13th National Congress Resolutions
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Declaration of the 13th National Congress of the SACP

We, 2000 Communist militants, have met over the past four days as delegates to the SACP’s 13th National Congress in Ongoye, KwaZulu-Natal. We are drawn from 3,298 SACP branches across the length and breadth of our country and from the ranks of the Young Communist League of South Africa. As delegates, we represent more than 150,000 SACP members – marking an unprecedented three-fold increase in the Party’s membership since our 12th Congress just five years ago.

Our Congress occurs in the midst of an ongoing and deepening global capitalist crisis that is inflicting ever greater misery on the majority of the world’s population and ever greater destruction of the natural world on which human civilization depends. It is a crisis that underlines the imperative of abolishing capitalism and replacing it with socialism, a system based on meeting social needs and on a sustainable relationship with nature.

Here in South Africa, notwithstanding 18 years of major progressive changes towards consolidating our national democratic revolution, the untransformed legacy of colonialism of a special type continues to reproduce the triple crises of racialised and gendered inequality, poverty and unemployment. If the gains of our democracy are not to be overwhelmed, then it is critical that, together with our Alliance partners, we embark on a radical shift in the National Democratic Revolution, led by the working class.

It is in this context that the 13th Congress reviewed progress made by the SACP over the past five years in advancing our Medium Term Vision to build working class hegemony in all key sites of power. The consolidation and acceleration of this strategic agenda remains a key imperative over the coming five years. At this 13th Congress we have adopted important policy and organisational resolutions to guide revolutionary action and to deepen and take forward our programme, “The South African Road to Socialism.”

Our 13th Congress was marked by both vibrant policy debate and unity – the product of 91 years of unbroken struggle, and of growing confidence based on our important achievements over the past 5 years. A common thread
throughout the duration of our Congress was the need for Communists to take active responsibility for our unfolding revolution. We are not, and we shall not be armchair critics observing the struggle from a comfortable distance. We shall wage the class struggle wherever the class struggle is to be waged for democracy and against exploitation and all forms of oppression.

Our disciplined unity in the midst of an Alliance facing many challenges; our Marxism-Leninism; our principled commitment to Communist values of solidarity and to fighting all negative tendencies – including individualism, self-enrichment, and corruption – all these attributes of the SACP and its cadres place an enormous vanguard responsibility upon us, now more than ever.

This was a view that was also underlined in addresses to our Congress by the leaders of our Alliance partners, and particularly by the message of support delivered in person to our Congress by ANC President, Cde Jacob Zuma. The work of our 13th Congress has sharpened our collective analysis of our current situation, and deepened our resolve to intensify the national democratic revolution as the most direct route to socialism in the South African context.

As delegates to this 13th National Congress we pledge to rise to these challenges, inspired by the many generations of SACP heroes, the sung and the unsung, who have kept the red flag flying for over nine unbroken decades in this southern tip of the African continent. We pledge to carry forward our vanguard role in our communities, in our places of work and learning, in the formations of our allied and other progress organisations, in the public sector and the state, on the terrain of the battle of ideas, and in our internationalist work. We pledge to work with a sense of confidence but also humility in the service of the working class and poor.

As we rise, today, at the conclusion of the largest ever, and one of the most united congresses of the Communist Party in South Africa, we declare once more that.

**SOCIALISM IS THE FUTURE!**

We are not waiting for that future – we are actively building that future, here and now!!
SACP 13\textsuperscript{th} National Congress Central Committee

1. General Secretary, Blade Nzimande
2. National Chairperson, Senzeni Zokwana
3. National Treasurer, Joyce Moloi-Moropa
4. First Deputy General Secretary, Jeremy Cronin
5. Second Deputy General Secretary, Solly Afrika Mapaila
6. Deputy National Chairperson, Thulas Nxesi

Additional Members of the 13\textsuperscript{th} Congress Central Committee

1. Cde Gwede Mantashe
2. Cde Phumulo Masualle
3. Cde Chris Matlhako
4. Cde Frans Baleni
5. Cde Sheila Barsel
6. Cde Rob Davies
7. Cde Lindelwa Dunjwa
8. Cde Fikile Majola
9. Cde Yunus Carrim
10. Cde Ben Martins
11. Cde Joyce Mashamba
12. Cde George Mashamba
13. Cde Madala Masuku
14. Cde Willies Mchunu
15. Cde Crosby Moni
16. Cde Dipuo Mvelase
17. Cde Gwebinkundla Qonde
18. Cde Nomonde Rasmeni
19. Cde Jenny Schreiner
20. Cde Charles Setsubi
21. Cde Lechesa Tsenoli
22. Cde Fiona Tregenna
23. Cde Mandla Makupula
24. Cde Phel Parkies
25. Cde Sidumo Dlamini
26. Cde Jeff Radebe
27. Cde Grace Bothman
28. Cde Godfrey Oliphant
29. Cde Jerry Thibedi
30. Cde Adrian Williams
31. Cde Buti Manamela
32. Cde Tunyiswa Bulelwa
33. Cde Judy Mulqueeny
34. Cde Celiwe Madlopha
35. Cde Fezeka Loliwe
SACP and the State

On State Power

Noting

1. The 12th National Congress in 2007, the National Policy Conference of 2008 Resolutions, and the 2nd Special Congress in 2009, all extensively discussed the issue of the SACP and state power;

2. A Central Committee Commission on state power and the reconfiguration of the Alliance, was to be established to outline strategic options for the Party in regard to these matters;

3. A report on the options was to be presented to the 13th National Congress;

4. Although the Political Report to the 13th National Congress outlined aspects of the SACP’s engagement with state power, and the possibilities and options for engaging on the issue of the reconfiguration of the Alliance, Congress was not satisfied that the mandate for the CC Commission had been adequately fulfilled;

5. The party has many cadres in the state at different levels;

6. Deployed SACP cadres in the state and legislatures are, in the first instance, under the collective discipline of our allied formation, the ANC;

7. This does not mean that deployed SACP comrades should diverge from the programmatic principles of the SACP;

8. The party resolved to conscientise and support deployed cadres to uphold high moral and ethical standards;

Therefore Resolve:

1. To reaffirm the general thrust of the 12th National Congress resolutions on the party and state power, and on the reconfiguration of the Alliance;

2. That the incoming central committee must table a report to the December
Augmented Central Committee to guide fuller discussion;

3. To reaffirm the party’s general strategic approach to electoral politics – including that:
   a. The SACP is not, and will never become, a narrow electoralist formation;
   b. Our approach to elections is guided in this phase of the struggle by our overall commitment to advancing, deepening and defending the national democratic revolution – the South African road to socialism; and
   c. Our strategic objective in regard to state power is to secure not party political but working class hegemony over the state.

4. To build the policy capacity of the party to assist the deployed cadres on research capabilities;

5. Strengthen our VD based branches as a form of enhancing the party’s influence on the working class and the poor.

**On Provincial Government**

This Congress notes:

1. The lack of clarity on some of the powers and functions of provincial government in our three-sphere system of cooperative governance.

2. The provincial sphere has raised challenges of delivery, finances, corruption, and ethnicity, among others.

3. The provincial system is entrenched and will be very difficult to abolish immediately.

4. The limited time at the Congress to discuss the provincial system.

Therefore Resolves:

1. Provinces should be abolished over time.
2. As part of this process the number of provinces should be reduced.
3. The incoming CC be mandated to develop a comprehensive policy on provinces that considers, among other issues, the powers and functions of the provinces; the number the country should currently have as part of a process of phasing them out over time; and how to engage with the government’s review of the provincial system.

Resolution on Local Government

This Congress notes:

1. Previous SACP resolutions adopted on local government, particularly at the 2009 Special National Congress.

2. We have already taken decisions on the key local government issues, but have failed to implement most of them.

Reaffirms:

1. Our view that the more we fundamentally transform local government, the more will we deepen the NDR and create the conditions for socialism.

Resolves

1. To re-affirm resolutions taken, particularly at the 2009 Special National Congress.


3. To support in particular:

a. A review of the powers and functions of the 3 spheres of government to ensure a more integrated cooperative governance system as part of a national democratic developmental state that accelerates service delivery, especially to the working class and the poor.

b. A greater separation of the executive and legislative arms of municipalities to ensure more effective oversight of executive committees by councils.
c. A more differentiated local government model in which municipalities differ in the powers and functions they exercise (from a common list) according to their differences human settlement types; spatial characteristics; economic activity; revenue base; finances; and capacity

d. District municipalities playing a more planning and coordinating role and existing only where there are weaker municipalities, especially in rural areas.

e. The strengthening of ward committees as part of strengthening community participation generally in local government.

4. To mandate the incoming CC to develop an SACP programme on local government that contributes to deepening and advancing NDR and creates the conditions for socialism.

On Traditional Leadership

This Congress notes:

1. The absence of a clear SACP policy on traditional leadership.

2. The Traditional Courts Bill before parliament undermines NDR and socialist objectives.

Resolves:

1. To re-affirm the May 2012 Central Committee decision to oppose the Traditional Courts Bill, request parliament not to proceed with the Bill and engage with our Alliance partners on the Bill.

2. To mandate the incoming CC to develop a comprehensive policy on traditional leadership and institutions.

On the transformation of the South African Defence Force

Congress noting:

1. That there has been little serious transformation of the South African
National Defence Force (SANDF) in the past 18 years of the democratic government;

2. That the negotiated compromise included the establishment of the SANDF on the doctrine and philosophy of the old SADF, whilst achieving and incorporating the civil control of the military in the new South African Constitution;

3. That a process of integrating former revolutionary armies and the Bantustan armies with the SADF was initiated, but under the tutelage of the British military effectively resulting in absorption of all other forces into the SADF;

4. That those promoted into the senior ranks of the new SANDF have still not been able to transform the doctrine and philosophy of the force;

5. That many progressive policies, especially human resource policies, have been developed in the SANDF, but the will to implement these is often lacking;

And believing that:

1. While a core role of the SANDF is the defence of our country and democracy against external and counter-revolutionary threats, requiring the maintenance of a significant military capacity, the force and the doctrine of the SANDF should be much more aligned to our developmental agenda;

Therefore resolves:

1. The SANDF must be structured to play an active role in the developmental state, to equip the youth of our country with necessary skills to engage with our socio-economic challenges;

2. Military personnel should be deployed to rural areas to provide health care, agricultural assistance, infrastructure programs and other developmental objectives;

3. That the SA Navy should be more actively deployed to protect our marine resources and coastal waters;
4. That the military academy must be geared towards the creation of a new soldier with a non-partisan but progressive political consciousness, ready to contribute to the developmental agenda of our country, to capacitate the force, improve morale, and create a people’s defence force;

5. That this vision of a different kind of defence force also requires the active participation of the rank-and-file of the force through progressive unionization.
SACP and the Economy

Noting

1. The political report from the outgoing CC and the South African Road to Socialism document correctly analyse the key structural features of the South African economy. The structure of the Colonialism of a Special Type economy remains largely intact and the ownership and control.

2. The ANC National Policy Conference identifies a major advance in economic transformation as the key task of the next phase of the single transition from CST-apartheid to a National Democratic Society.

3. Key features of the colonial capitalist accumulation path have continued to be reproduced over the past 18 years, resulting in continuing unemployment, poverty and widening inequality.

4. The existing growth path, largely dominated by the export of primary products, has been consumption led and import intensive, reflecting the continued dominance of monopoly finance and mining capital.

5. The CST economy historically depended on the exploitation of unskilled labour power, the demand for which has been diminishing over the past several decades resulting in high levels of unemployment.

6. The BEE strategy has failed to deracialize the ownership and control patterns of the South African economy. Its impact to date has largely been to promote passive shareholding, resulting in the creation of a small comprador bourgeoisie, while the main beneficiary of state support for BEE has often been the incumbent bourgeoisie.

7. These negative effects of the continued reproduction of patterns of subordinate capitalist development have been exacerbated by the global capitalist crisis, while it is clear that the impact of global capitalism on the environment continues to be devastating and can only lead to the destruction and degradation of our planet.

8. The Development Finance Institutions (such as the IDC and PIC) and
the SOEs have not, until recently, been sufficiently decisive in helping to
drive a different, labour absorbing, developmental, growth path.

9. A fragmented state procurement system, and excessive outsourcing
of public sector responsibilities has promoted corruption and
tenderpreneurship, and has further weakened the state’s capacity to
transform the economy.

Further Noting

1. The need to consolidate and defend SACP’s financial sector
transformation campaign and its successes.

2. The regulatory environment has not promoted a decisive shift to a New
Growth Path.

3. The resolutions of the SACP’s 12th National Congress, including calls
for the party to campaign for the re-nationalization of ArcelorMittal and
SASOL, on which there has been no movement.

4. Tenderpreneurs, found in both public and private sectors, and often both
colluding, continue to corruptly capture government tenders using their
political positions or connections and in fact ‘tenderpreneurs’ pose the
single biggest threat to the development of genuine entrepreneurship.

5. The Strategic Intervention in the Minerals Sector report of the ANC
research is proposing, inter alia, stronger state intervention, a more
strategic use of the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act
(MPRDA) and a resource rent tax to promote greater beneficiation of
mineral resources.

6. In terms of the MPRDA the mineral resources beneath the soil belong to
all South Africans and are held in custodianship by the democratic state.

Therefore Resolves

1. To continue to strive to strengthen the role of a developmental state in
the economy pursuing a multi-pronged strategy that ensures that we
increasingly socialize the commanding heights of the economy.
2. To become more actively involved in building a strong and vibrant co-operative movement as a means to create various forms of collective ownership of the means of production.

3. To campaign for the establishment of co-operative banks and financial co-operatives as another means towards the transformation of the financial sector.

4. To ensure that public sector procurement supports and encourages the development and growth of co-operatives. This must also lead to greater socialization of the economy and have direct influence on shaping a shift in the form of modes of production.

5. To support the state led interventions in the economy through massive infrastructure development and the building of productive economic sectors. This should also include expanding state ownership of the commanding heights of the economy.

6. To use the mineral base to ensure local beneficiation, support industrialization and thereby grow the local economy in a way that creates more jobs and opportunities for sustainable livelihoods, and welcomes the proposed resource rent tax, and the use of windfall profit taxes in other key cases, like SASOL.

7. To engage on major macro economic issues, particularly fiscal and monetary policy, including the impact of monetary policy on creating a competitive exchange rate and reducing interest rates to support development of the productive economy.

8. The SACP needs to explore policies to control capital flows including a transaction tax, given the potential and real destructive impact on the economy.

9. The SACP also needs to engage in combating import parity pricing especially in relation to steel and upstream chemical products.

10. A percentage of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) above a determined amount must be invested in Prescribed Assets.
11. That we need to de-tenderise the State. The State must adopt a central planning approach for directing resource allocation, distribution and procurement process.

12. That the building of small and micro enterprises is also a critical developmental challenge, which requires the state to deploy resources to build capacity and institutions.

13. The need to have state led Industrial Policy in order to build the country’s manufacturing sector for local economic development and job creation.

14. The country’s Industrial Strategy and the building of the manufacturing sector should also be used to drive regional and continental integration.

15. To support the calls for the establishment of the State Bank.
SACP and the Workplace

Noting that:

1. The discussion around the SACP and the workplace has been going on for a long time, and that little progress has been made in transforming this very important sector

2. The new circumstances around which the absorption of young people and women play a key role in the workplace

3. The cultural diversity of our society has not been captured correctly within the workplace

4. The one union, one industry slogan is more relevant today than ever before

Acknowledging that:

1. The vanguard role of the SACP needs to be visible and go beyond COSATU affiliates and

2. The concept of working class hegemony needs further elaboration and clarification amongst the ranks of the working class

Understanding that:

1. The fragmentation caused by casualisation, contraction and labour brokering within the workplace and

2. The need to empower progressive structures and workers

And believing:

1. In the critical importance of ideological work in the workplace and especially the grounding of shopstewards, organisers and trade union leaders in theoretical work

2. It is critical to continue the skills training of the employed and unemployed
3. We have not done enough work to strengthen the organisation of farm and domestic workers

4. The wage gap continues to have racial patterns and continues to contribute towards inequalities in society

5. The social wage has not been given enough attention and continues to be compromised in what is called “settlement out of exhaustion”

6. Our institutional structure of government institutions need to be strengthened, such as the inspectorate in the Department of Labour

Congress therefore resolves that:

1. The SACP and COSATU need to properly analyse and explain the profile of the workplace in the current conjuncture.

2. Redouble our efforts to deal with inequality in society, and especially to deal with the wage gap in the workplace. To that extent the SACP and COSATU need to develop an extensive wage policy as a matter of urgency.

3. The recruitment and mobilisation of the working class and workers beyond COSATU needs to be strengthened, especially in an attempt to deal with non-racialism in society.

4. It is imperative to finalise the abolition of labour brokering, and prepare ourselves for some threatened constitutional challenge, noting the Namibian experience on the same matter.

5. Political schools to sharpen ideological work within the trade union movement must continue, especially amongst other COSATU affiliates that have not been participating in this programme. A proper audit of our political education curriculum needs to be undertaken to ensure that the quality of training is commensurate with the desired outcomes. Mixed classes amongst trade union affiliates should be encouraged. The Communist University should also be used to conduct weekly sessions covering basic political education. Further the SACP must develop a
discussion document on business unionism to support worker leaders who sit on the Boards of companies and state on enterprises

6. COSATU and the SACP need to come out clearer on the question and approach to the Youth Subsidy proposal to ensure that youth get absorbed into our economy but not to be exploited in any way by the private sector.

7. The question of one union in one industry needs to be implemented in earnest so as to avoid the proliferation of trade union organisations in one sector, as this undermines the real power of trade unions.

8. Our national skills programme needs to continue to empower workers beyond just looking for employment but also to create entrepreneurs who can participate in their own right in economic opportunities. Recognition of prior working in the work place should be continued to be enhanced, eg from artisan aides to artisans

9. The organisation of farm, domestic and fishing sector workers needs a multi-prong approach as this cannot only be left to the current unions if we really wish to succeed. In particular a specific campaign in support of women farm workers and the girl-child should be introduced

10. Transformation of the workplace must also be extended to the army. To that extent, the issue of trade union organisation in the SANDF needs to be concluded.

11. The continued casualisation within the Post Office and lack of progress in the establishment of the Post Bank need urgent attention.

12. In dealing our cultural diversity matters, those workers who are called upon to undergo ancestral calling e.g. as Sangomas must be protected along the same lines as those who go on study leave.

13. We must continue to work within the communities and workplaces to raise awareness of the plight of workers during strikes to avoid unnecessary clashes caused by scab labour.
14. In closing the wage gap, centralised bargaining and sectoral wage determination must be given attention to avoid unintended consequences of widening the wage gap. To that extent the Minister of Labour must be given further scope towards the protection of vulnerable workers and the achievement of a living wage.

15. FET Colleges need to be extended to include training for community development in general.
SACP and International

Noting:

1. The persisting global capitalist crisis characterized by economic stagnation in the developed imperialist economies, job losses and a deepening unemployment crisis in both the advanced economies and in much of the global South, and a looming ecological catastrophe;

2. That this multi-dimensional crisis is accompanied by an intensified class struggle as the imperialist powers seek to make their own populations, in the first place, carry the burden of financial bail-outs through austerity packages; and, in the second place, through an intensified imperialist-driven competition to dominate low wage production sites and control natural resources located in the South;

3. That these imperialist strategies are challenged, in varying degrees, by a range of nation-states and multi-national initiatives, including the BRICS grouping; as well as by a range of popular movements and formations in both the South and North.

Further noting that:

Precisely for these reasons:

1. The imperialist agenda has led to the intensification of military and covert actions;

2. The fomenting of regional, sectarian, xenophobic and religious conflict in order to weaken anti-imperialist capacity both in progressive states and amongst emergent progressive and potentially progressive movements – most notably in the case of the so-called Arab Spring; and

3. The use of pseudo-civil rights NGOs, the global media oligopolies, to camouflage this agenda as the “promotion of human rights and democracy”.
And believing that:

1. The SACP has a critical role to play in advancing a consistent anti-imperialist analysis and understanding of the global challenges facing humanity, through active campaigning and the mobilization of the widest possible range of forces;.

2. It is a role that the SACP must play at the local level, nationally (particularly within the context of our Alliance), within our region and continent, and internationally.

Therefore resolves:

1. To strengthen the SACP’s ideological and organizational capacity to play a consistent internationalist vanguard role;

2. That all SACP provincial structures should establish international commissions;

3. To strengthen and consolidate the SACP’s leadership role in the African Left Network Forum (ALNEF); and our active participation in the Swaziland Solidarity Network; the Palestinian Solidarity Movement; the Friends of Cuba Society and the Free the Cuban 5 campaign; the annual meetings of the International Communist and Workers’ Parties; and our extensive bilateral relations with communist and other progressive formations.

4. To support the ANC and SA government in their endeavours to strengthen the AU around a consistent anti-imperialist and pro-development agenda.

On Swaziland

The SACP notes with grave concern:

1. The ongoing repression of democratic forces in Swaziland and the deepening immiseration of the people of Swaziland while a venal ruling elite continues to consume lavishly; and

2. The de-registration of Swaziland’s only trade union federation, TUCOSWA.
Therefore calls for:

1. Support smart sanctions against the ruling Swazi elite
2. Tightening the conditions on democratization for any bail-out for Swaziland
3. A moratorium on the sale of arms to the Swazi regime

And resolves:

1. To consolidate and intensify our work within the Swaziland Solidarity Network;
2. To support the cultural boycott of Swaziland by South African artists led by the Swaziland Solidarity Network and Creative Workers’ Union of South Africa, and isolate any artists who violate this boycott;
3. To strengthen the newly-formed Communist Party of Swaziland, while working with and encouraging unity among all progressive Swaziland formations.

On Freedom for Ocalan and Support for Peace in Kurdistan

Noting:

1. Ongoing attacks on the Kurdish Freedom Movement after the breakdown of talks between the Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan, the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and the Turkish, and the deaths of hundreds of people since the breakdown;
2. That more than 6000 Kurdish politicians and activists, including six MPs, dozens of Mayors, and more than 40 human rights lawyers have been languishing in prison over the past three years; and
3. That Abdullah Ocalan has been held in total isolation on the Imrali Prison island for almost a year.
Believing:

1. In the right of the Kurdish people to political and cultural rights; and

2. A return to genuine negotiations between the Turkish state and the PKK and its leader as a critical step towards the democratization of Turkey and peace in Kurdistan.

Therefore Resolve:

1. To fully support the demand for Freedom for Abdullah Ocalan and the political prisoners in Turkey;

2. And the resumption of talks between the affected parties.
SACP And The Battle Of Ideas

Noting that:

1. State institutions, the media and other centers of power contribute to the generation and dissemination of information and ideas.

2. The working class is locked in ongoing struggles for the hegemony of ideas with its capitalist enemies. Therefore the working class should always be in a position to identify and understand its class enemy.

3. The information and communications technology have turned the world into a knowledge and information economy. Knowledge and information are the key to the means of production, access to jobs, services and a better life to all.

4. It is also important to contextualise the imperative of a diverse media and its role given the issues, interests and rights of poor and working people when it comes to the right to information, access to, control and ownership of the media, and freedom of expression.

5. Poor and working people constitute the majority of those marginalised by the largely un-transformed media in our country.

6. Media monopoly is the biggest threat to the media freedom, our democracy and an informed society. Current patterns of concentrated ownership and control of the media promote commercial interests and the logic of the private capitalist market.

7. This situation privileges and entrenches the freedom of expression of an elite at the expense of the interests, issues and experiences of the majority of our people. This situation is an anti-thesis to the role that should be played by a truly free and independent media in a free and democratic country.

8. The mainstream media is part of the market forces and its perpetuating neo-liberal ideas.
9. The long-term impact of the current institutional and funding model is detrimental to the future of Public Broadcasting Services.

10. Telkom still possesses the best strategic infrastructure that is crucial to achieve universal broadband access by 2015 and that mobile operators and business, including financial institutions, depend on Telkom’s backbone to transmit information.

11. The battle of ideas is fought through the media and communication front. It is against this background that the SACP supports media diversity in order for diverse views and opinions to shape a people driven democracy and the call for the transformation of the print media, broadcast media, advertising industry and access to affordable broadband for all in particular the rural poor and the working class.

12. Further noting the SACP 12th Congress Resolutions on ICT and the current ICT policy and legislative review.

13. The curriculum in our schools and universities remains largely untransformed and continues to reproduce learners and graduates armed with the neo-liberal ideology.

14. The uneven development of SACP members and unequal understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory.

15. Our approach to gender issues and issues of women empowerment is informed by Marxist-Leninist principles.

Therefore resolve:

1. To adopt the broad framework contained in SARS chapter 9.

2. The SACP must be involved and rooted in the daily struggles of our people in order to ensure that our approaches are informed by concrete conditions and are relevant, thereby ensuring that the ideas of the working class are hegemonic across all strata of society.

3. Our approach to the battle of ideas and contesting for hegemony must be underpinned by an organic presence of the SACP amongst the people.
4. With a growing SACP there is a need to protect the integrity of the Party to ensure that its cadres are the most trusted, lead by example and society accepts their leadership role

5. The SACP to lead in the establishment of a media training institute aimed at focusing on supporting community media, small commercial media and government communicators.

6. Intensify the training of progressive media journalists, graphic designers, writers, artists, poets, songwriters, play writers, singers and a new cadreship, including reaching out to rural areas.

7. The SACP must seek to co-operate with unions organizing in the media sector in order to build consciousness of the current crop of journalists by recruiting them into unions and imbue them with progressive politics

8. There is a need for a paradigm shift from a mindset informed by market forces on the understanding of public service broadcasting. Public service broadcasting must be protected against the interest of private corporate culture, the market domination and commercial interests.

9. The public broadcaster must clearly be defined to serve public interest and should not rely on commercial funding. Public broadcasting must be funded through a sustainable public funding model. The long-term impact of the current institutional and funding model is detrimental to the future of PBS.

10. SACP should be in the forefront of campaigning for a shared understanding for the role of the public broadcaster, protect and defend what the PBS that serves the interest of country should be and promote public participation.

11. The campaign should include campaigning against corruption, market forces domination, non-compliance with the legislation, factions, etc. at the SABC. This should be guided by a determination of the nature of the challenges facing SABC

12. There is a need to develop a national strategy for local content production with revolutionary values underpinning programming.
13. The National Development Plan - Vision 2030 must be engaged in order to have regard to the national broadcaster as a national asset and critical for building a nation.

14. SACP supports the minimum of 60% public funding of the public broadcaster, which must be introduced without delay. Public funding must be ring-fenced to support public service programming. The SACP campaign must include mobilising for the payment and maximum collection of license fees.

15. National Treasury should be encouraged to support the public funding model for the SABC. SABC should determine what constitute public broadcasting and cost it. This must then be accounted separately as provided in the broadcasting act.

16. There is a need for an Alliance Indaba on PBS. In the meantime, SACP should campaign for the SABC to adhere to the principles enshrined in the legislation in respect of protecting and promoting PBS including separating the PBS from the PCBS. There is a need to review the structure of the SABC having regard to the provisions in the Broadcasting Act.

17. Further, the Ministry of Communications should ensure that the SABC adheres to the White Paper on provisions of local content.

18. There is a need to increase regulatory capacity in order to ensure the compliance with policy and legislative compliance.

19. The role of state institutions like Sentech, ICASA, USAASA, MDDA, MICT Seta, NEMISA, e-Skills Institute, PF&MSeta, etc. should be reviewed and to ensure that they create an enabling environment for communication as a human right and the creation of an informed society.

20. The SACP should campaign for the development of community media in pursuit of the objective of media diversity. This must include the realignment of the institutions established to support community broadcasting like MDDA. The take over of community media by commercial media must be outlawed.
21. The SACP needs to campaign for the achievement of universal service and access of broadcasting services, including ensuring that signal distribution is rolled out to overcome the historical apartheid paradigm and spatial discrimination. The rollout should support rural development and extension of indigenous language stations to be available throughout the country, in order for (amongst others) the working class interest to be served.

22. The SACP needs to encourage its cadres to write about the socialist vision for a public broadcaster.

23. The SACP must champion the establishment of alternative media centers, including the alliance media center, aimed at capacitating the alliance in producing posters, newsletters, online and digital media, etc. This needs dedication, support and focused leadership.

24. The SACP should revitalize one or more of the old party newspapers either as a daily or a weekly in order to be able to contest the space.

25. The SACP should expand and adopt the Communist University as part of the new media front of our struggle and our political education framework.

26. The incoming central committee must establish a party school. The establishment and laying an architectural framework of the school must not be subjected to the condition of acquiring physical infrastructure. The SACP must integrate distance learning methodologies.

27. To campaign for the introduction of the teaching of Historical and Dialectical materialism in our schools and universities in an endeavour to produce citizens imbued not only with decadent neo-liberal views but also with an alternative outlook of life.

28. To campaign for the use of indigenous languages as a medium of instruction in our formal institutions of learning.

29. The SACP must lead in the establishment of a revolutionary/progressive education movement, health movement as part of contesting the space occupied by other forces that have leanings towards counter revolution.
30. The state should explore various options in relation to Telkom with preference given to increasing the state’s ownership and democratic control in Telkom via re-nationalisation.

31. The SACP must pursue a campaign for the transformation of the judiciary beyond racial and gender representation to make sure that there is a radical transformation of the jurisprudence and philosophy of our legal system from Roman-Dutch Law.

32. That there is a need for women to be granted meaningful access to leadership positions in the collectives of leadership in the SACP.

33. In its fight against the system of patriarchy the SACP must ensure that both female and male cadres receive sufficient training on gender relations and how power relations play themselves out in society. SACP cadres must be in the forefront and exemplary in their personal relations and work environment not to allocate roles in manners that reinforces gender bias.
SACP and Communities

Noting:

1. The continued relevance of the 12th National Congress Resolutions on the SACP;

2. Progress made in implementing the Medium-Term Vision (MTC) Programme

3. Achievements by our ANC-led government in transforming the lives of our people through improved access to social security in the form of social grants and access to basic services such as water, electricity, housing, health, education, etc.

4. That notwithstanding these achievements, our communities still suffer under the heavy burden of unemployment, poverty, diseases and ever-widening inequalities, dysfunctional families and moral decay. Patriarchal relations remain entrenched despite progressive policies and legislative frameworks. The growing threat of crime and corruption is a harsh reality faced by our communities on a daily basis.

Resolved that:

1. The Party should continue to be rooted within communities and should continue to embark on campaigns aimed at strengthening people’s power through people’s organs such as school governing bodies, clinic committees and hospital boards, street committees and community policing forums, etc. to realize the objective that the people should be their own liberators

2. The Party should leverage on its key Campaigns such as the Know and ACT in Your Neighbourhood and the various Red October Campaigns to remain deeply rooted within our communities and abreast on issues that directly and daily affect them.

3. The Party should establish itself as a reliable and recognised social structure in communities through its example and programmes
Further resolved on areas requiring urgent attention:

4. Overlapping roles between elected councillors and traditional leaders continue to be a source of conflict. There is an urgent need for roles to be clarified.

5. The proposed Traditional Courts Bill should be reviewed as it entrenches patriarchal relations and undermines the gains made through many progressive legislative frameworks aimed at enhancing gender relations and promoting equality.

6. Gains and successes of our campaigns should be acknowledged and celebrated.

7. Adequate monitoring and evaluation of, and regular reporting on the implementation of the Campaigns and the Program of Action.

8. A need for the promotion of a new family code that promotes our socialist values and new morality for society (solidarity, compassion, voluntarism, selfless service and love for the people).

9. Closing the social distance between our people and the liberation movement and the democratic government through intensive implementation of POA and campaigns.
Resolution on the SACP and Education and Training

Noting:

1. Progress made in the splitting of education into two Ministries, i.e. Basic Education and Higher Education and Training, as well as the implementation of the 10-point plan for basic education and on-going work on transformation of higher education.

2. The funding framework for both basic education and higher education remains largely fragmented and contributes to, or reproduces, the current spatial and racialised inequalities in the system.

3. The need to orient the education and training programmes towards meeting the five priorities of the ANC government, especially around industrial policy, health, rural development, safety and security.

4. Education is more than a government issue, and will require active mobilization and participation of our people.

5. There is a need for an even spread of Universities across provinces in order to address issues of redress and access.

6. Many institutions of higher education, including sub-institutions like medical schools and FET colleges, remain largely untransformed.

7. Training and education in many fields remain the enclave of the few and privilege, whereas black working class students face mounting financial and other barriers to areas of intellectual and specialist development, e.g. medical schools. In addition, our education and training institutions largely fail to provide adequate career guidance to our learners.

8. The current legislation on Further Education and Training undermines the capacity of the state to provide active leadership and guidance in the strategic development of a diversified college sector in South Africa, especially with the regard to the role of college councils.
9. The Alliance Summit agreement for a mass campaign on quality education for all, including a pledge by all stakeholders in the sector.

**Believing that:**

1. The Socialism we seek to build will be founded, amongst others, on the socialization of education at all levels in which the payment of fees is not a condition for access.

2. Teachers and all other education officials have a critical role to play in the transformation of education. Producing a quality cadre for the provision of education should become one of our primary tasks.

3. There is a need to move away from the current fragmented, ad-hoc approach to Early Childhood Education (ECD) development, towards a public sector funded and driven ECD programme.

4. Adult Education and Training is continuously being privatised in the mining area that denies access to a majority of potential learners. The Mining Qualifications Authority is not responding positively to redress and the shortage of skills.

**Therefore resolves:**

**On Basic Education**

1. Foundation phase education must be mainstreamed into the schooling system.

2. Funding norms must be linked to curriculum development.

3. Quality of teaching and learning must be improved in township, informal settlements and rural schools.

4. The tender system needs to be abolished.

5. An environment for effective teaching and learning needs to be created.

6. The Department of Public Works must take responsibility for the rollout of all infrastructure within the system.
7. The audit of infrastructure backlogs in all schools needs to be finalised and provision be made for a once off infrastructure grant to address identified deficiencies.

8. Hostels need to be built for rural schools.

9. Schools must use mother tongue languages for foundation phases.

10. History must become a compulsory subject to expose our young people to our culture and the history of our country.

11. Capacitation of School Governing Bodies.

**On Post School Education and Training**

1. Education expansion is prioritised as part of government’s strategic infrastructure plans together with the expansion of the teaching profession in schools, colleges and universities.

2. Access to universities and colleges must include the building of new institutions and campuses, and expanding existing institutions.

3. Quality improvement needs to encompass teaching and learning, improving infrastructure, the management of educational institutions, student support and social conditions of students especially accommodation.

4. DHET establishes a provincial presence to improve its responsiveness to the needs of the post school system.

5. Private providers of education be monitored to prevent courses being offered that are not accredited.

6. Funding mechanisms are explored for free and compulsory higher education, including the introduction of an education tax.

7. Curriculum Transformation should be aligned to the developmental agenda and should espouse values of humanity, Ubuntu, service to others, hard work, success, sacrifice, etc.
8. Need to look towards Africa for benchmarks in education and not only Europe.

9. Career guidance is given to all learners and students.

10. Mother tongue languages are promoted as a medium of instruction.

11. Ideological positioning of some of the principals and Vice-Chancellors is an obstacle to transformation.

12. Corruption is endemic in our system and needs to be rooted out.

13. The tender system needs to be abolished.

**On Further Education and Training Colleges**

1. Improving the status of Further Education and Training colleges and vocational education.

2. FET colleges need to be strengthened to provide skills programs for the broader community in which they exist.

3. Develop a new framework for governance of FET colleges, including SRC elections, constitutions of the councils, etc.

4. Introduce programmes to improve the quality teaching by FET lecturers including the development of FET lecturers in technical subjects.

5. Articulation between Grade 12 and FET colleges, and between FET colleges and universities be addressed.

6. Publicly announce and declare the results of FET students.

7. An FET summit is convened.
On Adult Education and Training

1. Adult Education and Training must be adequately funded, professionalized, mainstreamed into the broader education system and become responsive to needs of adult learners, including the training of specialized adult educators.

2. Access for youth and adults to education be further increased via the establishment of Community Education and Training Colleges.

On Universities

1. Need to speed up the implementation of the Central Applications System, to Quality improvement needs to encompass teaching and learning, improving infrastructure, the management of educational institutions, student support and social conditions of students especially accommodation.reduce barriers of access for especially poor students.

2. Monitor and provide support to first year students, especially those funded by NSFAS, to minimize high the dropout rate.

Sector Education Training Authorities and National Skills Fund

1. Work integrated learning opportunities need to be created for students to get practical work-based experience.

2. These institutions must support training in public colleges and universities, and their funding must be aligned to the post schooling priorities of government skills development more generally.

3. Training and skills development must be a major component of the work of all state-owned enterprises and all the state’s large infrastructure projects.

As the SACP we need to:

1. Invest in our research capacity on education.

2. Branches need to take responsibility for education and schools in their area.
3. Participate and empower School Governing Bodies.

4. Establish an education commission, to lead a process of developing an education charter.

5. Branches to promote worker education by running common programs.

6. Intensify adult education and training, including workplace training and the mass literacy campaign.
Resolution on the SACP and Health

Noting:

1. The input by Comrade Aaron Motsoaledi on the National Health Insurance;

2. The resolutions of the SACP National Policy Conference of September 2008;

3. That all SACP members should be actively engaged in the Healthy Lifestyles Campaign;

4. Women and children are the major users of the public health system.

Believing that:

1. The major sources of ill-health are the socio-economic conditions under which people live including: lack of nourishment, clean and available water, proper sanitation, decent and affordable housing, clean environments, basic education and decent work under safe conditions;

2. Uncontrolled commercialism causes the commodification of health;

3. That health should be a public good;

4. That social solidarity should be the underpinning philosophy behind the health system;

5. That employers should be financially responsible for occupational diseases contracted during employment.

Therefore Resolves:

On Gender:

1. To work with the Gender Commission to develop policies and to ensure that all health policies incorporate the SACP perspective on gender.
On Human Resources in the health system:

1. That all Community Health Workers must be integrated into the Public Service as employees and must be trained appropriately for integration;

2. That the implementation of the Primary Health Care Approach will necessitate the retraining of Health Care Professionals;

3. That hospitals should be managed by people with the appropriate health background;

4. That the Department of Higher Education and Training should prioritise the training of artisans;

5. Outsourced services and workers should be re-integrated into the public sector, including catering, cleaning, security and maintenance;

On Financing of the NHI

1. That the NHI should be funded via general revenue, payroll-linked progressive tax, tax on high-earning individual tax earners and contributions by employers, with no additional levies made through to fund the NHI;

2. That the progressive introduction of tax relief which would encourage employees to participate medical schemes should be abolished;

3. That the NHI fund should be publicly funded and administered with no outsourcing of administration;

4. That the provision of private Health Care Services by Medical Schemes, Hospitals and individuals should be regulated by the government;

5. That the department of Trade and Industry should review the ruling of the Competition Commission with regard to the pricing of health care services;
On Health Infrastructure

1. That the Department of Public Works should prioritise the rebuilding and maintenance of Health Facilities;

2. To call on the Department of Health to inform the public of the actions being taken to improve the:
   a. Cleanliness
   b. Safety and security of staff and the public
   c. Attitudes of staff
   d. Infection control
   e. Long queues
   f. Drug stock-outs

On the State-Owned Pharmaceutical Company

1. That the State-Owned Pharmaceutical Enterprise should be 100% State-Owned

On the Indigenous Knowledge Systems

1. To call for the recognition of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the integration of traditional healing into the NHI;

On SACP led Campaigns

1. That over the period of the next five years the SACP should embark on the following campaigns:
   a. Monitoring the implementation of the NHI Pilot-Sites;
   b. Against the outrageous pricing of Private Hospitals;
   c. To establish Health Committees at the Branch Level;
   d. To actively engage in volunteer work in Hospitals and Clinics;
   e. To ensure election to Hospitals Boards and Committees;
   f. To monitor the Provincial Expenditure of Health Care;
   g. For Universal Access to Public Transport;
   h. Awareness of youth health issues through the YCL.
Resolution on Land, Agrarian Transformation and Rural Development

Noting:

1. That the year 2013 marks 100 years of the enactment of the infamous 1913 Land Act, an act that legalized and facilitated the removal of the African majority from the land of their own.

2. The slow pace of land reform since we have established the targets.

3. The monopolistic nature of the agro-processing sector and the negative consequences thereof.

4. Liberalization of the economy and agriculture specifically since 1994 has caused serious setbacks

5. That whilst our country is food secure, the majority of our people continue not to afford food whilst the rich minority has skewed consumption patterns.

6. Article 25 (2) of the South African Constitution allows for expropriation “for public purposes or in the public interest”.

Believing That:

1. The restitution of dispossessed land must extend to, and take into account the fact that land dispossession is centuries old and dates beyond 1913

2. Market mechanisms will not be able to achieve land reform on a sufficient scale

3. Rural development is not only about farming and support for farming activities, but must involve a wide variety of productive activities

4. The constitution of the Republic empowers the state to expropriate land

5. The adoption of a neo-liberal framework and calls for further liberalization
in the agricultural sector has not been beneficial to the working class and the poor but big corporates.

6. Our government has adopted a legislative and policy regime that is unsupportive to small-scale farmers and co-operatives.

7. The dictates as a consequence of joining the World Trade Organization have placed serious constraints on us addressing our developmental objectives.

8. We must deepen our own appreciation of the Freedom Charter as a whole generally and the clauses on the land questions specifically as a revolutionary programme but understand the party programme as well.

Therefore Resolve:

1. To reaffirm resolutions from the 12th National Congress and the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Special National Congress in relation to Land, Agrarian Reform and Rural Transformation and on mobilization of rural communities and women in particular

2. That the Central Committee develops monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to see to it that the above resolutions and those of this congress are fully implemented

3. To call for the socialisation of land as the only lasting solution to the vexed question of land ownership in our country

4. In the short to medium term to adopt measures that will mitigate the circumstances of untransformed land ownership which amongst others includes:

   a. Parliament to prioritise the amendment of the expropriation Act to allow for a proper definition of mechanisms to give effect to the constitutional provisions of land expropriation

   b. Regulation of the amount of land that can be owned by one person.
c. Prohibit the ownership of land by foreign nationals

d. Conclusion of the land audit and convening a Land Summit 2 to review progress since the last summit and mobilise revolutionary forces behind a thoroughgoing programme. The SACP towards 2013 must revive the land campaign a part of pushing through a progressive agenda when marking the centenary of the atrocious Land Act of 1913

5. To support the thrust of the reforms measures proposed in the Green Paper for Land and Rural Transformation

6. That issues of rural transformation must expand from mere farming issues to move towards the adoption of an integrated Rural Industrialisation Policy Action Plan (RIPAP) to address the transformation of the countryside, rural trading and rolling out of services (education, infrastructure, healthcare) to the rural communities

7. To call on the state to reintroduce subsidies for farmers, small scale farmers (for productive use only and not for things like game farming) and support communities with implements, seeds, tractors and access to water and irrigation support for food production and sustainable livelihoods.

8. That there must be a review of the powers of agricultural boards and the role of communal property associations, who are often involved in underhand activities with an intention to do away with them. The state must deal with issues of communal ownership outside CPA’s.

9. To call for the review of the funding of the Land Bank, making it accessible and able to serve the poor and re-orientate the institution towards meeting the challenges of agrarian reform.

10. With the re-establishment of the FET colleges and the vocational education system there must be a dedicated focus on building skills, research capacity and innovation in the areas of rural development, agrarian reform, agro-processing, town planning etc.

11. The SACP to lead the mobilization and organisation of people in the rural
areas and in the mobilisation and building consciousness of farms workers and dwellers. In this regard collaboration with the trade union movement and NGO’s in the rural areas and farms is crucial. This mobilization must be stepped up in 2013.

12. SACP structures must pay special attention to the mobilization of women in rural and farm areas with an intention to build a truly revolutionary working class led woman’s movement.

13. The SACP must spearhead the mobilization of rural dwellers living as “subjects” under traditional rule in order for them to lead the struggle for their own self-emancipation.
Resolution on the Party and the Fight Against Crime and Corruption

Noting:

1. The SACP was the first to launch an anti-crime public campaign in 2008, and that this was taken forward as a separate campaign focusing on corruption in 2010.

And believing that:

2. As corruption and criminality continue, it is important to build on the campaign.

3. Community participation is critical in fighting crime, and there are important examples of street committee successes in this regard, notably in the Northern Cape.

4. Community Policing Forums, by contrast, have tended to become too bureaucratised;

5. The police as an institution tend to be skewed towards protecting suburbs, and crime in areas of the poor requires specific attention.

6. Fighting crime should include the building of sustainable livelihoods and corrective measures with community participation.

Therefore Resolve:

1. Structures such as Ward Committees, Community Police Forums and Street committees should work closely with the SAPS to keep our police accountable and to share strategies and information.

2. Branches, Districts, Provinces and the CC must report regularly on progress with regards to building local organs of people’s power.

3. Corruption should be exposed. Sentences must be exemplary, parole within sort periods demoralises communities and exposes whistle-blowers to revenge. In other instances, corruption cases “disappear” –
corruption in the conviction process must itself be severely punished.

4. Public servants who are corrupt must not be re-deployed, or receive settlement packages.

5. We must revive the progressive elements of community-based justice systems e.g. traditional courts and promote methods of restorative justice and reconciliation aimed at rehabilitation. A bureaucratic justice system is not necessarily in the interest of people; conciliation on small issues should be explored.

6. Communities have to find ways to absorb ex-offenders and to become constructive members that are successfully reintegrated into society. The Party must promote a people-centred, people-driven, reintegration programme of ex offenders.

7. Monetary crime – instead of trying to recuperate the monies and find other measures of punishment, we send the person to jail which places a heavy burden on the state; likewise with minor crimes – the state should instead be investing in crime prevention and give measures of punishment other than imprisonment that will benefit the community. An alternative sentencing system is imperative.

8. There must be a fair system of recruitment of staff within the criminal justice system (defence, SAPS and intelligence) and a programme to fast track youth from our structures as a form of succession planning must be developed.

9. Resources to combat crime must be distributed evenly.

10. We must support MKVA in their campaign for the bodies of comrades who have died while in exile to be returned home.

11. Border control must be strengthened.

12. We need greater restriction on gun ownership, and we should aspire to build a gun-free society.
Resolution on Party Building, Decent Work and Sustainable Livelihoods

Noting:

1. The South African Road to Socialism document on sustainable livelihoods and decent work present a good theoretical Marxist-Leninist perspective.

2. A wide range of progressive labour legislation has been passed since the advent of democracy in 1994 in order to democratize the workplace.

3. The strategy by capital to always seek to circumvent the progressive labour legislation. Labour brokering is an obvious example.

4. The decomodification of labour is essential to our struggle for socialism.

5. The extremely high levels of under and unemployment, created in the main by capitalist structure of the South African economy.

6. Tenderpreneurship does not create employment but instead undermines our campaign for the creation of decent work.

Further Noting:

1. That the Public sector is a significant creator of jobs and much more can still be done to provide more jobs.

2. The large amount of outsourcing skills training is compromised by wide spread outsourcing.

3. The crisis of the School and University to work transition including Learnerships and internships, fail and are often abused.

4. The reality that a significant proportion of the unemployed are the youth and women, we must guard against a simple characterization of unemployment that could lead to short term intervention and fail to deal with the structural issues of capitalism.
5. Public sector employment has been successful in de-racialising the workplace and creating better working employment

**Therefore resolve:**

1. The SACP should campaign for the total ban on labour brokering and call for strong legislation as well as active mobilization at the workplace.

2. Reaffirm the SACP’s perspective that the concept of “work” should not only be limited to the jobs.

3. To oppose the youth wage subsidy and other scheme that will simply displace existing workers and lead towards increased exploitation.

4. To support the expansion of the EPWP and CWP, while critically assessing the weaknesses in EPWP and the narrow focus in targeting numbers.

5. To support the accord on procurement and in particular the campaign for the public sector to support local procurement.

6. To advance the struggle for decent work the party must implement resolution on establishment of industrial units.

7. Shift our understanding of sustainable livelihoods away from a narrow welfarist approach to productive livelihoods and ensuring developmental integration of social grants transfers with local development.

8. The gendered perspective towards work and the fight against patriarchy even in the workplace.

9. The workplace Gender Offices should be empowered to have adequate powers to ensure that equity is realized in the workplace.

10. The use of State procurement in the major project like infrastructure development to leverage skills development and the development of the co-ops.
11. Where the EPWP is not properly implemented party members in local areas must be empowered to monitor and report on problems.

12. Outsourcing by municipalities and other state entities of core services is another form of labour broking and must also be abolished.

13. The accord on procurement should stipulate that at least 75% of procurement of services should be locally produced goods.

14. We further call for the streaming of the Local Government sphere and the possible abolishment of District Municipalities. This should be done in order to enhance the performance and delivery of services at local level.

15. Abolishment of the tender system should also be replaced by other mechanisms such as co-operatives and other productive interventions that will consume mainly young people into possible jobs.
Notes