communication aimed at rendering effective structure and services informing people of government programmes has not yet been fully addressed despite all efforts. The problem of coordination and integration between municipalities, provinces and national government has not been achieved.
27. ANC should support Legislature's communication where it governs and ensure effective and coherent communication.
28. The ICTs were identified as means for political, economic and social transformation whose importance is growing. The 53rd National Conference Resolution noted the critical importance of government ability to use the ICTs to communicate with citizens in the delivery of services, the deepening of democracy and the ability of citizens to interact with government. The need to enhance government communication in order for government to be accountable and be in a position to influence and set the agenda for public discourse was seen as important.
29. The 53rd National Conference resolved that there was a need for an institutional arrangement and framework that enhances collaboration, effective planning and oversight between the ANC and Government communication. The use of community and public broadcasting services to reach all South Africans in their languages should be prioritized. Coordination of the flow of information from the different Government



- departments and amongst all spheres of Government (local, provincial and national) was seen as important. Conference resolved that the GCIS should strengthen local Government communication and offer support to parastatals and other State agencies. The enforcement of compliance with the Codes of Good Practice in procuring services from the media was identified as critical to drive efficiencies and the transformation of the media industry. Government was required to diversify its ad spent to empower community, emerging commercial and public media. The review of effectiveness of Government communications including vision, structure, coordination and increased resources was identified as crucial.
30. The link between the capacity of ANC to lead the NDR and the capacity of government to communicate and involve the masses of the people in political and economic activities was also identified as requiring focused attention. The lack of co-ordination and capacity to communicate at the three spheres of government was also noted as deserving resolution. Conference directed the creation of effective information communication platforms to enable the three tiers of government to communicate effectively.
  31. A number of developments took place post the 53rd National Conference and the May 2014 National Elections. A new Department of Communications was created to focus on communications and branding of South Africa. This new Department is intended to coordinate and provide an institutional platform for the coordination of communication at various spheres of Government. There has been an increase in the Government ad-spend through community and small commercial media by GCIS. 10 year review of GCIS was conducted and new plans for Government communication were developed. Media bulk buying was introduced with the aim of ensuring maximal benefit for Government in terms of economies of scale and to diversify Government ad-spend. Communication has been prioritized and mainstreamed, including increased usage of the community and small commercial media platforms. For example, the President, after tabling the State of The Nation address, communicates it through a platform of community and small commercial media. The challenge is cascading this approach through all spheres of Government.
  32. The Government communication continuously needs improvement, as poor government communication leads to denial of service to people who depend on Government for the same. The improvement of the Government ability to communicate with its citizens enhances service delivery, accountability and involvement of ordinary people in the affairs of the State.
  33. There is a huge number of government communicators in all three spheres. Government communication stills lacks coherency in the different spheres. This needs intervention in order to transform the way government communicates to its citizenry.
  34. In this regard, there is a need for the development of a National Government Communications Policy to provide a framework for communications at different spheres of Government. This framework should provide for a coherent structure to communicate Government programmes and activities, and enable the interaction of the people with Government in all spheres.
  35. The National Government Communication Policy should provide for the use of all official languages and all platforms to reach all citizens.
  36. The ANC and its government need to strengthen other effective communication methods to reach targeted communities like using community broadcasting and public broadcasting services (radio and print) to highlight government service delivery in the battle of ideas.
  37. Government communication and messaging need to be coordinated and reflect a one united country and one united Government.
  38. The Policy should ensure communication coherence and alignment at all levels, Government, Legislature and the ANC.
  39. Government media buying patterns should not reinforce media concentration and media monopoly, instead its bulk-buying strategy should ensure that communication reaches targeted audiences and support media diversity agenda. All spheres of government should advertise in the community and small commercial media that produce media in the languages spoken by communities, to assist with media transformation

and diversity, and the sustenance and growth of these media.

40. Government communication should reach all citizens and in all languages and DoC (GCIS) should be strengthened in order to coordinate information flow among different departments and among all three spheres of government (national, provincial and local).
41. COMTASK must be reviewed again taking into account, 20 years of democracy; the need to curb fragmentation of messaging and disconnect; centralization of Government communications; structure, roles and responsibilities; the need for a clearing house (comprising of Government, Legislature and ANC) to ensure coherent messaging; the mandates of entities reporting the communications Ministry (GCIS, DoC, SABC, Brand SA, Film and Publication Board and MDDA); and the need to clarify Government spokesperson vs Cabinet.
42. The local government communication should be strengthened through enhanced training programmes and the DoC (GCIS) should further offer communication support to parastatals and funding development institutions in order to properly profile work of these institutions.
43. DoC (GCIS) should support the communication of work done by other public and state owned entities that does not get media coverage. We must use arts and culture to enhance communication and convey the values of our democratic society, e.g. sculptures, murals and other forms of public art.
44. There is a need to review Government policy that mandates placements of advertising on national newspapers, as this reinforces media monopoly, as this is not relevant to local and provincial Government needs. These so called national newspapers are not available in all local municipalities and rural areas. This policy therefore is not reflective of the real media landscape in our country, in terms of national coverage platforms.
45. A short to medium term Communications Action Plan must be developed whilst reviewing Comtask and developing national Communication Policy.

## INFORMATION COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES

46. The 53rd National Conference noted that over the last three decades, the world has been undergoing, and continues to undergo, an information and communication technologies (ICT) revolution and unprecedented social and economic transformation driven by the advent of the ICT, High Speed Internet that has fundamentally transformed the way people live and relate to one another. This has made the world a much smaller place, in which individuals can access information and services from wherever they are in the world.
47. The 53rd National Conference resolved that the National Development Plan (NDP) should be underpinned by a National ICT Policy that is focused on ensuring universal access to affordable and quality high speed infrastructure and services throughout the country. The National Cyber Security Policy was identified as a top priority together with the policies of Green ICTs. Conference resolved on the realignment of Government shareholding in the various telecommunications entities. Conference also resolved on the establishment of a national ICT forum that will serve as a platform for engagement of all the segments of society in matters of the deployment and use of ICTs. Further, conference resolved that skills were important in order to complete the ICT transformation process by 2030. Conference supported the convergence of technologies and services and resolved that the regulation of the ICT sector in the converged environment should not lead to the consolidation of vertical and horizontal monopolies or the abuse of dominance by the existing operators. Conference directed that competition rules and regulations dealing with the opening of the market to competition must be prioritized. Conference directed that ICASA should be resourced to the required degree in order for effective regulation of the sector to be achieved.
48. While noting the advances made since 1994 to introduce new technologies, the 53rd Conference Resolution noted that South Africa has not lived up to her potential as a result of a lack of a comprehensive National ICT Policy, institutional fragmentation and ineffectiveness, limited e-skills, inadequate funding amongst other challenges.

49. The Conference therefore directed the creation of a policy environment that will see the widest uptake and usage of the ICTs through:
- 49.1 The roll-out of universal broadband services to connect all government offices and enable the delivery of e-government services targeting all frontline services delivery departments.
  - 49.2 The expansion of the Postal infrastructure to reach all South Africans the establishment of a single integrated National Address System, the corporatisation and repositioning of the Post Bank to offer financial services to the unbanked.
  - 49.3 The digitisation of the broadcasting infrastructure and support measures to connect all South Africans to the digital networks especially the indigent, the licensing of more subscription services, an increase in South African Content and the introduction of new converged services.
  - 49.4 The transformation of the ICT sector to be reflective of South African demographics by 2030, a focus on e-skills at all levels of education and an increase in investments in ICT research and development.
50. These resolutions underline the cross-cutting nature of the ICT and the role played by the sector as an enabler of improvements and efficiencies in all other economic and social spheres. At the same time, the ICT market is on its own right a significant contributor to the GDP, employment creation and wealth generation.
51. The ICTs are ideally suited to help government and society change the material conditions of all South Africans and help integrate into economic activity the segments of our society that are disproportionately affected by the triple challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality.
52. The NDP calls for a cohesive strategy to ensure the diffusion of ICTs in all areas of society and the economy. It further identifies ICTs as an enabler, such that it contributes to service delivery, support analysis, build intelligence and create new ways to share, learn and build social capital.
53. The medium term target support the vision 2020 initiative of expanded broadband penetration to 100 percent by 2020, where all schools, health facilities and similar social institutions should be connected and individual citizens should have affordable access to information services and voice communication at appropriate locations.
54. By 2030, the NDP expect that the aggressive implementation of the e-strategy, South Africa will be globally competitive amongst its peers. Furthermore, all South Africans will be able to use core ICT services and enjoy access to a wide range of entertainment, information and educational services. The National eStrategy collaborations between the state, industry and academia will stimulate research and innovation, and promote local content production and multimedia hub establishment.
55. Government has undertaken a number of activities to put in place coherent policy and regulatory frameworks to deal with the policy inconsistencies, weaknesses and challenges identified during the discussions leading to the 53rd National Conference.
56. The Broadband Policy and Strategy was finalised in 2013 to provide for the roll-out of the infrastructure for high speed internet envisaged in the 53rd ANC resolution. This strategy addresses four elements.
- 56.1 Digital Readiness that deals with policy and regulatory challenges that must be addressed to facilitate broadband roll-out and uptake of services.
  - 56.2 Digital Development that deals with aggregating public sector demand to improve supply of broadband service.
  - 56.3 Digital Opportunity that deals with improvement of broadband user skills and the promotion of local content.
  - 56.4 Digital Future that deals with infrastructure provisioning at wholesale layer of fixed and wireless broadband networks and the market structure to deal with broadband.
57. An Integrated ICT Policy Review process was initiated with the aim of producing an Integrated ICT Policy, as resolved in the 53rd Conference, in order to deal with policy and regulatory issues and to allow for the converged policy and regulatory frameworks. The Framing Paper was issued in April 2013. The Green Paper on Integrated ICT Policy was published in January 2014. The Integrated ICT Policy Options Paper was published in November

2014. This review process is to be finalised with the issuing of a New Integrated White Paper on ICTs by the end of March 2015.
58. The ICT Policy Review process supports the realisation of universal access to affordable and quality services for broadband and other services. The review supports the extension of the definition of universal service beyond access to traditional infrastructure to encompass the training and provisioning of equipment to enable the targeted communities to participate effectively in the generation and use of services. To this end the universal service institutional arrangements are to be reviewed to expand the scope of the obligations and to fine tune the institutional arrangements to deliver on these universal targets.
  59. The definition of broadband should be reviewed from time to time and include:
    - 59.1 High speed internet networks and services.
    - 59.2 Always available and multiple services.
    - 59.3 Speed to be determined from time to time through Government policy or prescribed regulation.
  60. The provision of universal access to ICT infrastructure and services is conceptualised as part of a bigger basket of interventions aimed at social inclusion targeting the rural areas and other vulnerable segments of society. Universal access should include accessibility, quality and affordability.
  61. The provisioning of e-government for all frontline services, the support for the delivery of e-education and e-health using the broadband network and the training of the beneficiaries in e-skills constitute part of the strategy. A pilot programme for the roll-out of the broadband plan coincides and is interwoven with the National Health Insurance (NHI) pilot programme to establish the methodologies and assess the impact of this integration.
  62. The ICT Review Process has demonstrated the need for the enhancement of the regulatory environment in order to allow for further convergence of the IT, Telecommunications, Postal and Broadcasting markets. The development of all IP (Internet Protocol) networks now means that different services that were traditionally transmitted through different networks can now be transmitted using one network to be received and consumed using one end-user device.
  63. This convergence has practical effect in the realisation of the sector goals as it lowers the cost of infrastructure deployment while allowing for the entry of new players in the market. There are policy and regulatory considerations that must be in place including a licensing regime that fosters innovation through the entry of new services, a regulated competition environment that discourages the abuse of market dominance in general and the abuse of current market dominance in particular to stifle the entry of new services in particular, an open access model that allows the new entrants to access critical infrastructure and the effective enforcement of the regulatory provisions to ensure a level playing field.
  64. The entry of the SMME's in the sector will be dependent to a great degree on the ability of the regulatory scheme to support such market reform. Other measures that will facilitate the entry of the SMMEs will include spectrum licensing and allocation. The need to empower the regulator and to provide enough skills and resources to do the necessary regulatory interventions has been identified as critical.
  65. Effective regulation of competition, including the role of SMMEs should also promote universal access. There is a link between effective competition and the attachment of universal access to quality and affordable services.
  66. Research continues to indicate the extent of market concentration that frustrates the expansion of the ICT sector in a manner that can accommodate the SMMEs and lead to some size-able innovation and employment creation. The ICT sector is still overly focused on large capital intensive approaches in which the big established players dominate and limit the role of the SMMEs.
  67. The fixed line segment continues to be dominated by Telkom whereas the wireless segment is dominated by two operators namely Vodacom and MTN. Even though new licenses have been issued in all market segments the reality of the market is that the established players have consolidated their market share to such an extent that issuing new licenses no longer leads to any significant changes in market behavior. The



- same situation is playing out in the broadcasting subscription market. In this market even though others have been licensed Multi-Choice continues to dominate and this dominance cannot be challenged any time soon.
68. Measures to allow for market access for the small operators and new services must therefore be part and parcel of the regulatory interventions that are aimed at making the sector much more competitive in order to drive down the cost to communicate, as well as allow for the real and meaningful transformation of the sector.
  69. There must be complementary utilization of different technological options to accelerate broadband rollout including:
    - 69.1 Wireless
    - 69.2 Satellite
    - 69.3 Fibre optics
    - 69.4 Emphasis on fixed, wireless convergence, amongst other innovations.
  70. Choice of technology due to socio-economic and other realities should not deepen inequalities within and between communities.
  71. Infrastructure and services should be aligned within social and economic development plans of communities and Government.
  72. The management of the spectrum and other scarce natural resources is emerging again as crucial to the success or failure of interventions to broaden the sector beyond the number of players that currently dominate.
  73. There is not enough spectrum to enable all licensed entities to be able to build their infrastructure and use the spectrum to deliver services directly to the market. While the wireless broadband roll-out will be easier to finance the cost of constructing national networks is still prohibitive for many small players.
  74. The permit system for the construction of towers and the rights of ways is burdensome and still contributes significantly to infrastructure roll-out delays and therefore costs. These constraints point to the need for policy to foster infrastructure sharing and the opening of the infrastructure for access by those who want to offer down-stream services.
  75. Policy must be fine-tuned to strike a balance between the entry of the new operators and SMMES and the maintenance of the investments to drive infrastructure roll-out predicated on adequate returns.
  76. There are low hanging fruits that need minor adjustments to policy for them to be realized. The broadcasting infrastructure has been digitised allowing for an expansion of services and an increase in South African content for all platforms.
  77. Content will drive the uptake of digital traditional services in as much as it drives the new audio-visual services that are entering the scene to compete with broadcasters. A regulatory regime that supports South African content on all platforms is a prerequisite for the country to reap benefits from the technological changes. An increase in the amount of South African productions will enable us to exploit the expanded transmission and storage capacity associated with digital systems.
  78. The training of youth in digital production for all platforms will stimulate SMME participation and create jobs on a sustainable basis. Support for the manufacturing of electronic components has already been approved in the case of the set-top-boxes to support digital migration of broadcasting services. This programme should be incentivized to support the roll-out of tablets and end-user devices in schools, clinics, libraries, Thusong Service Centres and other centres that are to be part of the national broadband roll-out.
  79. Aggregating government demand is one of the key pillars of the Broadband Policy and Strategy. Activities to execute on this strategic element have focused on the role of the different state entities that are involved in the delivery of broadband services. A process to rationalise the State Owned Companies (SOCs) that play a direct role and are licenced as major players in the industry is underway.
  80. The SOCs have been exploring ways and means of coordinating their activities so as to reduce duplication and enhance the use of the limited resources to deliver on government services. The final structure and standing of the various SOCs will be determined by the time of the finalisation of broadband implementation plans.

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81. Research has indicated that there are many other government players that are active in the infrastructure provisioning space whose activities must be taken into account for a coherent role of government to emerge. Municipalities are rolling-out their infrastructure linking government offices and facilities in a manner that contributes to the duplication of infrastructure. The ICT Policy Review process indicate that these services are not used to full capacity and are at times perceived to be crowding out private investment as they compete by offering wholesale services to third parties. Organisation like PRASA, Eskom and SANRAL are also active in some capacity running parallel strategies to provide wholesale fixed infrastructure services to the market.
82. The definition of the role of the government entities and the setting of policies as to how they will behave in the market is emerging as critical in the fulfillment of a comprehensive strategy to roll-out broadband and other infrastructure. Rules of behavior need to be considered in areas where the state owned entities are in direct competition with licensed operators more so when they are in a position to distort the market through preferential deals with some competitors to the exclusion of others.
83. The Information Society commitments of South Africa has the vision of establishing South Africa as an advanced society in which Information and Information Communication Tools are the key drivers of economic and societal development.
84. The strategic goals include the use of technology to broaden participation in the economy, the reinvention of how government deliver services and interacts with citizens, the celebration of South Africa's cultural heritage and creativity and the entrenchment of democratic participation by citizens and the respect of their fundamental rights.
85. The following are key policy areas that need attention in order that the information society development initiatives can meet the stated strategic objectives:
- 85.1. Infrastructure roll-out to reach all South Africans (discussed in earlier sections)
  - 85.2 E-government and other e-services
  - 85.3 Digital Inclusion and e-awareness
  - 85.4 Human capital development
  - 85.5 Development of local content
  - 85.6 Research and development
  - 85.7 Industrialisation.
86. The roll-out of e-government services has not progressed as fast as it should have possibly done, due to the fragmented approaches to the deployment of ICT infrastructure and systems within government. There is a need for a national e-government strategy that involves all spheres of government. This strategy must inform all the spheres of government in planning e-government services.
87. There is a need for an evolution of an e-government service approach that takes into consideration the different levels of maturity of the various departments and municipalities. Such an approach must enable the different legacy systems to be integrated and retired at different stages so as to ensure minimum service level disruptions.
88. A government wide strategy involving the three spheres of government must devolve sufficient ownership of the system to the various levels for effective planning and implementation.
89. The procurement of infrastructure, hardware and services have proven to be the main distraction in terms of rolling out e-government services. There is a need to define the role of the State Information Technology Agency (SITA) in the new reconfigured environment, taking into account the level of diffusion of the system of procurement and service integration the new strategy will encourage. In the medium term government departments need to migrate an increasing percentage of their work online. The addition of e-services should lead to realizable budget shifts towards the implementation of the cost effective online services and therefore savings.
90. The roll-out of e-government services will rely heavily on the availability within the state and public service of a cadre of administrators who can work in the online automated environments as well as the public that can use the modern communications tools to access services. This calls for concerted measures to skill South Africans at various levels to manage the electronic environment and use it for their daily activities.
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91. The shift to online services for the delivery of e-government services, electronic commerce and mobile commerce will entail heightened risks that are associated with cybercrime and therefore warrant urgent consideration of policy measures to deal with cybersecurity.
92. Some tentative steps have been taken by government in this regard including the establishment of the Cybersecurity Hub that joins the public and private sectors in the monitoring and reaction to cybercrimes. Cyber Response Teams will be established to respond to actual and potential cyber-security related issues.
93. The organised measures taken by government and the private sector are just one part of the measures that will enhance security. The public awareness of cyber threats, the protection of personal information and a vigilant attitude to online environments is the other part that is supposed to be played by the citizens. There is therefore a need for a wide ranging cyber awareness strategy to educate the public on matters relating to cybercrime and cybersecurity and to instill a measure of confidence in the e-environment.
94. Policy will also have to resolve new emerging policy issues such as the Internet of Things, cloud computing, privacy, cybersecurity and IP interconnection between content, application providers and terminating ISPs. The quality control necessary for the content and application of providers will also feature significantly in future policy and regulatory discussions. The net neutrality discussions have already started and policy and regulations need to provide certainty over the access to the last mile (fixed or mobile) over which end-users access the internet. Policy will have to ensure that there is no degradation or interconnection failures due to failed negotiations between parties that could make it impossible for users to access, distribute or use the applications and services of their choice.
95. New policy should also seek to create an enabling environment for e-commerce, m-commerce, Internet of Things and Big Data.
96. Policy should also deal with SA's position on net neutrality, in favour of universal access to new services.
97. The merger of national entities responsible/involved in broadband should be expedited.
98. SA should expedite the development of a comprehensive cybersecurity policy, which should be in place by the time of the 54th ANC Conference. In its nature, cybersecurity is a shared responsibility and thus policy development should be a coordinated effort. National policy should also encourage/support citizens to take active interest in the security of their own information in the cyber-space.
99. Interconnection could also be used to engage in anticompetitive behaviour towards the source, the destination or the content of the information being conveyed. Principles of non-discrimination and transparency should infuse policy and regulatory considerations.
100. The rights of South Africans to use the ICTs for their freedom of expression, cultural and artistic expression will be protected and regulations will ensure adequate space for South African content. Policy will promote the production of South African content and impose measures for the display of predominant South African content.
101. The protection of the minors and the vulnerable will receive uttermost consideration in the regulations dealing with obscene violence, pornography and gratuitous sexual display during times when these vulnerable groups are able to watch.
102. The Digital Opportunity and Digital Future elements of the strategy will require collaboration of the three spheres of government, public entities, the private sector and communities. The ability of government to mobilise and direct a critical mass to ensure the buy-in and participation in the transformative programme to use ICTs to change South Africa will be critical.
103. Extending the infrastructure to reach, especially rural areas that are sparsely populated will require considerable investments and planning. Public and private sector resources must be mobilized and harnessed towards the realization of a common broadband project. The development and promotion of digital services will contribute to needed economic activity but require a sustained commitment on the part of both public and private sectors to deeper co-operation that will turn challenges and escalating competition

into new opportunities. The role of the private sector and co-operation and partnerships with the public and private sectors need to be defined in order to direct investments. Appropriate structure and forums must be established for engagement.

104. Government still controls significant SOCs that are operational in the ICT sector as tools to realize policy ends. As discussed and resolved in the 53rd ANC Conference there are areas of duplication and mandate overlaps that results in wastage of resources and misalignment. In addition, the South African government also holds equity stakes in listed telecom companies such as Telkom, Vodacom. The role of the state in the digital future need to be defined.
105. The broadband strategy must move beyond the traditional sectoral ways of thinking and foster new ways of networking throughout society. This calls for the mobilization of the different economic and social sectors to collaborate on this programme. The work of the yet to be established National ICT Forum as a machinery for social and economic mobilization cannot be overemphasized.
106. Importantly funding mechanisms need to be determined and rural areas that will not be a top priority of the private sector investments provided for, in order to ensure universal access to broadband connectivity and services. In addition to the use of Government Budget, additional sources of funding also need to be determined. These could include the use of Governmental guarantees, infrastructure bonds, vendor finance, and country and development bank loans. Furthermore, other mechanisms of support should also be explored. These could include the use of corporate income tax benefits, CAPEX tax benefits, low interest loans, indirect subsidy and regulatory forbearance.
107. The advent of broadband and digital transmission networks increases many folds the capacity of the ICTs to deliver content. This potential cannot be realized without significant changes to the supply side dynamics in order to increase the production and supply of the content to fill the expanded networks and the storage facilities. The content that has to be generated for the broadband and digital networks far exceeds in scope and scale the content generated for the analogue environment. This requires a coordinated approach of traditionally different industries involving the creative and performing arts, the ICTs, broadcasting, the audio visual and film industries.
108. The training of local production talent will need to be scaled up to the required degree so as to avoid a situation in which the expansion of the South African market only benefits foreign producers and the creation of a situation in which South Africa turn into a net importer of content again. The development of policy will support the availability of innovative South African content over all platforms and screens. Regulatory parity and fair competition is critical in building a viable and vibrant audiovisual content sector that meets defined social, economic and cultural public interest goals.
109. As broadcasting-like content will be increasingly available across a number of platforms and on a range of devices (over the air, on the internet, on television and radio sets, and on tablets and mobile phones). Policy will need to develop new ways to facilitate and promote the availability of public interest programming, including South African programming and music in all languages. At the same time, such a policy will need to focus on ensuring that traditional broadcasting services are viable so that they can fulfill South African content and news and information obligations, as they compete for audiences, advertising and content with new media services from inside and outside the country.
110. The rapid deployment regime that enables the providers of the electronic communications to construct towers and dig up trenches in private and public areas is so complicated and takes so much time that the targets can never be realized without any fundamental changes. The current arrangements mean that any construction of infrastructure requires individual applications to all affected municipalities who have different procedures and time frames to take decisions. This process takes currently a minimum of 18 months for a single application on average. The roll-out of fixed broadband will be most affected in rural areas as the digging of trenches will require more permits and rights of ways. The mobile services will be greatly impacted in the urban areas as they have to deploy significant infrastructure to densify and augment their networks.



111. National policy will be developed to outline the activities of various national, provincial and local authorities in dealing with the various permissions that are required to roll-out infrastructure. The rapid deployment policy will facilitate access to rights of ways and way leaves in order to allow for rapid deployment of Infrastructure.
112. There is a need for an interdepartmental/ intergovernmental forum to expedite the development of guidelines for rapid deployment of facilities, including DTPS, COGTA, SALGA, DEA, DSE. The guidelines should be in place within a year after the NGC, taking into account the delays since 2005.
113. Considerations will be made on the creation of a "clearing house" to facilitate the streamlining of local planning permissions and to standardize the application processes. A central data base will be constructed so as to enable for the tracking and tracing of the application processes. The recommendation is that government should serve as a clearing house for these permissions. Cooperation with SIP15 will be enhanced to ensure that all significant public and private sector infrastructure roll-out is expedited and supported.
114. The spectrum is emerging as the most important resource at the early stages of population access to broadband services. The assumption is that at the initial phases of broadband roll-out individuals will rely on wireless broadband to be connected. The spectrum available is not enough to ensure that all service providers will have enough spectrum to deliver the broadband converged services including, voice, data and video. The digital migration of broadcasting services is important in ensuring that the much needed spectrum is freed but even this migration of broadcasting services to free the spectrum will not yield enough spectrum to satisfy all needs.
115. A comprehensive National Spectrum Policy to support the speedy implementation of SA Connect must be developed and it must be guided by the principles outlined in the 53rd ANC Conference resolutions.
116. Government and public service will be exempted from paying fees for the use of the frequency spectrum to discharge their mandated services. The importance of the spectrum going forward and the need for ongoing research into spectrum bands that can be re-farmed and re-issued for use to meet the increasing demands warrants a discussion about the necessary institutional arrangement that can provide for this capacity.
117. Policy advocates for consideration of new approaches to spectrum management, including the Dynamic Spectrum Access (DSA) technology which entails opening up underused spectrum exclusively licensed for a single purpose to shared use with other purposes. These approaches will be considered while taking into account the needs of different services. In particular, trials should be considered within the 2.3GHz band in line with global developments.
118. Additional mechanisms for managing high demand spectrum should be considered. These should include the use of spectrum sharing, pooling and trading. An open access model will be considered in the assignment of high demand spectrum to facilitate competition to ensure universal services and universal access is achieved. High demand spectrum should be set aside for an open network that will sell wholesale access to new and established operators.
119. In terms of spectrum pricing, it is important for the price charged to reflect the true value of spectrum being a scarce resource. For this to take place, the regulator, guided by the transformation objectives, needs to consider accommodating a competitive bidding process in the model it will follow in the assignment of spectrum. Auction as alternative method for licensing spectrum will be considered to raise the money for investments in the broadband and digital roll-out of services.
120. Research will be conducted into the use of the TV White Spaces, as this presents an opportunity to utilize vacant frequencies for the provision of broadband and other digital services.
121. The need for Open Access regime that enables access to critical infrastructure services by all licensed entities is underpinned by the stated approach to avoid duplication and to minimize the cost of rolling out the ICT infrastructure. The current regulatory regime does not provide for an all-encompassing Open Access regime, is focused on public utilities when it does and treats different providers differently depending on their technologies.

122. The scarcity of the spectrum, the number of operators needing access to infrastructure dictate that the open access regime be extended to all infrastructure service providers with significant market power. Open Access arrangements will foster the sharing of infrastructure at all levels and access to network infrastructure or services that is provided effectively on a fair and reasonable terms, for which there is some degree of transparency and non-discrimination.
123. Government should develop a comprehensive open access regime with the State playing a significant role.
124. The existence of two new national Departments in the ICT sector should not stifle national interest, the implementation of ANC resolutions, Government commitments and plans.
125. SA should develop a national e-strategy that seeks to encourage further uptake and usage of ICTs. This should be in place by the time of the next ANC conference. The e-strategy should give effect to the NDP, new ICT Policy and SA Connect.
126. All policies should seek to create a model e-society by 2030 when all South Africans will have access to critical ICT infrastructure and services.
127. A new market structure should be defined in the ongoing policy work of the country, taking into account technological changes and innovations. This should place emphasis on retail competition and infrastructure sharing.
128. ANC re-emphasize that National Government should also engage with provinces and municipalities to harmonize the implementation and rollout of broadband infrastructure and services.
130. The 53rd National Conference resolved that the current model of public broadcasting should be reviewed in order to prioritise public service obligations including education, health, rural development, the reflection and development of all South African languages and cultures. This review was viewed as critical to the development of the broadcasting services in the digital era and the resolution of the challenges facing the SABC. It was resolved that the SABC must prioritise public service in the digital age. Conference resolved that Government funding must be ringfenced to be targeted towards public programming such as indigenous languages, developmental and educational programming. The stable cooperate governance mechanism was identified as important in terms of the provision of long term stability to the SABC. To this extent, conference called for strengthened accountability to Parliament, Shareholder (Government) and the public. Conference resolved that any future strategy of the SABC must position the broadcaster as a leader in the uptake and usage of new technologies including mobile television and Internet Protocol Television in an environment that does not allow the public broadcasting system to lag behind commercial broadcasting. Conference further resolved to relook to the behavior of the dominant players, access to premium content including sports rights, access to critical infrastructure to enable the entry of new pay and other services during and after the migration process. The review of local content quotas for all tiers of broadcasting was identified as important. The fair representation of women, people with disability, and the aged in the community broadcasting sector was also identified as important. Migration from analogue to digital terrestrial television was identified as an opportunity for South Africa to enter into the manufacturing of electronic goods for the SA and other markets. The safeguarding of children was perceived to be important. The need for a youth station was again highlighted as necessary and urgent.

## **BROADCASTING INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES**

129. The ANC should continue to struggle for the sharing and participation of the poor and the marginalised sector of our communities to be active participants and beneficiaries of the opportunities created by the digital economy consistent with the goal of pursuing economic growth, development and redistribution so as to achieve a better life for all which is one of the key tasks of our NDR.
131. Various ANC Conference Resolutions and Policy documents capture the vision of a diverse South African broadcasting system – owned by the public, private and community sectors and reflective of the cultural, multi-lingual and demographic diversity and unity inherent in our society.

132. The ANC has consistently upheld the notion that broadcasting operates at two levels. Firstly, it acts as a means to reflect the rich South African cultural heritage, provides voice to South Africans to participate in democratic dispensation as well as acting as an important platform for community involvement, education and entertainment. Secondly, as part of the ICT industry, broadcasting is an important economic sector that sustains the South African creative industries.
133. Despite these achievements much still needs to be done to develop a broadcasting system that caters for all the needs of the South African population because of the inherent challenges facing the broadcasting system and the advent of digital terrestrial broadcasting. Some of the challenges requiring resolution include:
- 133.1 The public broadcasting system, beset by many structural, managerial and funding problems, needs to be restructured and repositioned to prioritise public service as opposed to the commercial focus that it has displayed.
- 133.2 The 51st, 52nd and 53rd ANC Conference resolutions on funding have not been implemented due in part to the failure to develop a public broadcasting model that is not reliant on commercial programming, failure to cost the mandate as well as different interpretations on the role of public broadcasting in government.
- 133.3 The series of crises at the public broadcaster reflect a lack of leadership, lack of accountability and poor management. In confronting the crisis more emphasis has been placed on reporting processes without a corresponding attention to holding those responsible to account for the financial and organisational maladministration that has brought the public broadcasting institution to the crisis.
134. Such a situation has prevailed because institutional structures responsible for oversight have not been effective. There has also been an overlap in oversight roles enabling the public broadcaster to forum shop.
135. The review of the public broadcasting services and local content quotas has been undertaken as part of the comprehensive ICT Policy review. Both a Green Paper and a Discussion Document include sections on broadcasting and the emergence of broadcasting like audio visual services. The new Department of Communications (DoC) has also indicated an intention to review the broadcasting landscape. The Department has established a National Communications Task Team (NCTT) which is reviewing the entire landscape. The Digital Migration process has been stalled by the lack of consensus by industry players on technological standards and conflicting interests.
136. Cabinet intervened and took a decision in December 2013 that accommodates all scenarios. There is no reason for the delays in the implementation of ANC policy and Cabinet decision of December 2013 regarding the Broadcasting Digital Migration Policy (BDM).
137. The Digital Migration Policy must be finalized through the determination of the performance period/dual illumination and implemented for the digital services to start. Cabinet must implement the December 2013 decision and avoid further delays that may arise from a deviation from that decision. The performance period must commence on 1st April 2015.
138. SA must invest more on public education and awareness, support content development and grow the industry to sustain digital broadcasting future.
139. ANC policy (as per the ANC Media Charter, 1992) promotes media diversity and is against dominant players consolidating monopolies. ANC deploys must implement ANC policies and by extension Cabinet decisions. ANC decisions must be informed by national and public interest not commercial imperatives.
140. Disagreements amongst the broadcasters must not be allowed to frustrate the realisation of an important migration process that will improve broadcasting services and contribute to the development of broadband services. The ANC should be vigilant not to find itself in the middle of conflicting interest. Public interest must always be the guiding principle.
141. SA must build capacity and capabilities to manufacture Set-top-boxes (STBs) and in particular the core components of the STBs and not just assemble components.

142. One of the first issues that must be addressed in reviewing current broadcasting related policies in line with the principle of regulatory parity is the definition of broadcasting/content services. Given convergence, many countries have expanded such definitions to include non-linear television- and/or radio-like services.
143. With a change in definition, and the changing environment, it is necessary to consider if the two categories of broadcasting licenses are still the best approach to licensing or whether new categories should be introduced, taking into account the new content value chain which introduces not only non-linear services, but also new operations and processes and players in relation to television immediately, including consideration about:
- 143.1 Channel packaging of individual channels;
  - 143.2 Channel aggregation into bouquets;
  - 143.3 Aligned services such as electronic programme guide (EPG) development and back-door services such as subscriber management, complaints etc.;
  - 143.4 Mux operation and multiplexing;
  - 143.5 Platform operation (an end-to-end service, managing a platform and the content); and
  - 143.6 Platform service operator – same as above, but on the basis of lease of platform as video-on-demand (VOD) and over-the-top (OTT) television).
144. The multi-channel environment envisaged in terms of digital broadcasting should be used to strengthen Free-to-Air television services, strengthen public and community broadcasting, improve public service programming, promoting local content industry, development of channels to enhance South Africa's international policy, etc.
145. There are a range of issues relating to the SABC/ public broadcasting which need to be covered in a new White Paper, taking into account the strengths and weaknesses of the current system and the impact of digitization and convergence. There is a need for a discussion on the nature of the converged services, the structure, funding, governance and management.
146. The introduction of DTT, broadband and the increased number of television and other content delivery channels requires policy to consider the role of the SABC in the converged environment. Convergence, moreover, requires policy makers to consider whether or not the SABC will be a major developer and distributor of online content and content for multiple plat-forms, screens and devices, and if this would require a change in the structure of the broadcaster.
147. The SABC must be restructured to prioritise public services in the digital age. There is a need for the reconsideration of the mandate, structure and services of the SABC in view of the convergence of the transmission medium, services and devices. Policy must determine the scope of SABC's responsibilities in terms of publishing in all the digital platforms. In line with the principle of regulatory parity, under convergence, the definition of broadcasting must be reviewed to take into account the emergence of non-linear television or radio like services such as video-on-demand, Internet Protocol Television (IPTV) and over-the-top services.
148. As part of this process, the government must, in line with the resolutions of the 53rd conference, increase its funding of the SABC. This must be implemented progressively over a reasonable period. Government funding must be ring fenced to be targeted towards public programming such as indigenous languages, developmental and educational programming. In addition to government funding, the SABC requires a long-term sustainability strategy based on a people centered approach to public broadcasting.
149. Programming that is supporting education, health, poverty eradication, rural development, crime prevention and other societal priorities are miniscule compared to programming that is entertainment based. Budgets devoted to developmental programming are reflective of the miniscule programming output targeting the developmental agenda. This needs to be revised as a matter of urgency.
150. SABC reach to the African continent must be enhanced in order to support African rise, NEPAD and BRICS. Partnership with the BRICS countries in respect of relevant programming must be explored.
151. There are a range of issues to be noted regarding the SABC which take into account the strengths



and weaknesses of the current system, in the context of policy review. These include; the nature of the services, the mandate, the structure and funding of the future SABC. The ANC must ensure there is political will and skilled capacity to implement these resolutions.

152. The ANC reaffirms that a stable corporate governance mechanism is required to provide long-term stability. These include strengthening the SABC's accountability to parliament, shareholder (government) and the public. The public ownership of the SABC is central to its existence and sustainability.
153. Significant entry barriers remain in place in the pay commercial broadcasting sector. Regulation of this sector to enforce effective competition has not produced the desired competition. There is a need to relook at the behaviour of dominant players, access to premium content including sports rights and access to critical infrastructure by the competitors in this sector to enable the entry of new Pay TV services during the migration process and new Free-to-Air players after switch-over in 2015. It is important deal with these barriers to entry, regulatory and policy certainty, in order for South Africa to continue in the growth path of the broadcasting industry and the 20 years good story as confirmed in the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) report (2014), "*State of the Broadcasting Industry Report*" and other research conducted by the ICT Review Panel.
154. The need for prioritizing South African content is greater today than any other time since democratization. The advent of broadband and digital multi-channel system requires new and additional content. The advent of non-linear television, video-on-demand services and over-the-top services will increase the available platforms and require concerted efforts to boost the capacity to produce South African content. The creation and production of additional South African content will enable South African productions to be mainstreamed internationally.
155. More than 200 community radio stations and community television stations have been licensed through the fast track processes at ICASA. The fast tracked approach to licensing community broadcasters need to be reviewed in order to assess to what extent are these new licenses achieving the intended objectives of the

country. Many of these community services do not as yet reflect communities they serve in terms of directorship, management and programming. There is a need for concerted action to ensure a fair representation of women, the workers, and people with disabilities, children and the aged. Programming offered by the community sector still need to be diversified to cater for the special needs of these strata while also contributing to community development and upliftment.

156. The capacity of ICASA to effectively regulate in the public interest still shows limitation occasioned by funding constraints, skills shortage and confusion on the means and ways of achieving effective regulation. There is an overriding need to boost the capacity of the regulator to effectively monitor the broadcasters in order to enforce licence conditions and regulations.
157. The terrestrial digital way of distributing and accessing the television broadcasting services presents a fresh opportunity for South Africa to realise the policy ends that are defined in the broadcasting environment.
158. There is a need to align the review of the broadcasting system with the review of the integrated ICT policy framework in its entirety before 2015 in order to encourage the emergence of converged services under a coherent national integrated policy framework.

## **PRINT MEDIA TRANSFORMATION, ACCOUNTABILITY AND DIVERSITY**

159. The patterns of ownership, control and distribution of the media and ICTs in South Africa were seen as reinforcing this battle of ideas. The resolutions called for a focus on redressing and correcting past discriminatory practices and providing a firm foundation in policy for an information communications technology sector that embraces all South Africans and treat them equitably. The need for the democratic forces to assert the hegemony, popularise the democratic ideas of transforming South Africa, was asserted.
160. As we celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, 25th anniversary of the unbanning of the ANC and the good story of our democracy since 1994, it is worth noting the Constitutional protected freedoms in the Bill of

Rights including right to human dignity, freedom of expression, freedom of the media and access to information. This context provides a perspective in terms of, to what extent is South African citizens (rural and urban, poor and rich, etc) enjoying these rights and to what extent is the battles of ideas led by ANC and information accessible to all South Africans in languages of their choices.

161. Information and content gap is widening between the haves and have nots. Agenda is set by (amongst others) a white monopoly media, established media and driven towards neoliberal paradigm. The media space is filled by attacks on the positions of the movement and the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) by both the ultra-left and neo-liberals. In this context, the long dormant ultra-left forces have been resuscitated and provided ample space used to at-tack the democratic forces.

162. The 53rd National Conference resolved that the ANC review its own Media Charter. Conference reaffirmed the need for Parliament to conduct an inquiry on the desirability and feasibility of a Media Appeals Tribunal within the framework of the Constitution Act of 1996. Further, Conference stated that the Parliamentary process should review the existing media accountability mechanisms, balance the individual's rights to dignity and freedom of expression and freedom of the media, and review the privacy laws as well as those dealing with libel and defamations. It was resolved that the Press Freedom Commission (PFC) recommendations should be included in the wide ranging Parliamentary processes for consideration. Conference resolved that to encourage media diversity, an Empowerment Charter to promote Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment in the print media sector, be introduced. Also, the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) must be strengthened to support community and commercial entities towards a diverse media landscape, and Competition Commission should investigate possible anti-competitive practices within the print media sector. It was also resolved that the transformation of the advertising industry to ensure its contribution to media diversity must be prioritized.

163. In 1994, South Africa made significant strides to facilitate the transformation of the media and

communication landscape and these include:

163.1 The introduction of new laws which facilitate the provision of communication services to the people, including in rural areas. This includes the licensing of community radio, licensing of community television, support for community and small commercial media (radio, print and TV), creation of an enabling environment for media diversity.

163.2 Support for media freedom and diversity.

163.3 The transformation of the SABC from being an apartheid mouthpiece to being a credible public broadcasting institution. In recent years, the SABC has played a very important role in the national and local elections thereby strengthening our democratic discourse.

163.4 New subscription television and commercial radio stations have also been licensed to contribute to diversity of voices and the participation of people from historical disadvantaged communities.

163.5 Creation of an independent regulatory environment to ensure that the licensing of services takes place in a transparent and fair manner.

163.6 Creation of an enabling environment in the broadcasting landscape that supports all tiers of the broadcasting system (public, community and commercial/private).

163.7 Promotion of local content through legislation and regulations.

163.8 Reviewing and development of a government communication and information system that serves our citizens.

163.9 Government communication and ad-spend used towards targeted audiences using community and small commercial media, with a minimum of 30% as a target for each state department or entity/SoEs.

164. South Africa has lagged behind in terms of the transformation of print media in respect of the entire value chain, viz. publication, printing, advertising, circulation, newsrooms, content, languages, class, gender, conditions of employment, etc.

165. Whereas the enactment of legislation regarding media development and diversity had good intentions, the final law product limited the extent the intentions of legislature could be achieved. The established MDDA was limited to supporting community and small commercial media, thereby unable to intervene in mergers and acquisition in the mainstream media, unable to finance new mainstream entrants and was provided with limited resources.
166. Further, irrespective of the enhanced government communications, there remain challenges in respect of access to information by the poor and rural.
167. Quality of journalism continues to deteriorate with increasing signs of gutter journalism.
168. On the skills front, young graduates in media studies have been exposed to a media studies curriculum and journalism in the respective School of Journalism that supports the status quo of media landscape, promote sensational reporting and lacks a great deal regarding development communication and with little training in terms of government communication.
169. Many young people from historically disadvantaged backgrounds come out of the Basic Education system that does not promote the media literacy and the culture of reading. This prevailing information and content divide, have constrained the ability of many citizens to participate in the mainstream economy thus entrenching the spectre of poverty and underdevelopment afflicting many people in the world as a whole and in our country, in particular.
170. A number of developments took shape post the 53rd National Conference including the establishment of the Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team (PDMTTT) and its recommendations published in 2013, the research conducted by the MDDA on print media transformation published in 2014 and the GCIS production of a media landscape booklet and reflection on the 20 years of democracy and the media.
171. Changes in respect of patterns of ownership and control of the media (broadcast and print) is slow, in some cases in respect of broadcasting gains achieved post-1994 are reversed away from a diverse media back towards a monopoly. The dominant "big 4" namely Naspers, Times Media Ltd, Caxton and the Independent Media Group (which has changed ownership to Sekunjalo) continue to dominate the print media space, despite the buyout by Sekunjalo Group of the Independent Newspapers Group and the establishment of The New Media (TNA). The print sector is still dominated by four big players. These companies also dominate the entire value chain of the market especially printing, distribution, advertising and research. This integration and the very market structure is perhaps the biggest barrier to market entry and potentially show possible anti-competitive behaviour. Other main-stream media players include the M&G Media and TNA Media.
172. The subscription broadcasting market continues to be dominated by a single player despite the efforts to introduce competition in this segment of the market. The anticipated broadening of the radio sector has failed to introduce the much needed diverse ownership.
173. The ownership of the broadcasting media by the public and community heralded an opportunity for the provision of news and content in the public interest. Despite the resolutions of the 53rd Conference regarding the public broadcaster and the need for action to restore its credibility, the SABC continues to be subject to negative stories and internal conflicts.
174. Digital migration project has stalled despite the resolutions of the 53rd Conference to ensure that South Africa benefits from the migration in terms of more public broadcasting channels, employment creation through the manufacturing of set-top boxes, content production and entry of new players. The digital dividend arising out of the migration of broadcasting services and the release of the spectrum for broadband purposes has not been realized. The delays in Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT) are such that there is a likely possibility that SA may not meet the switch-off date. It is very necessary for SA to coordinate with other SADC countries at least and possibly negotiate a deadline extension.
175. Over the years, the ANC has remained resolute that the media including print media patterns of ownership, management and content must reflect the democratic dispensation ensuring the freedom of expression, which includes freedom

of the press and other media; freedom to receive or impart information or ideas; freedom of artistic creativity; and academic freedom and freedom of scientific research. We have also insisted that freedom of expression which includes the freedom of press and other media does not supersede human rights and other rights enshrined in the South African Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

176. The ANC notes that the MDDA Report: **Transformation of Print Media** (April 2014) further confirms the ANC position and necessitates the radical intervention to fast track transformation.
177. There exist a number of community and small commercial print media, who all face the challenge of sustainability. The acquisition of small established titles/small commercial media by the big players work against the policy of media diversity as espoused by the ANC and warrant further consideration.
178. The ANC participated in the process leading to the PDMTTT report which was handed over to Print and Digital Media SA (PDMSA) and published on Friday, 27th September 2013. The gist of the report confirmed the ANC correct reading of the media landscape in our country. The PDMSA subsequently launched the PDMTTT to explore the issues raised in their own report. Some critical issues identified in the report like lack of transformation remain unresolved. This warrants further policy interventions.
179. The ANC is still convinced of the necessity of further pursuance of the inquiry initiated by the 5th Parliament. The possible existence of anti-competitive behaviour is still a cause of concern and is not in line with the Constitutional intentions of a free media for all and freedom of expression imperatives.
180. Issues of media transformation should continue to focus on ownership and control, management, editorial, reporting on children, gender, rural, class, language and content diversity, as well as other demographic considerations across the entire value chain from publishing, printing, distribution, research, advertising, audit of bureau of circulation (ABC certification), editor's forum, etc. These issues still warrant further consideration beyond the PDMTTT, PFC and MDDA reports.
181. ANC still believes that the existing self-regulatory mechanism (Press Ombudsman and Press Council) remains ineffective and needs to be strengthened. The ANC appreciate the initiative by the print media to establish the Press Freedom Commission (PFC) in response to its call for enhanced accountability mechanisms. The PFC report largely confirmed the correctness of the ANC position. Therefore there is still a need for a rigorous debate and resolution on the establishment of accountability mechanisms that are independent and provide for an independent appeal mechanism. This discussion must be pursued and led through the Parliamentary inquiry.
182. South Africa will always protect, defend and promote media freedom. The media industry must be encouraged to implement the recommendations of the PFC and the PDMTTT Report. The print media industry must proactively cooperate & support the mooted parliamentary process as a way to help find a lasting solution that meets and takes into account the diverse needs of people in our country.
183. The ANC remains committed to a media climate that is free from vested political and commercial interests. This has been our guiding principle in all the engagements and ongoing discussions on the media transformation and accountability.
184. There has also been other changes in the sectors post the 53rd Conference, including changes of ownership in print, the introduction of the New Age, numerous licenses awarded (subscription, commercial radio in the Free State and Eastern Cape as well as in cities, community radio and TV – with all the challenges regarding regulatory certainty regarding digital broadcasting).
185. To maximise the value of the development of the media, to strengthen interventions in respect of media development and diversity. The ANC needs to prioritise ensuring that freedom of expression is enjoyed by all, transformation in the media, media diversity and ensure fair and accurate reporting.
186. A new Media Development and Diversity Policy should:
- 186.1 Provide media diversity index;
  - 186.2 Provide for a community media (radio, TV, print and any other electronic) support strategy;



- 186.3 Provide specific support strategy for small commercial print media in line with Small Micro Medium Entreprises programme of the Department of Small Business Development;
  - 186.4 Promote fair competition;
  - 186.5 Promote media literacy and culture of reading;
  - 186.6 Fast track transformation of the media;
  - 186.7 Support local content and revive the local content industry;
  - 186.8 Promote media platforms in indigenous languages and indigenous knowledge systems;
  - 186.9 Promote and protect our culture;
  - 186.10 Support alternative and diverse mainstream media; and
  - 186.11 Provide for an institutional framework that enhances collaboration, effective planning and oversight.
187. The policy must review whether the licensing and regulatory regime overseen by ICASA enhances the media diversity agenda and what more measures could be taken to advance media diversity.
188. Media diversity should be central to ensure citizens enjoy the media freedom principles enshrined in the Constitution.
189. The institutional framework within government is perhaps the greatest barrier to the emergence of a coherent government strategic thinking, effective planning and deployment infrastructure and services to the people. There is a need for a rethink on how government is organized to discharge its services timeously within the available resources.
190. As a point of departure government should develop and retain policy making capacity. A National Communications Task Team (NCTT) comprising government, civil society and industry to engage on critical issues of mutual interest should be supported. This NCTT amongst others looks at effective government communication and development communication.
191. The ANC reaffirms the 53rd Conference resolution that state institutions that are duplicating mandates and efforts must be rationalized to

address existing overlaps, duplication and undue competition within the state.

## **POSTAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE POST BANK**

192. Post Office is one of the oldest institutions of Government, established since 1910. It has the largest footprint with three business components, physical, courier/logistics and financial (Post Bank).
193. The 53rd National Conference resolved that the National Address System should prioritise the rollout of addresses to informal settlements and rural areas to ensure addressability for all households to achieve economic inclusion. Conference resolved that Government should introduce policy guidelines to direct opportunities to the Post Bank as a bank of first choice of Government and citizens transactions. Conference also resolved that national policy should clarify the approach to the regulation of cherry picking behavior of international courier companies. Conference resolved to encourage all spheres of Government to use the South African Post Office. Further, conference resolved that postal services should be inclusive and address the needs of the people with disability.
194. While the last century saw a consistent increase in the mail volumes in the postal services sector, the 21st century is marked by a general decline in postal volumes and revenue. Letter mail is the most drastically reduced type of mail, partly due to electronic substitution such as e-mail, text messages and social networks, but also customer preference for expedited or secure services offered by courier companies. However, parcel mail is increasing, driven by largely e-commerce and the requirement for deliveries. These changes, driven largely by the technological developments, have affected the traditional provision and delivery of postal services.
195. The Post Bank corporatization process was initiated after the 53rd Conference Resolution. Policy discussion still needs to be held to deal with the market positioning of the Post Bank as well as the differentiation of the Post Bank from all other commercial entities. The role of the Post Office and Post Bank in the delivery of government ICT and other services needs resolution in policy.

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196. During the 2012/2013 financial year SAPO had Retail Post Office infrastructure of about 2497 service points of which 1753 are Post Office outlets and 874 are Retail Postal agencies (RPAs) country-wide.
197. Electronic substitution of traditional mail is accelerating as both consumers and businesses adopt electronic processes across multiple domains. Mail users are shifting from traditional hard copy distribution models to a variety of new ways to digitally communicate, advertise, or transact. They are attracted to greater convenience, faster service, and lower cost.
198. The digital revolution has become the disruptive innovation to the traditional business of postal service. With several different communications channels competing for consumers, the postal service needs to modernize its role to accommodate for the digital age. This therefore necessitates for the future of postal services to be defined within the context of these technological developments. The postal service should consider new products and services that reflect the evolving mandate to bind the nation together in a new world where people are increasingly communicating digitally.
199. It is important for policy to provide for the use of postal networks (collection, transportation and delivery of mail, retail outlets) for a wide range of value-added services. A postal system can help to provide logistical solutions to integrate data flows, physical flows and financial flows. The Post Office should continue to be the Universal Postal Services Obligation provider and continue establishing points of presence in all communities.
200. Transformation of the Post Office should include:
- 200.1 Modernization of services (e-government services, issuing of IDs, Government to citizens Door-to-Door delivery, distribution of books and medication, etc.);
  - 200.2 Expansion into freight and logistics, and consider expansion beyond SA borders;
  - 200.3 National Address System (NAS) to contribute to census, trading and tax regulation;
  - 200.4 Address structural inefficiencies and negative perceptions.
201. A universal services fund (USF) should be established which all sector players should contribute to. Any player providing universal services should be allowed to claim compensation from the USF for the universal services provided.
202. The Post Office should consider incorporating express, courier services, ICT, logistics operators and other providers into the delivery chain of the postal sector. The postal service should consider expanding hybrid mail applications as an early step on the bridge across the digital divide. Postal service should leverage its networks in order to be used as an agency contact points for private partners in the provision of a range of financial services.
203. The scope of competition in postal markets has to be defined in order to pre serve the universal postal service objectives, and also 'reserved services' for the exclusive right of the public postal operator should be defined to prevent market creaming.
204. Policy should introduce regulated competition in the postal market to ensure that postal operators compete with each other in providing services efficiently and at acceptable levels of quality and price. This is aimed at transforming postal providers into dynamic market led and customer oriented enterprises that satisfy the needs and expectations of users of postal services.
205. Post offices are seen as potential ICT access points that could offer a broad range of services (including e-services), as well as extension of broadband network to rural areas that do not have broadband coverage. Post offices are therefore considered as potential points of presence for broadband infrastructure provision.
206. This country-wide network of post offices positions SAPO as a key player in rural connectivity and overall ICT service delivery. The Post Office provisioning of infrastructure and services has been affected by the instability at the South African Post Office. Weak governance and management, the unstable labour environment and poor oversight are some of the contributory factors.
207. There are other deep seated issues that are policy and regulatory in nature. These include the

financing of the roll-out of infrastructure to areas that are uneconomical. The funding support by government has been terminated despite the measures by the Post Office to rebalance their network to reach the majority of rural areas.

208. The Post Office was allowed a protected market up to 1kg of mail. The substitution of mail by electronic communication has meant a decline in mail volumes that has impacted on the revenues of the Post Office. The funding structure of the Post Office Universal Service Obligation needs to be considered in tandem with measures that are taken at the regulatory level to protect the Post Office from uncompetitive behavior from local and international courier services.
209. Post Bank should be considered as a State Bank/ Banker of Government. All civil servants should be paid through the Post Bank.
210. Post Bank should accommodate as secure landing for consumers and financial access.
211. Postal Regulation should define the postal market and segmentation in line with UPU strategy.

## **RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, INNOVATION AND INDUSTRIALISATION**

212. The 53rd National Conference resolved to promote and support development of new ICT Research and Development (R&D) plans and strengthen existing strategies and policies to foster robust, well-coordinated institutional arrangements that lead to development of indigenous world class, technology innovations in ICT through directed national ICT research, development and innovation programmes. Conference also resolved that investments in ICT Research and Development and Innovation (RDI) should be increased and an ICT RDI roadmap be adopted by 2014.
213. The ICT RDI Roadmap has been drafted and is in the process of being adopted.
214. Government launched an e-Skills Institute in 2014 to spear-head the planning of cross-sectoral e-skills initiatives. The e-Skill Institute has fostered relationship with universities and the technical and vocational training colleges for distance learning initiatives. The e-Skills Institute will have

to develop programmes with the various tiers of government and government departments while offering training to out of school youth, women and others that need empowerment.

215. An e-Skills strategy that is adequately funded and supported will be critical in the success of the transformation of the public sector from a paper based administrative system into an always available easy to use interactive system of service delivery.
216. Industrialization should unlock the opportunities for the majority of South Africans. The Industrialization Strategy should include:
- 216.1 DTT programme to revive the local electronic manufacturing;
- 216.2 Broadband to stimulate demand for local products;
- 216.3 DTT and Broadband to stimulate local content, applications and software.
217. The Regulator (ICASA) must be strengthened so that its capacity match the task, streamlined and focused activity on concrete deliverables, adequately funded, accountable for policy and legislative ends, and harmonized with other regulators.
218. There is a need to understand the ICT value chain, identify areas that can be developed locally, promote local manufacturing of components/ segments and be aligned to the broader industrial policy. There is a need to understand the gaps in the current policy implementation.
219. Industrialisation strategy must be lined to Government priorities, focus on services and the cost of communication.
220. Manufacturing of devices can be approached progressively through first assembly and then manufacture.
221. Strategy should promote SMMEs, unlock their potential, and enforce cooperation by the proprietary software owners to help the development of SMMEs and/or open source solutions through the creation of platforms.
222. PPPFA need to be reviewed to support the objective of unlocking opportunities for the majority of citizens. Ensure 70% set aside for SMME linked entrepreneurship.

223. Broadband rollout should involve SMMEs and be specific about the nature and character of such involvement.

## Conclusion

224. Evaluation of progress since several ANC previous conference resolutions show that implementation has been constrained by the capacity of the ANC to sustain the effectiveness, continuity and capacitating its communication structure. Further, the ANC has not been able to effectively monitor the implementation of its resolutions by ANC cadres deployed in Government. Another challenge relate to our government's capacity to implement the ANC resolutions. Government seems to have also been constrained by policy incoherence, high staff turnover in critical departments and business areas, and overlapping and often competing institutions.

225. South Africa has the potential to leapfrog its development through the adoption of radical policies and programmes that will ensure a fast tracked transformation and better life for all its citizens.

226. Guided by the radical transformation agenda, enabling policies are a must, in order to unlock the

opportunities for the majority of South Africans.

227. A diverse media is essential for South Africans to have choice and enjoy the freedoms of expressions protected by our Constitution. A diverse media, in the battle of ideas, will also assist democratic forces to assert the hegemony, popularise the democratic ideas of transforming South Africa.

228. The ICT sector holds significant and strategic potential to enhance economic activity and development, stimulate a viable SMME sector, create sustainable jobs, improve the delivery of government services and attract new investments. Appropriate policy frameworks must be developed to enable the country to realise this potential.

229. While much progress has been made to transform and grow the communications landscape, a lot more still needs to be done to meet the objectives of our Vision 2030. Our approach to this vision, should seek to consolidate the link between the communications policy environment and the broader developmental and democratization context.

***“An inclusive, knowledgeable and informed society enabling development”***



**ANNEXURE TO DISCUSSION PAPER ON COMMUNICATIONS**

**DRAFT ANC INTERNAL COMMUNICATION POLICY AND IMPROVING ORGANISATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS & EFFICIENCY**

1. The purpose of this policy is to generate inputs and provoke discussions within the structures of the ANC around the content of an over-arching policy frame work. It is imperative to have policy parameters and guidelines within which communication in the ANC will be managed. The policy seeks to strengthen the culture of internal democracy, open communication and robust debate within ANC structures and to ensure that these co-exist with a culture of discipline, unity and the principles of democratic centralism.
2. The ANC has often been in the forefront of strategies to engage with the reality of the information and communication revolution. It regularly uses research and opinion surveys to aid its elections strategy development, while at the same time emphasising internal communications and discussions through organs such as **ANC Today**, **NEC Bulletin**, **Umrabulo**, various provincial ANC publications, social media and direct communications (door-to-door visits, mini rallies, sectoral meetings) with its mass base.
3. The innovative use of *'new media'* was particularly evident during the 2009 and 2014 elections campaign and is one of the explanations for the concerted outreach to young and first-time voters.
5. The engagement on the issues of communications remains an important part of ANC organisational strategy, as recognised by the extensive resolution from the 51st, 52nd and the 53rd National Conferences. The issue of ICT in the ANC has also arisen in the context of discussions about organisational design and modernising the operations of the movement.
6. Problems with the ANC membership system since the re-establishment of the ANC as a legal movement post 1990, have demonstrated the need for a system overhaul. Not only is our membership system inefficient (long waiting periods for membership cards, problems of renewals, etc.), but it also poses a serious risk to the ANC, since the system can easily be manipulated.
7. Assessments of the membership system indicate that there are a number of challenges in the *'memberships system value chain'* that can be classified as information systems and technology problems. In addition to organisational processes and systems, there are a host of other areas, where we have only scratched the surface in terms of using information and communication technology to improve organisational effectiveness.
8. The ANC needs to develop its own ICT policy and strategy to drive its administrative and political systems. The said ICT policy and strategy must encompass the overall training of ANC staff and leaders starting with the branches. The ANC further needs to strengthen and develop its capacity to manage its own internal IT systems. The IT must have a political champion to drive the ANC ICT policy and strategy including overseeing the implementation. The proper authority regarding the IT should be located within the Communications Unit to champion roll-out and connectivity of ANC regions and branches, to develop and strengthen ICT platforms, manage membership system, including managing all conference registrations, and the like.
9. The 53rd Conference reaffirmed the 51st National Conference Resolution, which called for all ANC regional offices and branches to be connected to the internet, so as to aid internal communications and improve efficiency. To this end, this task has not been fulfilled.

**OBJECTIVES OF THE POLICY**

10. To promote co-ordination, coherence and consistency in the ANC's approach to communication.
11. To promote uniformity and discipline in messaging.
12. To promote synergy between the work of the ANC and the ANC government.
13. To clarify the roles and responsibilities of various structures with regard to their communication responsibilities and obligations.

## CONTEXT, CHALLENGES AND UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNICATION POLICY

### *Freedom of speech*

14. The ANC acknowledges and recognises the right of all its members and structures to freedom of speech and expression, as guaranteed in the South African Constitution.
15. Consistent with its culture of internal democracy and robust engagement, members have the right and freedom to raise various issues within the internal structures of the movement. The ANC encourages its members to exercise their freedom of speech internally.
16. However, the ANC, like any other organisation or institution, also recognises the need to manage and co-ordinate its communication with stakeholders in the interest of consistency in messaging and organizational discipline. The ANC has a responsibility to ensure that its messages are presented in a coherent and consistent manner.
17. Any revolutionary movement has a responsibility to ensure message discipline in the interest of unity, cohesion and coherence.
18. Individual members of the ANC are accountable for statements or comments they make in the media and other public platforms. Members of the ANC should be discouraged from using social media to undermine the policies, programmes and leadership of the ANC or engaging in public spats. No organisation can find this behavior acceptable. Those who use social media or any platform to rub-bish and insult the ANC and its leadership or make statements that bring the ANC into disrepute must be subjected to disciplinary processes.

### *Coordination, consistency and coherence of communication*

19. The ANC is a mass movement with millions of members and supporters as well as various structures and leaders at different levels of the organisation. The challenge is to ensure that the ANC speaks in one voice across all its structures and levels.
20. Despite the fact that the ANC is a massive

organisation with many structures cutting across national, provincial, regions, branches as well as ANC in government, Parliament and provincial legislatures, the over-riding principle must be – there is only one ANC. This policy proceeds from the premise that all ANC structures must operate within the discipline and policies of the ANC.

21. For a variety of reasons, and partly as a result of ill-discipline, it has not always been easy to project an image of an organisation that speaks in one voice. Conflicting and contradictory messages have continued to play themselves out in the public domain, thus giving the public an impression of an organisation “*at war with itself*”.
22. Message discipline and co-ordination of messages is key. Lack of co-ordination can lead to paralysis of the communication machinery and inability to cascade information effectively across the organisation and to ensure message coherence.
23. The other key challenge that undermines the ANC’s capacity to communicate effectively and coherently is uneven adherence to organizational decisions, where some structures, leaders or individual members tend to contradict or publicly defy positions adopted by the higher structures, or where members of the leadership collective publicly distance themselves from positions that were officially adopted by a constitutional structure of the ANC. A situation where positions and policies of the ANC are contested by its own membership or parts of its leadership in the public domain, and not within the structures of the organisation, poses both a discipline and communication challenge for the ANC. It further compromises efforts to articulate a clear and common position of the movement on a given issue.
24. The broad church character of the ANC has always accommodated different tendencies, perspectives and ideologies within its ranks and the alliance, but bound together by a common commitment to the strategic objectives of the NDR. What is critical for communication is to ensure that the broad church character of the ANC and the alliance, which has historically given the movement its resilience, strength and tenacity, does not translate into conflicting

and contradictory voices. It is important that the capacity of the ANC to articulate its policies and positions in a uniform and coherent way is not undermined.

***Allegiance to official ANC positions and message discipline***

- 25. The principle of democratic centralism shall guide the communication approach of the ANC and its membership. Members of the ANC, or its structures, at various levels, should not publicly speak out against formally adopted policies of the ANC. Any dissenting view must be expressed within the internal structures of the ANC and at an appropriate forum. This will reduce the risk of having a multiplicity of conflicting and contradictory voices all purporting to be speaking on behalf of the movement.
- 26. Once a decision has been taken or a position adopted by the highest decision-making structure of the organisation, all cadres of the movement operating at whatever structure or level, must rally behind the decision or position, and refrain from contesting it in public. Dissenting voices must only be aired internally. This will promote the goal of an ANC that *“speaks in one voice”*. Similarly, structures of the ANC must ensure that they do not send contradictory messages on the same issue.
- 27. The communication policy should discourage members of the ANC from publicly attacking each other or contradicting positions, policies or decisions adopted by the NEC, NGC, Policy Conferences and National Conferences. The same applies to different structures or leaders of government criticising each other in public. Public criticism of other structures or members on public platforms should be discouraged, if not prohibited. Criticisms should be aired through internal structures and must have the objective of contributing to the overall strengthening of the ANC. All disagreements should play themselves out within constitutional structures of the ANC.
- 28. Those speaking officially on behalf of the ANC should ensure that they stick to formally adopted policies and policy positions of the ANC. Spokespersons of the ANC have a responsibility to articulate policies of the organisation or decisions taken by the constitutional structures

of the ANC and not their personal views.

- 29. Once a competent ANC decision-making structure has adopted a position on a particular matter, leaders and members of the ANC are discouraged from continuing to defend and propagate a view that was defeated in a formally-constituted structure of the ANC. Spokespersons whose personal views conflict with the official policy or position of the ANC have a responsibility to ensure that they do not place themselves in a position where they would bring the movement into disrepute

***Every cadre a communicator***

- 30. Every cadre of the ANC has a revolutionary duty to contribute to strengthening the hegemony of the ANC and to defend and articulate its policies and programmes in the public domain. The principle of *“every cadre a communicator”* recognizes that ordinary members of the ANC are ambassadors for its policies, views and programmes.
- 31. To achieve this, all ANC cadres must be sufficiently grounded in the politics of the ANC, to enable them to articulate and defend its positions and policies in the public spaces that they find themselves in. The ANC recognizes that political discussions take place all the time and in different informal settings, such as in trains, taxis, funerals, pubs, radio talk shows, etc. These informal programmes do not lend themselves to planning, co-ordination and formal deployment. In this regard, each member of the ANC has a responsibility to ensure that they arm themselves with a broad understanding of ANC policies and positions on key issues to enable them to defend the movement whenever debates arise in such informal forums. The need for cadre development and political education remain critical if every member is to discharge their ambassadorial responsibilities more effectively.
- 32. However, this principle of *“every cadre an ANC communicator”* does not detract from the fact that the ANC, at various levels and structures, has officially designated individuals to speak on its behalf. No member of the ANC should purport to be speaking on behalf of the ANC, unless formally so assigned. Misrepresenting oneself as official spokesperson of the ANC on any matter shall be viewed as ill-discipline.

**Promoting a culture of vibrant and robust debate**

33. The communication policy is not intended to stifle internal debate, robust discussions and organizational communication. The need for coherence and consistency of communication must not replace the culture of robust debate. Internal debates remain the lifeblood of the movement which gives it its vibrancy. The policy merely seeks to develop a framework which promotes and strengthens the culture of internal democracy and a culture of vibrant and robust debate.
34. Members of the organisation have a right to engage in public debates. However, in the context of the communication policy, the expectation is that members of the ANC will not engage in public debates and disagreements on matters or policies that have already been resolved or adopted by the organisation.

**Public engagements with alliance partners**

35. Public spats among alliance partners are discouraged. Alliance partners are discouraged from raising issues of concern about each other in the media. Instead, these should be addressed through alli-ance structures. The ANC will not engage its alliance partners in the media. Each alleged attack on an alliance partner by another must be first verified for accuracy and context.

**Coordination at the centre and execution at the point of delivery**

35. ANC communication shall be coordinated from the centre (Luthuli House), and decentralised to lower structures. The principle should be: *"co-ordination from the centre, implementation at local level!"*. Our point of departure is that communication becomes more effective if information is imparted from the point that is closest to the target audience.
36. The Department of Information and Publicity at national level shall co-ordinate ANC communication. Headquarters shall take responsibility for developing an overarching policy, strategy and key messages for adaptation by other structures.

**RELATIONSHIP WITH GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION**

37. Cadres of ANC deployed in government have a responsibility to ensure that there is coherence in the communication strategies and programme of government and the ANC regarding the implementation of government programmes. The coherent messaging should extend to provincial and regional levels.

**ROLES AND PROCESSES**

**Spokespersons**

38. The President and Secretary-General of the ANC (and the rest of the Top Six Officials) are the chief spokespersons of the ANC and are thus entrusted with the responsibility and right to articulate ANC positions and policies on a wide range of platforms.
39. The NEC shall designate one member to assume the role of official ANC spokesperson.
40. All outcomes of the constitutional meetings of the ANC will be communicated by them (President, Secretary-General and ANC spokesperson), unless specifically delegated by them.
41. Responsibility for communication with the media may, from time to time, be assigned to heads of NEC Sub-Committees.
42. Members of the NEC are, collectively and individually, spokespersons of the ANC. They may, from time to time, be designated by the Secretary-General the responsibility to speak on behalf of the ANC on certain specific matters.

**Structures and responsibilities**

43. The ultimate responsibility for communication in the ANC shall lie with the Department of Information and Publicity at national level.
44. Following each National Conference, the Sub-Committee on Communication/Department of Information and Publicity shall ensure the development of an over-arching five-year communication strategy.
45. The Department of Information and Publicity shall monitor and evaluate the implementation of the ANC communication programme at



all levels, including in government and the legislature.

46. The Department of Information and Publicity shall convene regular engagements with Provinces, Alliance, the Leagues, government, etc. to deal with issues of co-ordination, messages, communication environment analysis, joint strategizing, etc.
47. Similar structures and processes shall be replicated at provincial or regional levels wherever possible.

**Provincial level**

48. The Chairperson of the ANC and Provincial Secretary shall be the chief spokespersons of the ANC in the province and shall have the responsibility to articulate ANC matters in the province.
49. The Provincial Executive Committees (PECs), shall designate a PEC member who will be responsible for communication and assume the role of official ANC spokesperson in the province.
50. Communication of all matters arising from meetings of the constitutional structures of the ANC shall be handled by the Chairperson, Provincial Secretary or official Spokesperson, unless specifically delegated by them.
51. Responsibility for communication with the media may, from time to time, be assigned to heads of PEC Sub-Committees.

**DEALING WITH UNAUTHORISED DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION**

52. Like many organisations, the ANC faces a challenge of leaks to the media from time to time. In particular, discussions and decisions of the NEC or other structures have been the subject of a number of media leaks. This unauthorized disclosure of sensitive information causes harm to the organisation, undermines its effectiveness and trust among members.
53. Experience in other contexts has demonstrated

that those likely to leak confidential and sensitive information are, in the main, disgruntled insiders as well as those with a vested interest on the matter in question. Cadres of the movement have a responsibility to be disciplined and to respect the confidentiality of organisational information.

54. In dealing with the challenge of leaks and unauthorized disclosure of information, the ANC must adopt the following approach:
  - 54.1 Be proactive and prompt in communicating key decisions of the ANC to avoid speculation or pre-emptive leaks. If the ANC delays in announcing a formally-adopted decision, then some members with a vested interest on the matter may be tempted to leak that information to an anxious public or even distort its content and context. At times, unnecessarily delaying to release information which has a huge public interest may encourage leaks.
  - 54.2 Any conduct involving leaking of confidential information shall constitute violation of the communication policy and the ANC has a responsibility to deal with this act of misconduct in the same way as it would deal with any act that brings the organisation into disrepute.
  - 54.3 Any member who leaks or releases information to the media or public without due authorization or prior approval, shall be guilty of misconduct.
55. Members of the ANC need to appreciate that leaking information undermines the effectiveness, discipline and unity of the ANC, and is an embarrassment to the organisation.
56. The task is for the organisation to deal with all matters that may give rise to leaks and to ensure its cadres appreciate the harm that unauthorised disclosure of organisational information causes.
57. The problem of information leaks is largely a security matter and the relevant section of the ANC needs to develop guidelines in this regard. In the long-term, the ANC will have to evolve a much stricter culture that firmly and actively discourages leaks.