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African National Congress

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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

MEMORANDUM URGENT !

DATE : 4 June 1993

TO : ANC REGIONS / DEPARTMENTS

ATTENTION : REGIONAL SECRETARY

FROM : MARION SPARG

RE : INTER-REGIONAL SUMMIT - AGENDA/DOCUMENTATION

Dear Comrades

Please find attached the agenda and documentation for the inter-regional summit. A full package of documentation will be available for all delegates at the summit.

The documentation now attached is not yet complete but is intended to give some guide as to what will be discussed at the summit and what we hope to achieve.

Following the decisions of the NWC Lekgothla, where the state of organisation, pertaining to both head office and the regions, was extensively discussed, it was felt that one of our principal weaknesses was the absence of a nationally accepted programme to guide the work of the organisation and all structures through the next 18 months or so.

It has thus been tentatively agreed that we need to establish our political priorities over the coming period, and then against this background look at the organisational challenges.

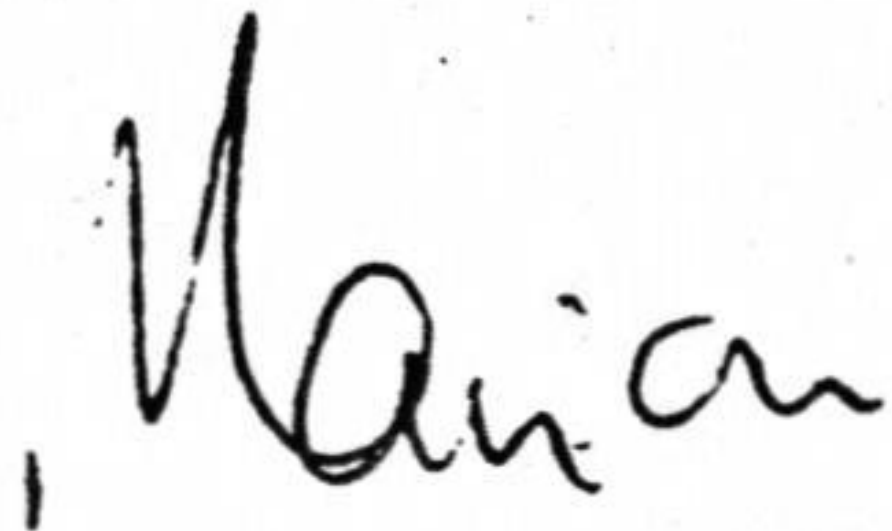
The People Shall Govern!

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Thus , on pages 11 - 13 of the attached documentation, you will find the outline of a ten-point programme to cater for the phase from now until November 1993. On Page 14 you will find the suggested *hierarchy* from which the programme should be approached i.e. first looking at the key programmes of work, and then the key organisational challenges.

The proposed agenda for the summit follows this hierarchy. Please bear in mind that there will be some quite substantial changes to the documentation as they are the subject of ongoing debate. At this stage they are intended to provide some guide to what we hope to achieve at the summit.

Yours in struggle

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Marion', with a small mark to the left.

MARION SPARG
OVERALL CO-ORDINATOR

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
INTER-REGIONAL SUMMIT
7 JUNE 1993
AGENDA

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| 1. Welcome and Opening | 09h30 - 10h00 |
| 2. Input on Process since NWC Lekgothla | 10h00 - 10h45 |
| 3. Inputs on Political Programmes | |
| * Elections | 10h45 - 11h00 |
| * Preparing to Govern/Reconstruction | 11h00 - 11h15 |
| * Ongoing Mass Struggles/Peace and Stability | 11h15 - 11h30 |
| 4. T E A | 11h30 - 11h45 |
| 5. Break into Three Commissions | 11h45 - 12h45 |
| 6. LUNCH | 13h00 - 14h00 |
| 7. Input from Organising Department on Organisational Challenges | 14h00 - 14h45 |
| 8. Break into Three Commissions | |
| * Functioning of Regions | |
| * Relationship with Leagues | |
| * Relationship with Alliance, MDM formations and key sectors | 14h45 - 16h45 |
| 9. T E A | 16h45 - 17h00 |
| 10. Commissions continue | 17h00 - 19h00 |
| 11. DINNER | 19h00 - 20h00 |
| 12. Way Forward - Plenary Session | 20h00 - 21h30 |
| 13. Closure. | |

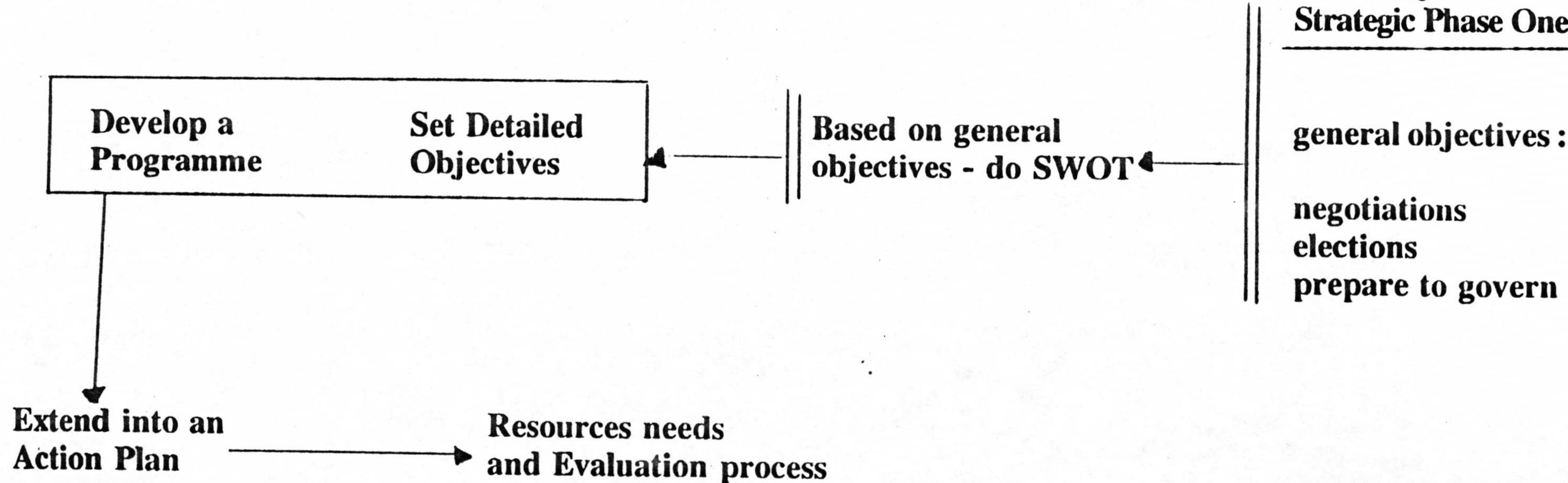
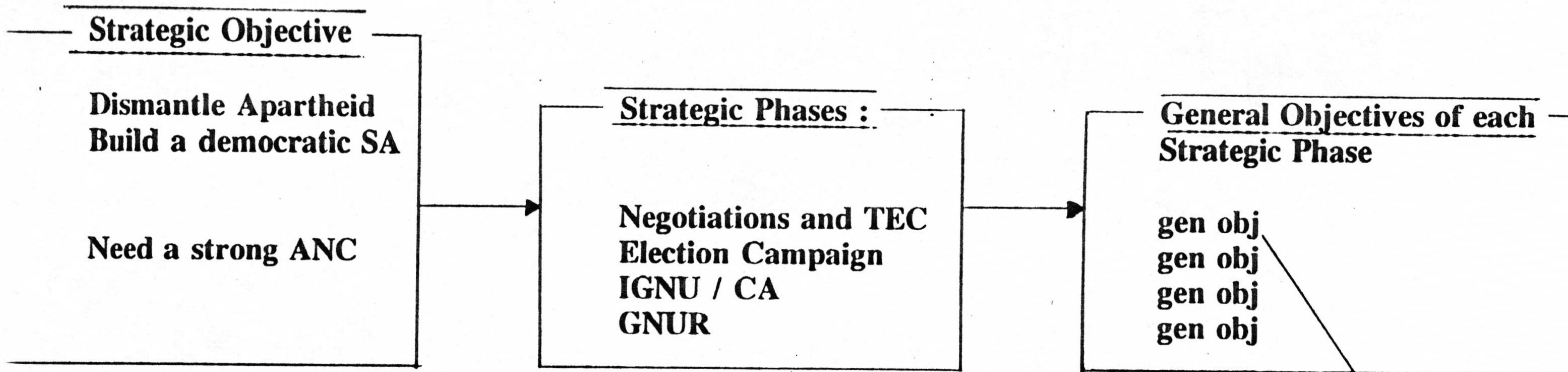
Strategic Planning

There are two objectives of a strategic planning exercise;

1. To analyse your environment in order to develop a plan of what you should be doing, eg. a company looking at which product market to enter or a political organisation doing a balance of forces exercise to develop a strategic focus for itself.
2. A second exercise assumes that the institution or organisation has already debated the "what" and has built a sufficient consensus around its priority or the company has chosen the product market it wants to enter; the planning question is then about how best to do what you have decided is important. This involves an operational strategic planning exercise.

I think we need to do both. The first is fairly clear but I feel that there is insufficient consensus on priorities which results in departments and individuals pulling in different directions etc. What is needed is an exercise which builds ownership of the strategic plan by all key players.

The second planning exercise is however the crucial one since the major crisis in the organisation is on the operational side. Again an operational strategy must be owned by all key implementers or it fails.



OVERALL STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE

**Dismantle Apartheid and Build
a Non-racial Non-sexist Democratic South Africa**

Strategic Phases to achieve this objective

1. Multi-Party Talks and the TEC :
Now to November
2. Election Campaign :
November to April 1994
3. IGNU / CA :
April 1994 - April 1995
4. GNUR :
April 1995 - 1999

Central Strategy to Achieve this Objective

Build a mass based, broadly representative, well organised and cohesive ANC with a clear Plan and programme with detailed Policies for all the Phases.

The General Objectives of each Strategic Phase

Phase One : Multi - Party Talks : June to November 1993

In this period there are four general objectives :

1. Negotiations and TEC :

- * Resolving all outstanding issues : reincorporation, regions, free political activity, electoral regions, obstacles to ID's being issued to all people, constitutional principles, "interim bill of rights" and the security forces
- * Agreement of structure and powers of the TEC and its sub-councils, the IEC, the IMC.
- * Effectively levelling the playing field through TEC and halting all unilateral restructuring.
- * Improving peoples confidence in the country and its future

2. Preparing for Governance :

- * Deepening Policy Work into implementable programmes and setting priorities
- * examining institutional frameworks, financial implications and human resource needs of the policies and programmes
- * Prevent unilateral restructuring while increasing multi party control through forums etc.
- * Key issue : Security forces, both police and SADF - need to develop policy for integration and transformation of these institutions while intervening to reduce violence
- * A detailed project on Civil Service and key government posts - need to intensify identification and training programme
- * Finalise reconstruction accord and begin to build consensus around our programmes
- * Prepare draft constitution

3. Elections :

- * Setting up structures at all levels, including the NEPC, Public Face and Co-ordinating Teams.
- * Research and community profiles being used to define strategy, agree on image and media/communication strategy
- * setting up all the necessary infrastructure, data bases, training the campaign workers, broadening the electoral front.
- * Popularise messages, logo, policies, carry out voter education, contact every voter in the country
- * Finalise list and platform/manifesto

4. The ANC :

- * Reorganising the ANC to meet the challenges of this and coming phases
- * Begin to discuss the implications of going into government for the future ANC
- * Begin to plan for the next Conference due in 1994.

Human Resource Issues for this phase :

- * People for the TEC and its sub-councils. (One key person per sub-council plus three back-up experts with the capacity to mobilise the broader network in the sector??)
- * Increased allocation to the task of preparing for governance with greater emphasis on training new people.
- * Thinking of people for the IMC and IEC.
- * Improving our organising, media, and strategy capacity for the elections.
- * The NEPC. Public Face of the Election and reinforcing the Campaign structures especially organising and strategy work
- * Investing more into the task of co-ordination in the SGO
- * The List (keeping in mind other needs; the ANC, Civil Service, Regional Govt, non-partisan institutions etc)
- * More focused and specialised allocation of people to policy areas to prepare for government; at this stage people who are likely to become ministers and DG's should be preparing themselves to be effective. Prepare another level of leadership in the ANC.

The key challenges to the ANC in this period are:

- a. becoming COHESIVE and ensuring the highest levels of CO-ORDINATION among all structures.
- b. building the organisation at three levels; organisational structures at regional and branch level, strengthening its alliance with all democratic forces and building its professional/ skilled managerial and leadership capacity.
- c. Ensuring we make the right decisions in human resource allocations.
- d. managing our participation and approach in the TEC and our approach to Elections with the necessary cohesion
- e. Continue to prepare for governance and think about the ANC post elections.

Phase Two : Fighting the Election : Nov 93 - April 94

General objectives in this phase will include (similar to last phase) :

1. **TEC and councils : Continue**
2. **Elections :**
 - * The real campaign begins, elections to be made a top priority for most ANC structures
 - * Extensive mass mobilisation to introduce our list and our manifesto
 - * Intensive and extensive contact with voters to ensure they know how to vote and have chosen to vote ANC
 - * Leadership in every corner of the country talking to millions of people in person
 - * Prepare logistics to get voters to the polls as well monitors to ensure a free and fair election
 - * National peace keeping force should be operational
3. **Preparing for Governance :**
 - * Continue with developing policy into programmes and building national consensus around it
 - * Finalisation of draft constitution
 - * Have clear plans for security force integration and transformation
 - * Deepen training of key people for key positions

The key challenge to the ANC in this period is to be able to mobilise its full resources into the election campaign

Phase three : IGNU : April 94 - Jan 95

The general objectives in this phase will include :

1. **CA/IGNU :**
 - * The dual task of the constitution and shaping parliament.
 - * Getting consensus on the Constitution while we begin in earnest to begin transformation.
 - * Need to use this period to learn about government and sharpen plans for the GNUR phase.

2. Restructuring the ANC :

- * There will be a fundamental restructuring of the ANC as we move into government. Slimmer ANC, new strategic role, debates on relationship between those ANC people in parliament and the mass based ANC and civil society will become more real.
- * Prepare for National Conference

3. Preparing for Governance :

- * This task will still need to continue. the institutes, NGO's etc will begin to play a more powerful role as details and skills become more urgent - redefine relationship between ANC and policy workers, experts etc.
- * The beginnings of building the new government will begin as we place more people into government.

4. Reconstruction and Transformation :

- * a special focus on the challenge of transformation and reconstruction should inform all our work in this phase, it should impact on interventions in the CA and IGNU as well as our continuing preparing for governance efforts

5. Reconciliation :

- * After winning election the ANC will be faced with the task of reducing polarisation, building a spirit of reconciliation and ensuring the transition is not disrupted.

Human Resource Issues :

- * At least 240 people will go into the CA/IGNU, assuming we win 60% of the vote
- * At least 24 ministers, and a number of DG's will need to be appointed. Top Civil Service positions (+500)
- * Other Government positions will need to be filled on Boards of parastatals.
- * The task of building the mass based ANC will remain, including the strategic planning for the Conference.
- * Begin to look at Regional and Local Government Elections and positions.

The Key challenges in this period will include :

- a. Having a healthy relationship between the Parliamentary ANC and mass base
- b. Making the right decisions on human resource allocation
- c. Making nation building, reconciliation and delivery on peoples expectations a core part of the IGNU programme under conditions of stability and security.

Phase Four : GNUR : Jan 95 -

General Objectives in this phase will include :

1. GNUR :

- * Implementation of Reconstruction Programme. Transformation of State institutions, personnel and culture of work. Nation building and reconciliation.

2. ANC / Civil Society :

- * This issue of the role of the non-parliamentary party and civil society that is a debate today will become much more real. Great attention will need to be given to this issue to ensure our vision of Democracy prevails.

3. Regional and Local Government Elections :

- * The regional government elections should take place within the year after the Constitution is adopted and Local Government elections in the same period. Preparation for these elections should start as soon GNUR is in place if not before.

The Human Resource issues and other strategic issues are not addressed here. The key point though is that all our strategic thinking and human resource decisions should be based on an overview of the 4 phases. We need to think through all the phases before taking decisions for phase one or two in isolation. A long term strategic approach will allow us to make more solid decisions.

The challenge is to be effective; that is using the right people for the right Job.

Planning for Strategic Phase one : 5 steps

1. Noting the general Objectives - Do a SWOT Analysis
2. Arising from the SWOT - list Detailed Objectives
3. Translate the detailed Objectives into a Programme
4. Extend programme into an Action Plan
5. What is needed to implement plan, how will we evaluate progress and reshape plan.

SWOT FOR PHASE ONE

STRENGTHS

strong leadership
strong presence throughout the country
strong following
good policy principles
democratic culture
reasonably well resourced - financial and human
strong alliance - political and organisational benefits

WEAKNESSES



too many departments, overlapping structures, structures outlived purpose
Weak relationships with allies, PF and MDM
inadequate organisational infrastructure
weak and confused lines of communication
hierarchical culture
ANC policy not known
weak support amongst Black Minorities
weak regional structures
lack of gender sensitivity / chauvinism
weak management skills at regional and local level
lack of human resource / cadre policy
no nationally accepted programme of work / not enough planning
factionalism / cliques
weak link between national leadership and ground

weak co-ordination by SGO - departments too autonomous - empire building

Weak PO

lack of financial planning and management

not enough accountability from staff at HO

not enough management skills at NWC/ HOD level : no job descriptions, no implementation of procedures, no programme of work, no proper delegation,

Improper allocation of human resources

Not enough work on preparing for governance - civil service (need links with unions)

Lack of distinction between managerial and political tasks

resistance to change

indiscipline among NEC and staff

policy gaps in key areas: police, social welfare, human resources

OPPORTUNITIES

Goodwill (not being mobilised) national and international

people and structures willing to help, national, international, governments, NGO's

space to offer leadership to sectors and communities

THREATS

PAC

NP in black areas

Violence : hit squads, low intensity warfare, internal

Right Wing

opportunism - political and material

mood of disillusionment

culture of ungovernability

expectations

IMF and World Bank

10 Point Programme for Phase One : June to November

1. Strengthen Regions

- a. Reorganise regional structures
- b. Improve political and management skills of regional leadership
- c. set up 5 to 6 sub-regional offices per region
- d. set up membership system
- e. Regularised RGC with HQ participation
- f. Branch Programme of work
- g. relationship with leagues
- h. Code of conduct

2. Improve HO structures and co-ordination

- a. restructure and reorganise
- b. SGO
- c. TGO
- d. PO
- e. Reporting and communication system
- f. relationship with leagues at national level

3. To build meaningful alliances at all levels

- a. Tripartite
- b. PF
- c. MDM and others

4. Preparing to Govern

- a. Develop policies into programmes
 - b. look into institutional, financial and human resource implications of programmes
 - c. Human Resource Project - civil service etc - gender bias
 - d. popularise policy / manifesto
 - e. stop unilateral restructuring
 - f. promote joint control
 - g. reconstruction conference
- X. + Re construction.*

5. Security (in house)

- a. leadership
 - b. membership
 - c. offices
 - d. information
- X.*

6. TEC

- a. joint control of security forces
 - b. peace keeping force
 - c. local govt
 - d. finance
 - e. foreign affairs
 - f. IMC and IEC
- X.*
2

7. Elections

- a. structures
- b. strategy
- c. mass work

✓X

8. Resources

- a. Mobilisation
- b. Allocation
- c. Management

✓

9. Negotiations

- a. reaching agreement on package
- b. deepen consultation
- c. winning broad consensus
- d. other negotiations fora

✓X

10. Peace and stability

- a. Marshalls
- b. NPA
- c. Monitoring initiatives
- d. free political activity

done

**Key Processes we
will need to engage which
will lead to a number of
other processes**

Negotiations

TEC

**Key Programmes of work
around which we will
mobilise people**

Elections

Peace and Security

Preparing for
Governance

**The Key Organisational
Challenges that will help
us implement the
programmes**

Strengthen
Regions

Improve HO
Structures and

Build Meaningful
Alliances

Co-ordination

**Key factors for
Operational Effectiveness**

Security (in house)

Resources

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