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ANC CADRE DEPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Genesis

- 1. Elements of cadre development policy can be traced back to the ANC's Kabwe Conference in 1985 when ANC President Oliver Tambo called for the establishment of a political school.
- 2. In 1994 the ANC recommended the deployment of suitably qualified personnel into structures of government at all levels with the proviso that a sunset clause was agreed to at the political negotiations process at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). The sunset clause in effect slowed down the implementation of deployment in the furtherance of transformation.
- 3. The ANC used the first term of government to perfect its deployment system, notably with:-
 - 3.1 A deployment framework;
 - 3.2 Guidelines on the relationship between ANC constitutional structures and government executives;
 - 3.3 Guidelines on the role and criteria for ANC Premiers;
 - 3.4 Guidelines on accountability and monitoring of ANC public representatives; and
 - 3.5 Guidelines on the deployment of executive mayors for Local Government Elections.
- 4. Strategic deployment of ANC cadres played an important role in the ANC taking control of the post-liberation state. The ANC's deployment committees on national and regional levels played a crucial role in state transformation, contributing to reasonable success in deracialising the public service. This also helped ensure that bureaucratic sabotage by

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reactionary forces intent on undermining the democratic order would be minimised.

1997 National Conference

- 5. The deployment policy of the ANC started in earnest at the 50th National Conference in Mafikeng in 1997. The resolution called for the establishment of deployment committees throughout the ANC's organisational hierarchy. It recognised that the ANC needs to put in place its own policy and code of conduct to guide those of its cadres deployed to the public service. There were concurrent discussions about curtailing corruption and the need for guidelines on ethics.
- 6. The National Conference recognised that a Cadre Policy can only flourish within the context of a mobilised, strong and active organisation and consequently resolved to:-
 - 6.1 Put in place a deployment strategy which focuses on the short, medium and long term challenges, identifying the key centres of power, our strategy to transform these centres and the attributes and skills we require from our cadres to do so effectively;
 - 6.2 The establishment of deployment committees in the NEC, PEC, REC and BEC, which is implementing the above strategy should:-
 - 6.2.1 Discuss the deployment of comrades to areas of work on behalf of the movement, including the public service, parastatals, structures of the movement and the private sector;
 - 6.2.2 Such discussions of deployment of individual comrades be done with appropriate consultation with the cadre/s concerned;

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- 6.2.3 Do probity checks in all deployments and in general on appointments of staff;
- 6.2.4 Provide support and disputes about the deployment or redeployment of cadres to the next highest structure for resolution.
- 6.2.5 Decisions of the organisation, after appropriate consultation with individual cadres are final and a breach of this policy shall constitute a serious offence to be considered by the appropriate structure.
- Between January and July 1999 the ANC considered and eventually adopted a deployment policy and framework and guidelines for use by the organisation.

Deployment Framework

- 8. The key centres of authority and responsibility of power are diffused throughout society and located both within and outside the state. Our approach to deployment must therefore be sensitive to these realities.
- 9. Our immediate goal as set out in Strategy and Tactics is to deepen the hold of the liberation movement over the levers of the state and begin to impact positively on other centres of authority and responsibility outside the immediate realm of the state institutions.
- 10. The following are the key centres of authority and responsibility within the state that should be given priority:-
 - 10.1 Cabinet:
 - 10.2 The entire civil service, but most importantly from director level upwards;
 - 10.3 Premiers and provincial administrations;

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- 10.4 Legislatures;
- 10.5 Local Government;
- 10.6 Parastatals;
- 10. ducation institutions;
- 10.8 Independent statutory commissions, agencies, boards and institutes;
- 10.9 Ambassadorial appointments; and
- 10. 10 International organisations and institutions.
- 11. Non-state centres of authority and responsibility include:-
 - 11.1 The media
 - 11.2 Business (financial, industrial, agricultural, small and medium enterprises, monopolies etc
 - 11.3 Other social and cultural institutions like religious bodies, sports bodies, cultural bodies etc

Guidelines for deployment to various centres

- 12. There should be a dynamic link between the National Deployment Committee to other deploying structures of the Movement, whether it be the President, list committees, premiers, cabinet ministers, MECs and provincial deployment committees. The Chairperson of the National Deployment Committee should act as the link, on a daily and on-going basis, between the Deployment Committee and these other deployment structures.
- 13. Whilst the ANC structures should be responsible for final decisions with respect to deployment matters where possible, a dynamic and continuous interaction must be maintained between the deployment committee and the Alliance secretariat. This should be replicated at

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lower levels as well.

- 14. The decision of the National Deployment Committee should take precedence over those of the provincial deployment committees. We should ensure ongoing engagement between the national and provincial committees to build a common national approach to questions of deployment.
- 15. Our general approach should be that all strategic deployments should as far as possible be subjected to collective discussions by various structures of the movement. A collective approach will enable the organisation to effectively combat careerism, patronage and opportunism.
- 16. We should re-affirm the prerogative of the President to appoint cabinet, within the spirit of this collective approach. This will, in practice, mean that in considering cadres for appointment to these positions, the President can consult with the Officials and canvass broader views, as well as use the Deployment Committee as a resource.
- 17. At provincial level, in addition to the collective approach, we must emphasise the unitary nature of the ANC. The practice of Premiers consulting the Provincial Working Committee in considering the appointment of MECs should continue. In addition to consultation with the Provincial Working Committee, the Premiers should also consult the President in the appointment and dismissal of MECs, as the person overly responsible for matters of governance in the ANC.
- 18. Our strategy should not only concentrate on deployment at the most senior level, but at lateral entry levels as well. In doing so, we shall

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prevent situations where we deployed capable comrades to positions only to find that they are completely surrounded by and locked into structures dominated by forces that not only do not share the same strategic objectives but also sometimes even actively work to undermine the goals of the National Democratic Revolution.

- 19. In the deployment of comrades a careful balance should be struck between organisational deployment needs and personal circumstances. Consultations and discussions should take place with individuals, within the framework of prioritizing the needs of the organisation and transformation. Once comrades are deployed, we should seek to create an environment which allows people to balance their deployment commitments with their family and other responsibilities.
- 20. A core or pool of comrades needs to be identified for deployment in each of the key strategic centres of authority and responsibility, particularly in relation to the legislatures, civil service, parastatals, independent bodies and ambassadorial appointments.
- 21. With respect to legislatures, the question of continuity and experience should guide the identification of a pool of comrades, without undermining the need for bringing in fresh blood. The Deployment Committee would argue that for the purpose of the list process, we should set a target of at least 30 percent of comrades who served before in the legislatures to form part of this pool. This has since been increased to 60 percent.
- 22. Focus should not only be on academic or professional expertise but should also take into account skills and expertise in doing constituency work and working with the masses on the ground.

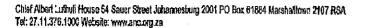
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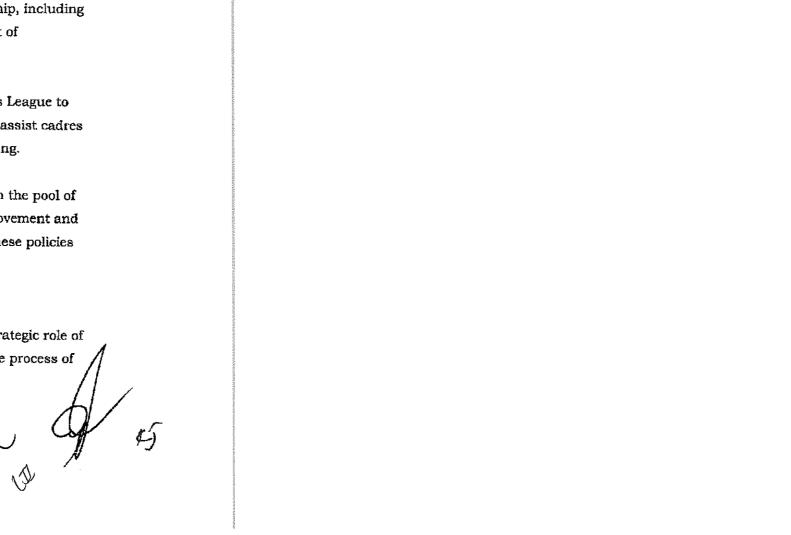
- 23. With respect to Cabinet and MECs, it is assumed that these comrades will be drawn from those who will be elected to the legislature, including the core which we have referred to above.
- 24. With respect to office-bearers deployed within the organisation through internal elections, discussions and consultations should be held about the alternative deployment options of these individuals well before the conference. Whether they are elected or not would have particular implications for them. This would go a long way to prevent bruising electoral battles within our structures as a result of the career and personal implications of being elected or not elected.

Deployment and Human Resource Development

- 25. A comprehensive human resource development strategy must be developed particularly targeting youth and women leadership, including the mapping of possible career paths and the advancement of transformation of gender relations.
- 26. Special attention should be paid to the Youth and Women's League to support their human resource development strategies and assist cadres coming through the ranks of the Leagues with career-pathing.
- 27. At all times, we must ensue an approach where we broaden the pool of cadres who have an understanding of the policies of the movement and the necessary experience and skills to be able to execute these policies effectively, wherever they are deployed.

Co-ordination

28. The overall strategic objectives of the Movement and the strategic role of each centre of authority and responsibility should guide the process of



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accountability, supervision and co-ordination in the overall National Democratic Revolution.

- 29. The Movement and its constitutional structures therefore remain the main centres of power, which should drive the process of transformation in all centres of authority and responsibility.
- 30. The NEC subcommittees should ensure that comrades who are deployed in a particular centre of authority and responsibility are encouraged to network and to share information and experience. This should be done in a manner which does not undermine the formal structures in the area of deployment nor should it be too hierarchical.
- 31. It is also imperative that Directors General and Deputy Directors
 General should have regular forums to share information and
 discussion in key strategic issues. Similar forums should be established
 by leading comrades in the private sector, in the parastatals,
 independent agencies and other structures.
- 32. This arrangement should not necessarily interfere with the operational autonomy of these centres of power, but is aimed to ensure that what is happening there is in line with and informed by the Movement's policies and strategic direction.
- 33. Ministers should ensure a collective approach by involving their colleagues in Cabinet, especially with regard to policy matters. The Office of the President and the Cabinet secretariat in particular should be seen as another key area of co-ordination and the driving of integrated and streamlined policies. It should thus be seen as another key area for deployment.

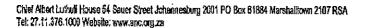
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- 34. The President in the next term post 1999 must ensure that she or he stamps authority on Cabinet Ministers, ensuring co-ordination and authority. The National Executive Committee of the ANC should review the overall work of Cabinet in relation to our transformation agenda.
- 35. The monthly ANC Cabinet caucuses and the preparations for national caucuses should be restructured to ensure strategic discussion and ongoing evaluation and monitoring of our transformation agenda.

Organisational culture of the movement

- 36. Our cadres deployed in whatever centre should take with them the qualities and attributes that we hold dear as a Movement. This includes putting service to the people, an ethic of work and selflessness, respect for the senior structures and cadres of the Movement, responsiveness to the needs of the people and a collective approach to matters.
- 37. In our deployment we should consciously strive to dispel the notion that we have become a Movement and a leadership which is distanced from the people whom we have served in our long struggle for liberation. We must be true to our tradition of putting the interests of our people and our country first.

Guidelines on the relationship between constitutional structures of the movement and government executives

- 38. The relationship between structures of the Movement and of government has been amongst some of the difficult issues that we have faced since our ascendency to power in 1994.
- 39. While the relationship between these two structures is often best worked out in practice and convention, some guidelines are necessary to help

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guide the organisation. We need to ensure an understanding, in theory and practice, that government implements the mandate of the organisation and is accountable to the political structures as well as to the public based on the electoral platform of the Movement.

- 40. Policy directions of government emanate from the organisation as resolved at the National Conference. Where there is a need to change or modify existing policy precipitated by prevailing conditions in the country at the time or as a result of practical experiences, such a change or modification must be discussed and approved by the relevant political structures. In such instances the President or Premier would make a recommendation to the political structures for discussion and final decision.
- 41. The President, Premier and members of the Executive must provide regular reports to the political structures and explain how the policies of the organisation are being implemented, monitored and evaluated by government. In other words, the political structures do not deal with the day-to-day affairs of government unless there is an extraordinary situation that requires political advice or decision by political structures.
- 42. With regard to government appointments, the collective approach reflected in the deployment guidelines adopted by the National Executive Committee between 22 and 24 January 1999 should be followed. This approach will help to deal with the tensions that usually arise between the two structures, particularly if there is a feeling by some in the organisation that some people have been excluded or that an individual who has no political support in the structures has been appointed to the National Executive.





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- 43. Some of the situations and practices to avoid would be:-
 - 43.1 Allowing political structures to constantly interfere in the running of government and seeking to replace Executive structures of government;
 - 43.2 Allowing government to change or modify policies without consulting the political structures;
 - 43.3 Involving political structures in legalistic or technical debates, for example details of legislation;
 - 43.4 Allowing government structures to utilise political structures as a rubber stamp to mobilise authority for decisions which have not been debated in the movement especially highly contentious ones that are seen to signal a change in policy or direction of the organisation.
 - 43.5 Allowing demagoguery and populism to prevail where the political structures or individuals in them are at loggerheads with the Executive or its members.
 - 43.6 Allowing political debates of a sensitive or strategic nature to be conducted outside the political and government structures, for example in the press, through avoiding the debates in the political structures.
 - 43.7 Above all, political structures should ensure that political conduct, inside and outside government, is conducted in the tradition of the Movement, which is about allowing open debate coupled with decisive action, democracy, delegation of authority and power, and remaining true to the aims and objectives of the National Democratic Revolution.
- 44. At the 52nd National Conference in Polokwane in 2007, the ANC adopted a resolution mandating the leadership to ensure the implementation of the 1997 resolution on deployment and to strengthen the national deployment committee.

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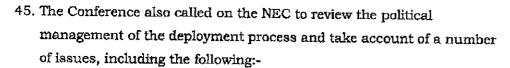
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Strategic Centres of Deployment

- 46. The Strategy and Tactics document identifies the following centres as pivotal to national democratic transformation:
 - 46.1 The State;
 - 46.2 The Economy;
 - 46.3 Organisational Work;
 - 46.4 Ideological Struggle; and
 - 46.5 International Work.
- 47. Deployment within each of the five pillars requires its own set of strategic discussions. For example, within the state sector, what principles should inform the deployment of cadres to institutions with judicial or investigative functions, and how should cadres deployed to perform such functions relate to the organisation. Within the 'economy' the potential for cadres to accumulate capital in their personal capacities is manifest. Should such capital accumulated by deployed cadres be regarded as under the command and control of the Movement and, if so, how?

Deployment and remuneration

48. How should our deployment strategy manage the reality that remuneration in a capitalist society is often determined by market forces? In other words, it may make perfect sense for a particular cadre to occupy a strategic position within the state, but such a cadre may already be engaged in activity elsewhere in society that generates greater pecuniary reward than that offered by the state. This poses significant



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and complex challenges for deployment strategy in a capital society.

The composition of deployment structures

49. What should be the composition of the deployment committee? In this regard the possibility of conflict of interest is of prime importance. Simply put, the potential for NEC members to have political or other interests in the deployment of particular cadres to particular positions cannot be ruled out. In this context, the NEC would need to consider whether the deployment structures should not be composed of veterans without a direct interest in the outcomes of the deployment committee's deliberations. This is especially important in the context of the Mafikeng resolution's conclusion that 'breach of policy shall constitute a serious offence'.

Linkage to broader cadre deployment programmes

50. In more general terms, we would need to give attention to the question of how we link our deployment strategy to a broader set of principles and programmes that inform our cadre deployment strategy. It cannot be assumed that, after many years of a weak and inconsistent approach to deployment and cadre development, we do indeed possess an army of conscious and politically-trained cadres, able to carry out the strategies of the Movement in different centres.

Organisational Renewal

51. The resolution of the 52nd National Conference on Organisational Renewal instructed the incoming NEC to review the political management of the deployment process and ensure the implementation of the 1997 Resolution on Deployment, with a view to strengthening collective decision-making and consultation on deployment of cadres to senior positions of authority. This includes strengthening the National



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Deployment Committee.

- 52. The implementation of this resolution requires more than simply establishing an appropriate structure. It also requires, as a matter of urgency, that the NEC conducts a thorough political discussion which reviews the ANC's overall approach to cadre policy and deployment strategy.
- 53. A deployment strategy must provide broad guidelines for deployment of ANC cadres to all areas which the Movement crucial for the transformation project. The deployment strategy will ensure that the Movement deploys its cadres in accordance with their knowledge, skills, ability and experience.
- 54. The NEC was called to implement on the assumption that the ANC has at its disposal 'an army of conscious, committed and properly deployed cadres'. In this context, the resolution notes that 'our Cadre Policy and Deployment Strategy should directly relate to the National Democratic tasks as set out in our Strategy and Tactics document and should actively contribute to the building of strong structures and programmes'.
- 55. In preparation for local government elections, the ANC has an extensive guideline for the selection of candidates to be councillors, *inter alia*, the involvement of communities in the selection process.
- 56. Guidelines of ANC deployment policy were revised by the National Working Committee in June 2009. These included:-
 - 56.1 Cadres of the ANC should be ready to be deployed where the Movement deemed it necessary to deploy them;
 - 56.2 The ANC should look critically at the calibre of candidates that it will field for the 2011 local government elections, as that will determine the organisation's performance.

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- 56.3 Deployees of the ANC should always be loyal to the organisation;
- 56.4 The ANC should set clear standards to guide its deployees who are deployed at all levels and structures of government which should apply to everyone without exception.
- 56.5 Comrades who are deployed in cabinet should not staff their offices along tribal or racial lines.
- 56.6 The deployment process is not an easy process and is open for improvement.
- 57. In its report to the NEC meeting between 17 and 19 July 2009, the NWC raised and discussed the issue of the principles that informed deployment and the rights of cadres in the exercise of deployment. This discussion emerged in the context of the NEC having identified the need to strengthen the operational capacity of the head office and provinces.
- 58. At the meeting it was decided that political considerations for deployment should be located within the overall objectives of the Movement and that strong leadership of NEC members were needed to be deployed in the following areas:-
 - 58.1 Organisation building and campaigns;
 - 58.2 Policy development and coordination which will be housed in the Policy Institute;
 - 58.3 Communication
 - 58.4 International Relations
 - 58.5 Political education
 - 58.6 The Presidency.
- 59. At a NWC meeting in August 2009 the ANC tabled its draft policy on declaration of interest to ensure that there is objectivity in decisionmaking at all levels of the organisation in the best interest of the organisation.
- 60. The ANC's range of national and regional deployment committees ebbed and flowed over time as the movement battled intra-organisation positioning, optimisation of state governance, factionalism, careerism,

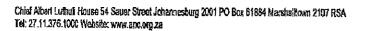
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opportunism, desperation for employment, and the organisational dilemmas of having to act against corrupt comrades.

61. The national deployment committee consists of 15 members, primarily from the National Executive Committee, and is chaired by the Deputy President of the ANC, comrade David Mabuza.

Cadre development

- 62. In April 2013 the ANC developed its conceptual position on an ANC Political School and Cadre Development.
- 63. The purpose of the political school is to conduct compulsory education for all elected leadership structures.
- 64. The overall vision is to provide a forum for collective learning though which members share experiences, learn from each other, assess the world around us and the challenges we face as a Movement and empower each other.
- 65. More specifically the objectives are:-
 - 65.1 To provides resources, trainer-training and learning material for broader cadreship development and political education activities in the ANC and democratic Movement with the aim of re-building a culture of mass political education;
 - 65.2 Develop middle-layer leaders who will be equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills to consolidate the ANC as a mass-based democratic Movement which must function as both liberation Movement and ruling party with the maximum and effective participation of members for the transformation of
 - 65.3 Develop the capabilities of cadres to undertake the tasks to which

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- they are deployed and develop the cades of cadres to support specific ANC campaigns and policy interventions.
- 65.4 Recognise the potential and aptitude amongst middle layer leadership and from which more senior positions and deployments should be filled.
- 65.5 Develop linkages with tertiary education institutions and funding agencies in South Africa and abroad with a view to placing ANC cadres with potential.
- 65.6 Provide training and resources for progressive parties outside Africa, especially on the African continent.
- 66. The course content and curriculum includes:-
 - 66.1 Ideological development and political consciousness;
 - 66.2 Policy analysis and public management;
 - 66.3 Organisational, technical and party building skills;
 - 66.4 Development and community outreach work in practice.
- 67. In 2018 President Cyril Ramaphosa launched the OR Tambo Policy Leadership Institute and Dr David Masondo was appointed as the Principal.

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