

NEC POLICY SUBCOMMITTEE

REPORT – POLICY BRAINSTORMING SESSION 6 December 1998

Introduction

The NEC Policy Subcommittee in conjunction with the ANC Policy Department facilitated a brainstorming session on policy processes within the ANC-Led Alliance and the broader MDM. A paper presented at *GALLAGHER ESTATE, on the 06 DECEMBER 1998*, highlighted a number of concerns regarding the current state of ANC policy processes.

The brainstorming session included a number of ANC senior civil servants (DGs and DDGs), Chair of the Parliamentary portfolio committees, NWC members, Chairs of NEC Subcommittees, policy department coordinators and representatives from the NGO sector. The main objective of the session was to interact with various role-players within the policy sector, to interface our experiences and to look at possible solutions and/or options to correct some of the problems facing us as a movement.

KEY ISSUES DISCUSSED

Discussions critically examined the manner in which the ANC currently engages with, develops and monitors the implementation of policy. It also acknowledged the fact that since 1994 the point of gravity as regards policy development appears to have shifted to government and away from ANC constitutional structures.

Concern was raised about the status of the Mafikeng Policy resolution and the implementation thereof.

The paper also clearly articulated the Policy Department's vision as far as policy making in the movement is concerned and raised a number of international models and trends.

AREAS OF FURTHER DISCUSSION

Contributions and inputs covered a whole range of areas and looked at a number of problems. Additional inputs raised a number of options to correct the problems facing us as a movement.

Policymaking:

Today policy is made in a number of sectors and in many cases by a number of individuals who are not necessary mandated to do so, thereby in effect

7. Some of the Options

7.1. The status quo option

7.1.1. This option involves no structural or institutional changes to the status quo. It would however see the Policy Department play far more of a co-ordinating, and integrating role than is currently the case. Instead of essentially focusing inwards on co-ordination of policy discussion within the party, such an option would see also a pro-active approach to the “outside”, to the world of the NGO’s, the academic environment, and very specifically, policy and research work done by our Alliance partners and their think tanks. Such an option would however necessitate the acquisition of research capacity within the department to access and process such research and policy work produced outside of the ANC.

- *Can the ANC’s current staff complement and resource base play such a role required of them?*

7.2. The “New Kid on the Block” Option

7.2.1. This option would see the ANC act on an idea that has been conceptually played with and mooted in our ranks for some time now. Such an option would see us establish a fully-fledged research institute, functionally autonomous but integrally part of, and politically accountable to the movement. It’s research brief would be informed by the short and long term policy needs of the ANC as a whole. It would presumably cover all the main areas of strategic policy, such as economic transformation, social transformation, international affairs and peace and stability. Depending on the size of such an institute, it would presumably develop into a very significant pillar on which not only the ANC and the democratic movement would rely, but also government in its own right. Clearly, if one were to set up such an institute with significant and heavy weight research capacity, it would have severe financial implications on the movement.

- *To what extent would such an institute not duplicate (and perhaps overshadow) the work of the existing progressive NGO’s?*
- *What would be the exact nature of the relationship between the Institute and the constitutional structures of the ANC?*
- *How will such an institute relate to NEC - subcommittees?*



- ❑ Foundations provide extensive research and policy proposals which feed into the political agenda of the various parties. In most instances staff in these foundations are card-carrying members of the party associated with a foundation.
- ❑ Often the foundations would second individuals to provide technical assistance to line function ministries.
- ❑ The parties on the other hand access government resources for the survival of the foundations.

5.2.1. Examples of policy institutions in some way related to social democratic parties in Europe include:

- ❑ The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; Social Democratic Party (German SPD)
- ❑ Wiardi Beckman Stigting; Dutch Labour Party
- ❑ Emile Vandervelde Instituut; Socialist part of Belgium;
- ❑ Fondation Jaen Jaures; French Socialist Party;
- ❑ Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), Labour Party Britain.

6. An audit of the NGO World in SA

6.1. The post- 1970 era saw a proliferation of various NGO's in South Africa. The spontaneous 1973 worker's strike led to formation of various worker advice units, which were important pioneers for the resurgence of the independent trade unions. In the communities the SAIRR sponsored advice centres, and legal resource centres played a critical role in providing support to victim of vicious Apartheid Laws including pass laws. It was only post 1976 and with the development of mass formations, and growing support for our struggle in the international community that one saw the mushrooming of various NGO's. By 1985 a number of 54 plus NGO were established. A database of the NGO's that exist to the present day is continuously updated.

6.2. The following characterisation can be applied to the existing NGO community:

6.2.1. Liberal inspired NGO's.

- ❑ This category of NGO's view it's role as mainly to play a " watchdog" role in our new democracy. They seek to develop and explore models, which they think are applicable to new democracy in South Africa. Their areas of work concentrate more on first "generation rights" and only venture on discussions around second and third generation rights in so far they view first generation

- ❑ *Where should the responsibility of co-ordinating policy, and actually feeding research work into the constitutional structures reside?*

7.3. The “Umbrella” Option

7.3.1. If the ANC requires more input from the progressive NGO world and the academic environment in general, another option would be to establish an umbrella organisation (akin to the Urban Sector Network) to which the progressive NGO's would be asked to affiliate. Such a body would ensure that all areas of policy work is covered, it could perform important fund-raising functions for its constituents, and it would ensure co-ordination amongst the affiliates in general. Compared to the previous option, the advantage of such an option is that it would be much cheaper, and easier to establish.

- ❑ *Would progressive NGO's voluntarily affiliate to such a structure?*
- ❑ *If such a body was to be an ANC structure what would the implications be for the autonomy and “academic independence” of the affiliated structures?*
- ❑ *Is affiliation isolated to NGO's, there are other organisations not falling within the NGO definition that may have an important impact on policy?*

7.4. The “Voluntary Association” Option

7.4.1. Another option would be for the progressive NGO's to be requested by the ANC to themselves form a co-ordinating structure and to ensure that all key areas of ANC policy are covered. Again, this would be a cost-effective option, with basically no financial implications for the ANC. The disadvantage is that such a structure would by its nature not be accountable to the ANC, or necessarily be prepared to take direction and leadership from the ANC's constitutional structures. Another version of this option would be for the progressive NGO's to simply dissolve and form their own “new” think tank.

- ❑ *Would such an option solve the problems the ANC is facing at the moment in terms of its own policy needs?*
- ❑ *Is there a compelling reason why NGO's could be convinced to voluntarily follow this route and give up some or all of their institutional independence?*

Comrades, the questions are intricate. The issues are complex. But let's discuss. The ball is in your court. The brainstorm has begun. **End**

African National Congress

Policy Department



REPORT TO NEC

Gallagher Estate
22-23 January 1999

Update on Review of
Policy Processes

Demanded of us is not to be dogmatic; relying on what is known to us. We need to be creative and forward looking. What we need to do, is to analyse and understand the present demands, challenges, constraints, the millennium environment, and mould our thinking accordingly.

4. Our Vision

4.1. What is our vision at this juncture of struggle, as far as policy making in the movement is concerned? The policy process that we need to define must be underpinned by the following understanding:

- 4.1.1. The need to reposition the ANC as a political centre and a vanguard in the unfolding policy formulation, implementation and evaluation at a government level.
- 4.1.2. Through this, the movement needs to be able to ensure that policy positions in government are an elaboration of a political mandate elaborated within the ANC.
- 4.1.3. Develop mechanisms to ensure consistency in policy framework of the movement and what evolves at a government level.
- 4.1.4. Our policy process must, as far as possible, seek to establish consensus amongst alliance partners and the MDM as a whole on strategic policy positions.
- 4.1.5. The policy process we define must assist in rebuilding the organisation, involving our people, strengthen party democracy and at the same strengthen that political centre, required for purposes of organisation coherency.

5. International trends

5.1. Throughout at least the first world (or the bourgeois democracies if you like!) social democratic, liberal, and conservative political parties have established policy foundations and institutes. The relationship between the political parties and these institutes is a matter that requires our penetrating analysis. Such analysis needs to take into account that the mass based nature of political parties has been denuded over the past 10-15 years. The "party as a social movement phenomenon" has been replaced, by one in which these parties have become increasingly parliamentary (or governmental) in nature.

5.2. As regards the functioning of the policy foundations are concerned, the following trends can be observed:

rights. Their preoccupation with the first generation rights locates them on the opposite end of government's political initiatives. Their niche within the NGO community is around promoting "accountability and transparency". Their engagement with government and the ANC tends to be adversarial, and they generally oppose redistributive mechanisms, which in their view impact on property rights, neo-liberal understanding of productivity and development. These NGO's articulate political positions of the Democratic Party, and to a lesser extent the IFP. Our view is that the ANC needs to challenge the policy positions of these NGO's as part of an elaborated programme of reclaiming the strategic initiative in the policy development paradigm. The South African Institute for Race Relations, (SAIRR) and the Helen Suzman Foundation are prime examples of this "neo -liberal boys clubs." (Whether the Institute for Democratic Alternatives of South Africa (IDASA), the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) and the Institute for Multi - Party Democracy (IMPD) fall into this category, we can debate!)

6.2.2. Community inspired NGO's

- These NGO's developed in the midst of a struggle against apartheid. They played an active role in providing support to mass formations in these heated struggles. Often the community work done by these NGO's played a critical role in the formation of community organisations in the areas where these did not exist. Towards the new order in 1994 some of these NGO's assisted in providing policy options for community organisations.

6.2.3. ANC inspired NGO's

- These are the NGO's initiated by the ANC for the purposes of providing policy capacity and policy options for the movement prior taking over government office. These NGO's continue to provide technical support for government departments and ministries. However after the elections these NGO's have not been connected to the ANC in a structured manner, though in most cases the staff component and the work of these NGO's reinforces our agenda for transformation. However the movement has not applied measures to ensure their financial sustainability.

- 3.4. Generally, the NEC and its committees, have deliberative capacity as far as policy is concerned. At best they have veto power over proposed policies, but not with a stretch of the imagination can we conclude that these structures have the power to pro-actively lead, initiate and direct strategic policy discussions.
- 3.5. This is not to argue that the ANC, as the ANC should involve itself in each and every sphere of policy decision making. That is why we have elected a government and we have policies, namely for our comrades in government to implement. This requires space for our public representatives and the executive to exercise their prerogative in the execution of that mandate. However, the fact that we have a RDP framework and Conference Resolutions does not excuse the ANC from the policy arena. Far from it.
- 3.6. Besides policy co-ordination within the ANC, our existing practices and institutions have certainly not provided a useful platform for policy discussion and co-ordination between the ANC Alliance and the MDM as whole. The recently held Alliance Summit was a victory for open and honest consultative processes within the Alliance, but it certainly wasn't the product of a structured and programmatic approach to intra-Alliance policy formulation and discussion. If not crisis driven, it was certainly driven by the very specific demands of resolving a set of key contentious areas relating to the movement's macro-economic policy and employment strategy.
- 3.7. In summary, what we are posing, is that the tight, though consultative and robust political centre that characterised our policy processes, specifically between 1990 and 1994, is no more. The policy machine that saw us, as an organisation, as an Alliance, as a broad democratic movement, produce the Reconstruction & Development Programme, that guided our negotiators through CODESA and Kempton Park, that produced the Ready to Govern document, has been dismantled. Policy development, research and monitoring has become diffused. It now resides in as many areas that are represented here today. It resides in the party proper, the executive within government, the legislature within government, the Alliance partners, and within civil society, and in particular the NGO's present here today.
- 3.8. Realising that the terrain of struggle has shifted fundamentally since our ascension to office, it would be fundamentally flawed to argue that we should return to the way we were then; to old processes, and institutions that were the product of and informed by their own material conditions and demands.

African National Congress

Policy Department

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To : Members of the National Executive Committee

From : Jeff Radebe,
Chair: Policy Committee

Date : 22 January 1999

Update on Review of Policy Processes

Dear Comrades

Find enclosed a discussion document tabled at a Brainstorming Session held on the 6th of December 1999, as well as report on this session's proceedings. The Brainstorm interrogated the state of ANC policy processes in general, and in particular, discussed the feasibility of establishing an ANC Policy Institute.

The Brainstorming session recommended amongst others, that a task team be set up to further process the ideas that emerged from the session. The task team has since met and made the following recommendations:

1. That a research proposal be developed as a matter of urgency to look into the establishment of an ANC policy foundation.
2. That the research proposal map out a feasibility study into the establishment of such an institute.
3. That the study will include amongst others, a comparative analysis of the policy institutes of "progressive parties" in the developed world and countries in the south that are undergoing transformation.
4. That the study will arrive at a model which is best applicable to our conditions, a model that it will fit into the new organisational design of the ANC, and that will contribute towards the modernisation of the party. Critical to this, the proposed model should outline the relationship between the Constitutional Structures and Policy Institute.
5. That the study will also cover related issues such as a concrete implementation strategy, a recommendation on the relationship of the institute to the NGO's set up by the ANC, and issues of financial sustainability.

end

Policy Options:

A number of policy process options were tabled in the discussion document which comrades thought should be formulated into one option because they were not necessary mutually exclusive from one another.

Policy Foundation:

Participants agreed that the ANC should start a consultative process of possibly establishing an ANC Policy Foundation. Comrades warned that extensive research and investigations needed to be done in order for us to make an informed decision. The Policy Department was mandated to develop processes towards the drafting of a comprehensive proposal on this issue.

ISSUES REQUIRING FURTHER DISCUSSION

- The current state of ANC Alliance and MDM policy making processes needed urgent attention and political intervention. Future discussions and /or intervention of any nature should look at the nature and composition of the ANC as a organisation which is transforming to meet the challenges of the New Millennium
- An analysis of the exact status of the Mafikeng policy resolution and the implementation thereof. The setting up of provincial policy structures.
- An increase in the research capacity of the policy department in the interim, which will enhance its research and impact monitoring capacity.
- The formation of a task team to research and develop a concrete proposal on the establishment of an ANC Policy Foundation.

ISSUES REQUIRING NEC DECISION

- That the NEC mandates the Policy Committee Task Team to proceed with further research into an ANC Policy Foundation.
- That the Policy Committee reports back regularly to the NEC /and or the Officials regarding progress.

Rethinking Policy Processes in the ANC: Some Guiding Notes

1. The Political Context

1.1. The ANC NEC Policy Committee has recently embarked on a process of critically examining the manner in which the ANC engages with, develops, and monitors the implementation of policy. This examination is one that is guided by our understanding of the challenges that faces the movement in the current phase of the national democratic revolution. In the *Strategy and Tactics* document (1997) we define our efforts as being founded on five basic pillars:

- ❑ Building the ANC
- ❑ Deepening our democracy and mobilising our people to participate in changing their lives for the better;
- ❑ Strengthening our hold on the state, and transforming the state machinery;
- ❑ Pursuing economic growth, development and redistribution;
- ❑ Advancing Africa's Renaissance and building a New World order.

1.2. Whilst we have set the following challenges for ourselves, we also understand that we have to pursue these goals in a new and changing terrain of struggle, and in a context where the ANC as an organisation has been weakened since our ascension to office in 1994. As has been previously identified by Conference and our leadership, the following trends have, since 1994, begun to emerge within the ranks of the movement:

- ❑ Development of careerism and patronage;
- ❑ Squabbles for positions;
- ❑ A lack of a dynamic and mobilising programmes and campaigns;
- ❑ Non-existent and weakened ANC branches;
- ❑ A lack of development and political schooling of new ANC cadres.

2. The Status Quo of ANC Policy Making

2.1. The Mafikeng Conference noted that:

- ❑ "That policy processes within the ANC have been fundamentally affected by the ANC's ascension to office in 1994;
- ❑ That since 1994, the point of gravity as regards policy development appears to have shifted to government and away from ANC constitutional structures."



2.2. Unpacking this statement, it would not be incorrect to state the following:

- 2.2.1. The organisation's policy capacity in the post 1994 era has been weakened remarkably, as witnessed specifically by the departure of most key comrades to government offices, and the closure of various departments in the ANC that had up to 1994 involved themselves in policy research and development;
- 2.2.2. This weakening of an internal capacity has seen the organisation sometimes forced to defend policy processes in government which were not the product of extensive discussions within the ANC itself, nor amongst alliance partners.
- 2.2.3. This diminished capacity has led to unproductive tensions amongst specifically Alliance partners, but also amongst MDM and the progressive NGO-community on strategic policy positions pronounced by our comrades in government.
- 2.2.4. Given our own organisational weaknesses, our cadres on the ground often do not understand the government processes and tend to be disillusioned.

3. ANC's Constitutional Structures: as it relates to engagement with policy matters. Briefly...

- 3.1. Whereas the National Conference is the ANC's "supreme and controlling body" the National Executive Committee of the ANC, as the highest organ between conferences has the "authority to lead the organisation" which includes amongst others the capacity to "issue policy directives as and when it deems fit." It is therefore to the NEC and its subcommittees that we have to look, to ascertain the internal capacity of the movement to indeed engage with, and pro-actively develop and lay down policy.
- 3.2. The perhaps-uncomfortable fact of the matter is that the NEC and its committees are certainly not the fountains of pro-active policy making that we would like them to be. Policy discussions are for the best part an expression of discussions already initiated within government, and specifically within the executive.
- 3.3. In some committees members would attend only when there are sectoral concerns that need the intervention of the ANC. Other committees hardly meet, or only in times of crisis.



creating many ANC's. The entire policy process needs a framework and political control by our leadership.

Capacity:

This is a serious constraint facing the broader policy process within the movement. Notwithstanding this we do have efficient capacity in some areas but need to coordinate that capacity more effectively. There is also a need to return some capacity to HQ.

Research:

The ANC must focus on augmenting its research capacity. The movement must be in a position to administer impact and quick response research in order to influence public opinion. Long and medium term research is also required to review and alter existing policies if needed.

ANC Civil Servants:

Should be seen as a resource to the movements policy processes but needs more political guidance from the movement. A good deployment strategy will also assist senior ANC cadres in government to operate with a clear political mandate.

Policy Institutes:

Old apartheid policy institutes are still implementing old agendas and need to be transformed. We must look at using this national resource more effectively and to the benefit of our own agenda. The ANC must ensure that we deploy comrades to these institutes and also investigate the staff component at historically progressive institutes. We need to work more closely with academic and private sector policy institutes.

Audit:

The Policy Department should do an audit of the movement's policy capacity both in the public and private sector. A database of comrades in this sector with specific skills should be established and used in our deployment strategy.

National Consultative Forums:

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Today policy is made in a number of sectors and in many cases by a number of individuals who are not necessary mandated to do so, thereby in effect

- ❑ Foundations provide extensive research and policy proposals which feed into the political agenda of the various parties. In most instances staff in these foundations are card-carrying members of the party associated with a foundation.
- ❑ Often the foundations would second individuals to provide technical assistance to line function ministries.
- ❑ The parties on the other hand access government resources for the survival of the foundations.

5.2.1. Examples of policy institutions in some way related to social democratic parties in Europe include:

- ❑ The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung; Social Democratic Party (German SPD)
- ❑ Wiardi Beckman Stigting; Dutch Labour Party
- ❑ Emile Vandervelde Instituut; Socialist part of Belgium;
- ❑ Fondation Jaen Jaures; French Socialist Party;
- ❑ Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), Labour Party Britain.

6. An audit of the NGO World in SA

6.1. The post- 1970 era saw a proliferation of various NGO's in South Africa. The spontaneous 1973 worker's strike led to formation of various worker advice units, which were important pioneers for the resurgence of the independent trade unions. In the communities the SAIRR sponsored advice centres, and legal resource centres played a critical role in providing support to victim of vicious Apartheid Laws including pass laws. It was only post 1976 and with the development of mass formations, and growing support for our struggle in the international community that one saw the mushrooming of various NGO's. By 1985 a number of 54 plus NGO were established. A database of the NGO's that exist to the present day is continuously updated.

6.2. The following characterisation can be applied to the existing NGO community:

6.2.1. Liberal inspired NGO's.

- ❑ This category of NGO's view it's role as mainly to play a " watchdog" role in our new democracy. They seek to develop and explore models, which they think are applicable to new democracy in South Africa. Their areas of work concentrate more on first "generation rights" and only venture on discussions around second and third generation rights in so far they view first generation

7. Some of the Options

7.1. The status quo option

7.1.1. This option involves no structural or institutional changes to the status quo. It would however see the Policy Department play far more of a co-ordinating, and integrating role than is currently the case. Instead of essentially focusing inwards on co-ordination of policy discussion within the party, such an option would see also a pro-active approach to the “outside”, to the world of the NGO’s, the academic environment, and very specifically, policy and research work done by our Alliance partners and their think tanks. Such an option would however necessitate the acquisition of research capacity within the department to access and process such research and policy work produced outside of the ANC.

- *Can the ANC’s current staff complement and resource base play such a role required of them?*

7.2. The “New Kid on the Block” Option

7.2.1. This option would see the ANC act on an idea that has been conceptually played with and mooted in our ranks for some time now. Such an option would see us establish a fully-fledged research institute, functionally autonomous but integrally part of, and politically accountable to the movement. It’s research brief would be informed by the short and long term policy needs of the ANC as a whole. It would presumably cover all the main areas of strategic policy, such as economic transformation, social transformation, international affairs and peace and stability. Depending on the size of such an institute, it would presumably develop into a very significant pillar on which not only the ANC and the democratic movement would rely, but also government in its own right. Clearly, if one were to set up such an institute with significant and heavy weight research capacity, it would have severe financial implications on the movement.

- *To what extent would such an institute not duplicate (and perhaps overshadow) the work of the existing progressive NGO’s?*
- *What would be the exact nature of the relationship between the Institute and the constitutional structures of the ANC?*
- *How will such an institute relate to NEC - subcommittees?*



- ❑ *Where should the responsibility of co-ordinating policy, and actually feeding research work into the constitutional structures reside?*

7.3. The “Umbrella” Option

7.3.1. If the ANC requires more input from the progressive NGO world and the academic environment in general, another option would be to establish an umbrella organisation (akin to the Urban Sector Network) to which the progressive NGO's would be asked to affiliate. Such a body would ensure that all areas of policy work is covered, it could perform important fund-raising functions for its constituents, and it would ensure co-ordination amongst the affiliates in general. Compared to the previous option, the advantage of such an option is that it would be much cheaper, and easier to establish.

- ❑ *Would progressive NGO's voluntarily affiliate to such a structure?*
- ❑ *If such a body was to be an ANC structure what would the implications be for the autonomy and “academic independence” of the affiliated structures?*
- ❑ *Is affiliation isolated to NGO's, there are other organisations not falling within the NGO definition that may have an important impact on policy?*

7.4. The “Voluntary Association” Option

7.4.1. Another option would be for the progressive NGO's to be requested by the ANC to themselves form a co-ordinating structure and to ensure that all key areas of ANC policy are covered. Again, this would be a cost-effective option, with basically no financial implications for the ANC. The disadvantage is that such a structure would by its nature not be accountable to the ANC, or necessarily be prepared to take direction and leadership from the ANC's constitutional structures. Another version of this option would be for the progressive NGO's to simply dissolve and form their own “new” think tank.

- ❑ *Would such an option solve the problems the ANC is facing at the moment in terms of its own policy needs?*
- ❑ *Is there a compelling reason why NGO's could be convinced to voluntarily follow this route and give up some or all of their institutional independence?*

Comrades, the questions are intricate. The issues are complex. But let's discuss. The ball is in your court. The brainstorm has begun. **End**

rights. Their preoccupation with the first generation rights locates them on the opposite end of government's political initiatives. Their niche within the NGO community is around promoting "accountability and transparency". Their engagement with government and the ANC tends to be adversarial, and they generally oppose redistributive mechanisms, which in their view impact on property rights, neo-liberal understanding of productivity and development. These NGO's articulate political positions of the Democratic Party, and to a lesser extent the IFP. Our view is that the ANC needs to challenge the policy positions of these NGO's as part of an elaborated programme of reclaiming the strategic initiative in the policy development paradigm. The South African Institute for Race Relations, (SAIRR) and the Helen Suzman Foundation are prime examples of this "neo -liberal boys clubs." (Whether the Institute for Democratic Alternatives of South Africa (IDASA), the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) and the Institute for Multi - Party Democracy (IMPD) fall into this category, we can debate!)

6.2.2. Community inspired NGO's

- These NGO's developed in the midst of a struggle against apartheid. They played an active role in providing support to mass formations in these heated struggles. Often the community work done by these NGO's played a critical role in the formation of community organisations in the areas where these did not exist. Towards the new order in 1994 some of these NGO's assisted in providing policy options for community organisations.

6.2.3. ANC inspired NGO's

- These are the NGO's initiated by the ANC for the purposes of providing policy capacity and policy options for the movement prior taking over government office. These NGO's continue to provide technical support for government departments and ministries. However after the elections these NGO's have not been connected to the ANC in a structured manner, though in most cases the staff component and the work of these NGO's reinforces our agenda for transformation. However the movement has not applied measures to ensure their financial sustainability.

Demanded of us is not to be dogmatic; relying on what is known to us. We need to be creative and forward looking. What we need to do, is to analyse and understand the present demands, challenges, constraints, the millennium environment, and mould our thinking accordingly.

4. Our Vision

4.1. What is our vision at this juncture of struggle, as far as policy making in the movement is concerned? The policy process that we need to define must be underpinned by the following understanding:

4.1.1. The need to reposition the ANC as a political centre and a vanguard in the unfolding policy formulation, implementation and evaluation at a government level.

4.1.2. Through this, the movement needs to be able to ensure that policy positions in government are an elaboration of a political mandate elaborated within the ANC.

4.1.3. Develop mechanisms to ensure consistency in policy framework of the movement and what evolves at a government level.

4.1.4. Our policy process must, as far as possible, seek to establish consensus amongst alliance partners and the MDM as a whole on strategic policy positions.

4.1.5. The policy process we define must assist in rebuilding the organisation, involving our people, strengthen party democracy and at the same strengthen that political centre, required for purposes of organisation coherency.

5. International trends

5.1. Throughout at least the first world (or the bourgeois democracies if you like!) social democratic, liberal, and conservative political parties have established policy foundations and institutes. The relationship between the political parties and these institutes is a matter that requires our penetrating analysis. Such analysis needs to take into account that the mass based nature of political parties has been denuded over the past 10-15 years. The "party as a social movement phenomenon" has been replaced, by one in which these parties have become increasingly parliamentary (or governmental) in nature.

5.2. As regards the functioning of the policy foundations are concerned, the following trends can be observed:

African National Congress Policy Department



REPORT TO NEC

**Gallagher Estate
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