

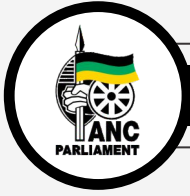


ANC PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS *Newsletter*

NOVEMBER, 2024 ISSUE 1



Let's Do More, Together



FOREWORD BY THE CHIEF WHIP



Dear Members and Staff of the Caucus,

I am honoured to be part of the 7th ANC Parliamentary Caucus with you. We recognise the sterling job of those who have walked this journey before us. They have certainly blazed the trail and advanced the struggle for social and economic transformation in South Africa.

Achieving a better life for all our people is the mission of the African National Congress through public service excellence. Since our swearing-in as Members of Parliament in June, Members of our Caucus have been hard at work to set up the structures of Parliament. This is a term like no other. The ANC has faced numerous challenges such as changing the rules of Parliament in line with the May 2024 electoral outcomes.

Since the beginning of this term, we have successfully established all Parliamentary Committees. I am certain that we will roll up our sleeves to ensure that Parliament fulfils its constitutional obligations to maintain effective and robust oversight, passing legislation advancing our country's transformation and facilitating greater public participation.

As members of the ANC, we were disheartened by the outcomes of the 2024 elections, but I believe that, together, we will turn the tide and restore the reputation of the ANC.

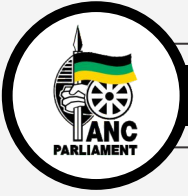
When the President officially opened Parliament on 18 July 2024, he emphasised the priorities of the ANC-led government: growth of our economy and job creation, fighting poverty and tackling the high cost of living, and building a capable and developmental state at all levels of government.

As the largest party in Parliament, the ANC is committed to ensuring the success of the government in cooperation with other parties. I look forward to a great working relationship with you all.

This is our first of many future Caucus Newsletters.

Amandla!!!

Comrade Mdumiseni Ntuli (MP)
Chief Whip of the African National Congress



Hon Mncedisi Nontsele

Reflection On The Life And Times Of O.R Tambo By Comrade M Nontsele, Chairperson Of The ANC Caucus

"Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it." Franz Fanon.

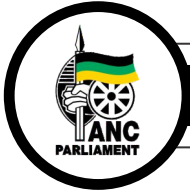
During the period of the ANC under the leadership of President Isaka ka Seme, the African National Congress experienced severe organisational challenges that was characterised by anti- communist propaganda that almost led to collapse of the organisation. Another challenge was the ascendancy of the Nationalist Party into power in 1948 and formalisation of the apartheid policy of racial segregation as Government policy.

With the National Party in Government at the time, it meant that there needed to be a rigorous turn in the manner that the ANC at the time, responded to these emergent challenges. In essence, it was a call for organisational change/renewal.

The emergence and formation of the 1944 ANCYL generation that was characterised by revolutionary militancy was now necessary to

revive the ANC. President O.R Tambo belonged to a select detachment of cadreship that meaningfully gave content to the assertions of Franz Fanon. In discovering their mission, they not only inspired their own generation in terms of discovering the mission and fulfilling it, but they also remain a generation that have staked a claim to the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. They not only helped established a progressive and revolutionary platform for young and energetic cadres of the movement, but they also set the bar in terms of revolutionary discipline, selflessness and commitment to the cause of national liberation struggle.

President Oliver Tambo and his generation's commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle was actioned through the adoption of the ANCYL Programme of Action of 1949 that set in motion rolling mass action and protests as part



of the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the anti-Bantu Education Act of 1953, the formalisation of the Congress Alliance and the convening of the Congress of the People that debated and adopted the Freedom Charter.

President OR Tambo who had ascended to positions of Secretary-General and later served as Deputy President of the ANC under President General, Chief Albert Luthuli, remained steadfast in his opposition to the unjust laws of the apartheid regime and the regime itself. This led to him being seen as enemy number one of the apartheid regime as he not only led a protesting movement, he became a true embodiment of its armed struggle and its three other important pillars, international Solidarity, Mass Mobilisation and Underground Units.

President OR Tambo had this omnipresence amongst the South African masses despite being exiled for almost 30 years. His incisive and inspiring speeches, comments and assertions remains our guiding tools to this day. During political decay and challenges brought on by the onset of foreign tendencies and corruption, the need for the rise of a cadre who must take our movement forward became urgent. We take our cue from his assertions in defining such as a cadre as follows, "The distinctive feature of the revolutionary cadre is a high level of discipline, dedication and courage in carrying out the tasks assigned by the movement. Such cadres are guided by our goal of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa."

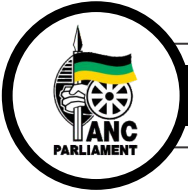
President Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa, on Monday 28 October 2024, unveiled the Renewal Political Education Programme aimed at reinstilling the ethos and character of a cadre we seek to emerge from this process of organisational renewal. In taking forward this noble project of organisational renewal, we need to always ensure that we demonstrate the highest level of discipline and commitment in honour of this outstanding revolutionary patriot, internationalist and peoples' leader.

We take wise counsel from his assertion that, "The true facts are not always obvious. They often must be looked for". We remember the difficulties that our movement went through, including events leading up to the convening of the 1969 Morogoro Conference which almost ended with outstanding leaders of our movement facing the firing squad, but were brought back from the brink because of the wisdom of our collective leadership articulated through President OR Tambo. This gave birth to the important revolutionary guide that remains our reference point and guides us when challenges and the need for revolutionary guidance arise.

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“The true facts are not always obvious. They often must be looked for”.

"The true facts are not always obvious. They often have to be looked for". O.R Tambo being at helm of the organization in exile managed to keep the organization together through various challenges that arose and to unite the organization towards the goal of liberation. It was during the Morogoro conference where the strategy and tactics document come into existence, which was a guiding document



towards advancing the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. It remains so today.

As we celebrate the 107th birthday of President O.R Tambo, let us emulate his well lived life, principles and values in the current phase of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) which requires a deep commitment to the ideals of unity, resilience and strategic leadership. President Tambo's ability to keep the ANC together during its most challenging times, while simultaneously advancing the struggle against apartheid, offers valuable lessons for all our cadres today. In this difficult phase of the Government of National Unity (GNU), where complex political dynamics and socio-economic challenges abound, cadres must embody President Tambo's steadfastness and strategic acumen. This means staying true to the principles of the NDR, working tirelessly for the unity of the movement, and engaging in constructive dialogue to address the diverse needs of the people. By doing so, cadres can honour President Tambo's legacy and contribute meaningfully to the ongoing struggle for a just and equitable society.

In conclusion, to be a true cadre in the spirit of President O.R Tambo during this difficult phase of renewal within our movement, one must embrace the values of humility, integrity, and dedication. President Oliver Tambo's leadership was characterized by his ability to listen, learn, and adapt, while always prioritizing the collective good over personal gain. In today's context, this translates to a cadre's willingness to serve the people



selflessly, to engage in honest and transparent governance, and to remain committed to the principles of the NDR even in the face of adversity. By embodying these qualities, cadres can ensure that the movement remains grounded in the values that Tambo stood for, thereby strengthening the resolve of the ANC and its allies in the pursuit of a democratic and prosperous South Africa.

'Our struggle is not just about political freedom; it is about economic justice and social equality'.

President OR Tambo

Long Live the Revolutionary Spirit of President O. R Tambo Long Live !!!



Hon N. G Tolashe

***EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH BY
THE MINISTER OF SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT, HON
NOKUZOLA TOLASHE, ON
THE OCCASION OF DEBATE
ON SASSA ALLEGED
IRREGULARITY AND FRAUD
AND ONGOING CORRUPTION
AND THE ENTITY FAILURE TO
PROTECT THE SOCIAL
GRANTS OF OUR MOST
VULNERABLE CITIZENS***

The social grants programme is our government's largest and most successful anti-poverty interventions, covering a total of **28 million** beneficiaries. This success has been recognized the world over, and has even won international awards from prestigious institutions such as the International Social Security Association, which commands a membership of **320** social security institutions from **120** countries across the world.

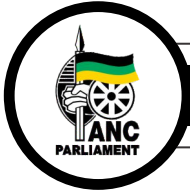
With a budget of **R266 billion** paid into the accounts of vulnerable older persons, children and persons with disabilities, we understand the important role we play in staving off poverty and hunger among our people.

The SRD grant makes up **R35 billion** of the total allocation, and covers an average of 8 million working age adults each month.

Advancements in Social Grants over the Last 30 Years

Over the past three decades, South Africa has made significant strides in establishing and expanding its social grant system. From the early days of democracy, our government recognized the critical need to support those who are most vulnerable in our society. Social grants have become a lifeline for millions of South Africans, providing essential financial support to the elderly, children, and people with disabilities; and in recent years, working age individuals who are unable to secure income from employment.

The introduction of the Child Support Grant in 1998 marked a pivotal moment in our social security landscape. This grant has grown to



support over 12 million children, ensuring that they have access to basic necessities and opportunities for a better future. Similarly, the Old Age Pension and Disability Grant have provided dignity and financial stability to millions of our senior citizens and persons with disabilities.

Background and History of the COVID-19 SRD Grant

The COVID-19 pandemic brought unprecedented challenges to our nation, exacerbating existing inequalities and pushing many more South Africans into poverty. In response, the government introduced the COVID-19 Social Relief of Distress (SRD) grant. This temporary measure was designed to provide immediate financial assistance to those who lost their livelihoods due to the pandemic. Because of its successful implementation, and the positive lifeline it provides to millions of unemployed adults, government has continued to extend it each year.

Because of the need to contain the pandemic through lockdown provisions, the implementation of the SRD grant required the rapid adoption of digital technologies in an unprecedented manner to be able to reach millions of individuals in the shortest space of time. While its speed of implementation remains unparalleled in the history of social security provision anywhere else in the world,

it has not come without its challenges. It was a steep learning curve for both SASSA and those needing the grant, exposing the Agency to new areas of vulnerabilities and what we've seen in recent years, identity theft of many who are in need of the grant. These challenges have underscored the need for robust systems and stringent oversight to ensure that social grants reach their intended recipients.

Challenges and Lessons Learned

The administration of the COVID-19 SRD grant revealed several critical lessons. Firstly, it emphasized the importance of leveraging technology to improve access, efficiency and transparency in the distribution of social grants.

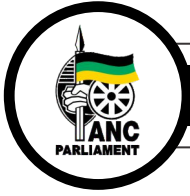
Secondly, it highlighted the need for better collaboration between various government departments and agencies, through data sharing and consistent communication. Lastly, it has highlighted the need for increased vigilance and agility within the Department to ensure that we can respond with agility and pre-emptive speed to prevent any leakage in the social grant system.

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“We will leave no stone unturned in our efforts to combat fraud against the agency.”

Commitment to Addressing Corruption and Fraud

We will implement stringent measures to detect, prevent, and punish corrupt activities. This includes enhancing our oversight mechanisms, increasing transparency, and holding accountable those who abuse their positions of power.



Furthermore, we will leave no stone unturned in our efforts to combat fraud against the agency. We've already made investments in advanced technologies and data analytics to detect fraudulent activities and will continue to strengthen these to be able to act more swiftly. We will also strengthen our collaboration with law enforcement agencies to ensure that those who commit fraud are brought to justice.

Furthermore, SASSA is strengthening its Anti-Fraud and Corruption Implementation Plan that is built on the foundation of SASSA's Fraud Prevention Strategy. This strategy provides clear and detailed procedures to address control deficiencies and outlines specific activities and the personnel responsible for their execution. The plan is designed to ensure that all measures are in place to protect the integrity of our social grant system. The plan is

structured around four key pillars: Prevention, Detection, Investigation, and Resolution. In addition to these measures, the Department has now taken steps to finalise the establishment of the Inspectorate for Social Assistance during this financial year.

Protecting the Integrity of Social Grants

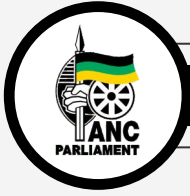
Protecting the integrity of our social grant system is not just a matter of financial prudence; it is a moral imperative. Every rand lost to fraud or corruption is a rand stolen from the pockets of our most vulnerable citizens. It is a betrayal of the trust that the people of South Africa have placed in us as their representatives.

SASSA STATUS CHECK

Here, you can check latest news and updates about sassa and SRD Payments

 Sassa Status Check

<https://srdstatuschecks.co.za/>



Hon ZL Mkhize

***EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH
BY HON Z MKHIZE ON
THE COGTA DEBATE ON
THE IMPORTANCE OF
BUILDING DISASTER
RESILIENCE AND
RESPONSE CAPACITY IN
SOUTH AFRICA***

South Africa faces an increasing frequency and intensity of disasters, including floods, droughts, wildfires, and health emergencies such as pandemics. These events pose significant risks to lives, livelihoods, infrastructure, and the economy. Climate change further exacerbates these hazards, making it essential for the country to strengthen disaster resilience and response capacities across all sectors of society.

Disaster management in South Africa, like in any country, requires proactive planning and sufficient financial allocation to reduce the impact of disasters and support recovery efforts.

The South African government provides disaster grants, such as the **Municipal Disaster Relief Grant (MDRG)**, to assist local

municipalities in mitigating the impacts of disasters. These grants need effective oversight and planning to ensure they are used for their intended purposes.

Grants often require coordination between local, provincial, and national governments, ensuring that efforts are streamlined and funds are efficiently utilized to reduce duplication of efforts.

The District Development Model (DDM) is an integrated, one-plan approach launched by the South African government to improve intergovernmental coordination and foster service delivery, particularly at the district level. Disasters require multi-sectoral responses. Through the DDM, coordination between different spheres of government (local, provincial, and national) can be



improved, enabling a unified response to disasters.

The integration of disaster management into the **Integrated Development Plans (IDPs)** at the district and local levels ensures that disaster risk reduction (DRR) is embedded in the broader development agenda.

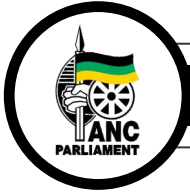
A coordinated approach involves not only government agencies but also private sector involvement, civil society organizations, and

communities in both planning and implementation.

Investing in technologies like **Geographic Information Systems (GIS)** and real-time data monitoring can help different levels of government coordinate better during disasters.

The South African **Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act (No. 13 of 2005)** emphasizes cooperation between government levels. The DDM builds on this, facilitating better





disaster management through synchronised planning.

Capacity of South African Special Risk Insurance Association (SASRIA)

SASRIA plays a crucial role in insuring against extraordinary risks such as riots, strikes, and civil commotion. The July 2021 unrest in South Africa, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, brought SASRIA's capacity and impact into sharp focus.

SASRIA has a strong capacity to handle disaster claims in South Africa, driven by its financial reserves, operational agility, and governmental support. However, challenges related to processing times and increasing risk factors may require ongoing adjustments to its strategies and resources.¹

Recommendations

- **Strengthen Institutional Capacity:** The government should enhance the capacity of local municipalities by providing technical training, resources, and financial support.
- **Integrated Disaster Risk Management:** Disaster resilience should be mainstreamed into urban planning, infrastructure development, and environmental conservation strategies.

- **Public-Private Partnerships:** Responding to disasters in South Africa, public and private sectors have been met with significant challenges. These gaps illustrate the need for a more integrated, resource-efficient, and resilient approach to disaster management in both the public and private sectors in South Africa.

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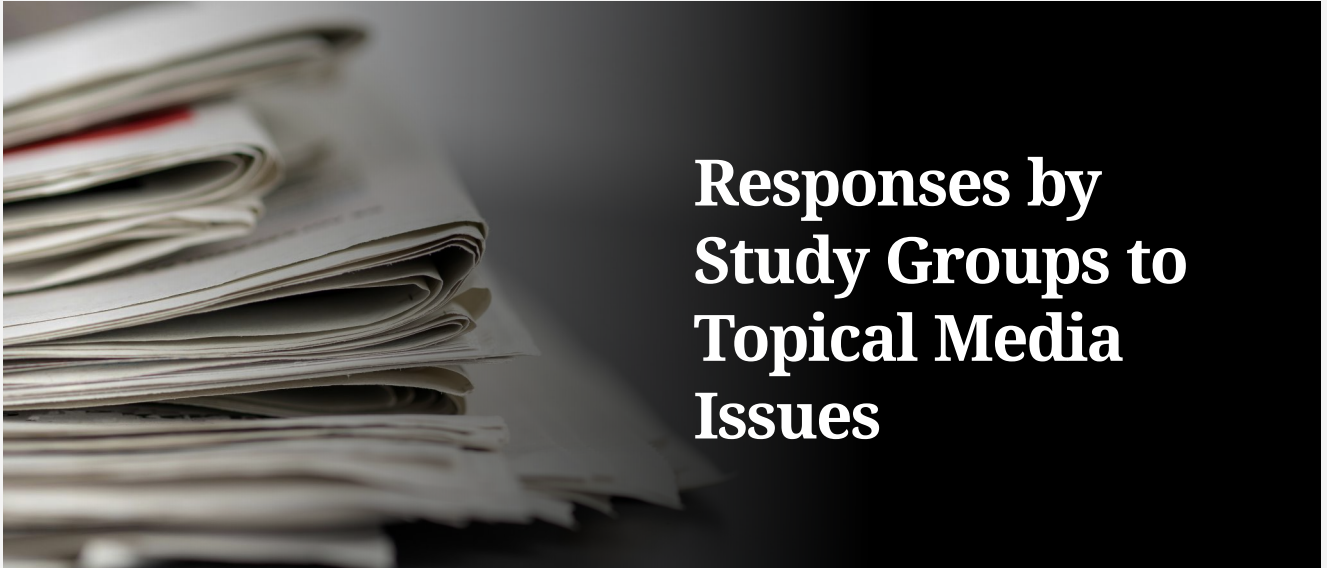
“Prioritizing disaster resilience is essential to fostering sustainable development.”

- **Community Engagement:** Empowering communities through education and access to resources is essential for building grassroots resilience.
- **Climate Adaptation:** South Africa must continue to invest in climate adaptation measures, such as drought-resistant crops, water-efficient systems, and sustainable land management practices, which can mitigate the impacts of climate-related disasters.²

Building disaster resilience and response capacity in South Africa requires a multi-faceted approach that involves the state, the private sector, and civil society. Effective disaster management will protect lives, secure livelihoods, reduce economic losses, and prepare the country for the challenges posed by climate change. Prioritizing disaster resilience is essential to fostering sustainable development and ensuring the safety and well-being of all South Africans.

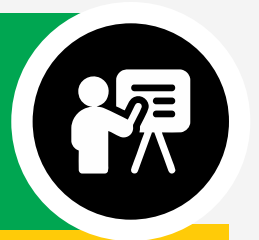
¹ dpme.gov.za/documents

² pmg



Responses by Study Groups to Topical Media Issues

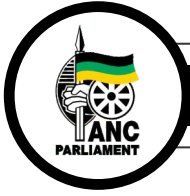
ANC Study Group on Basic Education Condemns Ghost Teacher Payments and Urges Swift Action from Mpumalanga Department of Education



The African National Congress (ANC) Study Group on Basic Education has expressed deep concern over the fraudulent payment of more than R6 million to so-called 'ghost teachers' in the Mpumalanga Department of Education. According to a recent Auditor-General report, these payments were made to individuals who no longer work within the department, with some even being deceased. The Public Servants Association (PSA) has joined the outcry, with PSA representative Flip van der Walt stating that these revelations are "very concerning," as such funds could have been allocated to pressing needs within the education sector.

The ANC Study Group regards this incident as a gross misappropriation of resources,

ultimately undermining efforts to improve the quality and accessibility of education in South Africa. In response to these findings, the ANC Study Group calls upon the Mpumalanga Department of Education to undertake an immediate, thorough investigation to identify those responsible for this mismanagement. The group also demands decisive action to hold accountable any officials found to be complicit in these fraudulent activities, ensuring that measures are put in place to prevent future occurrences. "Such misuse of funds, especially in education, is unacceptable. Our government should prioritize directing resources to genuine needs, like supporting learners and teachers, not to entities that no longer exist or have no role in our education system.



ANC Study Group On Public Works And Infrastructure Comment On The Illegal Occupation Of Government Property



The ANC Study Group on Public Works and Infrastructure supports the DPWI program for the recovery of hijacked buildings. The Department commenced with a process to identify hijacked buildings and properties in 2011 through Operation Bring Back which was geared towards identifying illegally occupied buildings and property. The DPWI has investigated this matter and has commenced a legal process to reverse the illegal occupation of Government-owned buildings as the law must take its course.

Thus far, the DPWI has, through due diligence, identified 338 properties that have been illegally occupied. It is unacceptable that Government property

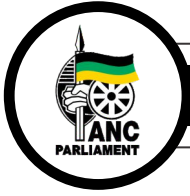
has been illegally occupied, but DPWI has a strategy for regularisation in some instances and ensuring that rentals are paid. In other cases, the DPWI has instituted legal action for eviction and recovery of the property. The DPWI is developing a comprehensive plan or strategy to effectively address the challenge of hijacked buildings to prevent it from occurring in the future by ensuring that it is rented and the PMTE can generate income. The Department will continue to keep Parliament informed on progress regarding this matter as the social and economic consequences of this issue need to be addressed as part of development in the country.

ANC Study Group On Transport Supports SAA



The ANC Study Group on Transport wishes to support the sentiments of the SAA Board Chairperson that at this stage, there should be no plans to privatise the airline. The airline has made a steady recovery and much more work needs to be done. The airline is currently debt free and is therefore in a strong position to grow.

Part of the recovery was enhanced by the appointment of a new Board, which is functional, and restored corporate governance and financial controls over the entity. Furthermore, SAA has a functional management for its day to day operations.



It is important to note that the company is working towards completing its audits and the annual financial statements and reports for the past five years. At this current juncture, it needs to finalise the backlog of its audits and annual financial reports to normalise the governance and finances of the entity, a task which the current Board and management is committed to completing and finalising.

The airline is fully functional as a full service airline and has domestic, regional and international flights. This will enable the airline to function efficiently and organically grow the business. If it seeks an equity partner to expand its services more rapidly, this will need to occur at a later date as the annual financial statements need to be completed to enable the shareholder to understand the financial state of the entity and its commercial value.

It is only on an informed basis that shareholders can determine what is required and the level of equity required for the further expansion of the operation of the airline. The state, in this case, should have a majority shareholding given Government's investment in the airline. However, no commercial partner will consider putting equity into the airline without engaging in a financial analysis of the financial statements over the past five years and therefore at this time, this is the principal task of the board and management.

As the ANC, we support the SAA Board as it continues to stabilise the airline. The progress made thus far signifies the commitment to turnaround our state-owned enterprises to be economically viable and restore confidence in the airline.

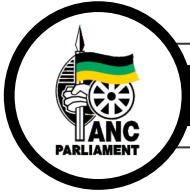
ANC Study Group On Health On Government Ministers To Provide Progress On Food Poisoning Investigations



The ANC Study Group on Health applauds the swift and coordinated efforts of government organs under the National Joint Operational and Intelligence Structure (NATJOINTS), which have led to the arrest of four people for selling Aldicarb. Minister Aaron Motsoaledi described Aldicarb as an illegal and

dangerous substance which should not be sold to the public during the media briefing on progress on food poisoning investigations.

Such interventions are reflective of the government's commitment to protecting the health and safety of people, especially



vulnerable groups such as children. We implore the government to strengthen such interventions and coordination to ensure effective oversight and enforcement of regulations on dangerous substances to protect public health.

We wait in anticipation for the findings of the tests being conducted from samples from spaza shops to determine if there's a link to the organophosphate substance that led to the untimely deaths of young lives in Naledi, Soweto, Johannesburg. We are concerned

about the source of this substance, so we can prevent further loss of lives.

Furthermore, we note with concern emerging incidents involving children experiencing health issues after allegedly consuming hazardous foods not only in Gauteng but also in Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape. Spaza shops play a critical role in our communities, and we urge all stakeholders to find ways to work together to ensure that citizens have access to safe and nutritious foods.

ANC Study Group On International Relations And Cooperation On The Taipei Liaison Office Relocation

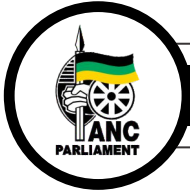


The ANC Study Group on International Relations and Cooperation expresses its full support for the relocation of the Taipei Liaison Office (TLO) to Johannesburg. This decision reaffirms South Africa's ongoing commitment to the "One-China" policy, consistent with the principles of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2758.

This relocation, and the rebranding of the offices as Trade Offices in both Taipei and Johannesburg, highlights the non-political and non-diplomatic nature of South Africa's relationship with Taiwan. Establishing the office in Johannesburg, the country's economic powerhouse, emphasizes South Africa's priority on economic cooperation while keeping diplomatic relations within

capital cities, in accordance with international norms.

We appreciate the extensive discussions held with the Taipei Liaison Office to ensure a smooth relocation and the fact that a reasonable six-month period has been provided for the transition. This approach ensures that trade operations between South Africa and Taiwan can continue smoothly, while South Africa aligns with its foreign policy objectives. The ANC Study Group remains committed to supporting the Department of International Relations and Cooperation's work in ensuring that South Africa's international relations are consistent with its guiding principles, while also advancing national interests on the global stage.



Study Group for the Standing Committee On Public Accounts



The ANC views State-Owned Enterprises as components that are vital for an ethical and developmental state that is empowered to produce quality services to our people. The ANC Study Group for the Standing Committee On Public Accounts is concerned that the Auditor-General has highlighted to the Standing Committee on Appropriations that State Owned Enterprises have incurred R69 billion in irregular expenditure, and over R2 billion in fruitless and wasteful expenditure. We are also concerned that 38 government entities incurred R50 billion irregular expenditure over the past five years and that over R2 billion was identified in fruitless and wasteful expenditure by State-Owned Enterprises, with the Post Office and SABC leading the way. We are of the view that we need to turn around State-Owned Enterprises to work effectively and efficiently and to make sure that all State-Owned Enterprises do not have debt, and do not produce wasteful and irregular expenditure. We are also of the view that we need to decisively deal with corrupt relationships between government officials and private business interests, which have exacerbated the mismanagement of State-Owned Enterprises.

We commend all the new boards that are working tirelessly to transform the operations of numerous State-Owned Enterprises, the task they have is

magnanimous but we have full trust in them to execute it with precision.

In recent years, the ANC has acknowledged the crisis within State-Owned Enterprises and has taken steps to address the problems of financial mismanagement. The government under President Cyril Ramaphosa has initiated various reform measures, including strengthening governance, appointing skilled leaders to State-Owned Enterprises boards, and introducing the Presidential State-Owned Enterprises Council to oversee restructuring. In addition, the government has sought to crack down on corruption through improved enforcement mechanisms, empowering entities like the Special Investigating Unit to investigate and recover lost funds due to irregular expenditure. The National Treasury has also introduced stricter rules for procurement processes to reduce irregular spending. However, these reforms have resulted in limited success so far, as entrenched interests and systemic challenges remain difficult to dismantle. We encourage the Government of National Unity to decisively deal with the financial mismanagement of State-Owned Enterprises, particularly in terms of irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure.



O. R TAMBO MEMORIAL LECTURE BY ANC PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

Today marks 107 years since the birth of Oliver Reginald Tambo, the longest serving President of the African National Congress. He was a hero whose great name is forever and indelibly inscribed in the hearts and minds of the people of South Africa and the people of our continent, Africa. He left behind a towering legacy. His life was a fine example of what it means to be a true revolutionary, a principled leader, a bridge-builder and a servant of the people.

We celebrate the life of Oliver Tambo and reflect on his leadership at a crucial inflection point in the history of our movement and country. We recall among his many achievements his preeminent role in mobilising the world against apartheid. We recall his role in the adoption of the Harare

Declaration, which paved the way for our negotiated transition to democracy.

We have a Government of National Unity that has coalesced around a common agenda for economic growth, transformation and social progress. Even as the GNU led by the ANC continues to make progress on charting a new course for our country's development, the electoral outcome put in the starkest of terms what we must all acknowledge.

Africa's oldest liberation movement, the movement of John Langalibalele Dube and Chief Albert Luthuli, of Oliver Tambo, Lilian Ngoyi and Nelson Mandela, is facing severe challenges. We cannot but put this plainly. Support for the ANC has declined. Our mandate to govern has grown narrower. The

trust deficit between us and the people has widened. The ANC is facing a crisis of authority, of legitimacy and of trust. There are some in our country who would want to write the ANC's obituary.

All this said of an ANC that over the past thirty years has brought about deep, fundamental and lasting change to the lives of millions of South Africans. And so, as we gather here today to celebrate the life of OR Tambo, it is not enough to merely reflect on a legacy that is now more significant than ever. We must use this opportunity to gain deeper insight into the context in which he led our movement, the similarities between then and now – and the lessons we can and must learn.

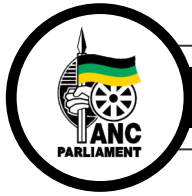
The foremost of these is that an ANC weakened is not an ANC destroyed. The ANC has prevailed in the face of existential crises throughout its history. The ANC has prevailed

in the democratic era. Thirty years since we achieved our liberation, our biggest challenge is the loss of confidence of our people in the ANC's ability to lead the transformation of society. This was something Oliver Tambo foresaw.

The most serious existential threat we face as the ANC comes from within. Our movement has been ridden with factional activity, naked careerism and personal ambition. It has in recent times been characterised by ill-discipline, political intrigue, ideological rifts and rising intolerance of divergent viewpoints.

Corruption on the part of elites, political intrigue, growing inequality, factionalism: these are all the small cuts that have wounded the ANC. We are at a critical point as a movement. We need to take a critical look at ourselves and what must be done to reclaim the trust of the people.





Oliver Reginald Tambo wasn't just the leader of the ANC. He was also its conscience and its voice. He defended the ANC, its positions and its policies. He never allowed himself to be dictated to by a prevailing narrative pressuring the ANC to back down.

Even as the Government of National Unity continues with its work, we must be clear that our revolutionary programme of action has not be discarded, nor deferred. To do so, we must press ahead with renewal and rebuilding. So how then do we harness OR Tambo's legacy effectively to rebuild the ANC?

We must start by looking at who is the ANC today. Who are the people who fill our ranks and occupy positions of leadership? As Oliver Tambo's example taught us, it is not enough to just call yourself a revolutionary. We have to have revolutionary morality.

Revolutionary morality means selflessness and self-sacrifice. It means being principled and ethical in all our affairs. It means being humble and putting the interests of the movement and the people of South Africa first. We need to be serious about our efforts to rid our movement of elements that have brought the ANC into disrepute. As we work to improve the calibre of our membership and leadership, we must give renewed and urgent attention to rebuilding our structures. Oliver Tambo was an organisation builder.

At the ANC's National Consultative Conference in 1990, Oliver Tambo called on the leaders of the movement to "build the ANC and other democratic formations as never before. No single town, village street, or indeed house should be left unorganised."

Oliver Tambo was firm that the ANC branch should play an active and central role in

communities. That the branch should lead the processes of recruiting new members, of cadre development and training and of political education.

Following his direction, we must ensure that ANC branches are indeed centres of political activism, working with communities to address their challenges and respond to their needs. As it currently stands, the ANC branch is seen by elements within our movement as a stepladder to higher office, its members to be bought and traded.

Oliver Tambo was determined that the ANC should be a truly non-racial organisation and that this should reflect in its membership and support.

We must as a movement ask ourselves what we are doing to attract South Africans of all races to the ANC who identify with our mission. None of this can be achieved without a united ANC.

As the ANC we must be clear that unity is not a catch-all phrase. As Oliver Tambo himself asked, where does unity begin and where does it end? Unity begins when we coalesce around a common set of values and principles that define the character and mission of the ANC. Unity cannot extend to those who have repudiated the values of the ANC. Unity cannot extend to a member or leader of the ANC that has proven themselves to be self-serving or corrupt.

At this moment, principled unity is what is called for, not unity for unity's sake. Only a strong, united ANC can lead this country to true equality. We must as a collective demonstrate that we are serious about the programme of renewal and commit ourselves to it one and all.



As the ANC today, we have a clear mandate to embark on the task of renewal of the movement and society. This is a strategic task that calls for leadership collectives with a deep understanding of the organisation we need to build for the future.

It was Oliver Tambo who said: "It is very important that our leadership, by which we mean all those whom we consider the most mature among our ranks, must begin to involve itself directly in this work of internal organisation. We have to be in daily contact with our people."

Clearly, renewal is a responsibility that needs a leadership that is engaged with its organisational processes. Leadership is not a social status. It is a call to act, serve and inspire. The renewal of the ANC calls for leadership that continuously feels the pulse of society. Leaders should not be strangers to their communities. The policies we develop cannot

be at variance with the needs of our people.

In his address to the Extended Meeting of the ANC National Executive Committee in April 1975, Oliver Tambo said: "We must together assume responsibility for the leadership of our struggle and for the involvement of all our members and people. The ANC must be turned into an efficient and high-powered machine, able to lead a mighty and victorious struggle."

Nearly half a century later, this remains our task. As we undertake this task, let us continue to be inspired by Oliver Tambo's life and contribution.

Let us give effect to his enduring legacy. Let us renew his vision. Let us restore his principles.

Let us rebuild his movement so that it can rise.