

ANC 4TH NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE

Gallagher Estate Midrand

26 – 29 June 2012

Report and Recommendations on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC

Introduction

1. Delegates to the 4th National Policy Conference in eleven (11) commissions engaged in deliberations on the discussion document entitled, *The Second Transition*, which reflects on the strategic and tactical posture of the ANC in the current period. This report and recommendations are a consolidation of all the discussions in commissions and at plenary. It also takes into account the extensive discussions in our branches and other structures, as well as within the Tripartite Alliance and the broad democratic movement.
2. The commissions started their work on the 26 of June 2012, mindful that this day marks the fifty seventh (57) anniversary of the Congress of the People. In this regard, the Commissions and indeed the National Policy Conference as a whole were inspired by the injunctions of the Freedom Charter which remains our lodestar.

On the context of 53rd National Conference

3. Policy Conference noted that the discussion document proposed that we should aspire towards a watershed Mangaung conference. Whilst this judgement should be left to future generations, as current generations we must in this Centenary year ensure that we rise to the challenges of our time.

A new phase of our National Democratic Revolution

4. The Policy Conference reviewed the *Second Transition?* discussion document and welcomed the opening up of discussion on the current challenges facing our country, in particular the triple challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality. Its reiteration of the major themes in the Strategy and Tactics 2007, its identification of areas of progress over the last 18 years and the lessons learnt in the struggle for transformation of South African society were affirmed.
5. The Conference agreed with the assessment that since our democratic breakthrough, significant progress has been achieved. However, the persistence of the structural legacy of apartheid colonialism and patriarchy requires a radical shift and focused programmatic interventions for us to deal decisively with unemployment, poverty and inequality, to advance towards a National Democratic Society.

6. There was broad agreement that we are in a continuing transition from Apartheid colonialism to a National Democratic Society. The interventions required to speed up change, especially with regard to economic transformation, can be understood as marking a new phase in the transition to a National Democratic Society. This second phase of the transition should be characterised by more radical policies and decisive action to effect thorough-going socio-economic and continued democratic transformation, as well as the renewal of the ANC, the Alliance and the broad democratic forces.

The debate on the characterisation of the new phase of the NDR

7. The unique character and strength of the ANC is its tradition of vibrant ideological debate within its ranks and its ability to provide theoretical clarity on each phase of the struggle. This enabled the movement to impact upon new realities and changing times in order to confront the challenges facing our people and the country.
8. The need for conceptual clarity is therefore not just a polemical debate, but about ensuring that we properly characterise the situation and ensure consistency in how we interpret our strategy and tactics.
9. Policy Conference acknowledged that every phase of our struggle has been accompanied by the introduction of new ideas and concepts, which generate extensive and robust debate. The ANC and its revolutionary allies have always displayed the ability, based on the particularity of the South African history and situation and the character of the liberation forces, to contribute new ideas, concepts and even new theories to global left and progressive thought. In doing so, we have drawn on ideas and concepts from a range of global progressive ideological traditions and indigenised those.
10. The Policy Conference embraced the spirit and intent of the document on '*a second transition*'. However, there was broad agreement that the transition in the current South African context refers to a single and ongoing transition from Apartheid colonialism to a National Democratic Society. The moment we are moving into is therefore best understood as a second phase of this transition.
11. Policy Conference agreed that the radical shift proposed in this second phase of the transition will require maximum unity of the ANC and the Alliance, so that we sharpen our capacity to advance this programme and defend the NDR. It also requires that we build maximum unity of South Africa's people and the broadest range of sectors of our society around this programme.
12. The Policy Conference therefore urged all South Africans to appreciate that unless we decisively deal with racialised and gendered inequality, poverty and unemployment our collective democratic and constitutional achievements would be seriously undermined.

Review of the last 18 years

13. Policy Conference re-affirmed the characterisation in the 1997 Strategy and Tactics, that April 1994 was a historic breakthrough in the struggle for democracy, a decisive departure

from a colonial system spanning over three centuries and a revolutionary break with the past.

14. Policy Conference concurred that our programme of National Democratic Transformation and achievements of the last 18 years included
 - a. The establishment of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist political order;
 - b. The introduction of democratic rights for all citizens and the establishment of vibrant institutions
 - c. The adoption and implementation of a Constitution that promotes consistent equality and encompasses first, second and third generation rights.
 - d. Programmes aimed at meeting basic needs such as housing roads, and access to electricity, sanitation and water;
 - e. The integration of security forces and improving access to the criminal justice system.
 - f. Programmes to empower women and to transform gender relations;
 - g. Improving access to health care and dealing with the burden of disease;
 - h. The introduction of a social wage and social policy to alleviate poverty;
 - i. Measures to develop our human resources through education and skills;
 - j. A programme of economic transformation that saw growth and job creation after decades of stagnation.
 - k. The introduction of strong elements of participatory democracy; and
 - l. Working for a better Africa and world.
15. Policy Conference therefore agreed that over the last 18 years we have used the breakthrough of 1994 and the mandate of our people in successive elections as a beach-head of the NDR, laying the foundations for and advancing the transition from Colonialism of a Special Type to a National Democratic Society.

The persistent legacy of Colonialism of a Special Type

16. The Policy Conference acknowledged that despite these major achievements, the structural legacy of Colonialism of a Special Type including patriarchy remain deeply entrenched as reflected in the colonial, racist and sexist structure and character of our economy; the spatial and gender patterns of development and underdevelopment and with regards to the social, human resources and infrastructure backlogs.
17. These historical and primary contradictions find particular expression in the troika of unemployment, poverty and inequality, which were inherent to Colonialism of a Special Type.
18. The Policy Conference raised the following issues which contribute to the continued persistence of this legacy:
 - The constraints during the first 18 years of a negotiated settlement, meaning that we were not always able to introduce the required changes in order to rapidly eradicate this legacy.

- Whilst we made progress in transforming the state in terms of its representativity, orientation and its role, we continue to have challenges of state capacity, the orientation of the public service and our capacity to effectively implement our policies, thus impacting on our ability to decisively effect broader social and economic transformation.
- That during this period we experienced shifts in the global balance of forces, which created a more favourable climate for progressive alternatives than was the case at the start of our transition. At the same time, there are serious global forces and trends that mitigate against progressive alternatives. In addition, the two global financial crises, especially the 2008 crisis, had a serious impact on our economy – resulting in over a million job losses over the last three years.
- New expressions of corruption and greed, which not only result in the wastage of public resources, but also undermine confidence of our people in government and in our movement.
- The challenge of the unity and cohesion of the ANC and the Alliance, impacting not only on its ability to mobilise and organise the motive forces in transformation, but also on the pace of transformation.

RE-AFFIRMATION OF 2007 STRATEGY AND TACTICS AND PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

19. Policy Conference affirmed the strategic thrust of *Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, Building a National Democratic Society* as adopted by the 52nd National Conference in Polokwane in 2007 and re-affirmed the centrality of the Freedom Charter as our lodestar. In particular, it affirms the characterisation of the National Democratic Revolution, the features of a National Democratic Society, the identification of the motive forces and the Character of the ANC as defined in Strategy and Tactics 2007.
20. Policy Conference agreed that in order to give expression to the tasks arising from the new phase of the NDR, the following areas of amendment to the 2007 S&T should be considered:

Chapter 2: Where we come from: Streams of an emergent nation

21. Include reference to the 100 years of the 1913 Native Land Act.

Chapter 4: Domestic balance of forces

22. The inclusion of matters on the balance of forces raised in the Organisational renewal document (Ch. 4 Aspects of the Balance of Forces), with regards to electoral trends since 1994 and to community mobilisation, protests and social movements.

Chapter 5: Motive forces

23. Further elaboration of the tasks of each of the motive forces, and emphasise the role that the ANC must play in the organisation, mobilisation and education of the motive forces as a key aspect of organisational renewal. The chapter should also discuss the implications of the new phase of the NDR for our stance with regard to monopoly capital and how we engage in a manner that will contribute towards faster and inclusive growth.
24. This chapter must also include a reflection on the national question in all of its manifestations and the need to consciously deepen the non-racial character of the ANC.

Chapter 6: Character of the ANC

25. Integrate the perspectives of Organisational Renewal on the ANC as the movement for transformation and strategic centre of power into this chapter.

Chapter 7: Domestic and Global balance of forces

26. Add the new developments in the global balance of forces raised in the discussion document, and how this impacts on the possibility for more rapid movement forward. This should include developments with regards to the African agenda, as well as the so-called Arab spring, an analysis of the global progressive forces and the impact and implications of the global financial crisis.

Chapter 8: Programme of National Democratic Transformation and Pillars

27. We need to incorporate the priorities of the new phase and the rationalisation of the pillars of social transformation in the chapter.
28. The agreement on the elements of the second phase of the transition from Apartheid colonialism to a National Democratic Society should be reflected.

The Pillars of Social Transformation

29. Policy Conference also debated the Pillars of Social Transformation for the new phase. Most Commissions reaffirmed the five pillars outlined in the 2007 S&T. There was also agreement on the pillar of Organisational and mass work. However, we must review all the pillars taking into account such major areas of struggle as social transformation/social policy, gender equality, ideological work and the battle of ideas. How these are to be integrated and rationalised, will require further reflection.

Conclusion

30. In engaging with Strategy and Tactics towards Mangaung we must continue to sharpen our analysis of the transition from Apartheid Colonialism to a National Democratic Society, including the theorisation of the content of each phase.
31. In addition, a Glossary to the Strategy and Tactics should help us to clarify concepts and deepen the understanding of our members.

32. It was noted that the Strategy and Tactics document should address issues at a high level of abstraction, providing a framework to all other organisational and policy resolutions. The details of these issues will thus be contained in the draft resolutions on Organisational renewal, and in the draft sectoral policy resolutions.

The end