THE INTERFACE BETWEEN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ALLIANCE POLITICS

THE ANC-SACP-COSATU DIALOGUE IN SOUTH AFRICA

By

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DEDICATION

To my wife, Lucinda, son, Joshua and daughter, Priyah. Your steadfast support and patience have inspired me to achieve this.

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ABSTRACT

After three hundred and forty-two years of colonialism and apartheid, South Africans of all walks of life experienced their first democratic elections in 1994. Now, as the country is at the precipice of the 5th democratic elections, it has known no government other than the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC has had landslide victories at the ballot box and always managed to secure an electoral vote of around 66%. These victories have not been by accident and have been carefully managed through an **Alliance Pact** with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The nature of the **Alliance** has infiltrated and influenced the character of contemporary South African public administration.

This study postulates vigorously that an alliance is not a coalition, but rather a partnership of ideological semblance and political decorum. This is most significantly expressed through the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The study further elucidates the notion that the NDR remains the main political artery of the ANC and is seminal in the policy debates and critical platforms for each of the **Alliance Partners.**

The study affirms that irrespective of this convergence of ideology, there is periodic divergence on the leadership role of the ANC viz a viz that of the **Alliance** as the strategic centre for policy and governance issues. However, the ANC has over the years successfully challenged this assertion and through practice, led the **Alliance** in a politically driven manner that is predicated on consultation, due diligence and functional purpose. However, any member of the

SACP or COSATU who desires to be part of parliament or the executive is required to be a member of the ANC. This, the study asserts, is the new formation of a political partnership. The study adumbrates that the SACP (even though it is registered as a political party with the Independent Electoral Commission) and COSATU do not contest elections separately. As part of the agreement, only the ANC contests elections and as such leads the **Alliance**. While COSATU and the SACP provide advice through Alliance structures on the deployment of cadres in the public service, the deployment committee is an ANC structure and the final decisions in regard to deployment resides with the ANC. This study has reinterpreted the dialogue within the **Tripartite Alliance** and how this has moulded the political nomenclature of the ANC, and the solidified impact on the way in which public administration is affected and effected in South Africa and vice versa. The study presents with equanimity how the practice, for example, of dual membership of two political organisations (ANC and SACP) enriches the public service and the policy-making process in a developmental state. It furthermore points to the imperative for a clear underlying ideology (as provided for through the NDR) and certainty as to who leads in such an arrangement.

This study finds that it is through the **Alliance** structures that individual leaders within the Governing Party (ANC) are held to account for their actions – and after a hundred years of existence, the ANC and **Alliance** structures have managed to address the challenges of time, the pressures of political stress and the coalition of a "broad-based political church". The logic of maintaining this *political marriage* and developmental triangulation, and also interpreting the essence of consolidating *party manifestos* to its membership, and further to preserving

democratic principles, while at the same time translating this into the action of good governance in South Africa, is complex, yet manageable.

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby state that this is my original work in both form and content, and that I have duly acknowledged the work of other authors wherever I have referred to it.

Jody P. Cedras

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Signed: ……………………………………………

Date: …………………………………………….

ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
ANCVL	African National Congress Veterans League
ANCWL	African National Congress Womens League
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ARV	Anti-retrovirals
ASGISA	Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative – South Africa
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CC	Central Committee
CEC	Central Executive Committee
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CEPPWAWU	Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COPE	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
CST	Colonialism of a Special Type
CWU	Communications Workers Union
CWUSA	Creative Workers Union of South Africa
DA	Democratic Alliance
DENOSA	Democratic Nurses Organisation of South Africa
DFI	Development Funding Institution
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth, Economic and Redistribution Programme

GNU	Government of National Unity
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IANSA	International Action Network on Small Arms
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
JIPSA	Joint Implementation Programme for South Africa
LEC	Local Executive Committee
MP	Member of Parliament
MWP	Mass Workers' Party
MTV	Medium Term Vision
NC	National Conference
NDP	National Development Plan
NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NEHAWU	National Education Health and Allied Workers Union
NGC	National General Council
NGP	New Growth Path
NHI	National Health Insurance
NOB	National Office Bearer
NP	National Party
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
NPC	National Planning Commission
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
NWC	National Working Committee
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress

PAWUSA	Public and Allied Workers Union of South Africa
PB	Political Bureau
PC	Provincial Congress
PEC	Provincial Executive Committee
POSIB	Protection of State Information Bill
POPCRU	Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACCAWU	South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SACTWU	South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union
SADNU	South African Democratic Nurses' Union
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers' Workers Union
SADWU	South African Domestic Workers Union
SAFPU	South African Football Players' Union
SAMA	South African Medical Association
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers Union
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SANDU	South African National Defence Union
SASAWU	South African State and Allied Workers Union
SASBO	South Africa Society of Bank Officials
SASFU	South African Security Forces Union
SATAWU	South Africa Transport and Allied Workers Union
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise
SSC	Shop Steward Council
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
UDF	United Democratic Front

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PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ALLIANCE POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO THE ANC-COSATU-SACP ALLIANCE

1.1   Introduction

For a better understanding of the contemporary political dynamics in South Africa, it is imperative to assess the major force shaping society through its policies and practices; the Tripartite Alliance. The Alliance between the leading South African liberation entities – the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), with the latter being officially succeeded by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in the early 1990s – has been in existence for many decades. Professor Raymond Suttner, an academic and former anti-apartheid activist, described the Alliance as "without precedent on the African continent and with few parallels elsewhere in the world" (Suttner, 2001). The very nature of this Alliance is many times lost and forgotten as observation and analyses tend to occur through the prism of personalities.

Whilst Africa might have had collaboration between political parties and labour formations, the Alliance in South Africa is a unique political construct. In fact, the paradox of a workers' movement ferociously criticising the ANC government, including resorting to mass action at times whilst simultaneously insisting that the interests of the working class, and by extension democracy itself, can only be

served through the continued alliance with the ruling party, is incomprehensible to many.

Through the Harare Declaration of 1989, a document supported by the United Nations, the ANC not only assumed the high moral ground in negotiations regarding the future of South Africa, but it also ensured that the Alliance of the liberation movement would be a prominent feature in any future South African society. It is noteworthy that in the absence of this strategic document, the probability that the Tripartite Alliance would have been marginalised is quite high.

The dismantling of apartheid, the unbanning of liberation formations and the release of political prisoners at the start of the 1990's ushered a new framework and paradigm for how the Alliance would relate to one another in a post-liberated South Africa and, again when the leading partner of the Alliance became the government in 1994.

This study will critically assess the relationship between the three main partners of the Alliance – the ANC, SACP and COSATU – and more specifically the impact of this partnership on the administrative capacity of the public service in the recent years of democracy since 1994. The dialogue between the Alliance partners is a continuum and this study will analyse in what way the political dialogue is shaping the business of government that is South Africa's public administration.

For the purpose of this study, the historical impact of the Alliance will be divided into five distinct epochs or eras, namely the period before 1990, between 1990

and 1994, from 1994 to 1999, 1999 to 2004 and 2004 to 2012. While the focus of this research is limited to the period 1994 – 2012, it is vital for critical assessment to take into account the prior historical configuration including the inception of the ANC and the formation of the Alliance.

1.2   Fighting for Freedom: The Period Before 1990

The South African labour movement can be described as having been shaped by three distinct political traditions. This, to various degrees, influenced how labour related to the national liberation struggle. The political traditions are categorised as the national democratic tradition (since the 1950's), the shop-floor tradition (mainly in the 1970's and early 1980's, prior to the formation of COSATU) and the black consciousness tradition (also from the 1970's and primarily driven by the Black Consciousness Movement and the Pan Africanist Congress).

The primary imperative for the national liberation struggle in the South African context had to do with the acquisition of equal rights between the different races in the country. Historically, the races were categorised into four main groups, namely African (Black), Coloured (Mixed), Indian and White and state resources were allocated accordingly, with Whites enjoying a privileged position in this hierarchy of benefits. This racial categorisation resulted in the inequitable distribution of state resources, including access to employment opportunities, training programmes, land and property ownership. Africans, Coloureds and Indians experienced these discriminatory practices under colonial rule, which was later intensified under the apartheid regime.

From the 1940's, but more intense in the years following 1960, the ANC relied heavily on the SACP to infuse new life into the liberation struggle. This resulted in the ANC adopting a worldview, philosophy, and style characteristic of the Communist Party. Whereas the Alliance between the ANC and the SACP involved some intellectual compromise on both sides, they managed the relationship in such a way that neither organisation was swallowed by the other.

It can be assumed that when COSATU formally allied with the ANC in 1985, its leaders would probably have expected to have a similar influence as that of the SACP, on the ANC. Initially they were not disappointed. This was especially more evident after the United Democratic Front's (UDF) banning in 1986, when the ANC relied on the militants in COSATU to continue mass action against apartheid within the borders South Africa. COSATU also offered the ANC a platform to address mass meetings under the guise of industrial action. In return, the ANC adopted the language and rhetoric of COSATU, particularly with respect to its vision of socialism and its plans to reform the South African economy. This collaboration was not difficult as both groups had economic policies which principally agreed on the broad direction in which South Africa should move. It was during the latter half of the 1980s and the first years of COSATU (formed in 1985) that the two organisations worked in relative harmony. What is significant is that during this time COSATU's financial and organisational autonomy did not pose much of a threat to the ANC who had to operate from abroad. Under these circumstances, an organisation that could run itself independently was actually a useful and strategic asset to the ANC.

The nature of COSATU and its policies brought it in direct conflict with the repressive government of the day. One can argue that it was inevitable for COSATU to take the lead towards broader social transformation given the fact that liberation organisations like the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were in exile. COSATU was founded on three important pillars: Firstly, it had to organise the marginalised workers, the second pillar pointed to the fight for the improvement of the material conditions of its members in particular, and workers generally, and thirdly to make sure that workers were maximally involved in the national democratic struggle (Baskin, 1991:3). Political involvement was an unavoidable consequence for COSATU in that its members experienced the brunt of apartheid policies and practices. They have been the ones exposed to and who experienced starvation wages, poverty, imprisonment, racism in the workplace (and outside), repression and even death. Cedras (1998) argues that for a worker in South Africa, it was virtually impossible to separate workers' issues from what was happening in the political space. Race and class were inseparable concepts. COSATU primarily organised along the Congress tradition of non-racialism whilst it embraced a socialist agenda as a result of its commitment to workers' rights and issues. What this meant to the union member, was a fight for the abolition of apartheid whilst deconstructing capitalism as the two were seen as one and the same phenomenon (Ncube, 1985:149). The borderline between industrial and political power was very thin and many a time obscured, largely because Black workers continued to remain voteless or disenfranchised and landless in the country of their birth.

The very formation of the federation (COSATU) and the ideals it stood for, inspired workers and gave them confidence in their power. In 1986, COSATU called for a national massive strike wave. The strike actions engineered by COSATU in 1986 were often of a political nature or linked to events in the neighbouring townships and were largely, though not entirely, over non-wage issues (Baskin, 1991:78). The strike weapon which was initially intended for industrial usage in classical trade unionism became very useful in the political struggle of the Black South African worker. At this stage, the concept of Black came to be understood as being inclusive of the racial categories of African, Coloured and Indian.

In February 1986, the Central Executive Committee of COSATU resolved that:

(i) COSATU would be politically active and

(ii) COSATU would work in alliance with other organisations (Baskin, 1991:92).

This resolution was however very vague and open to criticism. For example, who should COSATU ally with and what would be the basis of such alliances? The federation conceded that alliances should only be formed with "progressive" organisations, a reference to organisations with a pro-ANC/UDF outlook, and subject to those organisations' interests being compatible with the interests of workers and only where their organisational practices furthered the interests of the working class (Baskin, 1991:93). Central to the federation's political goals was the struggle for a non-racial and democratic society coupled with its struggle against economic exploitation.

In the formative years, two schools of thought were dominant within COSATU: the populists and the workerists. For the populists, racial oppression was the central contradiction within society. Class differences were devalued and seen as less important. The struggle was seen as being against apartheid oppressors from beginning to end. The anti-apartheid unity required the unification of all classes and sectors oppressed by the apartheid regime. Only once apartheid was eliminated, could the working class fight for a socialist future. This tradition was strongly associated with the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the predecessor to COSATU. Workerists, on the other hand, viewed racism and apartheid as a mask concealing capitalist exploitation. Under this ideology, the ruling class used racism and apartheid as a means to enhance the division and exploitation of the working class. Workerists believed that the working class alone, on an anti-racist and socialist programme, could bring about real change. Where the working-class collaborate with other class formations, it risks compromising its objectives. Workerists did not rule out class alliances in principle, but they tended to underestimate other classes or viewed them with suspicion. The two positions re-emphasised the two-tiered face of the struggle: race and class. The SACP defined this particular struggle as Colonialism of a Special Type (CST). The Workerist position also juxtaposed it against the SACP for example and proponents of workerism are often at the forefront of advocating for a Mass Workers' Party (MWP) which is led by workers.

State repression can serve as a catalyst for the politicisation of trade unions. It can, in a subtler way, give the initiative within the labour movement to political

parties, which were created specifically to act in politics and which could best develop the ideological basis of resistance to unjust authority. The existence of a repressive state apparatus shaped the priorities of labour away from short-term amelioration in the labour market towards larger party-political tasks of gaining the basic right of political and economic citizenship (Marks, 1989:15). This is exactly what transpired under apartheid South Africa. COSATU, operating within the state, became the organ and mouthpiece of the liberation movement who was in exile. The federation schooled and grounded its members and the broader community in political ideology through various activities such as consumer boycotts. The issue for COSATU was not merely one of labour, but there was a direct causal connect with transforming the social structure of South African society. Even the word "Congress" within COSATU's name identified it ideologically with the Congress tradition of the ANC (Baskin, 1991:51). Politically, COSATU was engaging the same path as the earlier SACTU albeit along different strategic routes. COSATU had a stronger emphasis on, and jealousy for guarding, its independence and identity as a worker organisation. Through this tactical approach, it did not allow itself to be consumed by the political organisations, either the ANC or SACP, but instead determined its own political discourse.

The SACP's contribution to the Alliance for the period prior to 1990, related largely to its intellectual contribution and ideological persuasion. Opportunities to study for those in exile mainly came from the communist and socialist bloc of nations. The SACP's connections with the communist nations gave it something

of an elitist status within the Alliance. This is not to dismiss the invaluable contributions made by communist leaders such as Moses Kotane and Chris Hani within SACTU and the ANC. This perceived status of the SACP during the exile years led to it having substantive influence over the ANC. The phenomenon of "overlapping" or "dual" membership between the two political organisations assisted the SACP in influencing the ANC. Ideological convergence between the ANC and SACP happened in great depth during the exile years. The phenomenon of overlapping membership between political parties such as the ANC and SACP can also be described as "formalised contradiction".

1.3   Negotiating Democracy: 1990 to 1994

In 1990, FW De Klerk unbanned the ANC and SACP together with other previously banned organisations. The relationship between an independent and autonomous COSATU and the ANC, who was considered the main liberator, was put under strain. Where, during the 1980s, the "activists in the labour movement and the civics were de facto leaders of the internal democratic movement," after 1990 the ANC began to "reassert its hegemony as the political leader of the anti-apartheid movement…." (Ginsberg, Webster, et al, 1995:7). The ANC was now ushered into the position where it "had to transform itself from an exiled South African liberation movement into a negotiation partner and government-in-waiting. This brought enormous changes on the organisation and its policies" (Nattrass, 1994: 343). The ANC's narrative for national liberation became null and void with the collapse of Soviet communism (a benefactor of the ANC during liberation) in 1989 and it had to rebuild its rationale and strategy for national

liberation. The collapse of Soviet communism also led to ideological confusion for the SACP. What did national liberation mean in the post-Soviet communism era? Following the collapse of Soviet communism in 1989, new ideas came from an unexpected quarter: international capitalism. Western European states offered the ANC models of liberal democracy and parliamentary forms of democratic governance as it prepared itself for government. The ANC began its long ascent to power after a decade in which most political scientists had concluded that, first, the most important task of new democracies was maintaining economic stability after the excesses of dictatorship; and second, that the exigencies of maintaining economic stability included restrictions on the concessions to popular demands usually associated with new democracies (Koelble, 1999: 41-45). The ANC which returned from exile with the shifting ideological paradigm placed COSATU in a very uncomfortable situation. The labour movement was now faced with an ANC that could not absorb the economic advice of the Western powers without accepting the political framework in which they implemented those policies— and that framework did not contain worker control of industry or complete/full worker participation in government. This posed a political dilemma to COSATU.

For many COSATU leaders, the first indication that something was not quite right in the transition came when COSATU was denied membership in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) at the end of 1991. The National Party (NP) government rejected COSATU's application "and presumably the ANC did not oppose the NP" (Webster, 1998: 48). Ultimately, only political parties were represented in CODESA. However, COSATU was in a position to participate

indirectly because of its alliance with the ANC and SACP. "From this point, political parties — not the civil society organisations that were the backbone of the 1980s insurrection…were to be at the center of the transition" (Webster, 1998: 48). For the first time since its association with the ANC and SACP, COSATU was treated like a junior partner to the ANC and the relatively smaller SACP.

During the 1990-1994 period, COSATU remained a force of the left and was neither demobilised nor tamed. Its ability to mobilise mass support for the ANC's position during the negotiations was critical.

In 1990, the trade unions won a major concession from the NP government in the form of the Laboria Minute, "a document that committed the state to submit all future labour laws to employer and union federations before tabling the legislation in parliament." The Laboria Minute "helped to establish a mechanism through which organized interests could directly participate in policy decisions affecting them" (Hirschsohn, 1996:143). COSATU's organisational capacity was deployed quite effectively during the transition period when in 1992, "rolling mass action" by COSATU members broke a major deadlock in the CODESA negotiations (Adam et al, 1998: 149). Yet, the ANC's rapprochement with capitalism meant that COSATU lost any real hope of furthering direct worker control of industry, one of its major ideological principles.

Some would argue that the ANC considered COSATU's main purpose in the new South Africa as mobilising workers in support of the ANC's reconstruction policies (Webster and Adler, 1995:89). This assumption reflects a peculiar continuity

between the democratic centralism of the ANC in the 1980s and the liberal democracy of the ANC in the 1990s. Both ideological systems are premised on the notion that civil society organisations like trade unions exist to support and influence the process of government, and not to directly participate in it. The ANC's perceived conversion to capitalism drastically reshaped the party's economic philosophy, but left its theory of relation to the trade unions largely unchanged. When communism's collapse undermined the ANC's old rationale for rejecting participatory democracy, capitalism provided a new rationale.

The leadership of the ANC was strategic and tactical in their recognition of the trade union's desire for an active role in the new democracy. The ANC delegated to COSATU the responsibility of drafting the Alliance's post-transition economic program, the document that would eventually become the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP). Nelson Mandela promised union leaders substantive positions in the government of national unity (GNU). While the ANC reserved to parliament the ultimate say in economic policy, it endorsed the Laboria Minute and assured union leaders that it would support negotiated settlements between management and labour (Hirschsohn, 1996:144-145).

COSATU interpreted these promises from the ANC as signs that the ANC would continue to work with the trade unions to construct, at the very least, a mixed economy. It needed this narrative as it tried to preserve its platform despite the transformation of its closest ally's views. While COSATU had to abandon the prospect of worker control in the early 1990s, the emphasis of the ANC on the RDP and its endorsement of corporatist bargaining suggested that it would still

countenance labour participation in the creation of government economic policy. It is not surprising, therefore, that between the signing of the Laboria Minute in 1990 and the inauguration of the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) in 1995, COSATU's leaders reconciled themselves to joining the government and working through corporatist structures. With the prospect of a sympathetic government, corporatism seemed less like a gilded cage and more like a natural evolution aligned to COSATU's mission, which reads:

> "to protect worker interests and advance their rights…[by building] large broadly based industrial unions capable of dealing with the highly centralized structures of capital…[and] to formulate clear policies as to how the economy would be restructured in the interests of the working class and to work towards this restructuring" (Hirschsohn, 1996:144-145).

The unions' successful bargaining with the NP government on the Laboria Minute, their mobilization in favour of the ANC during CODESA and other campaigns, including their general strike against the Value-Added Tax, had convinced them that they could substantively influence government policy (Webster and Adler, 1995: 93). These factors contributed to the confidence in 1994 of trade union leaders who thought that they could represent the interests of their rank-and-file while participating in national government. All indications were that the ANC appeared committed not only to consulting the union movement on economic policy, but also with entrusting union leaders with implementing the government's plan for economic restructuring. Jay Naidoo, former secretary-

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general of COSATU, was appointed Minister responsible for the RDP in Mandela's cabinet.

Despite the public images of harmony, tensions between the ANC and COSATU remained. When the ANC in 1993 attempted to affect revisions of the RDP to reassure investors, it provoked an outcry among COSATU leaders (Nattrass, 1994: 359). Even as the ANC worked to assure investors that it would maintain a friendly economic climate, it had to reassure the federation that it would be an important partner in the new government. In this context, the decisions of COSATU leaders to leave the unions for government—what Webster terms the "exodus without a map"— and to focus their efforts on national-level bargaining forums made more sense.

Yet the ANC never really adopted COSATU's view of the democratic process. While it used the union's mobilizing power in the struggle of the 1980s and the transition of the early 1990s, it actually adopted the economic philosophy of the trade union federation's class enemies. The key point emphasized here is that that economic philosophy has a concomitant political philosophy, one that assumes that groups like unions are supposed to be observers or pressure groups, and not direct participants, in the democratic process. COSATU's leaders, acting under the assumption that the ANC still accorded a substantive role to the trade unions, entered government without ensuring that links back to the union movement could be preserved independently of government support. When ANC policy began to turn against the unions after 1994, the federation was left without a coherent philosophy of its own to counter the ANC's assertions that

the unions needed to bend before the inexorable forces of liberalization and globalization. It remains debatable whether COSATU had ultimately made the same mistake SACTU had decades before, in that it had yoked its cart to the ANC, which turned out to be a very fickle beast.

1.4   Democracy at Last: 1994 to 1999

On 27 April 1994, COSATU members had every reason to believe that "their" government would improve the lot of workers and their families and communities. The ANC's electoral platform, the RDP, had after all been developed in close cooperation with COSATU.

Yet, even early on there were clear signs that workers would not be as well served by the new government as they and their leadership had anticipated. COSATU and key affiliates objected to a number of government policy initiatives such as tariff reduction, high interest rates, privatization, public sector lay-offs and the failure to make centralized bargaining compulsory. More generally, there were indications that it was to business leaders and opinion makers, not workers that the government looked for support and legitimacy. Creating an attractive investment climate (even if also in the "interests of workers" in a capitalist context insofar as it led to jobs) trumped worker demands for democratization and redress whenever the two were judged to diverge.

Still, the most dramatic sign that COSATU's expectations would not be met was the June 1996 announcement of the government's *Growth, Employment and Redistribution* strategy, GEAR, made without prior consultation with its Alliance

partners. The announcement severely tested the relationship between the ANC, particularly the Cabinet, and COSATU.

At first, COSATU signalled its intention to debate the economic strategy but ANC ministers quickly made it clear that GEAR was government policy and "non-negotiable." Meanwhile, a close examination of its main tenets raised serious concerns about GEAR's content as well as the process of arriving at it. Such concerns led regional activists to push COSATU's Central Executive Committee to publicly oppose large sections of the program. By November 1996, things seemed to point towards the possibility of a decisive and irreversible rupture.

In an effort to try to reassert some influence over ANC policy, yet avoid an open rift, the COSATU Executive produced a *Draft Programme for the Alliance* that criticized both content and process in the development of GEAR. The *Draft Programme* proposed a new accord to bind Alliance members to a common agenda. The substance of that agenda, as suggested by COSATU, centred on state provision of basic goods and services, social transfers, and land distribution that would also create jobs, raise income (including the social wage) and redistribute wealth. More extensive state regulation of the private sector would also translate into job creation and income distribution, it was argued.

A COSATU-SACP meeting in December 1996 agreed that major policies had to be made or, at least, debated within Alliance structures rather than solely in the Cabinet. On this basis, the ANC was brought into a series of discussions that culminated in an Alliance Summit in August 1997.

Needless to say, there were potential benefits in meeting to discuss policy and process with other Alliance partners for the ANC as well. It was an opportunity to remind the SACP and COSATU of the importance of smoothing over differences in the run-up to the COSATU Congress, the ANC Conference and the 1999 elections. The ANC leadership did not want the party's commitment to the GEAR program to be debated extensively on the floor of the ANC Conference in 1997, nor to come to a vote, if that was likely to lead to an irreconcilable rift. Some within the ANC leadership also saw the meeting as an opportunity to "educate" COSATU and SACP critics on the merits of GEAR.

It was clear, in any case, that by the time the ANC, SACP and COSATU delegates met in late August 1997 the COSATU leadership itself felt a stronger commitment to the Alliance than it did in pushing a new policy agenda in the ANC. In fact, the meeting resolved little by way of policy disagreements, although all three partners committed themselves to work towards consolidating a common Alliance platform at their forthcoming national conferences and congresses. Thus the August 1997 meeting cleared the way for the upcoming COSATU Congress (September 1997) and the ANC Conference (December 1997) to present a common commitment to the Alliance, yet without a consensus on the ANC's economic programme.

In order to facilitate this renewed commitment to the Alliance, there was some appearance of movement on GEAR, in the form of the statement that "any macroeconomic policy is not cast in stone." The Alliance partners agreed to strengthen internal policy and communications structures as well. But even with

agreement reached on a process whereby disagreements over GEAR and other economic policies could be discussed within the Alliance, there was little indication of a rapprochement over the content of the policies.

On the one hand, the compromise position on the government's macro-economic programme allowed the status quo - GEAR - to continue for the foreseeable future. Yet the meeting also revealed extensive disagreements among COSATU, the SACP and the ANC on the goal of socialism, the relationship between the state and capital, the limitations of the international context, and the role of "mass mobilization." After outlining a number of quite specific areas of fundamental disagreement about the implications of the GEAR's strict deficit reduction targets, high interest rates, options for financing the South African deficit, and a relatively liberal tariff and foreign exchange regime, the most that COSATU and other GEAR critics could get was an agreement that "[w]here Fiscal and Monetary policy undermine the RDP, it needs to be reviewed."

At the September 1997 COSATU Congress, GEAR continued to be unpopular. In his speech to the assembly, John Gomomo who was the COSATU president, described it as "the reverse gear of our society," and delegates sang *COSATU Asifuni Gear* (COSATU does not want GEAR) as Nelson Mandela, the then ANC president and state president, departed from the Congress after giving a speech that defended the program's content (albeit conceding that the process of introducing it had been inappropriate).

COSATU's opposition to GEAR was however not strong enough to lead the COSATU membership to make its participation in the Alliance conditional on the

ANC dropping the program. Two resolutions that might have led to this outcome were defeated at the Congress. Instead, the trade union federation decided to try quietly to encourage the ANC to reform GEAR.

As a result, in the months between the COSATU Congress and the ANC Conference, there was much back-room dealing to hammer out a more solid compromise position. But the only visible outcome was the ANC's economic policy report to the December 1997 Conference which emphasized the congruence between RDP and GEAR aims. GEAR, it suggested, was "the initiative to give effect to the realization of the RDP by the maintenance of macro balances"! Delegates unanimously approved the resolution that: "[t]he Conference endorses the basic objective of macro-economic stability and the GEAR provides the basis for achieving such stability," adding that "like other policies it will be monitored and adjusted as required by analysis through the policy processes adopted in this conference and in the Alliance Summit." Of course, this avoided the risky proposition of forcing a vote on the GEAR program itself.

Whatever expectations the COSATU membership may have had that some type of a deal had been struck that would begin to move the government away from the GEAR program, the COSATU Executive was forced to conclude in May 1998 that "this strategy is being implemented [o]n all fronts." COSATU then re-committed itself to mobilizing its members and other communities to resist GEAR, as had been agreed at the September 1997 COSATU Congress.

The first five years of democratic governance in South Africa was characterised by tensions that strained the Alliance. Notwithstanding the many gains during the first period of majority rule, the expectations of workers nonetheless have been seriously disappointed and frustrated by the ANC-in-government. To many looking in from the outside, it appeared that the Alliance was kept going by a serious commitment to it on the part of key COSATU leaders and in the absence of legitimate political alternatives. What made 1999 spectacular was that in spite of the strains of the previous five years, COSATU's approach to the 1999 elections was very similar to that of 1994.

In 1999, COSATU's support for the ANC's election bid went far beyond statements of support. COSATU dedicated a number of leaders, staff and shop-stewards to the ANC's electoral bid and even pledged that all COSATU and affiliate leaders would be made available to the ANC. The then-General Secretary of COSATU, Mbhazima (Sam) Shilowa, was mandated to coordinate the COSATU elections strategy on a full time basis. Union staff was deployed to support the ANC campaign on the ground, especially in Kwazulu-Natal, the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape where they attempted to counter the strength of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Party and the United Democratic Movement respectively.

The Central Executive Committee of COSATU "resolutely embraced" the ANC's Election Manifesto in 1999, claiming at the time that it "undoubtedly maintains the historic bias of the ANC to workers and the poor," and "creates the necessary socio-economic and political conditions for increased delivery of a better life for

all of our people." The Manifesto, it is worth noting, avoided mentioning by name the government's GEAR strategy - the source of many of the ANC-COSATU tensions since its adoption in 1996 - although it reiterated several of GEAR's major objectives.

COSATU's electoral strategy in support of the ANC's 1999 Election Manifesto shared a number of similarities with the 1994 electoral campaign. Once again, a large number of senior COSATU leaders left for Parliament. The belief that having ex-unionists in Parliament meant having allies in Parliament also seemed to have survived. In a February 1998 interview in the *South African Labour Bulletin*, Shilowa argued that, "although the ANC has the interest of workers at heart, it also represents other interests. If these other interests release people to go into government and we don't, we could find ourselves in a losing position."

Being "inside and outside the state" by placing sympathetic representatives in Parliament, however did not prove terribly effective during the first five years of democratic rule. *Realpolitik* dictated what transpired. Parliament failed to establish a "labour caucus" in the first Parliament, and some deployed trade unionists were actually accused of betraying the interests of workers. ANC Members of Parliament and particularly Cabinet Ministers have a formal obligation only to advancing the policies of the ANC. They have no obligation to support COSATU's program and would be constrained from doing so if the two were seen to be in conflict. Those who went to Parliament in 1999 would have served under similar conditions to those who went in 1994.

COSATU, in 1999, was again set to release a large number of its most senior and experienced leadership to Parliament, to government, and to the provincial legislatures. The loss of capacity in COSATU and the affiliates that followed the personnel drain in 1994 appeared destined to recur in 1999. It bears noting that those trade unionists who were "redeployed" to Parliament or to government departments after 1994 seldom returned to the union movement.

Despite the disappointments of the first five years of ANC rule, the Central Executive Committee of COSATU stated firmly in a pre-election pamphlet that "the question workers should ask themselves is - do you believe that any other political organisation will deliver better or more than the ANC has done in the last five years?" This unadulterated support for the ANC was surprising given COSATU's recent experience in the Alliance pact with the ANC.

This background merely makes it all the more striking that criticisms of GEAR and ANC policies became more muted as COSATU began, in ways outlined above, to prepare for the June 1999 elections, in favour of highlighting the achievements under the first five years of ANC government. "Workers have no intention of abandoning the only vehicle for real transformation - the ANC - in this election," announced the report from a February 1999 Executive meeting. "We seek instead to strengthen the ANC so as to continue in this historic path of transformation of the workplace."

1.5   Consolidating Democratic Gains: 1999 to 2004

Whatever the eventual substance of such promises, COSATU as an organisation went into the 1999 elections strongly touting the ANC - to the point of downplaying significantly the extent to which its policy aspirations were not met during the five years from 1994 to 1999. Yet, although the 1999 ANC *Election Manifesto* committed the party to further protecting worker rights, it was not clear that things were likely to improve in this respect once the new mandate had been secured at the ballot box. There were suggestions that the government indicated "that in its new term it will ease up on the newly introduced and restrictive labour legislation, one of business's main bugbears, [thus] demonstrating its (the ANC's) confidence that trade union militancy has peaked" (*Southscan*, April 16 1999). These indicators tallied with other statements by key ANC leaders signifying government's acceptance of the argument purported by business that recently won labour rights jeopardized job creation and its (ANC's) apparent willingness to battle COSATU head-on over such issues once the elections were over.

What was the impact of the choices that COSATU made in the lead up to the 1999 elections - unconditional electoral support for the ANC and the reassertion of a common agenda under Alliance control? In the pre-election season, COSATU continued to reaffirm that it would not be bound by ANC policies or positions but rather by its own program. Notwithstanding this, the continuing existence of significant underlying disagreements about the imperatives for transforming the South African economy and despite the efforts on the part of both the ANC and COSATU to forge common ground, it was expected that

tensions between the two organisations would re-emerge soon after the elections.

The events of 1998 and their aftermath consolidated the power of the Mbeki-led ANC leadership within both the ANC and the Alliance. As the ANC organisational machinery was intensified for the 1999 elections, Mbeki was more determined than ever to ensure conformity to his line, although, this time, he did not face a great deal of intra-Alliance opposition.

The leadership of both COSATU and the SACP dutifully marched to the set beat and cranked up their own organisational machines to support the ANC's electoral campaign. Disregarding recent economic policy developments, COSATU leaders told their members that the ANC's election manifesto "strongly reasserts the RDP as the basis for government policy" and that workers should accept, at face value, the ANC's promises to "elaborate a detailed programme with its allies" (COSATU, 1999; SACP, 1999).

To bolster what was fast becoming a highly effective strategy and tactics of organisational cooption and ideological amnesia, key leaders in COSATU and the SACP who had, rightly or wrongly, been considered "troublesome" were pulled onto the ANC electoral lists. A few weeks before the elections, COSATU's Sam (Mbhazima) Shilowa had been "redeployed" to become premier of Gauteng Province (where the ANC and Alliance had been experiencing serious divisions), prompting Shilowa to proclaim publicly that he would now become Mbeki's "yes-man" (Seepe, 5 May 1999).

Given that those (usually men) from COSATU and the SACP had to varying degrees over the previous years, been publicly at the forefront of much of the debate and opposition emanating from the ANC's "junior" Alliance partners, such moves were all the more significant. Each of them knew that he would now have to toe the ANC's political and economic line, a situation that was particularly important in the cases of Cronin (Deputy General-Secretary) and Nqakula (Chairperson), since they continued to be SACP office bearers. In the case of the latter two, it is instructive that there had been no real debate (at least not for the period 1999 to 2004) within the ranks of the SACP as to whether elected office bearers should be allowed to maintain their positions while simultaneously being elected and/or appointed ANC politicians. When the elections were over, four out of five of the SACP's national office bearers also held full-time positions as ANC politicians, with only the general secretary being a full-time SACP employee and not co-opted into a government position; at least for the period under discussion, 1999 to 2004 (the SACP has since then reviewed this deployment policy position which has enabled the current general secretary to serve as the Minister of Higher Education and Training in the Zuma Cabinet).

The "unity" of the Alliance was assuming a different meaning. Through a combination of political intimidation, ideological mysticism and co-option (more commonly referred to as "redeployment" in Alliance circles) of perceived ANC "lefties" and COSATU/SACP leaders into his governmental inner circle, Mbeki had largely succeeded in suppressing genuine intra-Alliance opposition and controlling the boundaries of debate. The ANC resoundingly won the June 1999

elections, proving, once again, the powerful effect of the "unity" of the political elite within the Alliance. What was made clear (if this had not already been the case for many cadres in the SACP and COSATU) was that any fundamental challenge to the ANC's program of liberal bourgeois democracy and de-racialised capitalism would most probably come only when its mass, left flank departed from the Alliance (a message put most directly to COSATU and the SACP in the lead up to the 51st ANC National Conference of 2002 in Stellenbosch). All of these contributed to the intense debates in the early 2000's about the formation of a MWP with COSATU as the nucleus.

With its post-electoral advantage, the ANC government adopted a tough "new" attitude in public sector wage talks with unions. Refusing to accede to the demands of the unions for an inflation-related increase, ANC minister of public service and administration and senior SACP leader at the time Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi said that employees who took time off work to participate in the recent strike will have their salaries trimmed accordingly (ANC, 1999).

Feeling under attack and recognising the need to marshal its forces to present a united front on the public sector wage disputes, COSATU called another special congress during late August 1999. As had become practice, COSATU invited both the ANC president and SACP general secretary to address the congress. If the union federation had been expecting a more conciliatory approach from its ANC ally, it received a rude wake-up call when Mbeki sent ANC national chairperson (and new minister of defence) "Terror" Lekota as the ANC representative to the congress with a clear instruction to give the workers the

correct line; meaning to ensure that COSATU fully understood that the ANC was the government, and not COSATU.

Lekota, who had previously been considered somewhat of a movement radical, and whose candidacy had been supported by COSATU and the SACP at the ANC National Conference in 1997 (Mafikeng), proceeded to tell COSATU that there was an "art of managing contradictions" and thus, "only consensus positions must be fed to the public" (echoing Mbeki's earlier, personal "reflections" on how to deal with internal alliance debate and opposition). Lekota went on to sternly warn COSATU that throwing "raw opinions" to the public would only "cause confusion and anarchy" and was "unacceptable" since this would "derail the revolution" (Lekota, 1999).

It thus came as no surprise when a few weeks later, the ANC government unilaterally implemented its public sector wage offer (in effect, undermining COSATU's cornerstone principle of collective wage bargaining). All COSATU could muster was to "express the hope that government would reopen negotiations" and a pledge to embark on a program of mass action over several months (Louw, 1999).

In the midst of these ANC tactics to further consolidate the ever narrowing "management of contradictions", the ANC-controlled Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council was implementing what the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU), a leading COSATU affiliate considered as an

unashamedly anti-worker, capitalist plan for the city (Igoli2002)[1], that would either privatise or corporatise most public entities and operations. While making spurious claims of intra-Alliance consultation and genuine negotiations with workers, the council had ridden roughshod over sustained opposition from SAMWU and the SACP's Johannesburg Central branch. Knowing full well that the Igoli2002 plan would be the model for all other major urban centres, and thus pose a serious threat to the interests of municipal workers, SAMWU president Petrus Mashishi publicly accused the council's ANC leadership of being a "small elite" that had made an art out of "telling lies" (Mashishi, 1999).

None of this deterred the ANC from its unilateral approach to deciding what was then debatable in its own structures and within the Alliance. When Trevor Ngwane, a popular ANC councillor in Soweto, publicly opposed the Igoli2002 plan (citing the RDP as his major reference point), he was promptly disciplined and suspended from the ANC for two years. Tellingly, both COSATU and the SACP leadership remained unpromisingly silent, sticking to their increasingly irrelevant calls for more "talks" within the Alliance on Igoli2002.

Not surprisingly, yet another Alliance summit was held in December 1999. Just like previous ones, it consisted of lots of talking around prepared discussion documents and public proclamations of enhanced unity and commitments to the Alliance. The agreement, five years after it had initially been proposed, for the setting up of an Alliance political centre to better manage intra-Alliance relations,

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[1] iGoli 2002 turns on a fulcrum of ring-fencing the council's various businesses into autonomous units run by private sector executives on business lines – a form of "corporatisation". It does not encourage "political interference" and tries to keep elected councillors' participation in the running of services to a minimum of 20% of the boards of the 10 companies to eventually run Johannesburg.

was hailed by all three organisations as a means to relieve "tension" and ensure that all partners "can influence government policy" (Grawitzky, 1999).

And yet, just over a month later, SACP general-secretary Nzimande publicly warned of a "lack of open debate" within the Alliance, which "could result in the creation of patronage and the perpetuation of careerism" (Nzimande, 2000).

Impotence characterised debate and opposition between and within the ANC, COSATU and the SACP. The character and content of COSATU's mass action campaign against job losses in early 2000, a continuation of its late-1999 skirmish with government over the public sector dispute, clearly showed that as long as the ANC leadership embraced an elite-led, liberal bourgeois democracy and deracialised capitalism was not challenged fundamentally by a confident and mobilised working class, there was little chance for meaningful debate and opposition in South Africa.

The strategy and tactics adopted by COSATU and the SACP, as well as those within the ANC who have not approved of the ANC's political and economic path, continued to revolve around seeking to win concessions from the leadership of the ANC within a framework that consistently diluted the demands being made. This approach was ostensibly designed to ensure an acceptable degree of ideological and organisational continuity with the ANC leadership who were managing the country, so as to maintain a "National Democratic Alliance" that was seen as the only viable political/organisational vehicle to meet the needs of the majority.

The reality however, was that while bringing some very moderate relief to that majority, the strategy's most tangible result was to preserve and advance the personal careers and political futures of leaders across the Alliance spectrum. While making radical-sounding statements on worker-related and political economy issues, combined with limited mass action designed to extract concessions from government and remind private capital of mass power, the leadership of COSATU and the SACP was unwilling to make the connection between the liberal bourgeois democracy and deracialised capitalism pursued by the ANC elites and the parallel organisational and class lessons in relation to the Alliance.

The binding narrative that held this entire edifice together since 1994 was the constant propagation of the need for unity within the ANC and the Alliance. This was counter-posed to the dangers of an independent workers' movement and/or political organisation that will break such unity and thus weaken the "liberation movement".

However, the kind of unity that ANC and Alliance elites, led by Mbeki, have fashioned was one that revolved around a mass of radical-sounding rhetoric about transformation, a progressive National Democratic Revolution, deepening democracy, a developmental state, workers' interests and the national interest. Parallel to the rhetoric, the political and organisational space created was used to progressively narrow the boundaries of debate and opposition to the preferred line. In the process, the cornerstones or first principles of any substantive political and economic democracy – including the struggle for socialism - was, and

continued to be, actively attacked within the ANC and Alliance. Those cornerstones were a critical questioning of the substance behind such rhetoric/policy and mobilisations to challenge and change the political and economic status quo.

1.6 Can the Centre hold? 2004 to 2012

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;

Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world (Yeats, 1920)

In 2005, Thabo Mbeki dismissed Jacob Zuma as deputy president of the Republic of South Africa and curtailed his powers as deputy president of the ANC. These drastic and unprecedented actions were the direct outcome of the conviction of fraud of Schabir Shaik, a close associate of Zuma and in whose corruption case Zuma was implicated. These decisions set in motion a number of events that led to a re-arrangement and re-alignment of the perceptions of power within the Alliance.

The leadership of both the SACP and COSATU inserted themselves deeply into this discontent within the presidency of the ANC. It has been argued that a "Left strategy" was conceived involving COSATU and the SACP following the marginalisation of COSATU within the Alliance, specifically and increasingly after 1996 and more so with the ANC following Thabo Mbeki's resounding victory at the electoral polls in 2004. The strategy was to "capture the ANC from within" with the objective that government strategy will be shifted towards a pro-poor and pro-working class direction. Both organisations, COSATU and the SACP,

realised that they needed to rally behind a person with mass public appeal (a populist) within and beyond the ANC who could capture the party presidency in the ANC Elective National Conference set for 2007 and subsequently become president of the republic in the 2009 general elections.

Entered Jacob Zuma, who in 2005, as a result of a number of events, found himself in opposition to Thabo Mbeki. COSATU had already thrown its weight behind Zuma in 2005 when its general-secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi stated that any effort to stop Zuma from succeeding Mbeki as the next president of South Africa would be "like trying to fight against the big wave of the tsunami" (Musgrave, 2005).

The leadership of COSATU and the SACP created the image of Zuma as a socialist project and someone who differed from Mbeki in listening to the people, not being aloof and promising to do something about the needs of the poor. What these advocates neglected to point out and which contradicted the created image, was Zuma's record as a long-time partner of Mbeki with both of them having left the SACP as central committee members in 1990; and the role that Zuma played in the imposition of GEAR as a member of Cabinet and as Mbeki's deputy. The appeal that Zuma presented was his perceived warmth and populism, perceptions of him being a victim of Mbeki's politics and perceptions of his openness to the ideas of the Left and with that the opportunity for stronger influence for the Left over the next potential head of state. From the perspective of the Left, Polokwane was the turning point of years of marginalisation that COSATU and the SACP experienced over social and economic policy. Even

though the organised Left was vocal in its support for Jacob Zuma, it is important to point out that this support was not unanimous amongst the Left.

A number of major fault lines characterised the "battle at Polokwane". Zuma managed to harness the support of those who felt excluded by Mbeki's regime (Southall, et al., 2006). The "walking wounded" included ANC activists denied position and prospect, business interests refused state contracts, ethnic Zulu personalities seeking to counter alleged and perceived Xhosa hegemony. Notwithstanding this, the principle pillar of the support for Zuma was that the "idea of Zuma" expressed the discontents of the impoverished masses and the formally unemployed who felt left behind by Mbeki's economy (Southall and Webster, 2010: 142). Although COSATU was not formally represented at the Polokwane Conference, it was the proverbial "elephant in the room" in the sense that even though it was not visible, it had a powerful presence (Webster, 2008). It may be argued that COSATU was the crucial factor which provided for a systematised backing for a Zuma slate of candidates including Zuma himself. Between 2005 and 2007, there was a determined infiltration of COSATU and SACP members into the branches of the ANC across the country. Up to ninety (90) percent of delegates to the National Conference emanate from the branches, something that was well understood by both COSATU and the SACP.

What sometimes is amiss in analytical writings is the significance of Polokwane in its affirmation of the ANC's true historic character as a "broad church". Even though there was a discernable leftward shift in policy and personnel, key BEE magnates like Tokyo Sexwale, Matthews Phosa and Cyril Ramaphosa were

elected to the NEC while several leaders of the SACP failed to be either nominated or elected.

Blade Nzimande, general secretary of the SACP, summed up the significance of Polokwane to the Alliance when he argued that the programmes emerging from COSATU's 9th Congress, the SACP's 12th Congress and the ANC's 52nd National Conference coalesced around a singular commitment to "building working class and people's power". This translated into it being a "developmental agenda for the benefit of the overwhelming majority of our people" amongst its expressed purposes the creation of jobs, eradication of poverty and combating the blight of HIV/AIDS (Nzimande, 2008).

The Alliance cemented its positions in May 2008, when following a Summit between Alliance Partners, it declared that:

> It was agreed that the Alliance will work together to formulate policy, and monitor its implementation through joint ANC/Alliance policy committees and other mechanisms. This will include the drafting of the ANC Election Manifesto for the 2009 elections and matters pertaining to deployment. These kinds of interactions will become a permanent feature of alliance processes in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of policies[2].

In September 2008, the ANC recalled Thabo Mbeki as president of South Africa. Kgalema Motlanthe, elected deputy president of the ANC at Polokwane, was

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[2]

http://amadlandawonye.wikispaces.com/Alliance+Summit+Declaration,+9+10+May+2008,+Gallagher+Estate

deployed as president of South Africa. There was a general understanding that this was temporary until such time as the legal case against the ANC president, Jacob Zuma, has been settled.

Under Motlanthe's administration, some would think that no fundamental policy changes occurred. Instead, the developmental agenda articulated under Mbeki's administration with its strong emphasis on governance and technical ability was continued. Motlanthe, however, did not merely keep the presidential seat warm for Zuma. He was instrumental in inspiring public confidence during difficult times of uncertainty following the recall of Mbeki. When a number of ministers resigned and left government with Mbeki, Motlanthe created stability when he strategically renewed the contracts of some director-generals to maintain continuity in the administration of government. Under his presidential watch, emergency teams were set up to mitigate job losses, proposals for the global financial crisis were shared with international audiences and he actively encouraged racial and political reconciliation (Gumede, 2009: 32).

Motlanthe led the implementation of some of the Polokwane resolutions. One of the crucial resolutions that Motlanthe signed into legislation was the dissolution of the Scorpions, an elite investigations unit attached to the National Prosecuting Authority and arguably the main protagonist in pursuing the prosecution of Jacob Zuma. With Motlanthe's appointment as "care-taker" president, together with Mantashe's position as general-secretary in the ANC post Polokwane, some analysts concluded that this strengthened the view that a space has been opened for a move away from the Mbeki Project (read: GEAR, neo-liberalism,

etc.) towards a more redistributive socio-economic policy pathway. The basis for this conclusion was Motlanthe's and Mantashe's grounding in the Alliance Left as both had their roots in the National Union of Mineworkers, one of the biggest COSATU affiliates (Pillay, 2008: 12).

Jacob Zuma was inaugurated as President of the Republic of South Africa in May 2009; four years after he was dismissed as Deputy President of the Republic. Some of his immediate decisions included the appointment of close allies such as Blade Nzimande to the restructured portfolio of Higher Education and Training, Pravin Gordhan as Minister of Finance and accommodating the trade union movement through the appointment of Ebrahim Patel as Minister of Economic Development, whilst retaining Ministers who served under Mbeki, including Trevor Manuel in the new portfolio of Minister of Planning responsible for the National Planning Commission. This cabinet mix proved toxic at different points in the period leading up to 2012 as it gave rise to perceived or real contestation specifically in relation to the economic cluster within Cabinet. An example of this is that the NDP was only approved at the 53rd National Conference of the ANC in December 2012 with some COSATU affiliates still opposing it and the NDP as a whole not enjoying the full endorsement of the SACP.

1.7   Summary

This chapter presented a history of the developments in the relations between the partners of the Tripartite Alliance – the ANC, COSATU and SACP for the

period of transition from apartheid to a democratic state. The usefulness of chapter one is the context that it provides for the study in depicting the Alliance as a political formation where ideology and individual persuasion are not necessarily clearly delineated, but rather an integration of philosophies in support of the broad-based tendencies of the ANC.

This continues to present a challenge to the shaping of the public service in South Africa. The challenge takes the form of how "cadres" within COSATU and the SACP will use the structures of both COSATU and the SACP as well as that of the ANC to secure careers in the state. Notwithstanding the rhetoric, leaders of both COSATU and the SACP fully comprehend the leadership of the ANC and understand that mobility (in terms of careers and opportunities) within the state apparatus can only be secured through the ANC.

Chapter one also expanded on the nature of the Alliance itself and the contestation within the Alliance. What has emerged is the influence of Alliance partners on the leadership elections of each other and how ideology, in the contest for political power, sometimes are ignored in favour of in favour of personality politics and the perceived benefits that such individuals bring with them.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1   Introduction

This chapter describes the research process followed and presents an exposition of the research methods and data collection techniques used in the study. The problem statement which is embedded in the title (identifying and demarcating the field of study) determined the chosen research method.

As a phenomenon in the Human Sciences, research is undertaken to study problems, ascertain validity, create new knowledge which is relevant and consequentially impact the lives of people and their societies. The nature, context and scope of a research problem and concept as object of study and the motivation to undertake such studies are intimately value-laden in research studies. The researcher normally only derives at a final topic after a long internal debate based on the research outcomes. Many phases would have been passed and the final topic may even deviate from the originally conceived topic. Formulating the final title at the beginning of the study is not advisable as experience has shown that the first title is usually a preliminary draft (Botha and Engelbrecht, 1992: 37).

Continuous contextual changes within which the study takes place impacts on research topics. It is prudent for the researcher to factor some flexibility into the design phase of the project. The researcher should refrain from confining her or

himself to one method during the planning phase. Adopting this strategy will afford the researcher the necessary space to alter the research project should circumstances demand this. As the Greek philosopher Socrates stated more than twenty-four hundred years ago, "I know that I don't know", so too are the conditions of research unknowns. This may include insufficient responses to a postal survey or inadequate provision of answers that the researcher may ask. The researcher may fail to get access to intended interviewees or sites where observations were to be carried out. The researcher may also as an outcome of reading through the literature establish that the research questions have already been addressed sufficiently by others and thus rendering the intended study obsolete.

The study must be justified. As such, the research process must first identify the problem that poses a challenge for society. Identifying the problem requires good communication skills in order to extrapolate what is required and the ability to realize the research goal. To avoid an open-ended study, it is advisable that the study is delineated to focus on the period and context within which the study takes place. The scope of investigation must be thoughtfully circumscribed and delineated.

For this study, the scope covers the dialogue between the ANC, SACP and COSATU as a Tripartite Alliance governing South Africa since 1994. However, to provide for historical nuance to this study, while it focuses on the period between 1994 and 2012 (notwithstanding the historical configuration necessary for critical assessment), it was necessary to briefly analyse the period before democracy as

this helped shape the Alliance. It is furthermore necessary to note that the period 2004 to 2012 was a period of major political realignments within the Alliance with consequences that will reverberate through South Africa in years to come. The researcher is interested in the interface or nexus between the political alliance and public administration. It is a study that is squarely located in the discipline of Public Administration. The researcher aims to present a balanced view that takes into account the perspectives of the three entities to the Alliance. The work of scholars who have researched and written extensively on the nature of alliance politics and how it continues to shape society is interrogated and subjected to careful analyses.

2.2   Defining and Understanding Research

The foundation of research has to do with the gathering of the necessary information to solve a stated problem (Booth et al., 1995: 6). Science refers to the system of scientific knowledge. Research, on the other hand, refers to the process that has led to the establishment or extension of a system. Research is understood as a systematic way of undertaking an investigation (Botha and Engelbrecht, 1992: 18).

The statement of the problem determines the research and its results. Research adds value when the outcomes thereof are targeted at influencing overall decision-making processes and the way that things are done, even though the result of the research process may not necessarily result in a change in the way of doing things. Research outcomes must seek to justify change where such

change is desirable and shown to be necessary by the research. For example, organisational working practices can be justified by the reports of internal research teams or by contracting external consultants. Magnitude also impact on research. The researcher has an ethical obligation to ensure that the research findings are both credible and meaningful. It must be emphasized that research can be a subjective exercise (Blaxter et al., 1996: 5).

Politics is about power. Power only exists where there is relationship. The Tripartite Alliance is a political phenomenon and as such is under the pervasive influence of subjective political ideology. Throughout this project, the researcher was conscious of the pervasiveness of political ideological persuasions and as a consequence was guided in his findings and recommendations by the rigour of the research method adopted. The findings, on which the recommendations are based, were informed by and triangulated against the public and published positions of the three partners to the Alliance.

2.3   Typologies of Research Methods

The various types of research – quantitative, qualitative and action research – are discussed in this section. In some instances, a combination of these methods can be utilized depending on the topic that is being researched. It is necessary to describe these various approaches in order to understand why the researcher adopted the method chosen for this study.

Qualitative and quantitative methods represent distinctive approaches to social research. Each approach is associated with a certain cluster of data collection

techniques. In the case of quantitative research, there is a strong association with social survey techniques such as structured interviewing, self-administered questionnaires, experiments, structured observation, content analysis, analysis of official statistics and so on. Qualitative research, on the other hand, is typically associated with participant observation, semi- and unstructured interviewing and discourse analysis (Brannen, 1992: 59).

2.3.1   Quantitative Research

Quantitative research refers to those studies in which the data collected can be analysed numerically. Quantitative work implies applying a measurement or a numerical approach to the nature of the issue under scrutiny, as well as to the analysis of data (Brannen, 1992: 85). An example of a quantitative research technique is the use of questionnaires in which the data collected is analysed numerically.

Quantitative research is based more directly on its original plans and its results can be scientifically analysed and interpreted. The interpretation informs the findings and recommendations.

2.3.2   Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is concerned with collecting and analyzing information that can describe events, persons, and so forth, without recourse to numerical data. The tendency is a focus on exploring, in as much detail as possible, smaller numbers of instances or examples which are seen as being interesting or

illuminating. The aim of qualitative research is to go "deep" rather than "broad" in its' search for knowledge and sense-making (Blaxter et al., 1996: 60).

Qualitative research tends to be more open and responsive to its subjects. It is often an intense micro-perspective, which relies upon case studies or evidence gleaned from individuals or particular situations (Brannen, 1992: 85). Examples of qualitative research techniques may include *inter alia*, interviews and observations. However, although an interview is qualitative in nature, it could also be structured and analysed in a quantitative manner.

Qualitative research designs require that the researcher gets close to the people and situations being studied, in order to understand the issues being investigated in their totality. This means that researchers who adopt qualitative methods strive to understand phenomena and situations as a whole (Kuhns and Martorana, 1982: 8-9).

Blaxter et al. (1996: 60) argue that qualitative research is harder, more stressful and more time-consuming than other types of research. The detailed descriptions, direct quotations and case documentation obtained by qualitative methods are raw data from the empirical world. Qualitative data emerge from a process of naturalistic inquiry. Qualitative designs are naturalistic and do not allow for manipulation of the research setting by the researcher.

According to Kuhns and Martorana (1982: 6-7), naturalistic inquiry is an approach aimed at understanding actualities, social realities, and human perceptions that exist untainted by the obtrusiveness of formal measurement or

preconceived questions. It is a process geared towards the uncovering of many idiosyncratic, but important nonetheless, stories told by real people, about real events, in real and natural ways. The more general the provocation, the more these stories are likely to reflect what respondents view as salient issues, meaningful evidence, and appropriate inferences. Naturalistic inquiry presents real life scenarios about the state of affairs in real time. This allows for the feelings, knowledge, concerns, beliefs, perceptions, and understandings of people to be taken into account.

The researcher who utilizes a qualitative approach seeks to capture the actual point of view of the respondents. Qualitative data describes, in depth, the experiences of people. The data are open-ended in order to establish what peoples' lives, experiences and interactions imply, in terms of their natural settings. Qualitative descriptions permit the institutional researchers to record and understand people on their own terms. Not only does qualitative research provide depth, it also gives detail. This comes about through direct quotation and careful description and will vary depending on the nature and purpose of the particular study.

Kuhns and Martorana (1982: 6-7) characterises qualitative research in the following ways:

a.   Events can be understood adequately only if they are seen in context. Therefore, a qualitative researcher immerses her or himself in the setting.

b.   The contexts of inquiry are not contrived, but are natural.

c.   Nothing is predefined or taken for granted.

d.   Qualitative researchers want the subjects being studied to speak for themselves, to provide their perspectives in words and other actions. Qualitative research is therefore an interactive process, in which the subjects of study teach the researcher about their lives.

e.   Qualitative researchers attend to the experience as a whole, not as separate variables. The aim of qualitative research is to understand experience as a unified event.

f.   Finally, for many qualitative researchers, the process entails appraisal about what was studied.

Blaxter et al., (1996: 61) argue that qualitative research implies a direct concern with experience as it is "*lived*" or "*felt*" or "*undergone*". This is contrasted with quantitative research which is often taken to be the opposite approach, defined by characteristics of being indirect and abstract, and treating experiences as similar, adding or multiplying them together, or quantifying them. Qualitative research aims to understand experience as nearly as possible as it is felt or lived by its participants.

The merits and demerits of using one research technique over another is a matter of debate and largely depend on the topic under investigation. The debate and competition between paradigms is best substituted by a new paradigm of choices. Fundamental to the paradigm of choices is the recognition that different

situations require different methods (Kuhns and Martorana, 1982: 5). Context is crucial.

The approach and subjectivity of individual researchers is likely to always differ as it takes into account the various schools of thought from which they were nurtured. For example, there is a view that quantitative strategies tend to be more scientific or "objective" while qualitative research is inclined to be dominated by an element of subjectivism.

Quantitative and qualitative approaches differ not only in the methods that are employed, but also in the perception of the problem and the type of data that they produce (Brannen, 1992: 85). This notwithstanding, there are a number of ways in which both qualitative and quantitative approaches can be joined or used simultaneously and in parallel. Both types of research can reveal valid results which can be applied usefully – they are inherently not mutually exclusive and have the potential for mutual reinforcement while investigating a particular problem.

2.3.3   Action Research

Action research, according to Blaxter et al. (1996: 64), is the study of a social situation with a view to improving the quality of action within it. The aim of this is to feed practical judgment into concrete situations. The validity of the theories or hypotheses it generates depends not so much on scientific tests of truth, as on their usefulness in helping people to act more intelligently and skilfully. Action

research requires that theories be validated through practice. Theories are not validated independently and then applied to practice.

Small-scale researchers in the social sciences working particularly in professional disciplinary areas such as public administration, education, health and social care, are increasingly turning to action research. It suits the needs of people conducting research in their workplaces and who are focused on improving dimensions of their own and their colleagues' practices.

Blaxter et al. (1996: 65) identify seven criteria to distinguish different types of action research. Action research:

- is educative;

- deals with individuals as members of social groups;

- is problem-focused, context-specific and future-orientated;

- involves a change intervention;

- aims at improvement and involvement;

- involves a cyclic process in which research, action and evaluation are interlinked; and

- is founded on a research relationship in which those involved are participants in the change process.

Action research is an applied approach, one which could also be seen as experimental. It offers a research design which links the research process closely to its context, and is premised on the idea of research having a practical purpose in view, with an outcome that leads to change. It fits well with the idea of the research process as a spiral activity, going through repeated cycles and changing each time (Blaxter et al., 1996: 64).

The chosen research method for this study encapsulates a triangulation methodological approach which elaborates extensively in utilising qualitative analysis with elements of action research, historical relevance and some quantitative basics. The Alliance has been the subject of intense criticism, specifically in terms of its leadership and governance capabilities. While some of this criticism may be justified, it is necessary to unpack what it means for the Alliance to govern, what informs its programme of government or action, how leadership is determined within Alliance structures and how policy is made from and Alliance perspective. The researcher worked in the public sector for more than ten years, in close proximity to leaders in the Alliance which has given him an opportunity to observe the Alliance phenomenon closely and therefore puts him in a position to comment on how it has impacted and continues to impact on the standard and quality of public administration.

2.4 Data Collection Techniques

Multiple social research techniques are used to collect data. This includes literature reviews, document analyses, interviews, observations, case studies and questionnaires (Blaxter et al., 1996: 63).

The topic under investigation may prompt the researcher to use more than one method. It becomes even more feasible if a research topic is investigated individually by a team of researchers who target different stakeholders. One researcher may, for example, use a survey, or a set of interviews, or even a series of observations. The incorporation of more than one method may confirm complementary findings and thus strengthening the thesis. Therefore, if it is managed well, then a multi-faceted approach to the research process may yield a more comprehensive result for the topic under investigation.

Good reasons must exist if a researcher wishes to use more than one method given that this may necessitate more resources such as time and money. The process whereby two or more methods are used to verify the validity of the information that is being collected is referred to as *triangulation*. It is through triangulation that the findings of one method are checked against the findings yielded by another method. For example, the results of a qualitative investigation might be checked against those resulting from a quantitative study. The aim generally of triangulation is to enhance the validity of the findings (Brannen, 1992: 60).

Triangulation may involve mixing quantitative and qualitative research methods. There are three kinds of triangulation, namely, triangulation between methods, within methods and holistic triangulation (Kuhns and Maratorana, 1982: 45). The idea of *"multiple operationalisation"* which suggests that the validity of the findings and the degree of confidence in them will be enhanced by the deployment of more than one approach to data collection, has further informed the notion of triangulation.

2.4.1 Literature Review

There are two perspectives to reviewing the literature:

- a study on its own, which some prefer to call a *"literature study"* or;

- as the first phase of an empirical study

Either way, it is crucial that every research project commence with a review of the existing literature. A literature review therefore forms an essential component of any study. The term, *"literature review"* does not, in fact, capture the full meaning that it intends to convey. To illustrate this: any research is preceded by an acknowledgement of some work already done in a specific field. The initial step is to explore and review the existing scholarship or available body of knowledge, in order to learn how other scholars have investigated the research problem. This in turn informs the investigation to be conducted.

Learning from other scholars is a constructive exercise. How they theorized and conceptualized issues, what they found empirical, what instruments they used

and to what effect, all has an influence on one's own research agenda. Put differently, a researcher is interested in the most recent, credible and relevant scholarship in her or his area of interest. It is for this reason that the term, "*scholarship review*", may be more appropriate. In the final analysis, all researchers should aim to minimize the effect of error during each stage of the research process, thereby increasing the likelihood of achieving minimum standards of validity in scholarship (Mouton, 2001: 110).

One reason why a review of the existing scholarship is critical is that the review carries far more value than what is under investigation. When reference is made to reviewing a body of scholarship – a literature review – the researcher in fact signals an interest in a whole range of research outputs that have been produced by other scholars. *Literature* refers to the record of earlier work in any field (Barzun and Graff, 1985: 21).

Mouton (2001: 86-87) identifies a number of reasons justifying the need for a review of existing scholarship, amongst them to:

- ensure that one does not simply duplicate a previous study;

- discover the most recent and authoritative theorizing about the subject;

- determine what the most widely accepted empirical findings in the field of study are;

- identify the available instrumentation that has proven validity and reliability;

- ascertain what the most widely accepted definitions of key concepts in the field are; and

- save time and avoid duplication and unnecessary repetition.

A good review of the available scholarship does not only save time in the sense that it avoids errors and duplication of previous results, but it also adds value in that it provides clues and suggestions about the avenues that require further attention.

2.4.2   Interviews

Interviews can be structured or unstructured. The unstructured or non-directive interview is an event that allows for more fluidity than the life history interview and the focused interview. The chief characteristic of the non-directive interview is its near total reliance on neutral probes that are generally very short. The intention behind them is to probe the respondent's deepest and most subjective feelings. Unstructured interviews can at times be more valid than the highly structured interview, even though the latter is more commonly used and probably thought to be more valid. The unstructured interview may also be more valid if the universe of discourse varies between respondents (Bailey, 1994: 194-5).

The researcher and a respondent or group of respondents interacts directly in the unstructured interviewing activity. The interviewer is at liberty to shift the conversation in any direction of interest that may emerge, which is making this method of interviewing very advantageous. Consequently, unstructured

interviewing is particularly useful in exploring a topic in its broadest sense (Trochin, 2001: 161). Field researchers typically employ unstructured interviews to ask open questions. The conversational approach of the unstructured interview yields a valuable flexibility in that an answer to one question could influence the next question that the researcher may wish to ask. This act of probing becomes an essential activity (Wagenaar and Babbie, 1992: 171).

2.4.3 Fieldwork

The term *fieldwork* refers to the active stage of research, presumably to signify that you have left your study, room, office, or library and have entered the field. The field can be a laboratory, a natural setting, an archive, or whatever is dictated by the research design (Mouton, 2001: 98).

The type of observation that field researchers conduct is different from both casual, everyday observation and generic scientific observation. Field research lends itself best to investigating dynamic situations and settings where it is important to preserve the natural order of things, and where the researcher's minimal understanding makes it crucial to understand the subjects' interpretations of reality (Singleton et al., 1988: 299).

Fieldwork is about going out to collect research data. Such data may be described as original or empirical, and cannot be accessed without the researcher engaging in some kind of expedition. Fieldwork serves to bridge the gap between perception and experience (Kuhns and Martorana, 1982: 51). It might, for example, involve visiting institutions to interview members of staff, or

standing on a street corner administering questionnaires to passers-by, or sitting in on a meeting to observe what takes place in real time.

2.4.4 Deskwork

This method of research comprises those research processes where it is not necessary to go into the field. It literally consist of those things which can be done while sitting at a desk. Examples of this include the administration, collection and analysis of postal or on-line surveys; the analysis of data collected by others; certain kinds of experimental or laboratory work; literature searches in the library; and writing research reports.

Like with the qualitative-quantitative divide, the fieldwork-deskwork distinction is something of a false dichotomy, since most, if not all research projects will make use of both sets of approaches. No matter how much time a researcher spends in the field, it still is necessary to summarise and write up the findings. In similar fashion, though it is possible to carry out valuable research without ever leaving an office environment, information usually is still being accessed in some kind of field setting.

Differentiating between fieldwork and deskwork has become increasingly difficult. The development of information and communication technologies has undoubtedly allowed for a great deal more research to be carried out from the comfort of the office (Blaxter et al., 1996: 62).

2.4.5   Case Studies

Methods used in the case study technique are varied and mixed. This include personal observation which may, for some periods or events, develop into participation; using informants for current and historical data; direct interviewing; and the tracing and study of relevant documents and records from local and central government, travellers or other sources (Blaxter et al., 1996: 66).

When the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context, then the case study is the method of choice. A case study is an intensive study of a specific individual or specific context (Trochin, 2001: 161).

The case study is, in many ways, ideally suited to the needs and resources of the small-scale researcher. It not only allows, but endorses a focus on just one example or perhaps two or three. This might be the researcher's place of work, or another institution or organisation in society with which she or he has a connection. Or it might be just one element of such an organisation: a class, a work team, a community group or a football team. Most of the research conducted will be preceded by a discussion of sampling and selection issues, and using a range of data collection techniques, including where relevant interviews and observation. Researchers are advised to avoid the temptation of immersing themselves wholly in the case study details.

The researcher should be explicit about how she or he will collect the data – observation, reading files and interviews – and on how people have been selected for interviews. It is imperative that a researcher documents the data

collected as accurately as possible for use as a historical record for herself or himself, and for other possible researchers (Mouton, 2001: 104).

There exists a tendency for small-scale researchers, particularly for those in employment receiving support from their employers, to locate their research projects in their places of employment. While the choices in practice may be limited, if there is opportunity for choice then one should consider the various alternatives in selecting the research project.

2.4.6 Experiments

Blaxter et al. (1996: 68) argue that in the social sciences, two broad historical branches of research exist: experimental and non-experimental. While both seek to explain human behaviour, they differ fundamentally in the amount of control they have over the data. Basically, experimentalists manipulate variables suspected of producing an effect, while non-experimentalists observe them. An *experiment* involves the creation of an artificial situation in which events that generally go together are pulled apart. The participants in an experiment are called *subjects*. The elements or factors that are being studied are termed *variables*.

2.5 Research Paradigm

The purpose for research is to contribute towards a particular paradigm. Research outcomes can either strengthen or contradict a specific paradigm. A paradigm is a world view, a general perspective, a way of deconstructing the

complexity of the real world and offering new perspectives in interpreting life as it pertains to that paradigm. Paradigms are therefore deeply embedded in the socialization of adherents and practitioners. Paradigms can also be normative, instructing the practitioner on what ought to be done and thus eliminating the need for protracted existential or epistemological consideration (Kuhns and Martorana, 1982: 4).

Constraints, whether practical or political, as well as theoretical and research paradigms all influence both the choice of methodology and the practice of the research itself (Brannen, 1992: 149). The research process dictates that one first select a topic for the research work. In doing so, it becomes crucial to find out the type and amount of work already done in the area of interest. This is necessary in order to contribute to an existing pool of knowledge, while avoiding duplication of work already done in a particular field. The research process should therefore be preceded by a thorough consultation of a variety of academic sources in order to make a meaningful contribution to academic knowledge. Consultation extends beyond simply noting the sources. Instead, a critical evaluation with a view to identify linkages or relationships and areas of common interests with the researcher's intended topic, is required. Conceiving any research topic takes place within a specific academic context influenced by the external environment.

Researchers should adhere to the highest research standards possible. This requires cognizance of the fact that there will always be a need to apply new paradigms of understanding and new procedures of research on existing data (Botha and Engelbrecht, 1992: 37).

A paradigm or theoretical framework is an enabler or catalyst and thus a mediating artefact for researchers to interact or engage in normal science. Filtering through a paradigm provides the means to filling in the gaps and testing the individual hypotheses of major theories. Scientists work from models acquired through education and subsequent exposure to the literature, many times not quite knowing or needing to know what characteristics have given these models the status of community paradigms. The fact that scientists do not usually ask or debate what makes a particular problem or solution legitimate may tempt researchers to assume that, at least intuitively, they know the answer. In fact, what this may indicate is that neither the question nor the answer is of any relevance to their work. Paradigms may be more binding and more complete than any set of rules for research that could be unequivocally abstracted from them (Kuhns and Martorana, 1982: 4).

2.6   Methodology Selected for the Study

It has been said that social research is undertaken for multiple reasons. "Some want to do it to change society; some want to answer practical questions while some want to make informed decisions. Those in the scientific community seek to build basic knowledge about society." (Neuman, 2000: 18).

Research methods and techniques are informed by the formulation of the questions or research problem that most directly serve the needs of the object of study. The researcher provided the conceptual and theoretical basis for the different forms of and approaches to research in the preceding section. The qualitative approach was selected and used as the most dominant approach.

This was in turn triangulated against the historical relevance and elements of quantitative research as the strategy in addressing the pressing research question. Silverman (2005: 109) defines a methodology as a general approach to studying research topics. In this sense the choice of method should reflect an overall research strategy. The research methodology focuses on the research process and the kind of tools and procedures to be used. It also makes use of the most objective procedures to be employed.

For this study, the researcher preferred to use a mixture of document analysis and case study methods as a qualitative approach and included unstructured conversations to study the problem summed up in the problem statement. The advantages of the chosen method are that a lot of quality information can be gathered within a short period of time and at reasonable cost. This method cites only books and articles of relevance to the specific issue; it distinguishes between the study under review and any other study already conducted (Lester, 1999: 134). It is furthermore a systematic, explicit and reproducible method for identifying, evaluating and interpreting the existing body of recorded work produced by researchers, scholars and practitioners (Fink, 1998: 3).

However, a literature review is not merely driven by the research question, so the opposite also applies: the more one reads the more clarity one obtains, which may often lead to a change in the formulation of the research problem. The process is indeed truly interactive and cyclical (Mouton, 2001: 91).

Bailey (1987: 11) developed a number of stages in the research process. The following subset of these stages was followed in this study:

- choosing the research problem;

- formulating the research design;

- gathering data;

- summarizing and analyzing data;

- interpreting the findings; and

- formulating recommendations

Furthermore, the value of the qualitative method can be summed up in the following: "Qualitative method used in the collection of data is always straightforward. It has the quality of undeniability, which lends verisimilitude to reports." (Robson, 1993: 370).

Material relevant to this study was obtained through published works. Primary and secondary techniques were used to collect the data. The choice of the typology of research methodology was informed by the fact that the data was relevant to the research problem. The data already exist in structured form; books, journals, documents, news magazines and stored database materials useful for research purposes. This provided ample opportunities for flexibility and management of the data during the collection process. It was found that the choice of selecting information materials was not restrictive, but rather encouraging.

Bless and Hugson-Smith expressed the view that if a researcher collects his or her own data for study, it is known as a "primary" source. In the event where they use data collected by other researchers concerning other research problems, such data is referred to as "secondary" source (Ijeoma, 2002:9).

As stated previously, the qualitative research methodological approach has been used in this study with both primary and secondary techniques being deployed. The researcher's direct personal knowledge regarding the object of study has been gained from his career background in the public sector, experience and observation of activities and trends of events affecting the ANC-SACP-COSATU Alliance and has formed one of the primary sources of this study. The relationship between Political Studies and Public Administration is intellectually stimulating and thus events and scholarship on this interface and the traits that they assume have been closely monitored over the years. This effort is in itself a primary source of data for this study.

The secondary sources that were mined are the relevant textbooks, journal articles, web-based sources, official documentation of the ANC, SACP and COSATU, published reports, newspapers and news magazine articles. In an attempt to further instil confidence, objectivity and coherence to enrich the study, unstructured conversations were held with officials and members of the Alliance partners who had the depth of experience and breadth of knowledge of the dynamics within the Alliance, specifically in regard to its role in respect of public administration.

Why has this study employed both primary and secondary techniques of methodological procedure? The phenomenon of an Alliance in government has become the object of various perceptions, studies and interpretations. The South African case is unique in the context of the political history of the partners to the Tripartite Alliance. A lot has been written and debates are ongoing regarding the Tripartite Alliance. The Tripartite Alliance means different things at different times to different people of different persuasions and orientations. This study is concerned particularly with the dialogue between the ANC, SACP and COSATU and the impact thereof on the interface or nexus between alliance politics and public administration. In other words, *how does the leadership, policy persuasions and organisational governance of the three partners impact the way in which the state is governed?*

Furthermore, contextualising this study permits the usage of both primary and secondary techniques of literature investigations. Generous focus is given to the extent of the activities of the Alliance and its overarching objectives as espoused through the partners to the Alliance. It offers a suitable measure for further probing the policy positions of each of the Alliance partners *vis-á-vis* the activity of government. It presents a more valid method for collecting and analysing data to demarcate the truth-value of the study; to get relevant background knowledge and offering empirical verification of facts.

2.7   Purpose of the Study

The classics in public administration have always been fascinated by the nexus between politics and public administration. Can the public servant really claim to

be politically neutral in matters of the state? In which ways do public servants influence and shape the public policy agenda? In which ways do elected public officials shape the machinery of the bureaucracy?

In South Africa, the interface between politics and public administration has been complicated by the Tripartite Alliance – comprising two political parties and one trade union federation – in government. While the leaders in the Alliance may, most of the time, understand their respective roles in matters related to the State, it can be very confusing for the general South African public as to who really governs South Africa. Many analysts have approached the subject from either a purely political perspective or an otherwise limited public administration perspective. Instead of conceptual clarity, more confusion has resulted.

The challenge for the Tripartite Alliance necessitating the ongoing dialogue amongst the Alliance partners is in essence about leadership, policy and governance. Leadership spills over across the three organisations. For example, the general-secretary of the SACP is also an elected leader to the ANC's NEC and a cabinet minister in the Zuma Administration as at the time of writing this thesis. The president of the ANC stated publicly at the 2012 Conference of COSATU that the leaders of COSATU should avail themselves for leadership positions on the ANC's NEC. One of the outcomes to this call has been the election of Sidumo Dlamini, president of COSATU, to the NEC of the ANC at its 53rd National Conference held in December 2012. Dlamini is also a member of the Politburo of the SACP.

Many analysts and the media continue to criticise the governance record of the ANC. What these voices point to is that the ANC is "handicapped" to deliver because of its alliance pact with the SACP and COSATU. This study will show that this is a simplistic view and a misunderstanding of the dynamics in the making of policy and in governing the State. The coherence of policy between the three organisations and the interplay between organisational politics and national politics is manifested through interventions such as cadre deployment and extended consultative processes to ensure understanding and buy-in from constituencies. What this study will show is the impact of the interplay of politics (power) between the partners in the Tripartite Alliance on public administration.

2.8   Objectives of the Study

Many political analysts and government observers are confused by the way in which the Alliance, as an organisational entity, manages the State given what appears to be different policy goals and practices of the respective partners. Large numbers of concerned and interested parties remains unenlightened. Can the ANC-SACP-COSATU Alliance deliver a better quality public administrative service to the people of South Africa than would any one of them do independently? The answer is a qualified yes. It is imperative that the parties to the Alliance consistently continues to seek anticipation, forecasting, articulation and integration of the impacting factors with disrupting tendencies and to adopt a 'targeted methodological approach' as part of a comprehensive national development strategy for implementation (Kuye, 2004). In other words, there must be consensus or a "meeting of the minds" in transforming political ideology,

desirable leadership attributes and good governance into government's programme of action.

The objectives of this study are therefore to:

- stimulate and generate a deeper understanding of the essence of the Alliance in the South African polity;

- seek to demystify and premise the weaknesses in the ideological muddle between the Alliance partners that often get lost in rhetoric;

- offer prognostic proposals as recommendations to strengthen the Alliance with specific reference to its role and responsibility in government;

- enrich scholarship in public administration analysis, particularly in the interface between alliance politics and public administration

The study deals with the broad issues of the ANC-SACP-COSATU Alliance, such as the political ideology of each of the partners; membership; cadre deployment and its impact on public service delivery; policy-making and policy influence; leadership and governance; perceptions of the Alliance and how these in turn impact on the state of public administration.

The overriding objective is to analyse the nature, scope and content of the dialogue between the ANC, SACP and COSATU and to identify possible factors that will enable a better managed process to assist with the interface between politics and public administration and thus enhance the implementation of policy positions of the Alliance.

2.9   Problem Statement of the Study

A statement of the research problem is a *sine qua non*, or prerequisite, for a scientific dissertation or thesis. The research work and study which is undertaken is justified through the statement. It should furthermore convince the researcher, the reader and other role players that the investment in terms of money, energy and time into researching the problem is worthwhile and that it contributes to the promotion and strengthening of the academic discipline.

Clarity (unambiguous language) and adequacy (competence and suitability) should inform how the problem is stated. The reader must understand, at first glance, what it is all about. In her/his statement of the problem, the researcher is obliged to anticipate basic questions and objections from the informed and learned readers (Botha and Engelbrecht, 1992: 38).

The transition from a liberation movement into a political party competing for the right to govern in the context of a constitutional democracy has ushered on the ANC a responsibility to continuously examine and reflect on its relationship with both the SACP and COSATU. Unlike in the struggle years, the reflection has been broadened and is now not simply confined to elements from within the ANC. Increasingly, in the open nature of South Africa's constitutional democracy, agents from outside of the structures of the ANC and the Alliance analyse and comment on this important phenomenon. Whilst the general policy platform of the Alliance led by the ANC is seemingly not at risk, the implementation of policy is

contingent upon the dynamics of implicit variables that underlie the Alliance programme and the emphasis on the different elements of the policy agenda.

The apex or epitome of any policy initiative is its implementation process. In order to derive the positive impact of the Alliance's programme requires an effective and efficient implementation process. What is needed is a systemic analysis of policy, which unfortunately has received bias or scant analysis to date. The focus has been on political personalities and structural deficiencies or challenges, without a deeper appreciation of the policy processes that underlie the personalities and structures in the Alliance. It is in this context that the Alliance's programme – as independent entities and as a collective – has been scrutinised by this study. There is a view held by some analysts, opposition politicians, civil activists, researchers and social commentators that the Alliance is inhibiting or constraining South Africa's democracy rather than strengthening and consolidating democratic gains. It is in light of these perceptions, understandings and discourses that the researcher formulated a problem that has its origins in the dichotomy between politics and public administration. The Tripartite Alliance has introduced a richer understanding, nuance and interpretation to the age-old dichotomy between politics and public administration.

This study focuses on the nature of the Alliance and its role in public administration with a particular analysis of the interface between politics and the administration. This is the problem statement of the study. Alliance politics is different to coalition politics. Alliance suggests a much more intertwined and inter-connected set of principles, practices and the proviso that there must be

some form of ideological convergence. Coalition, on the other hand, suggests a compromise on ideological positions and is normally of a much shorter life-span than alliances. For example, the political arrangement between the Conservative Party of Britain and the Liberal Democratic Party of Britain is a short-term arrangement entered into not based on ideological convictions, but rather on political pragmatism.

The disciplinary locus of this study is Public Administration. Public Administration is a recognised and distinct field of study because of the requirement that those who practice it in a democratic state (political office bearers and public officials) are under obligation to respect specific guidelines that govern their conduct when they carry out their work. Adherence to the guidelines ought to keep legislatures from passing mal-enactments, executives from practicing mis-government and officials from committing mal-administration (Cloete, 1998: 91).

Recipients of this research output will be the ANC, SACP, COSATU, South African Government Departments, universities, research institutions, civil society, organised business and organised labour.

2.10 Research Question

The topic chosen for a research study must offer the researcher the opportunity to make a contribution to existing knowledge.

For this study, understanding the interface between alliance politics and public administration requires a broader, incisive and all-inclusive analytical framework

of alliance politics given that implementation problems associated with this form of governance has been the subject of wide-scale criticism. While a lot has been written and debated on the alliance between the ANC, SACP and COSATU, the analyses and rhetoric appeared to have been based on research and understandings that focus on deconstructing the politics within the Alliance. It furthermore approaches the issue envisaging and promoting a South Africa without the Alliance. What seems to be absent in this discourse, is a sound treatise as to why the Alliance is necessary as the only South African political entity in a position to establish the critical factors needed for South Africa's development. Development in this sense must be understood as the Alliance presenting the most viable vehicle for the upliftment of millions of South Africans who are living in poverty, including the working poor.

Following from this, the research question that has emerged is: '*To what extent does the interface between Alliance Politics and Public Administration address the ANC-SACP-COSATU dialogue in South Africa*?'

2.11   Significance of the Study

South Africa's democratic government has, since 1994, been perceived differently, by different people, at different times. The fact that the government since 1994 has been the outcome of an alliance pact between the ANC, SACP and COSATU has given a new meaning to the relationship between politics and public administration. One of the criticisms levelled against the Tripartite Alliance has been the broad scope of its ideological spectrum together with the need to

accommodate the different partners and how this paralyses the ANC, as the governing party, to deliver on an effective and efficient public administration. The concept of an alliance in government has increasingly been debated at various levels and has been widely described as ambiguous, complex, expansive, convoluted and confusing. Simultaneously, the concept of the Alliance as a democratic revolutionary force for change and socio-economic development in South Africa is both promising and inspiring.

An analysis of the literature revealed that the Alliance focuses deeply on and is heavily invested in issues of 'personalised substance' rather than matters of 'integral process'. The outcome of this has been a 'divergence' rather than a 'convergence' of a truly systemic approach to the Alliance political programme.

The study is located within the discipline of Public Administration. The effectiveness of state administration is directly related to the political objectives of the different parts of the Tripartite Alliance. To this end, the study's significance to the body of knowledge in the field of public administration, and specifically to that of public management is to:

- Highlight the necessity of an investigation into the Tripartite Alliance, given its impact in the complex South African political and socio-economic environment.

- Accentuate the fact that unique impact factors, contributed to each of the partners, underlie the macro Alliance structure.

- Highlight the fact that there is a golden thread or glue that binds the Alliance.

- Demonstrate the need for meaningful dialogue and open, but robust political contestation within the structures of the Alliance and the further need for clear role definition and understanding amongst the different components of the Alliance including *inter alia* optimising the diversity of its political traditions and its capacity to attract members of high quality and competence.

- Seek to offer critical conjectural perspectives to assist in strengthening the Alliance in implementing a policy programme that will deliver and cause dividends for South Africa and save the Alliance from diminishing its potential and eventual dissipation.

- Initiate thoughts for consideration by the leaders and policy makers within the Alliance structures to manage the political and public administration interface that will avert potential crises in governance.

The success and sustainability of the partnership between the ANC, SACP and COSATU is indispensable for the success of democratic governance and development for as long as the ANC is in government. While the partners to the Alliance have a shared political history, it must be noted that this history will wane in time as it is not sufficient to sustain the partnership. It becomes imperative that the Alliance strengthen the reciprocal respect, dignity, shared responsibility and mutual accountability amongst and between the respective partners and that the

character of the Alliance itself be transformed from a disproportionate reliance on liberation politics to a politics of governance that delivers and does in fact lead to a "better life for all" South Africans. Put differently, the narrative for the Alliance must be re-written from that of liberation or struggle politics to politics of governance.

The Alliance between the ANC, SACP and COSATU has been the subject of many debates in both private and public spaces. It is an issue that elicits an emotional response from many. The origins of this emotional response largely reside in the nexus between politics and public administration.

Central to the debate has been the issue of service delivery. Much of the discourse has focused on practices such as cadre deployment, perceived policy contradictions between the Alliance partners and its concomitant impact on the implementation of government policy, the hegemonic role of the ANC, questions around the political role of COSATU given the fact that it is a labour movement and, whether the Alliance is a catalyst for stronger democratic governance in South Africa or whether it potentially stifles and even threatens entrenching democracy in South Africa.

This study seeks to argue patently and provocatively for a paradigm shift that is capable of altering political organisational behaviour and re-align the organisational practices towards policy performance-orientated implementation processes driven by a professional cadre of practitioners who has been trained and inducted in the principles and practices of the Alliance. It emphasises the need for a holistic approach to the policy, leadership and governance

arrangements of the different parts to the Alliance and the synchronicity between these in order to render the Alliance, and by extension government (public administration) effective rather than suffer attenuation. The basis for this study is the appreciation of the increasing misrepresentations, misperceptions and negativity of the conflicting problem areas as they relate to the policies and practices of the Alliance and the impact thereof on the State. The study intends to move beyond the simplistic and to provide a different framework of analysis for achieving policy goals and strengthening the prospects of the Alliance. It is in this way that the study becomes significant.

2.12   Need for the Study

The legacy of the ANC is that of a broad-based nationalist, anti-Apartheid movement of resistance. When it started to govern in 1994, it had to deal with the "liberation" legacy while at the same time assuming the role of a party of 'governance' in a post-Cold War world. Governance requires that developmental challenges are addressed as technical issues to be solved by 'efficient' technical solutions. Adopting this ethos, the state assumes it has both the plan and the capacity to affect these policy objectives. Those caught in this efficiency thought patterns tend to neglect the politics of policy and more often than not, a willingness to listen to contesting views on how and what should be done. The ANC as the governing political party – as soon as 1996 – experienced this technical drift when it became guided by and reliant on experts, which opened a chasm between the State on the one hand, and the Party leadership and the Alliance on the other. The ANC in government (Union Buildings) sought to

implement rationally devised policies, while the latter (ANC – Luthuli House and the Alliance) felt increasingly left out of the making of policy itself. Economic policy, for example, has been a particularly contentious area for obvious reasons, given the levels of unemployment, inequality and poverty. The ANC as a liberation movement has forged certain traditions which it claims are an integral part of its identity as a party: collective leadership, supposed absence of careerism, democratic centralism, and grassroots driven mandates. The overall organisational aim is the creation of a single united identity. What makes for successful political management in a liberation movement facing repression comes across as conspiratorial, secretive, and sometimes outright corrupt in the context of a liberal constitutional democracy. The way in which political power and influence is exercised in post-Apartheid South Africa, and what workable, legitimate and authorised forms this takes in a parliamentary constitutional democracy must be engaged. This translates into accepting that certain expectations and practices are out of synchronicity with the new relations of power that have been set in motion since 1994. There is a discourse that argues that the Tripartite Alliance may have been a formidable arrangement as an oppositional unity, but to expect that it can be anything more than symbolic in the future might be a misplaced hope. The extent to which the SACP and COSATU, as independent organisations, with their own agendas and interests, can influence the ANC as governing party, has shifted dramatically. While the SACP and COSATU, and factions within the ANC have "succeeded" in removing what they saw as the obstacle to their inability to influence political power, they may have inevitably set in motion a set of principles and precepts that has the

potential to incrementally destroy the ANC and the Alliance. Understood as a tension between democracy and development in the ways in which governance is undertaken, the problem exceeds individual dispositions, and signals a structural tension that might find recurrence, as political leaders will feel the pressure of the global economic and political forces, of local pressures, including business and the new black elites, to make policy that reflects a myriad of contending interests. It is this tension that the ANC will have to contend with in the coming years (Pillay: 2008).

The ANC allows for a peculiar arrangement, so that members of the SACP can also be members of the ANC. For example, the Secretary General of the ANC, Gwede Mantashe, was until 2012 also Chairman of the SACP. The SACP is registered with the Independent Electoral Commission and could go for elections on its own, should it desire to do so. The SACP has reinterpreted its role as a "vanguard" by promoting the spearheading of change from within the ANC. However, to some, the SACP is no longer known to be the vanguard of a left agenda. Party member Mazibuko K Jara criticised the situation whereby the "SACP strategy is almost exclusively reflected through the prism or filter of the ANC. This distances party strategy from grassroots organising…" It is suggested that the party (SACP) should build a mass movement around basic demands such as a basic income grant, a public national health insurance, and a redistributive agrarian reform.

Governance requires the capacity to articulate and implement public policy through determined and wise leadership. The development and political stability

of South Africa is dependent on the ANC comprehending its role as a government as opposed to a liberation movement. Moreover, it requires sound leadership of not only the ANC, but also the partners in the Alliance, that is COSATU and the SACP. While the Alliance has been formed through the "bonds of the struggle" its undoing might well be the failure to adapt. This study is needed to point to both the opportunities in alliance politics and its influence in either benevolent or perverse ways in the way that governments govern. It furthermore points to the obstacles and possible perils which can be avoided.

2.13   Limitations of the Study

Having considered the significance for the study, the researcher acknowledges the limitation that history has on the study given that history is never ever void of bias. The ideal would have been to compare the ANC-SACP-COSATU Alliance to that in another country to enhance the findings. Notwithstanding this, the conditions that gave rise to and continue to shape the Alliance that exists between the ANC-SACP-COSATU is unique and unlikely to be found anywhere else in the world. Context is crucial.

Time and resource constraints, specifically funding, together with the scope of the study necessitated the researcher to settle on the samples indicated in this study. While much has been said about capacity related to the transition between a liberation movement into a governing party, it has not been the focus of this study. The fact that the future is unknown and that the past is largely the outcome of a re-interpreted narrative means that the present is to some extent,

the only reality there is. The data used in this study may in itself be limiting and there is the likelihood that data exist which would have given a richer substance to this study. Also, the unknown data may possibly have also led to different conclusions than the ones derived at in this study. The main period for the study, 1994 to 2012, is biased to a specific historical interpretation of events. It was necessary to critically assess the Alliance by returning to the prior historical configuration pre-dating 1994. These limitations are acknowledged and recognised in this study.

2.14   Structure of the Study

The research design of an investigation refers to a plan or strategy for the study. It is based on a notion in the mind of the investigator as to how she or he perceives the way in which to go about the problem statement with a view to accomplish solutions. Describing how information will be generated, collated and processed informs the design. The strategy of the investigation, spelled out in the design, must be completely in line with the research question(s), hypotheses and the statement of the problem (Botha and Englebrecht, 1992: 40).

This study is organised into six chapters. Chapter one provides a general historical overview of the Alliance. It looks at the factors that gave rise to the Tripartite Alliance leading up to the ushering in of the first democratic elections in South Africa. It shows, in context, the immediacy of the challenges in transitioning from a liberation movement into a governing movement. It furthermore points to the politics of the exiles and those who remained inside the

country. It also signals the role of the ANC as the leading partner and the organising capacity of COSATU to deliver on successive elections, returning the ANC to government. However, the tensions between the partners as a result of policy divergence and perceptions of "aloof" leaders are prevalent. While significant gains are made for many South Africans, the political dynamics between the Alliance partners have a largely negative impact on governance and service delivery by extension. Chapter one introduces the basic focus of the object of study.

Chapter two provides for the basic research groundings that guide social scientific inquiry. In this chapter, the methodology for scientific research and the different types of research approaches are addressed which also include those adopted for this study. The scientific approach to and the framing for the study through the conceptual frameworks have provided an orientation for analysing the study. The research question and problem statement are presented pertinently in this chapter.

Chapter three provides details of the broad theoretical frameworks of public administration and alliance politics that are relevant to the object of study and the reviews of the relevant literature. Public administration is viewed from the perspective of a continuum that oscillates between time periods starting with the Classics to modern-day approaches to the discipline and practice. This is not considered in isolation from the political environment and the conclusion is derived that politics and public administration is mutually reinforcing with the one not being in a position to survive without the other. The paradigm of alliance

politics has led to new interpretations and approaches to public administration, specifically as it relates to leadership, governance and the making and implementation of public policy. Imperatives for governance and leadership with determinants and indicators of leadership for development, governance, and public policy in relation to the concept and implications for the Alliance have been addressed. This will deepen the understanding of the interconnectedness and the interface of alliance politics with public administration.

Chapter four highlights the critical contextual discourse of the parties that constitute the Tripartite Alliance – ANC, COSATU and the SACP in respect of their respective constitutions, policy frameworks and leadership and governance cultures. Mapping these have sought to situate how these factors have shaped public administration in contemporary South Africa and how a shared political ideology such as the NDR continues to be directed at addressing the development challenges in South Africa. The purpose of this chapter is to crystallize the presumptions with the views of both critics and advocates of the Alliance within the context of its relevance and viability. Coherence of analysis and logical specificities to the research problem are being striven for.

The analysis in chapter five begins with the synergies between the programmatic frameworks of the Alliance partners. This is done with a view to identify the factors that will impact on implementation in matters related to public administration. It shows the crucial nature of ideology as presented by the NDR, but also that the "things that bind the Alliance, cannot be taken for granted" and that there is a need for an Alliance agenda whilst recognising the authentic and

autonomous identities of those comprising the Alliance. The chapter shows the need for synergy between "substance", as presented in the Alliance partners' different programmes, and leadership and processes, as presented through governance arrangements, resulting in enhanced benefits where democracy is enriched through the robust interplay between different political orientations acting as one, and public administration.

Chapter six concludes the research project by focusing on the prognostic implications of the nexus between alliance politics and public administration. Recommendations, based on the findings, are proposed which are aligned to and address the research question.

2.13   Summary

In summary, research methodology is a broad field of study in itself. The researcher may be working within a subject or disciplinary tradition which expects her or him to take a given methodological perspective. In all types of research techniques, however, the researcher should be able to reach a considered opinion on the advantages and disadvantages of using particular approaches or techniques. The researcher may also be able to go a little further, and modify or add to the choice of methods as the need arises.

This chapter identified a number of research methods and data collection techniques. It was mentioned that more than one research method and one data collection technique may be used in a study, depending on the problem

statement and the topic under investigation. For example, it is possible that a particular investigation involve both experiments and surveys.

It is possible to use action research, case study or survey approaches within either a qualitative or quantitative research strategy, though experiments tend to be quantitative in nature. Similarly, case studies, experiments and survey approaches might be employed as part of desk-based or field-based research strategies. However, action research has the inherent implication that some fieldwork is required. Documents, interviews, observations and questionnaires may be used as part of all the research strategies and approaches identified, though there may be differences in how they are used and analysed. The researcher may use alternatives from the different dimensions in combination as deemed appropriate in the study of a particular set of research questions. In the end, approaches and techniques represent various dimensions of the overall research process.

A good and sound literature review should be well organized and not simply a mere covering of the information sources which are summarized in sequence. Searching the literature must be structured and logical in order to fully utilize the research process. The key concepts in the research problem statement and in the associated detailed research questions that are asked constitute an important guide to the review process.

The study adopted the qualitative approach as the dominant research strategy with elements of action research weaved within this approach. This was triangulated against limited features of quantitative analysis as well as a brief

description of the historical origins of the Alliance. The significance and need for this study is justified by considering the contemporary challenges facing governance, leadership and the making of public policy which are at the nexus of politics and administration.

CHAPTER 3

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND ALLIANCE POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

The Alliance in South Africa between the ANC, SACP and COSATU has brought into sharp focus the role of Alliance Politics; specifically in relation to the nature and role of government and the nexus between politics and public administration. The Alliance gave rise to different expectations and demands from the Alliance partners, but also the general public in so much as it pertains to the policy direction and the way in which governance in a democratic state ought to happen. This, since 1994, led to numerous calls from various social sectors for the Alliance to be ended.

An effective and progressive developmental state is a central objective of the present government in South Africa. The inherent nature of a developmental state is pro-poor and the ability to intervene decisively and cogently in the economy and society to bring about the desired social and economic developmental goals. At the core of this is the commitment to bridge the historical divides of race, class, gender, geography and more contemporary divides such as HIV/AIDS and disability.

In 2004, the ANC's Election Manifesto, the "People's Contract" (supported by both the SACP and COSATU) called for the establishment of a common system

of public services. This common system, which is in essence a unified system of public administration, remains a key goal of the South African developmental state.

When considering the context outlined above, it becomes clear that public administration is an important variable as the nexus between policy and delivery of services to the South African public. Given this central role of public administration, it is necessary that the practice of public administration be explored together with a discussion of the theories of public administration. Some of the challenges faced by the current administration will also be discussed. Approaching the discipline of Public Administration in this way requires that the relevant literature associated with Public Administration be reviewed and discussed. In addition, the significance of public administration theories in contemporary South Africa's public service will be expanded upon.

3.2   What is Administration?

The word itself is loaded with ambiguity and definitions of it flourish. Berkley (2004: 23) concluded that administration is a process involving human beings jointly engaged in working towards common goals. According to Cloete (1981: 23), all spheres of human activity contain administration. Administration can also be a cooperative human action with a high degree of rationality, which means that cooperative action is intended to maximise certain goals (Gordon, 1947: 65).

When applied to different contexts and situations, the word "*administration*" is used to refer to almost every sphere of activity. Some basic dictionary definitions

state that the verb administers means, *inter alia* to govern, rule, control, direct, operate or make something work.

Gordon (147: 70) stated that administration can also be equated to the operational area of government. Mfene (2009: 211) quotes Woodrow Wilson, who asserted that "administration is the most obvious part of government, it is government in action, and it is the executive, the operative, the most visible side of government."

3.3   What is Public Administration?

There is no consensus as to what Public Administration is. Is it an art, a craft, a science, a profession, a field of study or discipline? In the end, Public Administration, to some degree, is each of these things even though individuals may differ on how they view it (Cayer: 2003: 10).

Fry (1989, 78) approaches Public Administration as a duality with two distinctive, but closely related activities. It deals with the administration or management of matters which principally have to do with society, politics and its sub-parts which are in essence not private, commercial or individualistic. It also deals with the disciplined study of these matters. In a reductionist way, public administration has to do with managing the business/realm of government and other public entities. This definition transmits the essence of public administration and is likely to encompass the vast majority of activities and concerns related to contemporary public administration.

Public Administration can also be the term used to "mean the study of selective practice of the tasks associated with the behaviour, conduct and protocol of the affairs of the administrative state" (Kuye et al, 2002: 5).

Not only is public administration concerned with the execution of the laws, rules and regulations of the government of the country (Cloete, 1988: 16), it crucially is also concerned with formulating and executing policy. What is evident is that public administration has to do with the making and implementation of policy of government and public programmes and includes the management of organisations and activities that are involved in this public policy and programmes spheres.

The policies that a government formulates, adopts and the effectiveness with which it is implemented directly impact on the delivery of services to society. To this end, public administration contributes to the shaping and implementation of policies where these policies find expression in rules and regulations (Coetzee, 1988: 45).

In Cayer's (2003: 1) reflections on public administration, he compares it to life in a swamp. In this scenario, footing is uncertain, the path is unclear, the terrain keeps shifting and, the alligators are mean and hungry. Whereas business administrators have some degree of certainty through formulaic approaches, public administrators do not have this luxury given that the environment in which they work is much more unstable. The political landscape, shifting political power relations, economic swings and unpredictable social issues all affect the public administrator. They are accountable to more than one authority, including elected

political officials and the public-at-large. Not only must they account for the responsible use of financial resources (taxpayers' money), but they are also expected to be responsive to the espoused democratic values of the government system.

In Cayer's world, the administrative swamp is populated by changing political forces, shifting economic conditions, the media, interest groups and demanding citizens. In addition to this, internal dynamics, such as employee interests, inter-agency conflict, and bureaucratic routines, lie in wait for the manager who attempts to drain the swamp and establish firm ground on which to work (Cayer, 2003: 32).

The porous boundaries of public administration add to the difficulty in defining it. Government can generally be described as intrusive as it is involved in almost everything that people do. This intrusive nature of government is the result of it being the apex service provider that binds society through ensuring an element of fairness between the different citizens in seeking to generally bring the most benefits and least harm to society. The aim of government can be described as bringing stability to the nation through the maintenance of social cohesion and social tranquillity. Structures for civility and civil order are thus created (Cayer, 2003: 37).

With the increased involvement of government in society, the need for more agencies arises and with that more administrators to see to it that government policy is implemented. In implementing policy, administrators also assume the role of policy formulators as they develop the requisite expertise and skills in

identifying what will work best in any given situation. The recommendations that administrators make to policy-making bodies – usually the executive branch of government – place administrators in a position to shape future policy developments. Similarly, administrators' interpretation of the general policy positions to specific conditions of elected officials effectively renders them policy-makers (Cayer, 2003: 38).

3.4   Public Administration: Art, Science or, Craft?

Science is based on universal laws or tendencies which are applicable in any situation. The scientific management movement used this approach as a catalyst in their attempt to establish public administration as a science.   Public Administration is a discipline within the social sciences which itself is imprecise when measured by the standards of the physical sciences (Peters, 2003: 35). This does not however, mean that Public Administration should not strive for as much certainty as possible. Instead, scientific approaches are integrated, where appropriate, with public administrators being made fully aware that much of their success depends on the degree to which they adapt to the continuously changing conditions.

There is a view amongst certain scholars that public administration would be better served by a post-modern approach where the emphasis is on discourse and collaboration among citizens, administrators and public officials rather than embracing positivist, rational approaches.

Many who perceive the need for public administration to be located in the practical sciences, believe that political values can be separated from the administrative process. In this approach, administrators are separated from policy-makers and it is the values of policy-makers that are reflected. This view led to the evolution of what has become known as the politics/administrative dichotomy. The attempt for this approach was to establish public administration as an entity, separate from politics and more scientific and managerial in orientation. The concept of separating politics and administration was given intellectual legitimacy through the essay, "The Study of Administration", written by Woodrow Wilson in 1887.

Notwithstanding the fact that public administration today eschews the reality of separation, the separation continues to be challenged as it is an important analytical distinction for understanding the innumerable aspects of public administration. The separation of policy/politics and administration was accepted as a *fait accompli* in the field of public administration until as late as the 1950s and 1960s (Peters, 2003: 54).

After the Second World War, the supposedly scientific discourse of the Scientific Management School was increasingly being challenged. Scholars like Herbert Simon (1947) characterised the principles of administration that were advocated by the Scientific Management School as proverbs which were not in conflict with one another or whose opposites were just as plausible, if not more. Simon was in favour of developing a true scientific approach to administration and to this end developed the concept of fact/value distinction as a guide to the new science.

Simons' work provided a renewed interest in the politics/administration dichotomy as well as serving as a stimulus for renewed interest in more scientific approaches to analysing public administration (Jun 2002: 45).

Public administration began to resemble the character of a profession in its emerging identity and in its adoption of scientific methods (Jun, 2002:46). The development of professionalism in public administration gave rise to new debates. The main advocates of the debate involved scholars such as Herman Finer (1941) and Carl Friedrich (1941) with their respective schools and followers. For Finer, public administration had a responsibility to respond to elected officials and adapt to the ever-changing or shifting environmental forces. Friedrich's core argument centred on the fact that administrators were obliged to adhere to scientific standards, represented by professional standards and generally accepted practice.

3.5 Public Administration: Collective Human Activity

All administration, including public administration, is dependent on the effort of individuals who constitute the administrative organisation (Cayer, 2003: 4). Meeting most of the common objectives in any organisation requires the organisation to attract members (with particular (the right mix of) skills, attributes and attitudes) and gain their cooperation. In order to get members to not only comply with but also support organisational objectives, it is imperative that members interact with and relate to one another. Administration must take into account the complexities of human nature as it is impacted on by such complexities.

Administrators in the public service must deal with a wide spectrum of people – not only those who constitute the organisation, but also with those interested members of the various political environments (including elected political officials, citizens, interest groups and clients of organisations). The internal organisational dynamics and the external environment lead to a continuously changing, and at times perplexing, setting for public administration (Cayer, 2003: 39).

3.6   Theories of Public Administration

At least three broadly defined approaches can be identified in the study of public administration. These are the *Classics*, the *Behaviouralists* and the *Administration as Politics* approach. The discussion that follows focus on the impact of these three approaches on public administration.

The essay, "The Study of Administration", written by Woodrow Wilson in 1887, is held by many to be the origin of the self-conscious study of public administration in the United States of America. In his essay, Wilson argued for the absolute separation of administration from political and policy concerns. In his view, the concerns of public administration should be exclusively with the "detailed and systematic execution of public law". Political officials and politics generally were tasked to set the agenda for administration, but not to get engaged in administrative activities so as to "manipulate its offices". Following his definition of separating administration from politics, Wilson concluded that the task of the public administrator, which encompasses the selection of appropriate means to accomplish given ends, was not significantly different from any other administrator. His hypotheses led Wilson to call for the development of a science

of administration where the objective would be to develop/discover general principles that would guide administrators in the efficient performance of their duties. He also connected the efficiency required of administrators with the field of business in that administration, like business, is not convoluted with the "hurry and strife of politics".

This theorem of separating politics from administration, pursuing administration based on scientific principles and the assertion that business techniques are applicable in the public sector all contributed to the dominant image of public administration in the Classic period.

3.6.1 The Classical Approach

The Scientific Management Movement and the Departmentalists dominated the Classical epoch. Together, their influence became known as "administrative theory".

The Scientific Management approach was founded by Frederick W. Taylor and was based on carefully defined laws, rules and principles informed by the idea of how work has to be done to achieve efficiency (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2009: 167). Taylor focused on the individual employee, designing detailed measurements of time and motion to discover how employees might become more effective. Time and motion were the primary tools of analysis in Taylors' experiment for determining the best ways of performing work efficiently. At the core of the Scientific Management method was the search for basic principles involved in the performance of simple tasks in order to determine the 'singular

best way' of performing any task. The scope of the analysis was largely limited to the private sector, but it nonetheless attracted large numbers of enthusiasts from the public sector (Fry, 1989: 2).

The approach known as Departmentalists was a logical complement to the Scientific Management Movement (Fry, 1989: 12). The unit of assessment or primary tool of analysis for the Departmentalist was the formal organisational chart. Organisational structure rather than the performance of physical tasks was the focus for Departmentalists. This may be said to be an "atomised" approach to public administration.

How can organisational efficiency be optimised? This was the central concern addressed by the Departmentalists. According to the Departmentalists approach, optimisation of organisational efficiency could be achieved by first identifying the tasks that were necessary to accomplish an organisational objective and then to group and organise those tasks so as to bring about the desirable conditions or outcomes. Departmentalists adopted and advocated principles commensurate with using authority with responsibility, unity of command in the organisation, and the fact that the chain of command should not be bypassed to the point where these principles have become deeply ingrained in organisational culture (Fry, 1989: 22).

Both Departmentalists and Scientific Management Movement adherents purposed to establish a science of administration that would be equally applicable in both the private and the public sectors. For Departmentalists however, the process of and actual analyses were not as systematic as that used

by Scientific Management. While Scientific Management derived principles through observation and analyses, Departmentalists were more concerned with getting to specific applications through the adoption of pre-ordained general principles (Fry, 1989: 22).

The definition professed by Wilson, together with the prescription asserted by Scientific Management and the Departmentalists for organisational management and structure relied disproportionately on hierarchy as the primary mechanism for control and coordination which formed the fundamentals of the Classical Approach to public administration.

The German scholar, Max Weber observed the appearance of large-scale organisations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and subsequently coined the term bureaucracy. Bureaucracy could be ascribed to any large organisation either in public or private, characterised by a clearly defined hierarchy of impersonal offices and employment of qualified people who are subject to strict discipline and control (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2009:166). Weber related to the Classical approach in two basic ways. First, he adopted the same position as the Classical authors on the 'rightness' of the relationship between the politician and the administrator. For Weber, the bureaucrat should be the neutral servant of her or his political rulers, a position central to the Classical Politics-Administration dichotomy (Fry, 1989: 22).

Secondly, Weber's formulation for what constituted the ideal bureaucracy carried attributes that closely resembled the type of organisation that was widely prescribed by and characteristic of the Classical approach.

The contribution made by the classical theorists to public administration is attributed to the strong emphasis that they placed on conceptualising the formal organisation. This mechanistic or technicist view helped to clarify the understanding of the administrative phenomena of control and hierarchy.

It would, however, be fatalistic to assume or suggest that Weber's contribution was limited to the Classical approach. The pervasive influence of his work on public administration extended to the Behavioural approach given his support for a value free social science and his sociological interests. His concern with power relations in society reflected similar concerns in the Administration as Politics approach (Fry, 1989: 22).

3.6.2   The Behavioural Approach

The dominance of the Classical approach did not go without opposition (Bekker: 1996: 34). The main challenge came from what was known as the Behavioural approach. The Behavioural approach had to do with the study of actual behaviour where the individual usually constituted the preferred unit of analysis with a multi-disciplinary focus. Scientific procedures must be applied with rigour, and intent is primarily descriptive.

Behaviourism incorporated a diversity of perspectives, including the Human Relations Movement. The Behavioural approach concerned itself more with organisational structure and management, rather than defining the field of public administration, which was a substantial divergence from the Classical approach (Bekker, 1996: 38).

In this approach, hierarchical organisational structures, espoused by the Classical authors, were modified rather than eliminated. The rationale for this was that it would appeal to a wide range of human needs and therefore served to motivate the person in the organisation. Consequently, the Behavioural approach supported a number of changes in the structure and processes of the organisation. Participatory decision-making procedures was favoured and argued for by Behaviourists as opposed to the emphasis on executive decision-making responsibilities advocated by the Classics.

In the matter of supervision, the Classic approach favoured a production-centred orientation while the Behavioural approach was more employee-centred. The benefits of specialisation were the 'gospel' of the Classical authors, but for Behaviourists, job enlargement was instrumental to giving employees more of a sense of satisfaction from the performance of their tasks. The nature of the supervision argued for under the Classical approach required a restricted span of control, while that of the Behaviourist was a wider span of control (no close supervision) which evidently allowed for sufficient latitude for employees to express self-initiative and self-control (Fry, 1989: 34).

The two preceding approaches – Classical and Behaviourist – differed fundamentally in conceptual term, specifically in regard to management style. The basic difference had to do with notions about the relationship between the individual and the organisation. Classical authors largely viewed this relationship as 'mechanical'. The assumption was that the individual only involved her or himself segmentally in the organisation where he or she received rewards to be

used to get basic satisfactions elsewhere. In this scenario where money was assumed to be the primary instrumental reward, it followed that people's behaviour in the organisation could be controlled by the judicious manipulation of monetary incentives (Fry, 1989: 34). This could well be the genesis of notions associated with performance bonuses and performance management. It is also devoid of notions and values associated with political and other cultural ideologies.

The Behaviourists constructed a different reality. This paradigm dictated that the individual's behaviour was more visible then had been presumed by the Classic authors. The reason for this partially resided in the fact that the individual was more holistically involved in the organisation and this organisational experiences presented expectations of intrinsic, rather than only instrumental, rewards. Monetary incentives were subject to easy manipulation which posed more of a challenge when it came to social and psychological rewards. Also, the Classics did not fully account for the reality that there were elements which affected people's behaviour in the organisation that were either beyond the control of the organisation or at least more difficult for the organisation to control (Fry, 1989: 34).

Behaviourists maintained that organisational responsiveness was to be reasonably broad in covering a range of human needs in order to effectively motivate the individual in the organisation and consequently control or at least steer her or his behaviour.

Even though the end for both the Classical and the Behavioural approaches was the development of a science of administration, the means of getting there differed. The Classics emphasised a deductive and normative approach as opposed to the inductive and descriptive approach favoured by the Behaviourists. The Behavioural approach stressed operational concepts, the use of systematic techniques of analysis and generalisation of empirical findings. It did not so much discard normative attributions about organisations, but rather deferred it on the condition that more descriptive information was acquired (Fry, 1989: 34).

Mary Parker Follet, Elton Mayo and Chester Barnard contributed to the intellectual project that challenged the Classical organisational framework and were seminal pioneers to the development of the Behavioural approach. The earliest of these was the work of Follet, who anticipated some of the central themes of the Behavioural period, the most prominent of them being her ideas about the nature of authority in the organisation (Fry, 1989: 34).

While the Classical view maintained that coordination could only be effected through the exercise of authority which resided at the apex of the organisational pyramid, Follet argued that authority flowed from coordination and that authority was neither supreme nor was it delegated. The very nature of authority was pluralistic. Follet presented the argument that authority was increasingly exercised on the premise of the objective demands of the situation instead of personal arbitrary mandates (Fry, 1989: 38).

The research done by Mayo focused on the social and psychological factors of human behaviour in the organisational context and specifically emphasising

informal group activity. When the organisation does not effectively serve the needs and expectations of its workers, informal groups emerge with the capacity to adopt norms of behaviour that are potentially different from that of the organisation (Fry, 1989: 39).

Barnard, the other innovator in the Behavioural Movement, utilised the intellectual work of both Follet, who discoursed on the notion of authority, and Mayo's assertion that the socio-psychological needs of sub-ordinates must be met and satisfied in order to achieve organisational effectiveness. Barnard theorised the organisation as a system of exchange in which each participant contributed in exchange for inducements offered by the organisation. The relationship was transactional in nature. Each participant evaluated the organisational inducement and individual contribution subjectively and the individual's continued participation was dependent on the perception of the value of the inducement offered by the organisation.

Based on the above premise, Barnard proceeded to formulate a concept of authority which he defined as "the character of communication in a formal organisation by virtue of which it is accepted by a member of the organisation as governing the action he contributes" (Fry, 1989: 39). Authority therefore was in the relationship between a superior and a sub-ordinate and not on its issuance. This approach emphasised the role of the sub-ordinate and the imperative of compliance.

3.6.3   Administration as Politics

In concert with the Behavioural Approach, the Administration as Politics Method questioned every fundamental premise on which the Classical Perspective was constructed. The Classics and the Behaviourists essentially differed on the way in which organisations should be structured and managed. On the other hand, the fundamental difference between the Classical Approach and the Administration as Politics Method had to do with the different meanings that each assigned to the field of public administration (Minogue, 1998: 67).

The Administration as Politics Method was constructed on the fundamental premise that it is impossible to separate politics from administration. This is in direct contrast to the Classical Approach. A distinctive difference between public administration and private administration is located in the fact that public administration happens in the political space in which a public administrator is required to function. According to this approach, the separation of facts from values is questionable. Facts and values are inter-connected and the two cannot be mutually exclusive. The Administration as Politics Methodology rejects the notion of a politics-administration dichotomy and has strong reservation about the fact-value dichotomy leaving one to deduce that under this approach, public administration is both art and science, and perhaps even more art than science.

The politics-administration dichotomy is rejected on the basis of both empirical and normative argument. The empirical argument is that even casual observations will reveal the involvement of administrators in political and policy

concerns. The mere size and complexity of the bureaucracy necessitates administrative initiative in formulating policy and administrative discretion in the implementation of policy. In both these activities, the administrator is a participant in the policy and political processes. The normative discourse holds that when the administrator is separated from the political and policy matters, then society suffers through deprivation from being denied the creative and innovative contribution of those who are probably best informed about the programmes that they administer. This tendency only serve to insulate the administrator from the legitimate demands of the public that she or he is charged with serving and can never be justified (Minogue; 1998: 66).

Reconciling the necessity of administration with the requirements of democracy became the central challenge for the Administration as Politics Method. Two forms manifested itself around these concerns: focusing on the concept of administrative responsibility, and an emphasis on the public policy process itself. Under the administrative responsibility lens, defining an appropriate role for the administrator in a pluralistic political environment became central (Minogue; 1998: 66). This was an activist approach when compared to the Classical Approach which stressed a role of neutrality in matters of policy.

The process by which policy is formulated, adopted, implemented and evaluated is analytical in nature and has been described as the second development in the Administration as Politics Method (Hood; 2004: 191). This led to increasing concerns related to the techniques of policy analysis, such as planning and

evaluation. The policy process itself became the focus and within that, the role of the administrator at the various stages of the process.

Some scholars argued that Public Administration is inextricably linked to the discipline of Political Science (Coetzee; 1988: 34). Many of the pioneers of Public Administration were trained as political scientists and considered Public Administration as a Branch within Political Science. The year 1900 is generally recognised as a Rubicon moment that ruptured the integral nature of politics and administration and was the genesis for the separation between politics and administration.

Administration requires and involves the determination of major policy, the development and adoption of specific programmes, the creation of organisation, provision of personnel, authorisation of finance or budget, administrative supervision, coordination and control of activities and the audit and review of results. In reflecting upon this broad definition, it is clear that administration is as a matter of necessity, involved in both politics and the policy process (Fry, 1989: 65).

According to Goodnow (1900: 10-11), government has two distinct functions, politics and administration. The domain of politics is that of policies or the expressions of the will of the state whilst administration is about the implementation or enactment of these policies. In other words, public administration is about the bureaucracy.

The separation of powers, advocated by the French philosopher Montesquie in 1748, is the basis for the distinction between politics and administration. The legislative branch, assisted by the interpretative abilities of the judicial branch expressed the will of the state and formulated policy while the executive branch administered those policies impartially and apolitically (Henry, 1980: 29).

Woodrow Wilson, in his essay on the Study of Administration argued that administrative questions and political questions are not the same and that whilst politics sets the tasks for administration, it should not manipulate the administration.

Over the last century, it has become evident that policy is influenced by the bureaucracy in terms of both refining it as well as implementing it (White, 1926: 6). Pressures by various interests groups have an impact on both the policy development organs of state as well as those responsible for executing policy. As a result, the space in which the administration functions is not a neutral vacuum, but rather one with many tempting political surroundings. In the end, the administration is integrated with policy and through policy with politics. Furthermore, cadre deployment has become a feature of many public administration systems pointing to the blur between politics and the administration. This is not to say that there are many areas of government work which are politically neutral or ought to be. Technical, professional and scientific operations would be compromised if dictated to by political domination or interference. Employing qualified civil engineers to construct roads and bridges remains a prerequisite irrespective of whether it is an ANC or DA government.

3.7 Functions of Public Administration

A number of classification models exists which constitute frameworks of analysis of the activities of administration. One such a model which has been adopted widely is that developed by Luther Gulick and which is known as POSDCORB with the acronym denoting the administrative functions: being Planning, Organising, Staffing, Directing, Coordinating, Reporting and Budgeting (Berkley and Rouse, 2004: 54).

A different approach clusters Administration into six main functions: policy making, organising, financing, staffing, determination of work procedures and exercising control over the progress that is being made in order to ensure that the objective is achieved (Cloete, 1981: 34).

3.7.1 Planning

Planning is the act of outlining a series of steps that must be carried out in order to achieve an identified goal or desired outcome (Lerner and Wanat, 1992: 52). It encompasses the means by which purpose is transformed into programmes and involved the identification of key variables that are subject to control and manipulation in order to achieve organisational objectives. Planning is fundamental to management and usually constitutes the first step in the management process and often is apparent after the fact.

The planning function germinates the organising, staffing, leading and controlling functions. It is only after the goals and strategies for reaching the goals have

been put in place that organising and staffing the establishment can be activated. It is also during the controlling phase that the manager determines whether goals are being met based on the standards that have been set during planning. Lerner and Wanat (1992: 56) asserted that the driving force behind the controlling function resided in the planning function which provided the goals and standards for control to happen.

Even though planning is crucial at all levels of management, its characteristics and impact vary according to the level of management. Examples of types of planning include strategic planning and operational planning. Strategic planning is a technique (process) designed to help organisations and communities establish and implement goals in a changing environment. It can be distinguished from other forms of planning by the process used. This process includes an emphasis on the following characteristics:

- it is mission (purpose) oriented and emphasizes a vision for the future of the institution and the values (principles, standards, beliefs, and actions) that members of the institution consider important and feel the institution should represent;

- it is anticipatory (proactive) in that it focuses attention on the future of the organisation;

- it is designed to include individuals from all parts of the organisation who have a vested interest in the development of the organisation and the goals and objectives it seeks to achieve (stakeholders);

- it is diagnostic and uses data and diagnostic techniques throughout the process;

- it is a focused process that concentrates on a limited number of selected issues;

- it considers major issues and trends taking place in the external environment of the organisation and how they may impact on the future of the organisation;

- it assesses organisational strengths and opportunities in terms of their implications for organisational success;

- it explicitly considers resources and resource availability and;

- it is action oriented with a strong emphasis on action and results.

The purpose of strategic planning is to develop strategies and tactics to guide the organisation. Embedded in strategies are organisational commitments such as the allocation of resources in order to achieve major objectives and goals.

Work procedures, which stem from planning, should be standardised in public institutions and is defined as the compilation of procedural codes and instructions as well as the design of work study systems and methods to increase productivity (Cloete, 1981: 59).

3.7.2   Organisation

Organisational theory deals with the structure of coordination that is imposed upon the work division units of an organisation comprising people and groups of people. A shared purpose would be informed by the division of labour and

integrated with information-based decision processes at regular intervals over time. It becomes virtually impossible to determine how an activity ought to be organised without due consideration to how the work will be divided (Michelle, 1996: 12).

There are a number of organisational schools including Taylor's scientific management school, Fayol's administrative school and Weber's bureaucratic school which complicates defining "organisation" in general terms.

With time, a view has been established and generally accepted that understand organisation as goal attainment systems. Michelle (1996: 16) conceptualises organisations as social systems of a special type which are characterised by their "primacy of orientation to the attainment of a specific goal". Malan's (2001: 33) articulation of organisation as "a coordinated body (or system) of individuals (and perhaps machines) arranged to reach some goal or perform some function or service" reinforces this view.

When systems are designed and implemented, work is divided and patterns develop in the relationships between people to coordinate this division of labour. With the formation of organisation, forms of hierarchies of authority (in the relationships) emerge.

In organisation, regular activities such as task allocation, supervision and coordination are developed. It is these regularities that give rise to an organisation's structure and the fact that these activities can be arranged in multiple ways potentially means that organisations can have different structures.

Organisation then has definable membership; its members engage each other in regularised patterns; it is composed of a hierarchy of roles which are relatively permanent although the individuals in them change; it has certain finite boundaries; and it has a fairly specific formal goal or mission (Pfiffner and Presthus; 1967: 8).

3.7.3   Policy

The perception is that policies are institutional outputs since most public policies are authoritatively conceived, formulated, implemented and enforced by government institutions (Dye, 1998:15).

According to Kuye (2009: 600), to achieve policy success, the following four propositions must be taken into account:

- *Successful for which target population? What are the competing, conflicting, and coexisting interests that impinge on policy and how do they enter the policymaking process?*

- *If all the variables were constant, would a reform produce anticipated results? Is such a reform culturally appropriate?*

- *Is there a synergy between policy implementation and the actual policy itself?*

- *Does the change produce other significant outcomes and how are these dealt with? A reform ought to be judged not only in isolation, but also by the degree to which the system can cope with its broader consequences. In most developing countries, some patterns emerge as to whether a given*

policy improves or hampers a system's capacity to deal with inevitable spin-off problems.

In this instance, the approach to policy is a comprehensive and integrated process. Searching for, debating about, developing, applying and evaluating a given policy evolves from a continuum of events, where the beginning is almost impossible to locate and the end is rarely permanent (Gerston, 2010: 6). Public policies may be described as the outcome of a number of programmes, legislative intentions, and organisational interactions that affect the daily lives of citizens.

No administrative action can take place in the absence of specific goals and objectives. Policies give certainty through the provision of a framework that guides daily actions.

No matter how much scientific methods or objective standards are applied in the development of a policy, a public official is subjective and at risk of overemphasizing his own specialty. The more zeal he shows for the public welfare, the greater is the probability of error. This kind of distortion is increased by the tendency of the official to enter into alliances with legislators who have similar preferences and interests and with representatives holding a similar point of view as him.

The logic and chronology of policy and politics in the political process of policy determination are primary to administration. Policy defines the aims and ends of governmental action. The ideal of government by consent of the governed would

be empty unless the ordinary citizen had his say in the matter. In a democracy of large-scale governmental operations, the citizen cannot have his say directly, except within narrow limits. Through voting, however, and through other kinds of political activity he can indirectly express his preference in policy. The people choose their representatives in the legislature and at the helm of the executive branch; these elected officials proceed with the making of public policy. Though they may receive advice and information from various quarters, officials as well as interests groups, they alone are called upon to determine and declare policy.

On the highest level, therefore, public policy is what politically chosen representatives make it. It is after they have set the goals and laid out the main lines of action for attaining these goals that the basic role of public administration begins. Administrators have the task of enforcing or implementing policy. It is the essence of their craft to handle the public's business with the greatest efficiency possible, limited only by the resources available to them and the conditions under which they are required to work. In their capacity as citizens, those who serve in public administration may not always share the views of those who make official policy or agree with its wisdom. Unless they resign their posts, however, it is their solemn duty to make every effort to accomplish the purpose or the set program. It is not their business to try to substitute any greater wisdom they may think they have for any lesser wisdom of the people's chosen representatives. Administrators must record their doubts at the stage of policy consideration or reconsideration.

The policy process encompasses the formulation, approval and implementation of government programmes. It is through the policy process that public administrators join officials from other branches of government, private citizens, interest groups, political parties and others. Ideas, resources, stimuli and constraints that influence the participants are all contained in the policy process.

Policies are the goals and actions that administrators undertake in order to shape the quantity and quality of public services. There can be unintended consequences to policies. An example of this is the continuous poor performance in the South African education system despite the significant state funds invested in education.

One of the tasks of management would be to establish appropriate methods for identifying existing or potential problems, and to provide channels for sifting and expediting consideration of policy issues at the most suitable departmental levels. Once the determination have been made, it is equally important that the substance and rationale for the policy be quickly disseminated to the whole staff and to the public affected by it. The ease and effectiveness with which a department educates itself and its public as to its own policies and any changes in them, determines in large measure, its ability to dispose of its work with ease and effectiveness at the operational levels. This is policy competence.

Policy decision in administration is not an isolated act of senior officials; it is not a legalistic interpretation of a hypothetical legislative intent; nor is it the exercise of unrestrained power to steer a course according to the administrator's political preferences or social prejudices. Rather, it is the result of an inter-play of many

forces and many brains brought to a focus by the coordinating direction from the administrator.

A government's accomplishments for a society depend on what policies it formulates and adopts and the effectiveness with which these (policies) are put into practice. Public administration contributes to both the shaping and the execution of policies (Fesler, 1980).

The public agenda is subjected to continual change with shifting public priorities and values. These changes are often unpredictable and volatile which give rise to the need for policy makers to take action. At the conceptual level, public policy is an indicator of how modern government works and political life flows.

3.7.3.1 Modes of Policy Making

The making of policy can assume both formal and informal methods. In the South African context, formal methods include (Kihato and Rapoo, 1999: 34):

- Contributing to green and white papers, in which the public make written submissions and comments to the relevant ministries. Some government departments hold workshops or indabas where stakeholders are invited to make verbal submissions or express their opinions on the proposed new legislation;

- Submissions to parliamentary portfolio committees: the committees provide a forum where ordinary citizens or organisations can make formal representations to government on new laws or policy during the

parliamentary process. In this context, the committees are key structures to utilise for the purpose of advocacy. COSATU often takes up the challenge to make submissions via the formal route. One example of this is that when the call for submissions on the Green Paper on Further Education and Training came, COSATU took pains to stress redress of the economy so as to ensure that the previously marginalized were afforded better access to education and training opportunities.

- Forums and government commissions, especially at local government level. These include ward committees, where citizens and councillors are expected to interact at ward level in planning for local development.

Some of the informal methods of policy interaction comprise:

- Negotiations (this can also be formal). Activities include behind the scenes interactions with policy-makers and unofficial discussions between government officials and members of the public and/or organisations;

- Petitions. These are usually deployed to demonstrate how much popular support an issue has. An example of this is the 'Million Faces' petition, which is part of the Control Arms Campaign, a joint initiative by Amnesty International, Oxfam International and the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA). Over 800,000 people in 160 countries have already given their photographs to the Million Faces Petition, which is the world's largest photo petition, calling on leaders to back stricter controls on the

arms trade. It represents the million people who have been killed by arms since the last UN conference on small arms in 2001.

- Lobbying. This is used to persuade individuals or groups with decision-making power to support an organisation's position; and

- General public policy debates (for instance in the media) and mobilising pressure groups. These can include debates in community halls, civic associations, newspaper articles, and radio stations.

Such informal alliances to further the public interest by advancing special programs make it impossible to determine exactly who was responsible for what. The effective responsibility for the content of public policy cannot be measured simply in the number of bills that are prepared by lobbyists, by administrative officials, or by individual legislators. The more important decisions in the formulation of policy are usually made in informal discussions in which those concerned try to work out an agreement before the proposal is formally prepared for legislative consideration.

Even if no informal discussions are held, a proposal drafted by an administrative official will be influenced greatly by his judgment of what the legislative committee will probably accept and of what will arouse strong opposition by private interests. It should, therefore, be stressed that the very fluidity and informality of this process is its most democratic characteristic.

Policy is defined as a deliberative action or non action undertaken by government to achieve the desired end or address a problem (Smith and Larimer, 2009: 75).

Thus policy is regarded as a problem-orientation response and involves a series of complex questions such as: what is the problem, who decides what the problem is, why does it merit government attention and when and why do policies change? These questions are at the core of the study of public policy.

3.7.3.2   *Policy agenda setting*

Policy agenda setting refers to a deliberate planning process through which policy issues are identified, support mobilized and decision makers lobbied to take appropriate actions (Cloete and Meyer, 2006: 105). Agenda setting is the most creative part of the policy process, due to the fact that it is the stage at which ideas become policy issues. An issue is a conflict between two or more identifiable groups over procedural or substantive matters relating to the distribution of positions or resources (Cobb and Elder, 1972: 128). Thus it is argued that agenda setting is a process by which issues gain prominence and become known to the public for debate and governmental action.

The issues are created in many forms; the most common method of manufacturing an issue by one or more of the contending parties who perceive an unfavourable bias in the distribution of positions or resources; and another form of issue creation can be traced to a person or group who manufacture an issue for their own gain (Cobb and Elder, 1972: 128). These are some of the forms of issue creation or the dynamics of agenda building which need to be considered when pontificating about policy issues.

Cobb and Elder (1972: 130) differentiated between two basic types of political agendas. These are systematic agenda and; institutional, governmental or formal

agenda. The first of these is the systematic agenda for political controversy. It consists of all issues that are commonly perceived by members of the political community as meriting public attention and as involving matters within the legitimate jurisdiction of existing governmental authority. For an issue to obtain access to the systematic agenda, it must receive widespread attention, a shared concern by the majority of the public and shared perception over a matter by which the government ought to do something about it. Lastly, the institutional, governmental or formal agenda may be defined as that set of items explicitly up for active and serious consideration of authoritative decision-makers.

The study of how policies are made generally considers a series of activities or processes that occur within the political system. It must be borne in mind that political science is also the study of public policy. Gaining a scientific understanding of public policies is for purposes of improving them (public policies) for the general welfare of all the citizens. The processes are usually presented as follows: the identification of policy problems either in the form of systematic agenda or institutional or government agenda; agenda setting being influenced by the emotional impact triggered by the mass media, interest groups and so on; formulation; legitimation; implementation; and evaluation (Dye, 1998: 317).

3.7.3.3   *Role players in policy agenda setting*

3.7.3.3.1 *Elected political office-bearers*

Politicians derive their mandate from the electorate. This mandate is translated into public policies and support is mobilised for these policy initiatives.

3.7.3.3.2 Appointed officials

Career public officials play a predominant role in influencing the policy agenda, since they are able to spot the problems and with their practical experience they suggest policy options.

3.7.3.3.3 Court of law

The legal profession contributes to policy making and agenda setting as they pay attention to the constitutional aspects of policy agendas.

3.7.3.3.4 Interest groups

The role of interest groups cannot be over elaborated as already mentioned. They do have access to the policy-agenda and they are influential in decision making.

3.7.3.3.5 Media

The media plays a crucial role in shaping and portraying policy statements of the government. Through the media, public opinions over policy decisions are shaped and the media influences the policy agenda (Cloete and Meyer, 2006: 112-114).

3.7.3.4 The variables of policy implementation

It is argued that policies imply theories. Policies become programs when by authoritative actions, the initial conditions are created, followed by implementation which is the ability to forge the subsequent links in the casual chain so as to accomplish the desired result (Brynard, 2005: 2). Policies are therefore the authoritative statement of intent directed upon the resolution of the

problems in the environment, whereas implementation is the carrying-out of the process to achieve the intended results. For the purpose of this study, it is indispensable to incorporate the 5 C protocol (variables of policy implementation) in the implementation stage. The 5 C protocol includes content, context, capacity, commitment, and clients and coalition and form the continuum of implementation of which has a bearing in all Cs in the implementation. In order to eloquently understand the implementation of policies, it becomes necessary to unravel the complexity and dynamic nature of policy implementation. The following is the detailed description of the 5 C protocol:

3.7.3.4.1 Content

The content of the policy encapsulates the intention of the policy and what it stands for. For instance; policies can either be distributive, regulatory or redistributive. In very broad terms, distributive policies create public goods for the general welfare and are non-zero sum in character; regulatory policies specify rules of conduct with sanctions for failure to comply; and redistributive policies attempt to change the allocation of wealth or power of certain groups at the expense of others (Anderson, 2003: 7). In the content of the policy, there are clear goals and objectives of the policy as well as the procedure to be followed when implementing the policy.

3.7.3.4.2 Context

The focus is on the institutional context which, like other variables will necessarily be shaped by the larger context of social, economic, political and legal setting (Brynard, 2005: 659). It is important to take into consideration the issue of

contextuality in the implementation of policies since social, economic, political and legal issues have potential bearing on the outcomes of policy implementation.

3.7.3.4.3 Commitment

Policies may look extremely logical on paper, but if those entrusted with responsibility for implementation are unwilling to implement, little will happen. Government officials must be conversant with the content of the policy so as to be able to implement. However, this could not happen in a vacuum, it needs the concerted effort of those entrusted with the responsibility of implementing government policies.

3.7.3.4.4 Capacity

The capacity of the public sector is conceptualised in terms of general systems thinking as the structural, functional and cultural ability to implement the policy objectives of the government. This translates to the ability to deliver those public services aimed at raising the quality of life of citizens (Brynard, 2005: 660). The capacity is determined by the availability and accessibility to tangible resources such as human, financial, material, technological and logistical.

3.7.3.4.5 Clients and Coalitions

This is concerned with the importance of government joining coalition of interest groups, opinion leaders, and other outside actors who actively support particular implementation processes (Brynard, 2005: 661). The government policies do not only affect the constituencies, but influence a number of actors directly or indirectly who actively support particular implementation processes.

3.7.3.5   Policy design and policy implementation

Once a problem has been identified, it is put on the agenda for active consideration by decision makers. However, there is still more to do in moving an idea from a successful contestant on the agenda to a fleshed-out policy (Birkland, 2005: 157). It is within the scope of policy design whereby policy goals are articulated. Thus it becomes imperative to have a clear understanding of what the policy seeks to achieve. Policy goals are made because someone has persuaded a substantive number of citizens, elected officials or both that something has to be done about the problem. It is generally accepted that policy design and implementation are closely related and as such they are inseparable. Policy design and implementation encompass the variables of outputs and outcomes. Birkland (2005: 157) distinguish between the outputs and outcomes as follows: outputs are things that the policy processes produce such as laws, regulations, rules and the like. Outcomes, on the other hand, are the results of the implementation of a policy, such as the satisfaction by the citizens for services provided; for example water, housing and sanitation. The policy design and implementation is therefore paralysed by ambiguity and goal conflict as policy design also reveals conflict over policy goals. This is because policies and their goals are often vague when originally established and this becomes a grim challenge for agencies charged with implementation to satisfy demands of everyone involved in formulating and approving policies.

3.7.3.6   Policy analysis

Policies are analysed for the purpose of keeping track whether the policies are feasible as well as whether those implemented achieve what they were created for. The table below briefly outline the stages in the policy analysis process as articulated by different authors.

TABLE 1: Stages in the Policy Process

THEORISTS	STAGES IN POLICY PROCESS
Anderson (1997: 39-41)	1.Problem identification and agenda format 2. Formulation 3. Adoption 4. Implementation 5. Evaluation
Quade (1982)	1. Formulate the problem 2. Search for alternatives 3. Forecast the future environment 4. Model the impacts of alternatives 5. Evaluate the alternatives
Stokey and Zeckchauser (1978: 5-6)	1. Determine the problem and objectives 2. Identify alternatives 3. Predict consequences of each alternative 4. Determine the criteria for measuring the achievement of alternatives 5. Indicate the preferred choice of action
Patton and Saawick (1986: 29-38)	1. Verify, define and detail the problem

	2. Establish evaluating criteria
	3. Identify alternatives policies
	4. Evaluate alternatives policies
	5. Display and select among alternative policies
	6. Monitor policy outcomes
Walker (1993: 6); cf. also Walker (1979)	1. Identify the problem
	2. Specify objectives
	3. Decide on criteria
	4. Select alternatives
	5. Analyse alternatives
	6. Compare alternatives
	7. Implement chosen alternatives
	8. Monitor and evaluate results

Source: Roux, 2006

Dunn (2009: 33) postulated that policy analysis, as a process of multidisciplinary inquiry, seeks to create, transform and communicate knowledge of and in the policy-making process. Because the effectiveness of policy making depends in part on the availability of policy-relevant information, the communication and use of policy analysis is essential.

It is therefore imperative for policy analysis to be conducted prior, during and after policies are implemented. Dunn (2009: 10) distinguished between retrospective and prospective forms of policy analysis in this way; prospective policy analysis involves the production and transformation of information before policy actions are taken (*ex-ante* analysis). In contrast, retrospective policy

analysis takes the form of *ex-post* analysis and involves the production and transformation of information after policies have been implemented.

Umar and Kuye (2006: 819) concludes that the nature of policy making in the public sector realm makes it difficult to evaluate policies on the basis of elements like economic cost-benefit or substantive rationality, because the value systems are rather problematic. This leaves procedural values like pluralism, openness and participation to constitute the basic measure.

In South Africa, taking into serious consideration the issues inflicting the welfare of citizens as well as the ineptitude of agencies for policy implementation, it then becomes unavoidably necessary to do prospective policy analysis. Prospective policy analysis is about problem solving as opposed to problem finding, which is retrospective policy analysis. So a vigorous prospective policy analysis is needed prior to policy implementation, since it generates information about the feasibility of the proposed policy alternatives in terms of human resource, technology, finance and the overall governmental/institutional cultural capability. Based on Dunn (2009: 14), problem solving techniques such as cost-benefit analysis, decision analysis and implementation analysis, are useful in answering questions about policy causation, statistical estimation and optimisation. Problem solving is primarily technical in nature as opposed to problem finding, which is more conceptual.

3.7.4 Staffing

Public and private institutions are dependent on finances, people and some form of organisational structure in order to pursue and accomplish their missions. If public service institutions wish to render effective services to their citizens, it stands to reason that human resource management would be a central function.

The administrator is at the centre of the public service. Human resource development plans, including performance management plans for staff cannot be separated from the goals and objectives of the government department or public entity. In the same way can the goals and organisational structure not be disconnected from understanding the policy framework including the needs and demands for services from citizens. Goals, priorities and performance objectives of organisations are in turn subject to the broader national and government policy agenda and macro socio-economic framework (Malan, 2001: 26).

"Personnel administration" or human resource management consists of a body of duties which must be performed by someone in every organisation. Malan (2001: 26) defined some of the activities of a human resource manager as follows:

- *Job analysis and position classification*: the description of the work to be performed in a given job which provides the basis for effective recruitment.

- *Recruitment and placement*: process of matching individual skills and aptitudes with job or class specifications.

- *Evaluation, promotion and transfer*: procedures used to recognise accomplishment and to use individual abilities to greatest advantage.

- *Compensation scales*: plan for ensuring equal pay for equal work, with salary gradations based on skills required for the job.

- *Training, counselling and working conditions*: designed to motivate employees.

- *Employment relations*: handling relations with employee organisations and trade unions.

- *Disciplinary actions*: supervision of individual suspension and dismissal cases.

- *Personnel records*: maintaining employee records including rosters, time cards, sick and vacation leave records, payrolls and employee folders.

- *Recruiting people with relevant skills (generalists as opposed to specialists)*.

- *Motivating*.

- *Performance agreements or appraisals*.

- *Career patching and/or pathing*.

- *Conflict management*.

3.7.5 Financing

No government work can be undertaken in the absence of funds. According to Cloete (1981: 59), financing is the function through which monies are obtained, controlled and spent. Public institutions depend on finance in order to implement their policies or mandate. Government serves as a collection agency to ensure that there is an inflow of money from the public in the form of taxes, tariffs, levies, fines and loans.

In the final analysis, government is responsible to accountably appropriate public money with the aim of ensuring service delivery. In South Africa, the allocation is done through the annual *Division of Revenue Act*. The explicit instructions and procedures for dealing with budgets of income and expenditure which are subscribed to by the legislatures are evidence of the special significance attached to public funds (Cloete, 1994: 68).

Executing the finance function with the utmost levels of responsibility requires a cadre of officials who are capacitated with the requisite skills to identify projects and manage the allocation of funds in an efficient and effective manner.

Fiscal policy can be effective only when it is bolstered by more than coherent revenue and expenditure planning. It may be contradicted by governmental wage policy. It may be defeated by tax measures that impair the formation and free play of venture capital. It may collapse when the government fails to take prompt action in order to prevent an inflationary spiral or an impending slump. In brief, it must have the support of other public policies, including those controlling the

various types of economic regulation and the scope of spending operations such as social security.

Only when fiscal policy is the reflection of a fully consistent working approach permeating all activities of government can it achieve its course-setting ends. For this, a realistically considered budget is a prerequisite.

3.7.6   Control

It is imperative in any organisation to institute measure of control to keep track as to how goals and objectives are being met. The control measures of an organisation must be enforced through a system of internal control. This system of internal control serves as a catalyst for adherence to internal regulations. Common underlying principles drive internal control systems in order to achieve control over business activities (Michelle, 1996: 62).

Decentralisation efforts have led to control as a central organisational function. Control provides the means by which activities and resources are coordinated and directed towards achieving an organisation's goal. Implicit to it is a degree of monitoring and feedback or reporting. Salman (2000: 75) has put forth the argument that "Control means that members of the organisation have their actions determined, or influenced, by membership of the organisation".

Functional activities, according to Coetzee (1988: 61), are performed to attain the purpose of an institution. This is in contrast to administrative functions which are performed as enabling functions for the purpose of functional activities. Gulick maintains that functions must be defined, work divided, structures and

relationships formalised, staff professionalised, and activities rationalised. He also notes that the selection of any particular base is dependent on the phase of organisational development, technological changes, size of the organisation and the specific advantages and disadvantages attached to the use of a particular base in a given organisation.

3.8   Public Administration in Contemporary South Africa

One popular understanding of public administration may be in reference to the technocratic management of the government or state bureaucracy as represented by the executive branch, and the bureaucracy (central or national, provincial and local level bureaucracies). The quest for procedural rationality as a basis for organizing and executing government activities has been consistently articulated with respect to the quest of public administration. There is an assumption that procedural reform of the public service is a necessary complement to the creation of an external environment that is primarily geared to servicing the needs of the market, that is, an external environment that promotes rationality based on unfettered markets. Thus the pursuit and implementation of structural adjustment and stabilization programmes has been accompanied by the call for public service reform. These reforms has, among other things, entailed downsizing toward lean and efficient organisational forms, which would be characterized by merit, professionalism, impartiality, honesty, and accountability. In addition, public service reforms have necessitated pay reform, capacity building, promotion of executive agencies, and decentralization. Within this context, the 'public good' supposedly to be promoted by such a minimalist

and efficient civil service apparatus is also quite circumscribed under the assumption that the market will provide for most goods previously undertaken by the state.

The consequence of a minimalist public administration coupled with structural adjustment and stabilization has been a drastic deterioration in services as the capacity of the state has been reduced while the private sector, which is expected to be providing the anticipated 'private goods' including those previously provided by the state, has failed to resuscitate, to the degree needed to ameliorate, the social and economic plight of citizens. In addition, the government has not been able to generate adequate resources to sustain an efficient civil service, hence the deterioration in its morale which has gone hand in hand with a dissatisfied citizenry that has lost faith in the public service. Such a situation, in the face of stagnant growth, has fuelled corruption on both sides of the spectrum – the civil service as well as the citizenry.

At the core of public administration is the goal of service delivery; especially where delivery is aimed at bringing services closer to the people. This is an undisputed goal for the South African government, but has also given rise to most of the social disputes in recent years. Service delivery protests are almost a weekly phenomenon throughout South Africa. An integrated approach to service delivery is the requisite impetus for institutional integration. Service delivery at the most appropriate level requires the transfer of functions and staff between spheres of government or to/from public entities. Harmonisation of conditions of service, systems and norms will facilitate these transfers. However, achieving

these will not happen overnight as the negotiations between the state as employer and public sector trade unions are a protracted matter.

Government's vision of a unified public service seeks to respond to the service delivery needs. Unification of public administration is not an attempt to undermine the distinctive character of local government or to inhibit the freedoms that public entities legitimately require to be effective. Instead, achieving greater harmony between the spheres of government and public entities will enable South Africa as a developmental state to increase the effectiveness and impact of its service delivery. It is imperative that the country ensures that public administration remains coordinated and planned if it wishes to achieve developmental goals. Harmonising of and enhancing professionalism in the public service are amongst the top priorities for the South African state.

3.9 Legislative Framework for Public Administration in South Africa

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa makes provision for certain basic values and principles governing public administration. These are:

• A high standard of professional ethics must be promoted and maintained

• Efficient, economic and effective use of resources must be promoted

• Public administration must be development-orientated

• Services must be provided impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias

• Peoples' needs must be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy-making

- Public administration must be accountable

- Transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information

- Good human resource management and career development practices, to maximise human potential, must be cultivated; and

- Public administration must be broadly representative of the South African people, with employment and personnel management based on objectivity, fairness and the need to redress the imbalances of the past to achieve broad representation

The overarching legislative framework for public administration is guided by these constitutional principles. A further provision of the Constitution allows for legislation that regulates public administration to differ between sectors, administrations and institutions. It becomes thus crucial to take into account the nature and functions of different sectors, administrations or institutions of public administration when developing legislation to regulate public administration.

The organisation of government including national, provincial and local governments, as well as public entities and the categories within public entities are stipulated in the Intergovernmental Relations Act, Act 13 of 2005. Objectives of this Act include:

- To ensure effective, efficient and seamless service delivery

- To create a broad framework of norms and standards for public administration

- To allow for a degree of autonomy and differentiation within public administration and

- To provide for mobility within public administration

Whilst the legislative framework sets the utopian vision for public administration, the practice thereof has proven to be much more of a challenge as the material conditions (the realities) often dictate the nature and scope of what is possible and therefore realised. This is exacerbated by the multiple fault-lines in South African society including race, socio-economic class and the urban-rural, suburban-township binary divides.

3.10 Challenges of Public Administration in South Africa

South Africa has, since 1994, undergone major restructuring of its public administration system including the creation of an institutional architecture spanning across three spheres, new public entities and the unification of previously race-based administrations. Many of the government's procedures and practices have been revised and aligned with international best practice. Not only has personnel mobility resulted in the acquisition of new skills, but it also led to the attrition of experienced skills and institutional memory, worsened by the exodus of those who joined the public service after 1994, but started leaving around 2000 for opportunities in the private sector. The impact of this means that State institutions are still subjected to significant growing pains and are faced with the real risk of a State that is permanently in a state of flux.

Whilst the State has improved in terms of policy coordination within and across the spheres of government, a major challenge has been in the area of implementation. This may well point to a number of pathologies prevalent within the State, some of which are espoused on below.

3.10.1 Managerial Efficiency and the Public Good

Generally, fiscal constraints have necessitated the need for improving managerial efficiency, which is often justified on the basis of procedural rationality by appealing to and emulating market related techniques and strategies. Some aspects of managerial efficiency have entailed insulating government agencies and departments by allowing them to operate on the basis of private enterprise practices (market or quasi-market practices) such as charging cost related fees for services (for example Department of Home Affairs charging for the production of identity documents), requiring performance management contracts for their management employees, decentralizing and outsourcing certain activities that are deemed non-essential such as cleaning services, maintenance of information and technology infrastructure and so on. The key challenge here is that the rationale for government and its role are compromised to such an extent that broader objectives such as those pertaining to security, equity and governance are also compromised, especially since such reforms tend to favour societal clients that are better resourced. Thus one of the major challenges for the State is to promote managerial efficiency in a manner that also promotes the public good aspect of the role of government, particularly where the levels of poverty, unemployment and inequity are so great and increasing.

3.10.2 Fiscal Austerity

Fiscal austerity is primarily aimed at controlling the rate of inflation, while also contributing to stabilizing monetary indicators, all of which are expected to create an enabling environment for market-led growth. The expectation is that in the medium to long term the economy will expand to such an extent that government revenues also expand enabling government to spend more, but in a more sustainable manner. Nonetheless, the immediate consequences for public administration are generally the following: a reduction in civil service employment; a reduction in real pay and benefits; a reduced capacity of the state to spend on social services such as education, health and housing; and a compromised ability of the state to undertake stimulating expenditures to promote economic growth. The challenge, rather, has been that fiscal austerity has not been able to yield the expected benefits, while its immediate effects have generally tended to be negative.

3.10.3 Accountability in the Public Sector Bureaucracy

There is general agreement that bureaucracies should be accountable to the people (citizens) and that such accountability should be complemented by appropriate institutional mechanisms and procedures of checks and balances both within government and between government and societal interests. The major failing and challenge here is that, often, accountability and good governance are promulgated in the absence of complementary and supportive mechanisms aimed at embedding modes of governance in societal and

additional governmental structures. Government tend to believe that the democratic provisions of accountability surrounding the triad of executive, legislative and judicial institutions is enough to guarantee bureaucratic accountability; and that instruments of checks and balances or institutionalized modes of participation outside of these structures merely provide a breeding ground for parochial forms of lobbying. Participatory forms of governance, including social pacts or accords as a way of institutionalizing both good governance (from the point of view of the behaviour of the bureaucracy) and democratic governance (in terms of state–societal relations), remain a major challenge.

3.10.4 Equitable Growth (Sustainable Human Development)

A major challenge for the bureaucracy continues to be one of defining what role government and public administration have to play in promoting economic growth and sustainable human development. The major question and challenge is the degree to which new forms of public management that are predicated on procedural and instrumental rationality are appropriately based for a developing country to promote both growth and equity as normally called for by the objective of sustainable human development.

If the attempted reforms in the public sector since 1994 are to be tested on the basis of their impact on growth and equity, then they have failed in many respects. It may also be true that matters could have been worse without them, but this also suggests that South Africa has yet to arrive at an optimal public

management and administration regime that is compatible with its status as a developing country and that is able to address the major challenges of promoting sustainable human development within the current global environment.

In the book, *African Public Administration* (Mukandala: 2000), the following issues are proposed as major challenges confronting public administration in Africa:

- The crisis of institutions;

- Continued domination of the colonial logic in public administration;

- Poor or non-implementation of legislated policies;

- Persistent and endemic corruption;

- The articulation of structural adjustment programmes with privatization and civil service reform.

South Africa is not exempted from these, including the crisis of its institutions (one just has to note developments in the NPA, SAPS, Intelligence Services, and so on), poor or non-implementation of legislated policies and persistent reports of corruption.

3.11 What is the Future of Public Administration?

A new form of administration responsibilities will be a particular challenge for public administration (Cayer, 2003: 56). Public administration is gradually evolving into less bureaucracy, more public-private endeavours, more systems of

organisation as opposed to a unitary organisational band and more international in terms of operations. Questions that arise from this scenario and which need to be engaged with critically include: How to create less bureaucratic organisations without creating the conditions for chaos? How to manage increasingly ethical complexities? How to cope with accelerated conflict and crises? Notwithstanding these, expectations and demands are likely to be placed on public administration to deliver more functions. A system that is subject to these conditions may be at risk of overload as there may be perceptions of it as already assuming a responsibility beyond the authority it commands or even the virtue that it can summon.

Cayer (2003: 59) further argues that public administration is a primary mechanism for dealing with inherent forces. Issues related to change and transformation will require its active involvement. Public administrators are required to combine policy judgements, technical or instrumental judgements, legal judgements and moral judgements in their decision-making. It is inevitable that public administration will be characterised by philosophical, disciplinary and methodological pluralism in humanity's evolutionary path as it survives, adapts and control change.

3.12   A Theoretical Paradigm of Alliance Politics

The premise on which alliances are formed is the perception that one's strategic position is and can only be strengthened when in a partnership agreement as opposed to pursuing one's interests individually and separately. Given that the genesis of alliance formations include anticipated benefits, it is inevitable that

partners have a stake to keep those benefits flowing and consequentially, in keeping the alliance together. Once an alliance is formed, each of the parties thereto would want to shape and control it in order to maximise their net benefits. The approach to managing the alliance may either be collaborative or unilateral. In the instance of a collaborative mode of management, the intentions of partners to the alliance would be to promote actions that will benefit all alliance partners. An example of this form of collaboration in the South African context would be the establishment of a socio-economic policy structure such as the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC). In contrast to this mutual optimisation of benefits approach, the unilateral action would have individual partners seek to minimise its own costs and risks without sacrificing benefits. In the latter instance, a partner would withhold support from an alliance partner at a time of crisis. An example would be where COSATU-affiliated trade unions in the public sector go on strike, but do not enjoy the endorsement or support of the ANC. The ANC in this instance will continue to enjoy the benefits, specifically electoral benefits, of its alliance with COSATU, but will not risk, as the governing party, in implementing what it considered to be in the best interest for the state as a whole.

The approach that partners to an alliance adopts, would be informed by interests. Both common and competitive interests – tacit and explicit – are inherent to alliances. This necessitates a process of bargaining. The assumption is that the central common interest to an alliance would be the preservation of the alliance. A fundamental competitive interest would be to control and influence the partners

in order to minimise one's own risk, without sacrificing benefits. It is unavoidable that alliance partners would have some divergent interests – even conflicting interests. Whilst common interests would have been a catalyst to form the alliance partnership, it is the divergent and conflicting interests that threaten to disrupt the alliance and which need to be managed carefully.

Given the above, a key requirement for managing alliances would be to counter the centrifugal tendencies – either jointly or through unilateral actions – to ensure that joint benefits are maximised and costs to any party's interests are minimised.

The relative bargaining power of alliance partners determines the outcomes between bargaining phases. According to Snyder (1997: 165-166), there are three factors that determine the bargaining power function. These are the partners' dependence on the alliance, their commitment to the alliance and, their comparative interests in the object of bargaining. Generally, a partner's bargaining power would be greater where its dependence on the alliance is lower, its commitment is looser and its interests at stake are greater.

An alliance then is a close association of groups formed to advance common causes or interests. Alliances form for a number of reasons. An alliance forms when two groups have complementary resources that strengthen their mutual positions or when the interactions between groups are sufficiently beneficial in comparison to other groups. What constitutes complementary resources or sufficiently beneficial interactions forms a topic of debate between groups. Groups share common cultural beliefs and political ties and a mutual history ranging from cooperation to conflict and antagonism. The factors that has the

greatest structural importance in forming an alliance is as yet unclear, though common culture has been espoused as having the greatest importance by at least one prominent author (Huntington, 1998). Undoubtedly, factors such as common culture or economic exchange each have prominent importance at different times. How each group cooperates or competes with others within an alliance will be critical to the success of any political operation (Calbert, 2009: 1588).

3.13 Summary

Political leadership is the critical catalyst in aligning the public administration system with national developmental goals. It is imperative that this leadership be determined and effective for the public service to be revitalised.

The development of sound policy and institutional frameworks are driven by an effective and dedicated leadership. Change is the result of leadership. Public sector reforms are bound to fail where there is a leadership vacuum. Leadership commitment and the visibility of that leadership, together with policy and institutional reform become the crucibles needed to ensure a successful public administration.

In the event of alliances between political formations and where such an alliance becomes the government, the leadership issue becomes even more critical. Some of the questions that arise and are related to the issue of political leadership include: Who leads; the alliance or one of the partners? To what extent are the policy positions of the alliance partners similar or divergent? What

positions will enjoy hegemony in constituting government's policy framework? How is the alliance communicated to and understood by the public?

Alliance politics and how it impacts on public administration requires an understanding of the nature of alliances, the specific character of alliance partners and the core capacities that emerge from leadership and policy positions from the different alliance partners and how these in turn can enhance or inhibit service delivery and professionalism in public administration. While this chapter provided the theoretical framework for public administration, the next chapter sets out to locate alliance politics within this framework with a focus on the nature and scope of each of the Alliance partners that this study is based on, namely the ANC, COSATU and the SACP.

CHAPTER 4

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE OF THE ACCORD BETWEEN THE ANC, SACP AND COSATU

4.1   Thoughts on Governance

The idea of 'governance' performs an ideal function for market reformers. Broadly understood as a form of authority separate from traditional notions of politics and the state and defined increasingly in terms of legal or constitutional principles (Gill, 1995: 21), governance enables a vast range of problems related to economic efficiency, political order and legitimacy to be approached without any reference to the contentious arenas of power and politics (Hewitt de Alcantra 1998: 107). More practically, the idea of governance can be used to bypass opponents (vested interests) through modes of technocratic and managerial rule. In the words of the World Bank, '… good governance requires the power to carry out policies and develop institutions that may be unpopular among some – or even a majority – of the population." (World Bank, 2002: 99).

Governance is not only useful as a mechanism for insulating technocratic elites from the competitive nature of politics. Political and social problems can be translated into problems of capacity, especially where fragile or failed states are considered unable to provide the basic regulation and order necessary for market societies (World Bank, 1997). At the same time, 'good governance' programmes tackle the problems of an indifferent citizenry by addressing 'dysfunctional' norms

and values and providing new forms of citizenship and participation where societies are seen as lacking the social capital including the values and networks that may provide cohesion to organize collectively in favour of markets (World Bank, 2002: 21; Bebbington et al, 2004; Woolcock, 2001). Attempts to address the problems of corruption, disorder and inefficiency by modifying individual behaviour through institutional change, aims to bypass the conflicts over power and how power is dispersed. These can leave intact the political relationships and the social order that underpin predatory or authoritarian systems of governance (Chaudhry, 1997; Bardhan, 1989; Rodan and Jayasuriya, 2007; Sangmpam, 2007).

In much of sub-Saharan Africa and other poorer regions across the globe, the main concern of various regimes appears to be the preservation of their authority and the economic and political power of ruling coalitions. This is done through resisting or appropriating programmes of institutional reform and 'good governance' driven by international development and financial organisations and backed by Western governments.

The idea that some form of techno-managerial governance may substitute for liberal democracy in the modern market state is illustrated in the mixture of admiration and disapproval with which neo-liberals regard Singapore. At one level, Singapore is criticised by business lobbies in the United States and in 2006 by the former World Bank Head, Paul Wolfowitz, for its opaque systems of information and transparency and for the way the state continues to play a key role in investment and shaping national economic strategies. Nevertheless, as

Rodan (2006) points out, the fact that Singapore regularly appears at the top of tables of economic freedom produced by various market-oriented foundations and by the *Wall Street Journal* clearly illustrates the attractions of a form of government that can guarantee high levels of stability, quality infrastructure and also contain demands from distributional coalitions, including pressures for collective social goods to private investors.

4.1.1 Governance as hierarchies

Pierre and Peters (2000: 15) stated that governance conducted by and through vertically integrated state structures is an idealized model of democratic government and the public bureaucracy. The current literature on governance is dismissive of hierarchy as a model of governance. It was an appropriate institutional order in the days of highly standardised public service (Pierre and Peters, 2000: 15).

4.1.2 Governance as markets

Markets, and not government, have come to be seen as a solution to many problems facing citizens. Markets are regarded as empowering citizens in that they are able to exercise power as consumers. In addition, the markets offer the citizens more alternatives to choose from and are deemed effective in allocating resources. Pierre and Peters (2000: 19) postulated another meaning of markets in the governance context as arenas for economic actors.

4.1.3   Governance as networks

One of the familiar forms of contemporary governance is policy networks. Such networks comprise a wide variety of actors, which are state institutions, organized interest groups, and political parties in a given policy sector (Pierre and Peters, 2000: 19). Policy networks play a crucial role in facilitating and coordinating different interests of the different actors in respect of enhancing effectiveness, efficiency and success in the implementation of public policy.

4.1.4   Governance as communities

This fourth model of governance has generated vibrant debates in social sciences. The government cannot solve all the problems of community members. It is thus needed that community members should be able to solve some of its immediate problems with minimum state involvement. According to Pierre and Peters (2000: 21), communitarian governance seems to resolve common problems and foster a civic spirit in the community without breeding large public bureaucracy.

Therefore, governance refers to the mechanism or process through which a consensus, at a minimum or majority decision, over societal priorities and objectives could emerge (Kuye, 2007: 600). Thus, the political governance could cover the fundamental issues such as prevent and reduce intra and inter-country conflicts; constitutional democracy and the rule of law; uphold separation of powers including independence of the judiciary and parliament; ensure accountable, efficient and effective public service; and fight corruption.

The economic governance would encompass critical issues of economic and corporate governance, such as ensuring macro-economic stability, promoting sound public finance, trade policies and regional integration management, and promoting corporate growth and social responsibility.

Kuye (2007: 600) stated that essentially, the concept of good governance as it is currently used, includes all of the following: economic liberalisation and the creation of market friendly environments; transparency and accountability with respect to both economic and political decision-making; political liberalisation, particularly democratic reforms; rule of law and the elimination of corruption; the promotion of civil society; the introduction of fundamental human rights guarantees, especially with respect to political rights such as freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and freedom from arbitrary imprisonment; and the adoption of policies designed to safeguard long-term global interests like education, health and the environment.

Kennett (2008: 4) highlighted that governance is a descriptive label that is used to highlight the changing nature of the policy process in recent decades. In particular, it sensitises us to the ever increasing variety of terrains and actors involved in the making of public policy. It is therefore imperative when talking about the policy making process to bear in mind that it transcend beyond the core executives to include the plethora of actors with interest over a particular policy decision making. Governance implies governing relationships by a variety of actors deciding on societal priorities on the basis of socio-political governance and economic governance.

4.2 Thoughts on the Developmental State

What is the rationale and what justifies the "developmental state"? One of the pillar principles underpinning the developmental state is the notion and the imperative of state intervention. However, successful state intervention implies the need for competent and adequate administrative capacity in order to realise government mandates.

In the world of comparative analytical concepts, Chalmers Johnson originally created the term "developmental state". As a scholar, he observed and responded to the way in which Japan reconstructed itself successful following its devastation in the Second World War. Following this empirical approach, it came to describe the subsequent significant development leaps made by the "Asian Tigers" – South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Characteristic to each of these countries was the decisive and central role adopted by the government in leading an unyielding drive for economic growth, and in doing so, ensured that national resources were mobilised towards national development priorities.

Conventionally, the economic rationale for government intervention rests heavily on notions and conditions of market failure. A very narrow definition of market failure would only address issues of economic efficiency whilst the broader definition speaks to not only economic efficiency, but also take into account matters of equity (Peters, 1997: 34). Practical politics dictate that government intervention is a necessity to ease both forms of market failure. Economists

would argue that state intervention is justified in those areas of the economic market where market failure was deemed to exist. Economic intervention could therefore be pursued where evidence of market failure provided a prima facie case for such policy adjustment. One only has to consider the 2008 banking crisis in the United States and the measures undertaken by both the White House and Capitol Hill to understand the ease with which intervention can be activated. In the end, the purpose for policy intervention would be to induce allocative efficiency in market outcomes (Chang, 1994: 34).

However, the *raison de étre* for government intervention is not merely a matter of and for economic efficiency where the market is perceived to have failed. Ethical arguments are also advocated to justify such intervention. On the one side, the ethical argument contends that the distributive results of efficient markets may lead to socially unaccepted standards of equity which increase the extremes of wealth and poverty. On the other side, the ethical proposition for government intervention argues that equal economic opportunity is a desirable social value and thus requires the state to ensure the proper balance between social groupings. The claim is that markets may tend to resort to ethnic, gender or racial profiling which then is deployed as a filtering device in labour markets. The result is employment patterns reflecting these biases. Government is then expected to intervene in the form of equal opportunity programmes and affirmative action schemes (Chang, 1994: 35).

The concept of "developmental state" has increasingly become a key driver in the South African state's programme of action. The ANC already started including

the concept in some of its policy texts in the early 1990s. It gained such ascendancy over the years that the ANC 2007 National Conference decidedly resolved that the state was to actively pursue an interventionist policy agenda, that is, developmental state principles would apply in how the state was to conduct itself. Erwin (1992: 38) observed that the developmental state is an enabling state with the requisite ability to intervene strategically whilst marshalling scarce resources. State intervention occurred in a selective yet targeted fashion, based on sectoral planning. Yet, where the state has decided to intervene, such intervention must be pervasive and far-reaching. Many of the ANC government policies have emphasised state coordination to steer the system in a strategic way using a regulatory framework of legislation, financial incentives, reporting and monitoring requirements. This approach in itself requires high levels of management information, state planning and the ability of departments to work in transversal methods (Chang, 1994: 23). All of this points once more to the critical need for adequate administrative capacity.

In the end, in a developmental state, the government is central and dynamic in shaping the domestic economy whilst asserting its internal autonomy. This requires government to have at its disposal strong capacity and capability enabling it to be proactive in responding to domestic and global challenges and opportunities. The histories and present-day realities of nations will shape the strategies and tactics of individual developmental states. Notwithstanding this, all developmental states require a coherent and effective system of public administration which is underpinned by the need to fully appreciate the nature of

the interface between political or elected officials and administrative or appointed officials.

4.3   Thoughts on Government Failure

Public choice theory is arguably the most significant approach in describing government failure. Stripped of everything, public choice theory suggests that non-market or political processes underlie policy formulation and implementation. The application of this methodology formed the basis for critiquing government intervention (O'Dowd, 1978: 67).

Government failure could be categorised into generic classifications of "inherent impossibilities", "political failures" and "bureaucratic failures" (O'Dowd, 1978: 69). Inherent impossibility refers to the inability of the government to do something simply because it lacks the capacity to do so even if it wants. In terms of political failures; theoretically it may be possible to do something, but the political conditions under which the government functions will render any attempt to follow the necessary policies with the required degree of consistency and persistence, unsuccessful. Political heads of government may well have the capability to develop and persist to genuinely implement a policy, but are amputated due to the administrative machinery at their disposal who is incapable of implementing policy in accordance with the intentions of the political heads – this is descriptive of bureaucratic failures.

Agency theory, which in a representative democracy articulates the public sector as an interlocking series of principal-agent relationships has a strong influence on

the public choice perspective or approach. Moe (1984: 765) observed that "the whole of politics can be seen as a chain of principal agent relationships, from citizen to politician (or as in the case of South Africa, political party) to bureaucratic superior to bureaucratic subordinate and on down the hierarchy of government to the lowest-level bureaucrats who actually delivers services directly to citizens". In terms of public sector reform, this approach would seek to reduce the scope for agency failure in these "chain" relationships. Agency failure is the logical consequence when agents lack the incentives to act in their principals' interest.

4.4   An Overview of the ANC

4.4.1   ANC Policy

The Freedom Charter, which was adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955, remains the fundamental or rudimentary policy document of the ANC. The Freedom Charter declares that the people shall govern; all national groups shall have equal rights; the people shall share in the country`s wealth; the land shall be shared among those who work it; all shall be equal before the law; all shall enjoy equal human rights; there shall be work and security; the doors of learning and culture shall be opened; there shall be houses, security and comfort; and there shall be peace and friendship.

In 1994 the ANC adopted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as the primary policy framework guiding it in the transformation of South Africa. The key tenets of the RDP were: meeting basic needs (water, sanitation,

housing, and electricity); developing South Africa's human resources; building the economy; and democratising the state and society.

4.4.2   Aims and Objectives

The ANC, through its Constitution (ANC, 2007), is committed to the unity of all the people of South Africa, and Africans in particular. This is an undeniable imperative for complete liberation of the country from all forms of discrimination and national oppression. All forms of apartheid must be ended and transforming South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter and in pursuit of the national democratic revolution is an inalienable objective for the ANC.

In order to embed democracy in South Africa, the ANC constitution bestows on its' members the obligation to defend the democratic gains of the people and to advance towards a society in which the government is freely chosen by the people according to the principles of universal suffrage on a common voters' role.

ANC members and those who support the ANC are enjoined to fight for social justice and to eliminate the vast inequalities created by apartheid and the system of national oppression. They are furthermore required to help build a South African nation with a common patriotism and loyalty in which the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the people is recognised and to promote economic development for the benefit of all.

The role of women is acknowledged and the organisation sets out to support and advance the cause of women's emancipation. The ANC furthermore commits

itself constitutionally to support and advance the cause of national liberation, development, world peace, disarmament and environmentally sustainable development as well as support and promote the struggle for the rights of children and the disabled.

4.4.3 Organisational Character of the ANC

According to the precepts of its Constitution, the ANC is a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic liberation movement. Policies are determined by the membership and its leadership is accountable to the membership in terms of the procedures laid down in its Constitution. The ANC is registered as a political party with the Independent Electoral Commission and contests elections, drawing its electoral support from all sections of South African society. In its composition and functioning, it is democratic, non-racial and non-sexist and commits itself to act against any form of racial, tribalistic or ethnic exclusivism or chauvinism. The party commits to diversity through respecting the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of its members. Women are supported through its' commitment to the emancipation of women, combating sexism and ensuring that the voice of women is fully heard in the organisation and that women are properly represented at all levels, *inter alia* national, provincial, regional and branch. As an organisation, the ANC commits to enhance the principles of freedom of speech and free circulation of ideas and information. The membership policy is open and all bodies of the ANC are open to all men and women in the organisation without regard to race, colour or creed. In recognition of the religious society that South Africa is, the party is committed to co-operate closely with religious bodies in the country and

provides, on an interfaith basis, for the recognition of the spiritual needs of its many members who are believers.

4.4.4 Organisational Structures

The ANC is organised along the following structures:

- The National Conference (NC) which elects the National Executive Committee (NEC)

- The Provincial Conference which elects the Provincial Executive Committee (PEC)

- The Regional Conference which elects the Regional Executive Committee

- The Branch Bi-annual General Meeting which elects the Branch Executive Committee

- The ANC Women's League (ANCWL) which is open to women who are members of the ANC and has the same basic structure namely national, provincial and branch. The objectives of the Women's League are to defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation, in the people's struggle and in national life. The Women's League functions as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, with its own Constitution, rules and

regulations, and which are not in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC.

- The ANC Youth League (ANCYL) is open to all persons between the ages of 14 and 35 years. It operates on a national, provincial and branch basis. Its objectives are to unite and lead young men and women in confronting and dealing with the problems that face the youth, and in ensuring that the youth make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC and the life of the nation. The Youth League functions as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC of which it is an integral part, with its own Constitution, rules and regulations, which are not in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC. Members of the Youth League who are older than 18 years are expected to play a full part in the general political life of the ANC. A member of the Youth League is not eligible for any position as office-bearer of the ANC or to attend ANC conferences, members' or executive meetings of the ANC (unless specially invited), unless he or she is a full member of the ANC.

- The ANC Veterans League (ANCVL) is open to all ANC members 60 years of age or older, who have served the ANC and the movement over an unbroken period of 40 years. It operates on a national, provincial and branch basis. Its objectives are to ensure that veterans make a full and rich contribution to the work of the ANC, the movement and the life of the nation. The Veterans League functions as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC of which it is an integral part, with its own Constitution,

rules and regulations, provided that these are not in conflict with the Constitution and policies of the ANC.

4.4.5   Decision-Making

4.4.5.1 National Conference

The NC is the supreme ruling and controlling body of the ANC. It consists of:

Voting delegates - At least 90% of the delegates at Conference are from branches, elected at properly constituted branch general meetings. The number of delegates per branch is in proportion to its paid up membership, provided that each branch in good standing is entitled to at least one delegate; the number of delegates to be allocated to each province to attend NC is fixed by the NEC in proportion to the paid up membership of each province; all members of the NEC attends, ex-officio, as full participants in and as delegates to the Conference; the remainder of the 10% of voting delegates at the Conference is allocated by the NEC from among the Provincial Executive Committees, the ANCVL, the ANCYL and the ANCWL.

Non-Voting Delegates - The NEC may invite individuals, who have made a special contribution to the struggle or who have special skills or experience, to attend the Conference.

In terms of procedure, the NEC appoints a conference preparatory committee which circulates conference information in advance, determines the precise procedure for selection of delegates and indicates how the membership can

ensure their concerns are on the agenda; the Conference determines its own procedures in accordance with democratic principles; voting on key questions is by secret ballot if at least one third of the delegates at National Conference demand it; and the NC is convened at least every five years.

4.4.5.2 National General Council

The NEC convenes a National General Council from time to time, on the condition that the NEC convenes a National General Council not later than thirty (30) months after the National Conference. The NEC, after consultation with Provinces, determines the composition of the National General Council. Duties of the National General Council include:

• determining and reviewing the policies and programmes of the ANC;

• receiving and discussing reports of the NEC;

• ratifying, altering or rescinding any decision taken by any of the constituent bodies, units or officials of the ANC, except National Conference, including the evaluation of the performance of members of the NEC;

• discussing any issue it deems necessary, taking into account policies and directives of the NC and;

• filling vacancies that have arisen in the NEC provided that such vacancies do not exceed 50% of the NEC.

4.4.5.3 National Executive Committee

The NEC is the highest organ of the ANC between National Conferences and has the authority to lead the organisation, subject to the provisions of the ANC Constitution. The scope of responsibility of the NEC includes:

• carrying out the decisions and instructions of the NC and the National General Council;

• issuing and sending directives and instructions to and receive reports from the provinces;

• supervising and directing the work of the ANC and all its organs, including national, provincial and local government caucuses;

• ensuring that the provincial, regional and branch structures of the ANC function democratically and effectively (in this regard, the NEC may suspend or dissolve a PEC where necessary and where such a suspension shall not exceed a period of three months and where the PEC has been dissolved, then elections for a new PEC shall be called within nine months from dissolution, but the NEC may appoint an interim structure during the period of suspension or the dissolution of the PEC to fulfil the functions of the PEC);

• overseeing the work of the ANCVL, ANCWL and the ANCYL;

• establishing departments and setting up committees, as it considers appropriate;

- managing and controlling all the national and international property and assets of the ANC;

- receiving reports, supervising the work of and delegating such functions to the National Working Committee (NWC), as it considers necessary;

- issuing documents and other policy directives as and when it deems fit;

- conferring such honours, as it may deem appropriate;

- appointing annually a National List Committee of not fewer than five and not more than nine persons for the selection and adoption of candidates for the national Parliament (in this regard, the NEC shall draw up regulations for the procedures to be followed in such a selection and the National List Committee shall report to the NEC prior to the implementation of its recommendations; provincial structures for the adoption of candidates shall report to the National List Committee);

- may convene a Policy Conference, as a recommendation-making body on any matter of policy, whenever it deems necessary, but must convene a National Policy Conference at least six (6) months before the NC to review policies of the ANC and to recommend any new or to amend any present policy for consideration by the NC.

Women on the NEC, as a whole, are targeted to be fifty percent (50%) or more. The NEC held office for five years, but this and consists of:

- the President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, the Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and the Treasurer General who will be elected separately by the National Conference

- eighty (80) additional members of the NEC

- the Chairperson and the Secretary of each elected ANC PEC who are ex-officio members of the NEC

- the President and Secretary General of the ANCWL who are ex-officio members of the NEC

- the President and Secretary General of the ANCYL who are ex-officio members of the NEC

- the President and Secretary General of the ANCVL who are ex-officio members of the NEC

- the NEC may co-opt not more than five (5) additional members at any time during its term of office in order to provide for a balanced representation that reflects the true character of the South African people

- in the event of a vacancy occurring on the NEC for any reason, the NEC has the power to fill the vacancy by appointing a replacement

- the quorum for meetings of the NEC is 50%+1 of its total membership and;

Before the Mangaung National Conference in 2012, a person had to be a paid-up member of the ANC for at least five years before she or he can be nominated to

the NEC of the ANC. However, as with effect from the Mangaung Conference, the five year requirement has been extended to ten years.

4.4.5.4 National Working Committee

After the conclusion of the NC, the NEC meets and elects a NWC who consists of the President, Deputy President, National Chairperson, Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General and the Treasurer General. The NEC also elects additional members to the NWC from among the directly elected members of the NEC where this does not exceed one-quarter of the composition of the directly elected members. While members of the NWC may not necessarily be full-time functionaries of the ANC, the NEC may determine the extent to which the elected members will be full-time functionaries who may be allocated specific responsibilities. The ANCVL, ANCWL and the ANCYL each appoint one representative to serve on the NWC. 50% or more of the members of the NWC must be women. Any ANC member in good standing may be invited to attend NWC meetings. An invitee can be given a specific assignment by the NWC, but cannot speak on behalf of the NWC. An invitee may speak and participate at such meeting for the purpose for which he or she was invited, but cannot vote.

The purpose of the NWC is to carry out decisions and instructions of the NEC; conduct the current work of the ANC and ensure that provinces, regions, branches and all other ANC structures, such as parliamentary caucuses, carry out the decisions of the ANC; and submit a report to each NEC meeting.

4.4.5.5 Officials and their Functions

The President is the political head and chief directing officer of the ANC and the leader of the house at a NC or NGC. He or she make pronouncements for and on behalf of the NEC, outlining and explaining the policy or attitude of the ANC on any question; present to the NC and NGC a comprehensive statement of the state of the nation and the political situation generally; subject to the overall supervision of the NEC, orient and direct the activities of the ANC; and is an ex-officio member of the NWC.

The Deputy President assists the President, deputise for him or her when necessary and carry out whatever functions are entrusted to him or her by the NC, the NGC, the President, the NWC or the NEC. He or she is an ex-officio member of the NWC.

Where the President and the Deputy President may die or be permanently incapacitated, the NEC appoints an Acting President until such time as the NC meets.

The National Chairperson is the custodian of the policies adopted and decisions taken by the NC and NGC and ensures that all organs of the ANC implement decisions taken by the NC, NGC, NEC and the NWC operating within the parameters of policy set out by the NC, NGC and the NEC. The Chairperson presides over the NC, the NGC, the NEC and the NWC; carries out such additional tasks or functions, as are entrusted to him or her, by the Conference,

Council, NEC or NWC; is an ex-officio member of the NWC; and when absent or incapacitated, the President assumes the functions of the National Chairperson.

The Secretary General is the chief administrative officer of the ANC and is responsible for communicating the decisions of all national structures of the ANC on behalf of the NEC; keeping the minutes of the NC, the NGC, the NEC, the NWC, as well as other records of the ANC; conducting the correspondence of the NEC and the NWC and send out notices of all conferences and meetings at the national level; conveying the decisions and instructions of the NC, the NGC, the NEC and the NWC to the provincial executive committees, and see to it that all units of the ANC carry out their duties properly; preparing annual reports on the work of the NEC and the NWC and such other documents which may, from time to time, be required by the NEC and the NWC; presenting to the NC and NGC a comprehensive statement of the state of the organisation and the administrative situation of the ANC; where the President and the Deputy President are absent, the Secretary General shall assume the functions of the President; receiving reports from all ANC departments on their activities; and is an ex-officio member of the NWC.

The Deputy Secretary General assists the Secretary General, deputise for him or her when necessary and carry out the functions entrusted to him or her by the NC, the NGC, the NEC, or NWC and shall be an ex- officio member of the NWC.

The Treasurer General is the chief custodian of the funds and property of the ANC. In this role, he or she receives and bank all monies on behalf of the NEC

and shall, together with any two members of the NEC, operate a banking account; keeps such books of account as may be necessary to record clearly the financial position of the ANC; submits to the NC a report showing the Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet of the ANC for the period since the previous NC, and shall submit periodic reports to the NEC and the NWC; is responsible, with the National Finance Committee, for working out and executing plans for fundraising; presents to the NC and NGC a comprehensive statement of the state of the finances of the ANC; and is an ex-officio member of the NWC.

A National Chaplaincy is appointed by the NEC on an interfaith basis to provide spiritual guidance.

4.4.6   Five Key Priorities of the ANC (Post-Polokwane)

In 2007, the ANC 52nd National Conference identified five developmental priority areas for the 2009 ANC-elected government. These areas of priority, which have been driving the government's programme of action since 2009, are:

• creation of decent work and sustainable livelihoods,

• health,

• education,

• crime, and

• rural development, including land reform, food production and security

In addressing the developmental priorities, the ANC government has committed itself to build on the economic and social progress since 1994 in dealing with the

challenges the country faces. At the core of these priorities has been the realisation of a more sustainable, equitable and inclusive economic development path.

A key instrument for achieving economic growth that creates decent work and sustainable livelihoods and addresses basic needs, is the building of an effective developmental state. The state has therefore shifted to be at the centre of development and with a view to sharply improve planning and coordination capacity throughout government by means of a planning entity within a reconfigured cabinet system. This led to the establishment of a National Planning Commission and a Department of Monitoring and Evaluation located in the Presidency and being led by Ministers.

An important aspect of a successful developmental state is investment in public sector workers and in turn the expectation that public servants execute the tasks with which they have been entrusted. The ANC committed itself to the appointment of the personnel with the right capacity to the correct positions and where this is not the case to make sure that the government has the capacity to implement corrective measures, either through training or redeployment where warranted.

4.4.7   *Discussion Document: Legislature and Governance*

In preparation for the June 2012 Policy Conference, the ANC released a suite of discussion documents "to enable the members of the ANC from branches to the highest levels, to review ANC policies and resolutions adopted at the 52nd

National Conference in 2007 as well as to see how far the ANC has gone in implementing these policies and resolutions since 2007. ANC members assessed the challenges that confront the organisation and the state and determined new policies where appropriate, accelerate implementation of policies and made changes where applicable.

Leading up to the Conference, the policy documents were discussed within the structures of the ANC, as well as amongst the Alliance partners – COSATU and the SACP.

Given the leading role that the ANC played in the transformation of the South African Society, all sectors of South African society and citizens were asked to comment on the documents." (Radebe, 2012).

The discussion document on governance and legislature is pertinent to this research study.

One of the main current tasks of the African National Congress as resolved in the Strategy and Tactics document in 2007 is "to strengthen the hold of the democratic movement on state power, and to transform the state machinery to serve the cause of social change". The transformation of state power is guided and shaped by strategy and tactics. In the context of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) the task of state transformation is that "in broad terms, the NDR seeks to ensure that every South African, especially the poor, experience an improved quality of life. It seeks to build a Developmental State shaped by the history and socio-economic dynamics of South African society".

The *52nd National Conference* held in Polokwane adopted resolutions in the following areas;

- Electoral system

- Floor crossing

- Single public service

- Review of provinces and local government

- Ethics and integrity

- Voting age

- Post tenure employment defending democratic state

- Establishment of a women's ministry

Some of the policies relevant to the above resolutions are either being implemented or are at the final stages of planning. Nonetheless, a number of policy areas are faced with major implementation challenges, one of these being the single public service.

4.4.7.1 Single Public Service

The process to finalise the establishment of a single public service is near completion. The trade union movement, and here it would specifically be COSATU, needs to be drawn into the final process of the Bill that addresses the Single Public Service.

Disparities and anomalies in remuneration exist between the Local, Provincial and National spheres of government. Norms and standards for service delivery,

Human Resource Development Management, and training and development are not uniform.

The policy implementation in this area has progressed, but not at the pace that was anticipated. The pace has largely been informed by the complexity of Human Resources issues; the Constitution and related legal matters. The Ministries of Public Service and Administration and Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs are responsible for speeding up the process in the first instance.

4.4.7.2 Nature of the Developmental State for South Africa

The ANC Strategy and Tactics as adopted in 2007 defined and outlined the developmental state and its attributes. Various policies of the ANC government seek to achieve the objectives of a developmental state. Weaknesses are located in the implementation to realize the objectives of a developmental state.

The discussion document identifies the locus of weaknesses as being in the implementation of a common and broad framework to coordinate and drive implementation. It is thus not a matter of policy formulation, but rather one of policy implementation.

Setting a long term vision and agenda for the task of state transformation is critical in accelerating the tasks of the NDR. The ANC-led government has progressed in adopting policies that seek to advance the developmental state. There is general agreement that this has not been comprehensive enough nor has it been well-coordinated. The draft policy discussion paper on governance

and legislatures sets out to ensure that the ANC government takes forward the task of building the development state by identifying key policy areas and making concrete policy proposals that are aligned to and seek to ensure the realisation of a developmental state. In this regard, it highlights the strengthening of existing policy through a clear vision for what constitutes the developmental state; the need for technical capacity in state agencies to plan and implement government policies; strengthening government-wide planning capabilities; building the human resources capacity of the state; creating the conditions for parliament and the provincial legislatures to lead the national transformation agenda; and focus cooperative governance towards service delivery.

4.4.7.3 Strengthening Existing Policy

a. Vision of a Developmental State

The long term vision and type of state the ANC seeks to build is a "Developmental State", and the work of the Presidency in terms of the National Planning Commission and Monitoring and Evaluation must foster and marshal society's support and commitment towards realisation of this vision.

b. State Agencies must have the technical capacity to plan and implement

The ANC draft policy document on State-Owned Enterprises (SOE's) and Development Funding Institutions (DFI's) gets to grips with issues of structures and location, governance, financing, legislation and function.

Mandates of the state-owned enterprises, development finance institutions and other state agencies must be aligned with the objectives and priorities of the developmental state and ANC government. The state agencies must be positioned to be at the centre of technical capacity building and training, planning and implementation. This is a key attribute of the developmental state.

c.   Strengthened government-wide planning

Key to this is building the technical capacity of the state to engage with and lead the development of dynamic and globally integrated economic sectors. There must be integration, harmonization and alignment of planning and implementation across all three spheres of government and the Development Finance Institutions and State-Owned Enterprises. This includes the development of coherent inter-sectoral plans at national level and the alignment of local implementation in terms of the Integrated Development Plans (IDP's).

Government-wide planning must focus on spatial planning, infrastructure planning, urbanisation, migration and economic planning. The institutional planning mechanism must seek to redress the apartheid planning structure and introduce new innovative models of planning.

d.   Building the human resources capacity of the state

The ANC government must restructure and re-focus the public service. The public service must be responsive, professional and guided by a new ethos. There must be development of uniform entrance requirements and standards of employment in the public service, emphasizing professionalism, discipline and a commitment to serve.

The state must ensure adequate and competent personnel that deal with service delivery, particularly in the case of essential services and basic services.

e.   Parliament and provincial legislatures must lead in defining the national transformation agenda.

The National Parliament and Provincial Legislatures, as tribunes of the people, must lead in the theory and practice of the national transformational agenda. The ANC in legislatures and parliament must lead in the conceptual, theoretical and ideological analysis of national priority issues. The parliamentary constituency offices and the public hearings in all legislatures must be re-positioned to ensure active people participation in building a developmental state.

f.   Cooperative governance geared towards service delivery

The more South Africa builds a developmental state, the more the country creates the conditions for a more integrated cooperative governance system. The more we strengthen cooperative governance, the more we

create the conditions for effective service delivery. There is a mutually reinforcing relationship between effective cooperative governance, service delivery and a developmental state.

Provincial and local government must be repositioned to be more effective in the provisioning of services to the people. Provinces must be strengthened to play a much more supportive role to local government in service delivery. Thus the powers and functions of provincial government must be re-focused and aligned to complement service delivery at local government.

4.4.7.4 *Questions on the Developmental State*

Critical questions relevant to the South African developmental state include:

- What key policy interventions are required to realise the objectives of the developmental state?
- What roles must be played by different organs of the state in building a developmental state?
- How does the National Development Plan align with the ANC's vision of a developmental state?

4.5   An Overview of COSATU

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was launched in December 1985 after four years of unity talks between unions opposed to apartheid and committed to a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

At the launch, COSATU represented less than half a million workers organised in 33 unions. At the time of this study, at least 1.8 million workers were paid up members of COSATU through affiliated trade unions.

COSATU's main broad strategic thrust can be described as:

- Improving the material conditions of its members and of the working people as a whole

- Organising the unorganised

- Ensuring worker participation in the struggle for peace and democracy

The Federation has, since inception, organised on the following core principles:

Non-racialism:- rejecting apartheid and racism in all its forms. The imperative is for all workers, regardless of race, to organise and unite.

Worker control:- workers are at the centre of the structures and committees of the federation. This approach aims to keep the organisation vibrant and dynamic, and to maintain close links with the shop floor. Programmes to develop worker leadership, especially women, within the trade unions and the country as a whole are pursued and implemented. The aim is to equip workers to determine their own future in the country and in the economy.

Paid-up membership:- self-sufficiency and sustainability is pursued in support of the independence of the federation. This means that while the federation receive money for specific projects from other trade unions, it remains able to take decisions without interference from funders.

One industry, one union:- one country, one federation - In order to unite workers across sectors, COSATU grouped affiliated unions into industries. The federation's 6th National Congress resolved to merge unions into cartels or broad sectors such as public sector and manufacturing and remains committed to unity with all unions and federations that are committed to, among others, these principles. COSATU makes no secret that for as long as there is no single federation, it will actively recruit those workers who belong to other unions and federations.

International worker solidarity:- International solidarity is the lifeblood of trade unionism - particularly in the era of multinational companies. COSATU maintains links with a range of national and international centres and is committed to building links with unions in the newly industrialised countries. New international conditions open possibilities for a unified union movement.

The preamble to the Constitution of COSATU (2006) underlies the federation's political philosophy and reads as follows:

"We, the Trade Union representatives here present firmly commit ourselves to a unified democratic South Africa, free of oppression and economic exploitation.

We believe that this could only be achieved under the leadership of a united working class. Our history has taught us that to achieve this goal we will have to carry out the following tasks:

1.　organise the unorganised workers and build effective trade unions based on the democratic organisation of workers in the factories, mines, shops, farms and other workplaces

2.　organise national industrial trade unions, financed and controlled by their worker members through democratically elected committees

3.　unify national industrial trade unions, under COSATU's leadership

4.　combat the divisions amongst the workers of South Africa and unite them into strong and confident working class formations

5.　encourage democratic worker organisation and leadership in all spheres of our society together with other progressive sectors of the community

6.　reinforce and encourage progressive international worker contact and solidarity so as to assist one another in our struggles

COSATU calls on all those who identify with this commitment to join us and the workers whom we represent, as comrades in the struggle ahead. We call on all trade unions to strive to unite their members in their ranks without discrimination and prejudice. We seek to protect and further the interests of all workers. Our struggle is inspired by the universal slogan of working class solidarity: "An injury to one is an injury to all"".

4.5.1　Structure

COSATU, as a trade union federation, comprise a number of affiliate trade unions. As at 22 April 2012, the affiliated unions to COSATU were 22 including: CEPPWAWU, CWU, CWUSA, DENOSA, FAWU, NEHAWU, NUM, NUMSA,

PAWUSA, POPCRU, SACCAWU, SACTWU, SADNU, SADTU, SAFPU, SAMA, SAMWU, SANDU, SASAWU, SASBO, SASFU and SATAWU. Affiliates remain autonomous bodies governed by their own constitution but they must abide by the Constitution and the policies of the Federation.

The Federation consists of the following structures -

- National Congress

- Central Committee (CC)

- Central Executive Committee (CEC)

- Provincial Congress (PC)

- Provincial Executive Committees (EC)

- Provincial Shop Steward Councils (SSC)

- Local Shop Steward Councils (Locals); and

- Local Executive Committee (LEC)

4.5.2 Aims and Objectives

According to its Constitution (2006), COSATU seeks to fight for worker rights by securing social and economic justice for all workers; understanding how the economy of the country affects workers and formulating clear policies on how the economy should be restructured in the interests of the working class; restructuring the economy to allow the creation of wealth to be democratically controlled and its fruits shared among the working class; striving for just standards of living, social security and fair conditions of work for all; advancing or opposing any law, action or policy of any authority or body affecting the interests

of affiliates in particular, or the working class in general; facilitating and co-ordinating education and training of all workers so as to further the interests of the working class; and conducting, co-ordinating and publishing research into matters affecting workers.

The Federation is upfront by encouraging all workers to join progressive and democratic trade unions; and striving for a united working class movement regardless of race, colour, creed or sex.

COSATU encourages industrial unions by forming broadly-based industrial unions in all industries where none exist, and assisting unions operating in the same industry to merge into broadly-based industrial unions.

Affiliates to COSATU are supported by encouraging co-operation among affiliates; co-ordinating joint activities across the affiliates' spectrum; creating a forum to achieve common goals and perform such actions as are necessary to achieve these goals; resolving disputes between affiliates and within the Federation; and instituting or defending legal proceedings affecting affiliates or the Federation.

COSATU manages its finances and assets by raising and acquiring funds through affiliation fees or by any other legal means in order to further the Federation's aims and objectives; purchasing, leasing, hiring or acquiring any movable and immovable property and rights which the Federation may deem necessary, and pursue any action which may be in the interests of the Federation and its affiliates and which are consistent with its Constitution.

4.5.3 Decision-Making

4.5.3.1 National Congress

The National Congress adopts general and specific policy measures by means of resolutions which further the aims and objectives of the Federation. Further to this, the National Congress considers and decides on the credentials of delegates to the National Congress; the agenda; reports from the CEC; reports from the National Office Bearers (NOBs) of the Federation; reports of a financial nature, namely audited financial statements; the nomination and election of the Federation's National Office Bearers; amendments to the Federation's Constitution; resolutions; and any other matter that may be deemed to be in the interest of the Federation.

The National Congress makes decisions on motions and resolutions which have been duly seconded by simple majority vote unless otherwise provided in the Federation's Constitution.

The National Congress comprises the President; First Deputy-President; Second Deputy President; Treasurer; General Secretary; Deputy General Secretary; and delegates from affiliates. Each affiliate, in good standing with the Federation, is entitled to send one (1) delegate for every seven-hundred-and-fifty (750) members or part thereof provided that the majority of these delegates are members of their union. The National Congress is entitled to request reasonable proof of the size of the membership on which affiliates have decided the size of their delegation.

4.5.3.2 Central Committee

The Central Committee (CC) adopts general and specific policy measures which further the aims and objects of the Federation by means of resolution between meetings of National Congresses. In particular, but without limiting the generality of this, the CC considers, process and/or determine credentials of delegates, the agenda, reports from CEC's, reports from NOBs, the nomination and election of acting NOB's, and any other matter that may be deemed to be in the interest of the Federation other than amending the constitution; assesses resolutions; implements resolutions that have been adopted and draft resolutions on urgent matters.

The CC is composed of the NOBs; delegates from affiliates where each affiliate is entitled to send one (1) delegate from each group of four-thousand (4000) members or part thereof of each affiliate in good standing provided that the majority of these delegates are in good standing with their union.

4.5.3.3 Central Executive Committee

The Central Executive Committee (CEC) manages the affairs of the Federation between meetings of the National Congress and CC and has such powers and duties which customarily vest in an executive body, which includes giving broad direction concerning organisational, political and educational issues within the Federation on policy-related matters; admitting or refusing to admit applications for membership to the Federation; creating positions of employment within the Federation; determining conditions of employment of Federation employees;

approving the Federation's budget; determining budgetary guidelines; establishing and funding projects and activities in accordance with the aims and objects of the Federation; considering and approving the annual audited financial statements and balance sheet and annual report; opening and operating a bank account in the name of the Federation into which all monies raised in the name of the Federation shall be placed, and to administer such funds; acquiring, either by purchase, lease or otherwise, any movable or immovable property on behalf of the Federation and selling, letting, mortgaging or otherwise dealing with or dispose of any movable property belonging to the Federation; and appointing auditors of the Federation; establishing sub committees and determining their nature, membership and scope; approving, rejecting or amending recommendations from sub committees of the Federation; and making regulations concerning the composition, meetings, Office Bearers and role of the Shop Stewards Councils; establishing or dissolving provinces; demarcating the jurisdiction of the provinces where two (2) or more affiliates have established significant organisation; further delegating powers to the Provincial Congress and Provincial Executive Committee (PEC); filling vacancies in the positions of NOBs; and adopting or amending, a leadership Code of Conduct; authorising legal or other assistance to affiliates in terms of the aims and objectives of the Federation; and instituting and/or defending legal proceedings in the name of the Federation, appointing attorneys to act on behalf of the Federation and appointing any person to sign any document in connection therewith on behalf of the Federation; assisting the General Secretary in the exercise of his/her duties;

dealing with matters specially delegated to it by the CC; referring decisions having major policy implications to the CC or National Congress.

The CEC is made up of NOBs; Chairperson and Provincial Secretary of each province; representatives from affiliates allowing for two (2) national leaders, one (1) of whom must be a member of the affiliate, from each affiliate with less than eighty-thousand (80 000) members; four (4) national leaders, two (2) of whom must be members of the affiliate, from each affiliate with more than eighty-thousand (80 000) members.

4.5.3.4 National Office Bearers

The President presides over meetings of the National Congress, CC and the CEC; conducts the meetings according to the provisions in the Federation's Constitution; signs the minutes of meetings of the National Congress, CC and CEC; and generally supervises the affairs of the Federation between meetings of the National Congress and the CEC in conjunction with other Office Bearers.

The First Deputy President exercises the powers and duties of the President in his / her absence.

The Second Deputy President exercises the powers and duties of the President if the First Deputy President is absent.

The CC and CEC appoints an Acting President if the President and both Deputy Presidents are temporarily unable to exercise the powers and duties of the President. The Acting President holds office until the President or one of the

Deputy Presidents is available; or a new President or Deputy President has been elected.

The Treasurer is responsible for presiding over meetings of the Finance Committee; supervising the financial affairs of the Federation; and such other duties as may be reasonably required by the National Congress, CC or the CEC.

4.5.3.5 *Removal of National Office Bearers*

The President, First Deputy President, Second Deputy President and Treasurer must vacate their seats during their term of office if they cease to be members of an affiliate or; a special National Congress has decided so by resolution; or if a majority of the CEC has decided so by resolution. The CEC must fill vacancies from nominations which have been duly seconded.

4.5.3.6 *Officials*

The General Secretary is responsible for the financial affairs which include the keeping of books and accounts as may be required by the CEC; the collection of affiliate fees; the banking of monies received in the name of the Federation; and the preparation and circulation of detailed monthly financial statements to the Provinces and affiliates of the Federation. Furthermore, the General Secretary must ensure that correspondence are tabled where necessary, at CEC meetings; and that notices and minutes of all meetings of the National Congress, CC, CEC and other related committees and sub-committees are sent out. In regard to reports, the General Secretary must prepare and circulate the Financial Annual

Report which must include statements of income and expenditure and the balance sheet; and circulate the auditor's report to the CEC. In terms of general co-ordination and supervision, the scope of responsibility includes office work and administration of the affairs and activities of the Federation; and the supervision of staff and the Provincial Secretaries. The General Secretary must also perform duties including tasks issued by the National Congress, CC and CEC.

The Deputy General Secretary is responsible for performing the functions and duties of the General Secretary with the General Secretary; or in the absence of the General Secretary.

4.5.3.7 Removal of Officials

The CEC may suspend or dismiss the General Secretary or any other official, if in the opinion of the CEC the official has:

- committed misconduct;
- neglected his / her duties;
- acted in a manner detrimental to the Federation; or
- acted in a manner which conflicts with the Federation's Constitution

4.5.4   COSATU and the Zuma Administration

Following the ANC election victory in 2009, COSATU at its' 10th National Conference noted that the historic ANC 52nd National Conference has restored the trade union federation's hope that the ANC and the Alliance will work together

to achieve common goals. COSATU viewed the new administration in 2009, led by Jacob Zuma, as providing a new opportunity to redefine and strengthen the state and to refashion state-society relations.

It would appear that COSATU appreciated the willingness and openness of the new government, and sought to use that platform to place workers' concerns on the table. The Alliance opened the space for a democratic and mature discussion. COSATU committed itself to grasp the historic opportunity to maximise workers' gains and better the life of working class communities. The union federation urged for the centrality of the Alliance to function properly at the national and lower levels.

Shortly after the 2009 elections, COSATU reminded the Zuma Administration of the prescient warning of the 1969 ANC Strategy and Tactics document which stated that "a revolution that translates into elite enrichment and no substantial change in the lives of our people amounts to cosmetic and not real change!"

In the early days of the Zuma Administration, COSATU recognised the important strides made to redirect the NDR and the mass movement in the years 2004 to 2009, which ultimately brought about significant political gains. This recognition was juxtaposed against the historic inequalities in terms of race, gender and class which have largely remained firmly entrenched and to some extent widened.

4.5.4.1   COSATU's 10th National Congress – Selected Key Decisions

4.5.4.1.1 Ideology, Transformation and Organisational Development

COSATU identified the need for **ideological clarity** about the current context, the forces ranging against the strategic interest of the working class; the allies of COSATU; and the nature of the international ideological warfare. The federation furthermore committed to build Marxism-Leninism as a tool of scientific inquiry to search for answers in the contemporary world.

At the 10th National Congress, the federation also committed to a **programme for transformation** setting out the short-term, medium-term and long-term objectives to deepen the NDR and the attainment of socialism. According to the Congress resolution, the programme will reflect the multitude of challenges facing the working class at the point of production and reproduction; and in all sites of power, including the state, judiciary and the media.

The 10th National Congress concluded that the state needed to be transformed into an effective and democratic developmental state. Underlying this state will be the capacity to formulate a vision and programme for development; capacity to plan and coordinate its various interventions; and capacity for implementation. COSATU in 2009 supported the reconfiguration of Cabinet to build the capacity of the state to plan, coordinate, implement and monitor progress. The labour federation understood that ultimately the State President bears the responsibility to translate Alliance positions into programmes of government and to steer the ship of government.

COSATU called for an end to the marginalisation of the Alliance and other key ministries in shaping the national planning policy intervention (the National Development Plan) prior to its public release. The prior contemptuous attitude was considered being diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Alliance summit of 2009 and commitments flowing from the summit.

With regard to **organisational development,** the federation committed to building a programme to shape the organisational machinery of the working class and the liberation movement. In COSATU's view, such a programme will ensure that the organisation has vibrant structures at branch/local, provincial and national level. This will also ensure internal dynamism and democracy through heightened mass education and activism to raise the level of class consciousness.

4.5.4.1.2 Socialism

COSATU views socialism as not being a deferred struggle, or a deferred perspective. Its articulation of socialism includes the pursuit of basic national democratic objectives with the intent to roll back the capitalist market and constructing elements of socialism. It is committed to build a socialist movement coalescing around the SACP; develop a critical theory of the present and a theory of the transition to socialism; as well as define a vision for socialism in the 21st century. COSATU furthermore sees the working class as a primary motive force of the NDR, bearing the responsibility to unite the broadest range of social and political forces to take forward the NDR as the foundation to build the

momentum for socialism. It is in this context that COSATU argues for unity of the ANC, the SACP and COSATU and a vibrant and strong Alliance.

4.5.4.1.3 Corruption

COSATU also identified corruption as a social pathology. Corruption is defined as the use of the state and organisations for self-enrichment, crass materialism and politics of patronage. Corrupt practices have supplanted the historic values of the liberation movement, such as selflessness and service to the people. The aim of COSATU's campaign is to reassert revolutionary morality and ethics. At its 10th National Congress, COSATU called for a debate on ways to manage the phenomenon of state officials who are using the state for private accumulation. A cooling-off period for senior managers in the State, who leave the employ of the State, was proposed as one way to manage corrupt tendencies. In 2011, the union federation established *Corruption Watch* to monitor and report on corruption trends in both the public and private sectors.

4.5.4.1.4 Skills and Human Development

Investing in skills and human development entails measures to improve the school and higher education system and work place learning; measures to increase the social wage for workers through investment in efficient and affordable public transport; provision of basic services; and a functioning public health system. All these measures are considered critical to productivity enhancement in the workplace. In this regard COSATU is committed to work with the ANC government to improve efficiency of the public sector.

4.6   An Overview of the SACP

Initially known as the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), the party changed its name to the South African Communist Party (SACP) in 1953, after it had been forced underground in 1950 as a result of the Suppression of Communism Act.

The formation of the CPSA in 1921 was a turning point in the development of labour politics in South Africa. The organised labour movement until the 1920s consisted mainly, but not exclusively, of members from the White working class. By 1928, approximately one-thousand-six-hundred (1600) of the one-thousand-seven-hundred-and-fifty (1750) members of the CPSA were black[3].

Since its formation the CPSA worked to change South Africa's political landscape, often in partnership with other political organisations. One of the most important relationships it maintained was with the ANC. The relationship with the ANC was tumultuous in the beginning as the ANC rejected communism in the 1930s. However, a strong working relationship to achieve national liberation developed during the 1950s which extended into the exile years and persists to this day.

In its involvement in mass struggles that focus on organising workers around issues of workers' rights and working class issues such as affordable banking, the SACP continues to play an important role in the South African political landscape.

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[3] http://www.sacp.org.za/docs/history/sacp1912-1990.html

4.6.1 Aims

The aims or purposes of the SACP, contained in its Constitution enjoin the SACP to:

- strive to be the leading political force of the South African working class whose interests it promotes in the struggle to advance, deepen and defend the national democratic revolution and to achieve socialism;

- pursue the above by means of educating, organising and mobilising the working class and its allies in support of the SACP and its objectives of completing the national democratic revolution and achieve socialism;

- strive to win acceptance as a vanguard by democratic means and in ideological contest with other political parties;

- build a communist society in which all forms of exploitation of person by person will have ended and in which all the products of human endeavour will be distributed according to need; the attainment of such a society will require an interim socialist formation in which reward will be measured by contribution;

- commit itself to a social order that will respect completely the cultural, language and religious rights of all sections of our society and the democratic rights of the individual; the SACP will recognise the right to independence of all social organisations and political parties that function within the ambit of South Africa's Constitution; this implies a multi-party political framework in which there will be regular, open and free elections. Within such a framework, the SACP will primarily dedicate itself to advancing the interests

of the working class and its allies in democratic contest with other political forces in all spheres of life.

4.6.2   *Guiding Principles*

Marxism-Leninism is the underlying philosophy of the SACP. Guided by this philosophical approach, the SACP's political programme is concerned with:

- ending the system of capitalist exploitation in South Africa and establishing a socialist society based on the common ownership of, participation in, and control by the producers of the key means of production;

- organising, educating and leading the working class in the struggle for socialism and the more immediate objectives of defending and deepening the national democratic revolution and of achieving national and social emancipation; the main aim of the unfolding national democratic revolution is to complete the national liberation of the African people in particular and black people in general, to ensure the destruction of the legacy of white supremacy, and the strengthening of democracy in every sphere of life; by participating in this revolution, the SACP aims to eradicate patriarchal relations, weaken and ultimately destroy the economic and political power of the capitalist class through struggle for working class hegemony over society, in particular the ownership and control of the economy and the achievement of one united state of people's power; in this state, working class interests will be dominant and the economic conditions will be created which make it possible to move towards social emancipation and eventually, the total

abolition of the exploitation of person by person in both public and private spheres of life;

- organising, educating and leading women within the working class, the poor and rural communities in pursuit of the aims of the SACP; and to raise the consciousness of the working class and its allies around the integral and oppressive nature of gender relations within South African capitalism;

- playing a key role in strengthening the revolutionary alliance of all classes and strata whose interests are served by the immediate aims of the national democratic revolution;

- spreading the widest possible understanding of our basic ideology and its application to South African conditions, particularly among the working class;

- combating racism, tribalism, sex discrimination, regionalism, chauvinism and all forms of narrow nationalism;

- encouraging an ongoing national and international dialogue with all organisations committed to peace, transformation of gender relations, non-racialism, democracy and the preservation of our environment; and

- promoting the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the unity of the workers of South Africa and the world.

4.6.3 Basic Organisational Principles

In order to secure the unity and cohesion of the SACP, the SACP Constitution obliges members to defend the SACP and to carry out its decisions. All decisions taken by higher structures are binding on all lower structures and individual members. Members have the right to pursue their views internally in the lead up

to conferences or congresses with powers under the SACP's constitution to determine or reverse SACP policies. No groupings with their own discipline are permitted.

All higher structures are accountable to lower structures and to the membership in the formulation and implementation of policies and, for this purpose, wherever possible ensures regular and effective consultation with lower structures and the membership prior to the finalisation and implementation of major policies.

All elected office bearers of the SACP and all its structures are elected by secret ballot unless a minimum of 75% of the delegates decide otherwise and have the power to formulate and direct SACP policies at any level.

Members who are active in fraternal organisations (such as the ANC or COSATU), or in any sector of the mass movement have a duty to set an example of loyalty, hard work and zeal in the performance of their duties. These members are furthermore bound by the discipline and decisions of such organisations and movement. They are not permitted to create or participate in SACP caucuses within such organisations and movements designed to influence either elections or policies. The advocacy of SACP policy on any question relating to the internal affairs of any such organisations or movements is by open public statements or at joint meetings between representatives of the SACP and such organisations or movements.

It is the duty of delegates to fairly and effectively convey to Congress and policy-making conferences the mandate of the constituency that elected them.

However, delegates attending such Congresses and conferences are not rigidly bound by these mandates and may discuss and vote on the basis of debates at such Congresses and conferences.

Employees of the SACP may not serve as elected members of the party's constitutional structures at the same level at which they are employed, but they may serve in an advisory capacity. They may serve on and be elected to SACP structures at lower levels. If an employee of the SACP is elected to a position in the SACP as an office bearer at the same level, he/she must relinquish his/her original position as an employee of the SACP within a month of being elected.

All structures of the SACP are encouraged to practice constructive criticism and self-criticism in party structures.

In all work and at every level, party structures and members ensure that the struggle against patriarchy and for the transformation of gender relations is given due importance, including by the creation of appropriate structures empowered to perform this task. At least one third of all executives of the SACP from branch level to the Central Committee are reserved for women.

Executive structures of the SACP have the right to co-opt SACP veterans, who have non-voting status. Veterans are those who have served the party with distinction for 40 years and more.

Ex-officio members of SACP structures do not exercise a vote in those structures.

4.6.3.1 Young Communist League (YCL)

The Young Communist League (YCL) comprises people from 14 to 35 years old who support the goals, policies and programmes of the SACP. The YCL is the autonomous youth organisation of the SACP.

While the YCL takes its own decisions and shape its own policies and programmes, these are not in conflict with the major policies and programmes of the SACP. If necessary, the CC shall, after consultation with the YCL, adopt guidelines to give practical effect to ensure synergy between the policies and programmes of the YCL with that of the SACP.

4.6.4 Decision-Making

4.6.4.1 National Congress

The highest authority of the SACP is the National Congress which meets every five years. The Central Committee (CC) may convene other Special National Congresses which have the same power as the main National Congress except for the provisions relating to the election of office bearers and members of the CC. A Special National Congress may however, decide on elections of office bearers by a 75% majority. A Special National Congress is convened by the CC if directed to do so by a decision of more than half of the SACP provinces.

The National Congress is constituted by elected delegates from the membership and directly elected and co-opted CC members. All SACP provinces are represented in proportion to their membership in branches. The CC is responsible to, prior to each National Congress, determine the total number of

elected delegates and to allocate a quota to each province in proportion to its membership as organized in branches. The provinces in turn allocate a quota of delegates from the Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) and for each branch in proportion to its membership ensuring that each branch has a minimum of one representative. The CC decides on the number of voting delegates that the YCL is entitled to. The CC has the authority to invite non-voting delegates made up of veterans and similar categories. With the permission of the National Congress such delegates may attend and participate in all closed sessions. A Special National Congress may be constituted on similar lines as a National Congress.

The National Congress discusses the reports of the CC, receives and discusses the audited financial statement and the report of the National Treasurer, examines and decides the policies of the SACP, and is the only authority with the power to elect the General Secretary, National Chairperson, National Treasurer, Deputy General Secretary, Deputy National Chairperson, and members of the CC. The Central Committee ensures that all major draft documents for the consideration of the National Congress are circulated to all structures at least two months prior to the Congress. All comments, resolutions and proposals on such documents are tabled at the National Congress.

Plenary proceedings of the National Congress are in open session, unless otherwise decided by the Congress. All decisions of the National Congress are taken by a simple majority through a show of hands.

4.6.4.2 The Central Committee (CC)

The Central Committee (CC) directs the work of the SACP, determines all matters related to policy, issues binding instructions and directives to all levels of the SACP. Any departure from major policy decisions of the National Congress demanded by changing conditions will only be made after full consultation with the membership.

The CC consists of thirty (30) members elected at the National Congress and comprises the General Secretary, National Chairperson, National Treasurer, Deputy General Secretary (First, and since the 2012 National Congress also a Second Deputy General Secretary), Deputy National Chairperson, and, in addition to those directly elected, the Secretaries and Chairpersons of all the provinces, who, together with the national secretary and national chairperson of the YCL, are ex officio members. Any Provincial Secretary or Chairperson elected to the CC in his/her own right forfeits his/her position on the PEC. The CC has the right to co-opt five members, apart from veterans. The CC includes at least one-third women in its make-up, including after co-option. All nominations for the elected members of the CC are submitted by provinces to the CC not later than two weeks before the National Congress. Nominations from the floor of the Congress are accepted if seconded by a minimum of 25% of Congress delegates. Only a person who has been a member in good standing in the SACP for more than five years is eligible for election to the CC.

The CC meets at least every four months in plenary session and is responsible for drafting major political reports for consideration by plenary session of the CC;

deciding who will be the full-time members of the CC; ensuring that all elected office bearers, CC members, provincial committees, other party structures and members carry out their duties effectively; controlling and supervising all national SACP media and setting up the necessary structures for their effective functioning; stimulating and providing a flow of education in Marxist theory and its application to the country's conditions for all SACP members, and promoting cadre development; informing and guiding the membership on current political developments and also providing regular information on SACP organisational activities; representing the SACP nationally in its relations with other political parties and organisations; managing and controlling all SACP property and funds; has the right by a two-thirds majority (excluding the comrade affected) to remove or suspend any of its members from serving on the CC for any serious misconduct detrimental to the SACP with the proviso that any such actions are reported to the membership; and appointing from among its members, the heads of departments.

All CC members are furthermore obliged to attend all CC meetings or tender written apologies. Elected CC members are obliged to work within a Department of the SACP as deployed by the CC. Failure to participate in the work of the Department is reported to the CC by the Head of Department.

4.6.4.3   Political Bureau (PB)

The CC, through the consensus of at least 60% of the CC, appoints from its ranks eleven members, who together with the elected office bearers, constitutes the PB. At least seven of the additional PB members are appointed to specific

portfolios including organizing, fund-raising, political education and international relations. If there is consensus on the appointments, the CC elects the eleven additional members of the PB through a secret ballot. The national secretary of the YCL is an ex-officio member of the PB.

The PB conducts the current work of the SACP and exercises all the powers and functions of the CC between meetings of the CC, except those powers and functions which are specifically reserved for plenary sessions of the CC.

The PB meets at least once a month. It establishes whatever administrative structures it deems necessary to facilitate the carrying out of its decisions between meetings of the PB. The CC constantly assesses and evaluates the work of the PB, and where necessary, recalls members of the PB. Any member of the CC may, by invitation of the PB, attend any of its meetings.

The PB has the right by a two-thirds majority decision (excluding the comrade affected) to suspend any comrade from the PB for any serious misconduct detrimental to the SACP. Such a decision is enforced until the next plenary session of the CC which either confirms or reverses the PB decision.

4.6.5   National Office Bearers and their Responsibilities

4.6.5.1   General Secretary

The General Secretary is the leading National Office Bearer of the SACP and a full-time official under conditions of service determined by the CC. The General Secretary is an ex officio member of all party structures and his/her

responsibilities include keeping (or cause to be kept) the minutes of all CC and PB meetings and such other books, records and archives as may be required; attending to the correspondence of the CC and PB; maintaining regular personal and written contact with all the provinces and keeping the membership informed of the work of the CC and PB; ensuring that members of the CC are kept informed of the work of the PB in between meetings of the CC; and drawing up (or cause to be drawn up) all reports and documents as may be decided upon by the CC or PB.

4.6.5.2   *Deputy General Secretary*

The Deputy General Secretary, as directed by the CC, deputises for the General Secretary in respect of all the functions set out for the General Secretary.

4.6.5.3   *National Chairperson*

The National Chairperson ranks after the General Secretary as a national office bearer of the SACP and is an ex officio member of all party structures. The National Chairperson is responsible for presiding at all meetings of the CC and PB in conformity with the constitution and other rules and procedures adopted by these bodies; and has a deliberative vote only.

4.6.5.4   *Deputy National Chairperson*

The Deputy National Chairperson, as directed by the CC, deputises for the National Chairperson in respect of all the functions set out for the National Chairperson.

4.6.5.5   National Treasurer

Responsibilities of the National Treasurer include taking all necessary measures to ensure that the SACP is provided with sufficient means to carry out its political and organisational tasks; disposing of such funds as the CC authorises by general or specific mandate; keeping safe and administering all the property and monies of the SACP; keeping such books and accounts as will clearly record and reflect the financial position of the SACP and submit statements of income and expenditure to the CC and PB at intervals to be determined by the CC and PB; presenting audited financial statements and written financial reports to the Congress; and convening a Finance Committee appointed by the CC.

4.6.6   The SACP and the Zuma Administration

4.6.6.1 12th National Congress (2007)

From 11 - 15 July 2007, the SACP held its 12th National Congress. Not insignificant was that this congress was held five months before the crucial 52nd National Conference of the ANC. Of importance at the SACP conference was its analysis, understanding and resolutions pertaining to state power and the nature of state power.

For the SACP, the question of state power was the central question to any revolution. It perceived the locus of state power as being in diverse sites, including the executive, the legislatures, the judiciary, security forces, the broad public sector, state owned enterprises, and other public institutions. The SACP's own strategic Medium Term Vision (MTV) is to secure working class hegemony

in the State in its diversity and in all other sites of power. The Party viewed electoral politics as an important, but not an exclusive terrain for the contestation of state power. In addition to electoral politics, the power of the working class in the state was related to working class power in all other sites, including the imperative of developing organs of popular power, active forms of participatory democracy and social mobilisation.

At this congress, the SACP critiqued the dysfunctional state of the Alliance with particular reference to policy making, the lack of joint programmes on the ground, deployments and electoral list processes.

The SACP believed that significant transformation of the state was needed including redressing the damaging impact of privatisation and restructuring policies that have weakened the capacity of the state and exposed key strategic areas to the dominance of private capital; addressing the lack of a clear cadre development policy in the state; building the strategic capacity of the state to drive developmental programmes; rebuilding critical sectors of the public service, including health care and education, that were still reeling from the effects of years of down-sizing and other restructuring measures; and transforming the key area of local government, often the weakest sphere of governance.

In terms of SACP members who were deployed as ANC elected representatives, or as public servants, the SACP believed that these members were expected to continue to owe allegiance to the Party and conduct themselves in ways that are in line with the fundamental policies, principles and values of the SACP. Given

the issue of dual membership, this posed a potential conflict if not political dissonance for those finding themselves in these situations. The point has been made elsewhere in this study that there are no SACP or COSATU members of Parliament, but only ANC members as far as the Alliance is concerned. The ANC contests elections as leader of the Alliance.

In regard to the Alliance (at least in so far as it was in 2007), the belief of the SACP was that the Alliance required major reconfiguration if the NDR was to be advanced, deepened and defended. In the mind of the SACP, the reconfiguration of the Alliance necessitated it to be the strategic political centre from which common capacity to drive strategy, broad policy, campaigns, deployment and accountability would be developed whilst simultaneously respecting the independent role and strategic tasks of each of the Alliance partners.

In 2007, the SACP recognised the need to deepen its capacity to provide strategic leadership in regard to key policy sites of state power, including industrial policy, social policies and the safety, security and defence sectors. It furthermore seriously considered contesting state power in elections in the context of a reconfigured Alliance. In this regard, it mandated the newly-elected Central Committee to actively pursue the different potential modalities of future SACP electoral campaigning *inter alia* an electoral pact with Alliance partners (ANC and COSATU), which could include agreement on deployments, possible quotas, the accountability of elected representatives including accountability of SACP cadres to the Party, the election manifesto, and the importance of an independent face and role for the SACP and its cadres within legislatures; or

independent electoral lists on the voters' roll with the possible objective of constituting a coalition Alliance agreement after elections.

4.6.6.2   The SACP Special National Congress (2009)

The SACP's Special National Congress held in Polokwane in December 2009 outlined three broad strategic tasks, building on and aligned to the momentum of the ANC's 52nd National Congress of 2007. The discussion below sets out key ideas emanating from this conference.

The global capitalist crisis was defined as a crisis that has deepened the plight and suffering of billions of workers and the poor world-wide. In South Africa a million working people have lost their jobs in the course of 2009 alone. The strategic imperative was to exploit this crisis in consolidating support for the SACP and its Allies. One of the outcomes of the crisis was a greater reliance of capital on the state for bail-outs, rescue packages and protective interventions. The SACP undertook to use this greater reliance of capitalists on the state to organise and mobilise in places of work, in communities, inside the state itself in order to ensure that it was not the workers and poor who bear the brunt of the economic crisis.

The SACP saw itself as being obligated to respond to what it termed as the appalling levels of racialised inequality, and the crisis levels of unemployment – this after 15 years of democracy, and more than a decade of economic growth, notwithstanding progress on many fronts. Patriarchal oppression continued to afflict millions of women. It identified the underlying systemic features in South

African society that reproduced the crisis of under-development. It committed to placing the economy onto a different, job-creating path; advancing a state-led and worker-driven industrial policy and ensuring that macro-economic policy was aligned with strategic developmental priorities as agreed to with Alliance partners. The commitment extended and aligned with the ANC Polokwane resolutions on rural development, fighting corruption, implementing a NHI system, investing in education and training and empowering women.

The SACP furthermore perceived itself as having the task to carry forward the analysis of progress and challenges within the SACP, and within the broader ANC-led Alliance. It recognised the important gains made in consolidating the unity in the Alliance, but also alerted itself to what it termed as the early warning signs of a small, but sometimes clamorous anti-communist, chauvinistic tendency in the ranks of the broader Alliance movement. It committed to fight factionalism, not with factionalism, but with a principled programme of action.

4.6.6.3   Discussions Towards the SACP 13th National Congress

For its 13th National Congress in July 2012, the SACP released a discussion document on 21 May 2012 (see www.sacp.org.za) analysing the state and state power with a focus on looking back in an attempt to understand and work within the contradictions of the present.

When the ANC assumed power in 1994, it inherited a state apparatus that was thoroughly distorted by its internal colonial and apartheid features and immediately set out to transform this.

The white minority was serviced by a relatively well-functioning, but authoritarian and rigidly hierarchical state bureaucracy that created welfare systemic conditions for this category of citizen. From the 1930s, the white minority state started to develop a number of major state-owned enterprises in key strategic areas like the energy sector (Eskom), iron and steel sector (Iscor), telecommunications sector (Telkom), petrochemical sector (SASOL), railway sector (Spoornet), and the defence industry (Armscor). However, from the late 1970s, the financial crisis and growing class differences within the ruling white minority union led to the privatization of key strategic parastatals (SASOL, Iscor), and to the radical reduction on public expenditure on others (for example, Spoornet). This was in fact a form of financial austerity measures being implemented in South Africa. Consequentially, when the new democratic state assumed power in 1994, it found a state deprived both of key strategic apparatuses as a result of the privatisation that started in the 1970s and a seriously under-capitalised passenger and freight rail and ports system.

1994 also led to the integration of what was an extensive, ethnically fragmented set of former Bantustan, township, "Coloured" and "Indian" bureaucracies. In 1994, the new state inherited almost six-hundred-and-fifty-thousand (650 000) former Bantustan bureaucrats. While there were dedicated professionals among them, the dominant ethos in the Bantustan and tri-cameral bureaucracies could be described as one characterised by patronage and rent-seeking. This legacy continues to leave a powerful and perverse imprint on our contemporary reality. Provinces that incorporated former Bantustan bureaucracies are often those with

the most serious administrative challenges in the present for example the Eastern Cape, Northwest and Limpopo.

4.6.7   New Public Management: A SACP Perspective

According to the SACP, part of the persistence of the perversities of the current problems in the state has been the result of seeking to transform the state and its' administrative apparatus through the application of the neo-liberal aligned **"new public management"** approach.

For the SACP, "new public management" was applying (mis-applying?) a private, for-profit, corporate management approach to the public sector, *inter alia*:

- Replacing a public sector ethics of service to citizens with a managerialist ethics of "delivery" to "customers".

- Replacing professional leadership of the public sector with generic corporate managers – presupposing that auditing and financial skills were all that was required to run a hospital or a school, for instance.

- Replacing professional and vocational incentives in the public sector with monetary incentives that are in turn typically based on fulfilment of "performance agreements" that are often meaningless, and that frequently result in tick-box pseudo-compliance.

- Fragmenting line departments into dozens of stand-alone "agencies", each with its own "corporate" structure - a board, a CEO, and an expensive head-office (what the SACP has referred to as the "agentification" of the state).

- Transforming the public administration from a "doing" apparatus into a "purchaser" of services from the private sector. Professionals in the state apparatus, those that have remained, have been increasingly reduced to compilers and adjudicators of "tenders" with all of the moral hazard implicit in this (the SACP has described this as the "tenderization" of the state).

A number of developed economies like the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand implemented the "new public management" approach with considerable zeal from the late 1970s through the 1980s and early 1990s. It was seen as a means to "right-size" welfare states that were deemed by conservative governments to be "bloated" and "inefficient". Increasingly, throughout the 1990s in these very countries that had pioneered the approach, the many problems associated with it were beginning to show serious signs of fragmentation of the state apparatus. Since the 1990s various attempts have been made in these countries to rebuild "joined-up" government.

At the time of these growing criticisms of the "new public management" approach, the post-1994 South African state tended to uncritically adopt it as the solution to transform South Africa's inherited public sector legacy. The uncritical adoption of this approach did not take into account the dysfunctional state of South Africa in 1994 insofar as public administration was concerned. The democratically-elected government did not inherit a unitary, professional, relatively efficient, rule-governed, and comprehensive welfare state. The material conditions at the time dictated the necessity for an approach different to that promoted by new public management.

To this toxic mix of a bad legacy and a poor remedy was added the (in principle progressive and necessary) implementation of affirmative action measures to ensure equitable race, gender and disability representation in the public sector. However, since these affirmative action measures were introduced into a poorly conceived neo-liberal restructuring of the public sector, over-laid sometimes with factional ruling party appointments, they have often resulted in poor outcomes which then get blamed on affirmative action itself.

The focus for the SACP is on building a more effective, strategically disciplined, democratic developmental state.

4.7   Summary

This chapter aimed to explain the theory of alliance formations, in other words, how alliances are formed and the interests – both common and diverse – that shape the nature of the relationships within alliances.

Given that the ANC is the ruling or governing party, it was necessary to briefly outline generally accepted governance requirements and challenges thereof as well as the theoretical foundations of the political-administrative interface. This, as will be seen in the next chapter, becomes more complicated in the case of alliances where only one of the partners has the moral right, derived from the ballot box, to govern – a totally different scenario to coalition government.

The ideological dispositions and structural or organisational arrangements of the partners to the Tripartite Alliance – the ANC, COSATU and the SACP were

considered through an analysis of the constitutions of the respective organisations. This resulted in the identification of a common language between these organisations. Amongst the shared terms, the most prevalent of these are the references to the NDR, the developmental state and in terms of structures – National Congress, Central Committee, General Secretary, and so forth.

A brief analysis of policy direction as determined through the National Conferences of the Alliance partners in the period shortly after Polokwane and leading up to the 2012 season of National Conferences was also done. Again, as in the case of the constitutions, the common thread reveals a shared language together with an emphasis on the need for the state to intervene decisively in society and the economy. This necessitated a clarification and explanation on the theory of a developmental state.

Given the variety of *policy planks* between the Alliance partners, it was also necessary to explain the various theories of government failure in the execution or implementation of policy. In this regard, it is emerging that the Alliance policy platform may be compromised by *policy malaise* or *paralysis* which has the potential to result in the non- or poor delivery of services. The design and development of policy is of a very high standard, but fails to join up with implementation plans.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE ANC-SACP-COSATU ALLIANCE

5.1   Introduction

The benefit of interpretative hindsight gives one a sense of the histories of the ANC, SACP and COSATU. Through disciplines analysis, one also appreciates the respective organisational constitutional imperatives, their structural arrangements and policy preferences of these political entities. The locus and focus of public administration as well as the interface between administration and politics makes it necessary to examine how tripartite politics have impacted on state administration in terms of policy formulation and implementation, public leadership, human resource capacity and governance.

This chapter will focus on the shared and divergent interests between the main Alliance partners – ANC, COSATU and SACP, and how these have shaped and continue to shape state capacity through leadership, governance, policy delivery and human resources or staffing. These themes cannot be considered in isolation as they are integrated and integral to a holistic understanding of how the state functions. Leadership is a pre-requisite for good governance and both, in turn, are pre-requisites for policy development and implementation.   The aforementioned are at-risk when the state is not adequately staffed through a critical mass of employees who not only understand their role as state employees, but are also passionately committed to the programme of action of

government, and therefore committed to ensuring that the citizens of the country are indeed the beneficiaries of good government services.

5.2   Common Interests

Within the Alliance, there seems to be broad consensus on welfare or social security policy and a general recognition and acceptance that the lives of the majority must be improved. This consensus is a necessary condition; both on moral grounds and as a means to ensure political stability and identification with the relatively new state. As a common interest issue, it is a quick win and is largely supported by all the Alliance partners. However, the crucial political challenge for the ruling party (ANC) has to do with successfully reaching this aim – political stability and patriotism – without disrupting the economy whilst retaining the support of key groups including business and labour. The black middle class has experienced explosive growth over the last eighteen years. This category of citizen has become known as the "black diamonds" and has with increased mobility, introduced new interests to the Alliance. For example, the ANC and the tripartite Alliance must now wrestle with ideas as to whether it (primarily the broad-based ANC), through its policy preferences and policy planks, only represent the interests of those who are well organised and articulate, with a limited interest in expanding the welfare system. How does the ANC balance the needs of this growing middle and upwardly mobile class against the increasing inequity gap in the country? This group may perceive the expansion of the welfare system as creating an onerous tax burden on them as they become more dissociated from the poor and working class. So while some

policies like social security may initially start out as common interest positions, the risk of it degenerating into divergent interests becomes stronger as more citizens move from working class to middle class.

5.3   Divergent Interests

Divergent policy interests are most prevalent in the area of economic policy than in social policy. The history of the Alliance over the last eighteen years reflects this most visibly. The RDP was essentially developed as a COSATU-SACP document after a wide consultative process and adopted by the ANC in the first democratic elections in 1994. The RDP was replaced by the GEAR framework in 1996. GEAR was perceived as having been drafted by a few bankers and academics from Washington without any popular local support. Various mutations of GEAR, such as JIPSA and AsGISA, followed and currently the New Growth Path (NGP) and National Development Plan (NDP) are mooted and pursued as being the policy solutions to the country's economic woes.

The RDP, which was perceived as a strong socialist policy, took a backseat in favour of GEAR which, according to COSATU, was a policy that clearly favoured a capitalist system and ideology. COSATU was instrumental in the drafting and implementation of the RDP with COSATU's founding General-Secretary, Jay Naidoo, appointed as the minister responsible for implementing the RDP in the Mandela cabinet. In developing GEAR, COSATU was not consulted at all. It is arguable that this was a deliberate strategy of the ANC at the time in an attempt to diminish the influence of COSATU within the political domain or space.

COSATU and the SACP created the perception of GEAR as the South African government's response to the pressures of international capital instead of focusing on the developmental needs of the country as purported through the RDP. To many within COSATU the choice was clear: Is it about the interests of those who possess economic power and control the market? Do they - and those who enter the market - have to be helped merely because South Africa must be able to compete internationally? Can and should the state be regarded as a neutral mediator between labour and capital? Should the state instead not opt for a radical socialist vision? These issues simultaneously transcended and augmented the ideological differences between the ANC and the COSATU-SACP axis in the Alliance. Raising these questions also poignantly pointed to the role the state ought to play in the South African society and economy and therefore the transformation direction and trajectory of South Africa – the notion of a developmental state.

The NGP and the NDP are still in the infancy stage. However, there are multiple points of divergence within and amongst Alliance partners as to the value of these policy directions. The difference though between GEAR and the NGP is that, unlike with GEAR, the ANC is carefully listening to the views of its Alliance partners; or at least, it is creating the perception that it is listening carefully. Already, there are indications that the NGP is seen as an evolving policy document which can be amended in alignment with the dictating material and contextual conditions of the country at any given point in time. It is not absolute and is strengthened through the continued dialogue that is taking place through

Alliance structures. The two ministers directly involved in spearheading the NGP come from COSATU and the SACP respectively (Ebrahim Patel, former Secretary-General of SACTWU and Minister of Economic Development; and Rob Davies, a Central Committee member of the SACP and Minister of Trade and Industry) whilst Trevor Manual, finance minister in Mbeki's administration, heads the NPC. In some instances, it is to be expected that divergent policy interests have the potential to converge and become common interest positions.

5.4 "In-between" or "Twilight" Interests

Somewhere between common interest and divergent interest positions reside what can be termed "twilight" interests. One member may have a very strong view on certain policies whilst, in the interest of the Alliance, the leading member would usually consent, but not necessarily share the same conviction as the partner advocating for certain positions. An example of this is evident in employment-related policies. COSATU, as a workers' movement, has strong views on the notion of "decent work". Whilst the ANC may share this value (which was confirmed through the Polokwane resolutions), its position as a broad-based organisation is informed by responding to a myriad of constituents that span across the class formations, including the unemployed, the poor as well as organised business. In this instance, it will contend with the COSATU position, whilst seeking to find a compromise that will not compromise the national economy as it pertains to the labour market.

5.5 The Alliance and Public Policy

Public policy development and implementation includes five basic steps:

- Identify a problem

- Formulate a policy

- Adopt the policy

- Implement the policy and

- Evaluate the policy

Three distinct areas of public policy can be identified. Just about any policy can be classified as social, economic, or foreign. Many citizens would only be aware of issues such as welfare, crime, abortion, education and health care within the realm of public policy. What they do not know is that all of these fall under the heading of social policy, and only represent a part of the picture. The artificial dissonance between different policy orientations is a panacea and a recipe for policy failure.

The eventual character of public policy is shaped by the ideological persuasions of the ruling or governing party of the day. It is therefore crucial to get to understand the cohesive force or ideology that has and continues to shape the policy positions of the South African government since 1994, through the lens of the ANC and the Alliance and how this has been seminal in the way that the policy objectives are implemented.

5.5.1 The National Democratic Revolution (NDR)

The constant and consistent theme throughout the Alliance partners documents, including their constitutions, policy frameworks and strategy documents centres on the idea of the National Democratic Revolution or NDR.

The Constitution of the ANC states that *"The ANC is committed to end apartheid in all its forms and transform South Africa as rapidly as possible into a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic country based on the principles of the Freedom Charter and **in pursuit of the national democratic revolution** (researcher's emphasis)."*

Highlights from the SACP Constitution commit the party to:

*"strive to be the leading political force of the South African working class whose interests it promotes in the struggle to **advance, deepen and defend the national democratic revolution** (researcher's emphasis) and to achieve socialism;"*

*"educating, organising and mobilising the working class and its allies **in support of the SACP and its objectives of completing the national democratic revolution** (researcher's emphasis) and achieving socialism;"*

The SACP Constitution furthermore articulates the main aim of the unfolding national democratic revolution as completing *"the national liberation of the African people in particular and black people in general, to ensure the destruction of the*

legacy of white supremacy, and the strengthening of democracy in every sphere of life."

COSATU, at its 10th National Congress called for a "***programme for transformation, setting out the short-term, medium-term and long-term objectives to deepen the NDR*** *(researcher's emphasis) and the attainment of socialism. The programme will reflect the multitude of challenges facing the working class at the point of production and reproduction; and in all sites of power, the state, judiciary and the media.*"

Blade Nzimande, the General Secretary of the SACP wrote that, "The character, content and direction of the NDR are of fundamental importance to our alliance, since the deepening and consolidating of the national democratic revolution is the glue that holds our Alliance together." (Nzimande, 2006). If the NDR is the cohesive force behind the tripartite Alliance, then it is imperative to understand what the NDR is. It is through a better understanding of the NDR that one may be in the position to better comprehend the impact of the Alliance on public administration.

5.5.1.1 Genesis of the NDR

Marxist-Leninism introduced the concept of national democracy in an attempt to justify growing international links between the Soviet Union and the ex-colonial world. In 1960, eighty-one (81) Communist and Workers' parties met in Moscow and in the final declaration formally introduced the term 'national democracy' into the theoretical repertoire of the international communist movement (Statement,

1960). This was done to designate a category of ex-colonial (and dependent) countries which could be identified as engaged on a non-capitalist path of development in opposition to imperialism and towards national autonomy.

The NDR has historically been understood to be a revolution led by progressive motive forces (mainly oppressed and exploited), to defeat repressive and colonial regimes and build people's democracies. While the objective was regime change in favour of socialism, it was recognised that there were also circumstances where, due to domestic or global balance of forces, such a revolution is unable to immediately proceed to socialism. This could be because the motive forces are either not strong or conscious enough to drive the revolution towards socialism or other objective factors pose a limitation to a transition to socialism.

A national democracy was defined in the Moscow statement as being committed to the strengthening of national independence, land reforms in the interests of the peasantry, abolition of the remnants of feudalism, expiration of the economic roots of imperialist rule, the limitation and ousting of foreign monopolies from the economy, the foundation and development of a national industry, the raising of the standard of living of the population, democratisation of public life, an independent, peace-loving foreign policy (Lowenthal, 1963: 56). It was envisaged that in such countries, local communist parties would not aim in the first instance at the socialist transformation of society because of the 'very low level of development of the production forces and social production' which characterises these countries and renders an immediate socialist revolution

impossible. The revolution was to be interpreted as being conducted in two stages, the NDR followed by socialism.

The conditions for immediately carrying out revolutionary socialist transformations and for embarking on the socialist path have not matured in all countries, as is evident in the historical archives of nations. Not all countries had a sufficiently organised working class, a peasantry ready to accept the leadership of the working class, and a Marxist-Leninist Party. This did not mean that in these countries social development must slow down or even come to an end. Revolutionary Marxists, having studied the special features and tendencies in the life of the young state, have established that they can have progressive development along a non-capitalist path that will eventually lead to socialism.

However, the underlying theory of NDR surmises that such states can, at the same time, establish cultural and political conditions under which communist parties can be formed (if not already in existence) and acquire a hegemonic role amongst the proletariat (and its allies). The interests of the national bourgeoisie and the working class are thus conceived as converging in underdeveloped social formations. Common interests are taking shape and creating the conditions for alliance formation. The forms of state intervention which are part of this 'non-capitalist' path of development are not seen as being in conflict with the interests of the national bourgeoisie or with capitalist property ownership. On the contrary, a large and energetic state sector in the economy is conceived in the theory of national democracy as the best defence available to the national bourgeoisie against the international monopolies (Brookfield, 1981).

Apartheid in South Africa gave rise to a new political term: 'colonialism of a special type' (CST). In terms of the CST analysis, South Africa advanced the following thesis: given the specific structure of South African society, the struggle to establish socialism must first assume the form of struggle to establish a national-democracy and that this struggle must be successful before there can be any transition to socialism in South Africa.

CST identified three interrelated antagonistic contradictions: class, race and patriarchal relations of power. These antagonisms found expression in national oppression based on race; class super-exploitation directed against Black workers on the basis of race; and triple oppression of the mass of women based on their race, their class and their gender.

It has been argued elsewhere that the concepts of national democracy and CST are essentially apologetic. They merit no scrutiny because their unique function is to provide a justification, ex post facto, for an opportunistic political policy, on the part of national communist parties to form alliances with non-socialist nationalist regimes (Dallin, 1963; Lowenthal, 1963; Steele, 1985: 165).

Given that the NDR has been conceived from within communism, key questions that arise, particularly for the SACP, within the context of the Alliance relative to the NDR are:

- Could it be that within the Alliance, and certainly in broader society, there is in essence a contest over whether the NDR has a capitalist or socialist orientation?

- Are contemporary struggles not a reflection of a struggle between pursuance of a socialist oriented NDR and a struggle to co-opt and transform the NDR into a full-blown bourgeois (capitalist) democracy with the bourgeoisie (black and white) at the helm of such a project? But is it possible to even create a sustainable bourgeois democracy in South Africa in the light of the massive inequalities reproduced daily by the capitalist system?

- Is it still possible to pursue a socialist oriented NDR in the post-Soviet era? Was such an NDR perhaps only possible during the existence of the Soviet socialist union of countries which acted as a counter to the designs of the imperialist world? Could this be the reason why some in the Alliance is talking about the aim of the NDR being to 'manage the capitalist system in line with main elements of its own logic'?

- What should be the strategy and tactics of pursuing a socialist oriented NDR in a unipolar, imperialist world dominated by the US?

- Has an NDR ever progressed to socialism under bourgeois-type multi party democracies? Has it not been the case in 20th century national democratic revolutions that such revolutions have proceeded to socialism only immediately after the victory over repressive regimes, and not under conditions of open electoral contests in bourgeois democratic type dispensations? Is it inevitable that in today's unipolar world, national democratic revolutions can only be co-opted and transformed into bourgeois democratic dispensations after a democratic breakthrough like in

South Africa's negotiations through CODESA? What can South Africa learn from Chavez' Venezuela of the 2000s?

The ANC, COSATU and SACP share the perspective that the national democratic revolution means the achievement of a non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous society. While there are nuance differences to how each partner interprets the NDR, there seems to be a shared understanding amongst them about these nuanced perspectives.

While the NDR may have been conceived from within the "belly of communism", there appears to be a degree of consensus in the Alliance that the NDR has evolved to the point where it is not a socialist revolution nor a struggle for capitalism. It can be argued that this shared perspective was deepened through the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955. Whilst not a socialist document, it (the Freedom Charter) envisaged a radical transformation of society, based on democratic rights, including the major restructuring of the capitalist system itself in favour of the overwhelming majority of the South African people. This shared perspective was also strengthened by the ANC's commitment to a working class bias as captured in the Morogoro Conference (1969). This "middle way" in interpreting the NDR as neither socialist, nor capitalist, may well have been to the advantage of the ANC in assuming the leader role of the Alliance. The "middle way" resonates with the character of the ANC as a "broad church", a "hegemonic organisation" that does not seek to define itself in exclusivist, or narrow ideological terms. Rather, the ANC remains home to a variety of progressive ideological currents - nationalist, Africanist,

socialist and of a variety of different classes and strata, all united behind a common commitment to national democratic transformation.

5.5.1.2   *The ANC's Expropriation of the NDR*

There is a consistent thread in respect to the underlying or first principles regarding the NDR as postulated in the first *Strategy and Tactics* Document of 1969 (Morogo, Tanzania) and those that followed. This is that the ANC seeks to build democracy with social content. Informed by concrete social conditions and experiences, this will, in some respects, reflect elements of the best traditions of social democracy, which include: a system which places the needs of the poor and social issues such as health care, education and a social safety net at the top of the national agenda; the intense role of the state in economic life; the pursuit of full employment; the quest for equality; forming a strong partnership with the trade union movement; and promotion of international solidarity.

The ANC, in its *Strategy and Tactics Document* presented to Polokwane in 2007, presented a vision as to what, as the leading partner in the Alliance, it considered the character of the NDR to be. The paragraphs that follow captures the essence of the NDR, nested within the strategies and tactics discussed at the Polokwane Conference.

In terms of the ANC's 2007 Strategy and Tactics, a national democratic society constitutes the ideal state that the ANC and the broad democratic movement aspire to. It should thus not be confused with tactical positions that the ANC may adopt from time to time, taking into account the balance of forces within South

Africa and abroad. The conditions for social transformation will change all the time. And in the process of effecting such transformation, there will be successes and failures.

The ANC should avoid the temptation to boast over such successes in these early years as if it had already achieved the ultimate objective. Nor should the ANC seek to justify mistakes and setbacks as unavoidable, pleading a fixed set of circumstances and thus leading it into the danger of redefining the ultimate objective.

There should be a clear line between strategy - the ultimate goal; and tactics - the methods and actions that respond to changing immediate circumstances. Clearly, at all times the ANC should develop tactics that are suitable for the specific conditions under which it operates. But such tactics should be informed by the ANC's commitment to the strategic goal.

The National Democratic Revolution is defined as such, precisely because it seeks to abolish the combination of sources of social conflict. It has national and democratic tasks, and it should strive to realise:

- a united state based on the will of all the people, without regard for race, sex, belief, language, ethnicity or geographic location;
- a dignified and improving quality of life among all the people by providing equal rights and opportunities to all citizens; and
- the restoration of the birthright of all South Africans regarding access to land and other resources.

The NDR seeks to build a society based on the best in human civilisation in terms of political and human freedoms, socio-economic rights, value systems and identity.

Such human civilisation should be reflected, firstly, in the constant improvement of the means to take advantage of South Africa's natural environment, turn it to collective human advantage and ensure its regeneration for future use. Secondly, it should find expression in the management of human relations based on political equality and social inclusivity. If there were to be any single measure of the civilising mission of the NDR, it would be how it treats the most vulnerable in our society.

One of the most critical acts of the NDR is the creation of a legitimate state which derives its authority from the people, through regular elections and continuing popular participation in the processes of governance. Mobilised around a clear vision of the kind of society we wish to become, the nation should act in partnership - each sector contributing to the realisation of the common good. The means should be put in place for citizens to exercise their human rights, and for the checks and balances necessary in a law-governed society. The democratic state should also have the organisational and technical capacity to realise its objectives.

As with any nation, South Africans will continue to have multiple identities based on class, gender, age, language, geographic location, religion and so on. In a national democratic society, such diversity should feed into an overarching

national identity. In its own unique way, South Africa should emerge as a united African nation, adding to the diversity and identity of the continent and humanity at large.

The main content of the NDR is the liberation of Africans in particular and Blacks in general from political and socio-economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor, the majority of whom are African and female. At the same time it has the effect of liberating the white community from the false ideology of racial superiority and the insecurity attached to oppressing others. The hierarchy of disadvantage suffered under apartheid will naturally inform the magnitude of impact of the programmes of change and the attention paid particularly to those who occupied the lowest rungs on the apartheid social ladder.

Precisely because patriarchal oppression was embedded in the economic, social, religious, cultural, family and other relations in all communities, its eradication cannot be an assumed consequence of democracy. All manifestations and consequences of patriarchy - from the feminisation of poverty, physical and psychological abuse, undermining of self-confidence, to open and hidden forms of exclusion from positions of authority and power - need to be eliminated. Critical in this regard is the creation of the material and cultural conditions that would allow the abilities of women to flourish and enrich the life of the nation.

A nation's success depends also on its ability to encourage, harness and incorporate into its endeavours the creativity, courage and energy of the youth.

This relates to issues of access to social and economic opportunities, engendering activism around issues of development and values of community solidarity and creating the space for youth creativity to flourish.

Children and the elderly are among the most vulnerable in society; and a national democratic society should ensure their protection and continuous advancement. The challenge is also in relation to people with disability - not merely as a matter of social welfare; but based on the recognition of the right of each individual to dignity and development and of the contribution that each can make to the collective good. In many respects, there is a critical link between the objective condition of children, the elderly and people with disability and poverty.

Implementing these corrective measures requires more than just references to general political rights. A continuing element of democratic transformation should be a systematic programme to correct historical injustices and affirm those deliberately excluded under apartheid - on the basis of race, class and gender. The need for affirmative action will decline in the same measure as all centres of power and influence and other critical spheres of social endeavour become broadly representative of the country's demographics. In the process, all inequalities that may persist or arise will need to be addressed.

Apartheid and colonialism brought with it devastating consequences on Black communities because it ordered the ownership and control of wealth in such a manner that these communities were deliberately excluded and neglected.

Therefore, fundamental to the destruction of apartheid is the eradication of apartheid production relations. This is more than just an issue of social justice. It is also about the fact that these relations had become a brake on the advancement of technology and competitiveness of the economy.

A national democratic society should be founded on a thriving economy where the structure reflects the natural endowments of the country and the creativity that a skilled population can offer. It should be an economy in which cutting edge technology, labour-absorbing industrial development, a thriving small business and co-operative sector, utilisation of information and communication technologies and efficient forms of production and management all combine to ensure national prosperity. This is conditional on ensuring that the brain and brawn of all of society are brought to bear on all economic activity. It requires the de-racialisation of ownership and control of wealth, management and the professions.

Society will place a high premium on redistribution of land in both urban and rural areas for the benefit of those who were denied access under colonialism. Such access must be provided for a variety of purposes including agriculture, housing, environmental preservation, mining and other economic activity, public utilities and spaces, entertainment and other uses. In order to ensure effective and sustainable land and agrarian reform, effective measures will be put in place to assist 'emergent' and small-scale farmers and co-operatives.

A thriving economy in a national democratic society requires as efficient a market as possible, shorn from the racial and gender exclusions that characterised apartheid colonialism, and freed from the barriers to entry and competition that the economy endured under colonial capitalism. It will also require a state able to use its capacities to direct national development through fiscal redistribution, utilisation of State-owned Enterprises and effective regulation.

A national democratic society will have a mixed economy, with state, co-operative and other forms of social ownership, and private capital. The balance between social and private ownership of investment resources will be determined on the balance of evidence in relation to national development needs and the concrete tasks of the NDR at any point in time.

The state will relate to private owners of investment resources in the context of the national objective to build a better life for all. Through its various capacities, the state will encourage socially-beneficial conduct on the part of private business. Similarly, through such capacities, it will ensure that these investors are able to make reasonable returns on their investments.

Social cohesion in a national democratic society will also depend on the extent to which the rights of those in the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder are protected. Such a society should proceed from the premise that workers' rights are human rights; and these rights should find expression in law-governed measures to ensure decent jobs, job security and a living wage. Through

legislation and other means, the state should manage the environment for fair and balanced relations between employers and employees.

Particular attention in such a society should be paid to conditions of the poor in rural areas. This also applies to the life circumstances of those in informal settlements as well as female-headed and single-parent households.

A national democratic society should use the redistributive mechanism of the fiscus to provide a safety net for the poor. As such, built into its social policy should be a comprehensive social security system which includes various elements of the social wage such as social grants, free basic services, free education, free health care, subsidised public transport and basic accommodation.

A national democratic state should continually implement integrated anti-poverty programmes, ensuring that these programmes address not only social assistance, but also the sustainable integration of all communities into economic activity. This is critical in dealing with poverty in general, but also in addressing the condition of the majority of women.

All these measures are important for social cohesion. They should be supported by joint efforts among all sectors of society to strengthen community organisation and mobilisation around issues pertaining to sport, women's rights, youth interests, the battle against crime and so on. There also should be deliberate collective action to promote a positive role by the institution of the family. The public media also have a critical role to play in promoting social cohesion.

Critical elements of a value system based on human solidarity should include pride in social activism and respect for an honest day's work. They should include social dissuasion against conspicuous consumption, ostentatiousness and corruption. This is part of the ideological engagement that should be a permanent feature of the process of change, involving both the state and civil society.

Whether such common social decency is achievable under a market-based system with its tendency to reproduce underdevelopment and inequality, in a globalised world, is an issue on which society should continually engage its mind. Concrete practice, rather than mere theory, will help answer this question. What is clear though is the symbiosis between political oppression and the apartheid capitalist system. If decisive action is not taken to deal with economic subjugation and exclusion, the essence of apartheid will remain, with a few black men and women incorporated into the courtyard of privilege. The old fault-lines will persist, and social stability will be threatened.

A national democratic society is, by definition, made up of various classes and strata. The NDR seeks to eradicate the specific relations of production that underpinned the national and gender oppression and super-exploitation of the majority of South Africans. It does not eradicate capitalist relations of production in general. It should therefore be expected that in a national democratic society class contradictions and class struggle, particularly between the working class and the bourgeoisie, will play themselves out. As such, a national democratic state will be called upon to regulate the environment in which such contradictions

manifest themselves, in the interest of national development including fundamental socio-economic transformation.

In broad terms, the NDR seeks to ensure that every South African, especially the poor, experiences an improved quality of life. It seeks to build a developmental state shaped by the history and socio-economic dynamics of South African society. Such a state will guide national economic development and mobilise domestic and foreign capital and other social partners to achieve this goal. It will have attributes that include:

- capacity to intervene in the economy in the interest of higher rates of growth and sustainable development;
- effecting sustainable programmes that address challenges of unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment with requisite emphasis on vulnerable groups; and
- mobilising the people as a whole, especially the poor, to act as their own liberators through participatory and representative democracy.

The ANC's vision for society, informed by its interpretation of the NDR, is both comprehensive and broad. It recognises the transitional state of society and the transformation imperatives that are needed to ensure that democracy is indeed entrenched. It acknowledges the co-existence of different class formations and does not commit to doing away with this. In relation to public administration; the vision sets the scene for the policies that ought to be developed and pursued by government. These policies must address the inequities and poverty that has

been the result of the history of South Africa. Not only that, the ANC's understanding of the NDR in regard to the state, is that the state must be interventionist in both society and the economy in the context of a mixed economy. Democratic centralism is a key feature in the state's role in society and the economy. Effective and successful intervention will require the deployment of the required technical capacity, which must be synchronised to the deployment of cadres in key state institutions. However, where this capacity, specifically in the bureaucracy, is minimal, then an aggressive skills development programme is required.

The ANC represents the NDR as an ideology that is socially inclusive and not socialist in its intent whereas both the SACP and COSATU's strategic adoption of the NDR is that it (the NDR) is a means to an end, that end being socialism. This ideological orientation of the ANC is the over-riding consideration in how government policy is ultimately formulated and implemented, sometimes with conservative caution and at other times with revolutionary passion, itself an outcome of the middle path.

5.5.2 Policy Influence

Social movements have characterised the ANC-led government as neo-liberal. This characterisation seems to have overlooked and thus missed the opportunity to engage the ANC's many identities. The ANC is a liberation movement; democratic government; and one of the oldest social movements in Africa. Each of these identities has specific appeal and possibly is one of the reasons why the

party continues to win elections. Therefore mass mobilisation is not enough, there needs to be clear and specific policy alternatives and most importantly, buy-in from stakeholders in government. It is crucial that the ANC be engaged at all levels of its many identities.

COSATU has managed to have a significant impact on policy – particularly economic (labour) and social policy - through a variety of formal mechanisms such as the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC), a parliamentary office to monitor legislation and facilitate consultations with parliamentary committees, and engagement with departments and ministries. It is regularly consulted with, often in advance to other civil society organisations, and frequently provides input into government policy documents. Because of its proximity to government as a result of the Alliance, COSATU is often seen as a greater source of opposition when it does oppose government as has been evident in the recent e-tolling saga in Gauteng. Several parliamentarians and cabinet ministers hail from the ranks of the labour federation and therefore also provide a source of influence within the inner sanctums of government. COSATU has combined strike action, mass mobilisation and over the last eighteen years, strategic participation in policymaking. It also fights to improve the working conditions of members and for a non-racial, multi-party democracy. The Labour Relations Act in particular, is said to be a major victory for the union federation, providing as it does, for one of the most progressive labour regimes in the world.

However, not everything has been without struggle for COSATU. There had been some very fundamental policy differences with the ANC, including the differences

in policy on matters dealing with economic policy issues. The bigger question then is why COSATU has chosen to stick with the Alliance despite obvious policy disagreements with the ANC? The easy answer might be that there is no mandate to do otherwise. Under the COSATU Constitution, a policy decision of the magnitude of breaking the Alliance would have to be passed by the majority of delegates at a major policy conference like a Congress. The proposal would need to come from one of the affiliated trade unions in the form of a resolution and be supported by a second affiliate. COSATU has to date failed to secure such a resolution, not for a lack of trying from some of its affiliates. A recent survey conducted by the Sociology of Work Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand indicates that rank and file COSATU workers remain supportive of the ANC and of the Alliance based on its historic role in the popular struggle: there may be, in short, little grass-roots pressure to break with the Alliance. Meanwhile, with such a break, COSATU would lose its privileged access to the state (and with it the ability to influence policy meaningfully), something that at least the senior leaders in the organisation seem unwilling to risk.

In the end, government policy is determined through the ANC processes. However, the ANC processes are influenced by COSATU and the SACP given their Alliance status as well as the matter of multiple memberships between these organisations. COSATU and the SACP may have very direct policy positions, but unless they are in a position to influence the ANC policy platform, these policies mean nothing as both organisations have opted to be in an Alliance with the ANC

rather than contest the elections and thus the viability of their policies with the electorate.

5.6 Leadership and the ANC's Role in the Alliance

Irrespective of the existing contextual variations, political leadership–followership can be said to always present a social process of adaptation and innovation (innovative adaptation) to an environment or context that challenges a group's way of life and values. The leader's tasks are to:

- interpret problems

- prescribe ends and means to solve them

- propagate personal visions as solutions or, at least, responses to problems

- mobilize followers to implement those solutions or responses (Heifetz, 1994; Tucker, 1995).

The form of leadership that is prevalent in the Alliance is that of democratic centralism. This form of leadership requires that all members participate in discussions of issues and policies and all members are eligible to vote for the leadership. However, once leaders have been put in place, very little opposition to their ideas is permitted (De Vries, 2001: 239). The danger to this type of leadership is that it may be perverted to such an extent that it results in extremely autocratic practices. The period from 1996 to 2007 came dangerously close to rupturing the Alliance as the SACP and COSATU faced accusations from

factions within the ANC of being ultra-leftist and both Presidents Mandela and Mbeki calling on these Alliance partners to "toe the line".

The ANC is permanently faced with the question: What does it mean to lead an Alliance consisting of both organised labour and communists? Although there has been growing criticism of COSATU and its affiliates by ANC leaders, there has been little desire for a messy public split.

Since 1994, the ANC relied on the organisational capacity of COSATU affiliates to ensure their victory in election campaigns. The ANC simply does not have the machinery in place to sustain an effective election campaign, with some key observers even arguing, more generally, that the ANC has been having considerable difficulty with any kind of mobilizing activity at the grass-roots. Making use of COSATU's infrastructure considerably simplify matters for the ANC. As a result, whenever there is an election, ANC officials actively court shop-stewards and regional organizers to support the ANC's electoral campaign by arranging visits by ANC political candidates to factories, pension pick-up points, and other places where large numbers of the ANC's expected constituency would be present.

During the struggle, the ANC, SAPC and COSATU shared the same vision and were united by the same cause, which was to defeat apartheid so that the South African people can be liberated from struggle, segregation, inequality, landless, poverty, housing and unemployment. Although they shared different political ideologies and they were in an Alliance, they remained interdependent upon each other. The political ideology of the African National Congress is inclined

towards a soft form of social democracy which it proclaims to be seamless in representing the national interest of all South Africans. COSATU is concerned about protecting the working class against the interest of the bourgeoisie and actively pursues the realisation of a socialist state. The South African Communist Party is about adhering to the political ideology of Marxism and Leninism as well as protecting the interests of the poor and working class on issues of landlessness and homelessness.

The SACP and COSATU are classified as leftist whilst the ANC is representative of a broad church balancing the interests of various class formations. It must be noted that the ANC plays the central role within the Alliance. Southall (2008: 61) postulated that although the Alliance is formally a partnership, the ANC is the leading phenomenon. The communist wing, the SACP, remains a separate political party, with no autonomous representation in Parliament or the provincial legislatures. Its members who serve in Parliament do so as ANC members of Parliament (MPs). In addition, a significant number of COSATU federation members and union officials have been elected to Parliament under the auspices of the ANC. These SACP and COSATU deployees are serving in the public service as representatives of the ANC and as such are subject to the disciplinary code and constitutional imperatives of the ANC.

It is to be expected that the Alliance will be characterized by intra- and inter-political tensions which are in part fuelled by political ideological differences. In 1999, former President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Mbeki challenged the left to toe the line or leave the Alliance (Southall, 2008: 63). COSATU has

undertaken a sustained campaign of anti-privatization with strikes throughout the country. This was a direct ideological affront with the ANC's approach towards state owned enterprises (SOEs), which government identified for large-scale privatisation in line with the New Public Management approach to public administration. COSATU and the SACP were accused of treating the government and the ANC as their enemy and labelled as "ultra-left" who were determined in abusing the ANC's internal democracy by seeking to advance its agenda against policies adopted by the ANC's most senior decision-making structures. For both Mandela and Mbeki, it was imperative to have an effective ANC leadership with the capability and will to keep the Alliance partners in line and not to allow them to take advantage of the ANC's internal democracy in pursuing their own agenda.

Southall (2008: 55) proposed that liberation movements inhabit an environment which is uncongenial for democracy, while also stressing unity, rejecting partisan divisions and promoting the illusion that they stand for the entire nation. This is particularly the case for the Alliance whereby the ANC leadership seems to act as if everything is working well within the Alliance, thus creating the illusion. It is explicit that the Alliance partners would use whatever available at their disposal to pursue their agenda as was seen at the 52nd National Conference of the ANC in Polokwane in 2007.

In the past, the Tripartite Alliance has made a remarkable accord by converging together in adopting the Reconstruction and Development Policy (RDP) Document. This was caused by a common understanding and vision of attaining the developmental objectives of South Africa. However, in 1996 the ANC

introduced GEAR. Here, the SACP and COSATU differed with the ANC, arguing that GEAR accelerated economic growth, but it failed to create jobs.

In 1989, F. W. de Klerk replaced P. W. Botha as President of South Africa, and signalled his intention to reform apartheid. In February 1990, he announced the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP, and freed Nelson Mandela and a number of other political prisoners. Over the next 12 months the ANC, COSATU and the SACP forged a formal alliance that cautiously began to distance itself from the armed struggle and insurrectionist elements in its ranks.

Five interventions by COSATU between 1990 and 1994 helped shape the democratic transition and contributed significantly to the nature of the Alliance:

- The combination of mass action with negotiation helped break the deadlocks at important moments.

- Its involvement in economic policy-making generated new institutions, such as the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) and research into new industrial policies.

- It contributed to the new constitution, including the right to strike.

- It was a central political actor, mobilizing support for the ANC during the 1994 election and elections ever since.

- It initiated and advocated the RDP. The RDP was an accord which was viewed by labour as committing a newly elected ANC government to a labour-driven development programme.

Notwithstanding the COSATU influence, the South African state was, since 1990, squarely integrated in the global political, economic and military establishment. Together with the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (a crisis for communists), the ANC leadership started to adopt positions increasingly consistent with a neo-liberal orthodoxy. By late 1993, the ANC had made a number of concessions on macroeconomic policy which were to culminate in the Growth, Economic and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy. GEAR aimed to achieve growth through fiscal deficit reduction, gradual relaxation of exchange controls, reduction in tariffs, tax reductions to encourage the private sector (and especially foreign direct) investment, and privatisation. When GEAR was announced, the Alliance partners were angered both by the content (which they saw for the first time) and because the government asserted that it was 'non-negotiable'. With painful irony, what began as an accord to bind an ANC-led Alliance ended up ensnaring both COSATU and the SACP in a neo-liberal–inspired macro-economic policy. GEAR forthrightly committed the ANC government (and all the SACP and COSATU politicians and bureaucrats in it) to a strict monetarist regime, market-led growth strategies and a South African version of trickle-down economics.

COSATU is both the largest trade union federation and the one most committed to a socialist agenda. Unions dissatisfied with the leadership of COSATU cannot simply defect to competitors to the left of COSATU: there are no significant competing left unions outside of COSATU. Instead, what has happened on a number of occasions over the past few years is that when criticisms of the

Alliance have emerged inside the organisation, it has led to open confrontation and the expulsion of dissenting voices as was seen with Willie Madisha, former President of COSATU.

The strength of any governing party is most evident in the support it enjoys at the ballot box. In the case of the ANC, it won an overwhelming majority in 1994 and increased its returns in 1999 and again in 2004. It had a slight decrease in 2009, but still remains in power with an overwhelming majority. The ballot support for the ANC has never dropped below 63%. Union leaders are therefore likely to continue to want to cooperate with the government in the hope of influencing it, rather than opting for the political wilderness. They, together with the leadership in the SACP would be aware that according to an Ipsos Markinor survey conducted in April 2007, only 8% of South Africans (and 5% of ANC supporters) would vote for a breakaway SACP/COSATU party if it were to stand independently in a national election.

The degree of labour autonomy from both the party and the state has an impact on the influence of labour on the state. Here COSATU is in a relatively strong position as, during the 1980s and early 1990s, it developed its own political culture. At the core of this were the shop stewards, elected by shop floor workers, usually through secret ballot, and directly accountable to their constituents. They operated on the basis of strict mandates from the membership and were subject to recall. Their independence from employers and the state was a central part of this culture, underpinned by financial independence through stop order deductions. Furthermore, elected worker representatives dominated the regional

and central executives of these unions, including the president and national office bearers, who were constitutionally required to be full-time shop floor workers. This autonomy was asserted inside the Alliance where COSATU saw itself as an independent and equal partner. Indeed during the late 1980s it emerged as *de facto* leader of the anti-apartheid movement inside South Africa. However, the transition to democracy has weakened this political culture. First, COSATU has lost significant layers of leadership to government, political office and the corporate sector. Often labelled the 'brain drain', this has seriously diminished the pool of skilled and experienced leaders developed over years of struggle. Secondly, and relatedly, there has been a marked decline in the quality of service provided to members and an erosion of the role of mandates and report-backs. Thirdly, a growing gap has developed between leadership and the base. Fourthly, the unbanning of the ANC has enabled the ANC to assert its hegemony over the Alliance. Instead of COSATU and the SACP drawing the ANC into a left project, through the transition, the ANC has increasingly been drawn into a neo-liberal project, thus marginalizing both COSATU and the SACP's redistributive programmes. This hegemony has increased massively with the ANC's assumption of state power where it now has access to vast resources and capabilities provided by a modern state bureaucracy.

The character and content of COSATU's mass action campaign against job losses, a continuation of its late-1999 skirmish with government over the public sector dispute, has clearly shown that, as long as the ANC leadership's embracement of an elite-led, neoliberal democracy is not challenged

fundamentally from within, or alternatively outside of the 'movement', there will be little chance for meaningful debate and opposition in South Africa. The strategy and tactics adopted by COSATU and the SACP, as well as those within the ANC who do not approve of a neo-liberal political and economic path, continues to revolve around seeking to win concessions from the leadership of the ANC within a framework that consistently waters-down the demands being made (for example, the bases for job creation, youth wage subsidy, resource redistribution, socialisation of basic services and democratic debate). This approach is ostensibly designed to ensure an acceptable degree of ideological and organisational continuity with the ANC leadership running the country, so as to maintain a 'National Democratic Alliance' that is seen as the only viable political/organisational vehicle to meet the needs of the majority (the workers and the poor). The reality, however, is that while bringing some very moderate relief to that majority, the most tangible result has been to preserve and advance the personal careers and political futures of leaders across the Alliance spectrum. While making radical sounding statements on worker-related and political economy issues, combined with limited mass action designed to extract concessions and remind capital of mass power, the leadership of COSATU and the SACP have been unwilling to make the connection between the neoliberal democracy pursued by the ANC elites and the parallel organisational and class lessons in relation to the Alliance.

The binding message that has held this entire edifice together since 1994 has been the constant propagation of the need for 'unity' within the ANC and Alliance.

This is counter-posed to the dangers of an independent workers movement and/or political organisation that will break such 'unity' and thus weaken the 'liberation movement'. The reality is far different. The kind of unity that ANC elites have fashioned is one that revolves around a mass of radical-sounding rhetoric about 'transformation, a progressive National Democratic Revolution, deepening democracy, a developmental state, workers' interests and the national interest'. All the while, however, the political and organisational space created has been used to progressively narrow the boundaries of debate and opposition to the chosen 'line'. In the process, the cornerstones of any real democracy have been, and continue to be, actively eroded within the ANC and Alliance – the critical questioning of the substance behind such rhetoric/policy and mobilisation to challenge and change the political and economic status quo. It is no cliché to say that the struggle will continue.

5.7 The Alliance and Governance

One conceptual understanding of governance is a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services. This initial conceptualization allows for the fact that the quality of governance is different from the ends that governance is meant to fulfil. Governance is about the performance of agents in carrying out the wishes of principals, and not about the goals that principals set. The government is an organisation which can do its functions better or worse; governance is thus about execution, or what has traditionally fallen within the domain of public administration, as opposed to politics.

Proceeding from the premise that governance is about execution or implementation, implies a direct causal relationship with state capacity. State capacity requires basic competencies including:

- The proportional size of the bureaucracy relative to the tasks they are to perform if they are to be effective. Bureaucracies can be too big; there can be waste and redundancy in them.

- The increasing complexities associated with the roles and functions of the state have led to an increase in the demand for expertise. It is almost unthinkable to imagine the South African Reserve Bank being led by someone with no background in economics or finance. Over the last number of years, the ANC has come under increasing criticism regarding its policy on deployment. The principle of the policy has not necessarily been criticised as much as the competencies of the cadres deployed. It is critical for the Alliance to seriously revisit the deployment policy and to emphasise a balance between technical competence and political astuteness.

- There are times when intrinsic capacity can be undermined because the government department or agency in question is subject to multiple and contradictory mandates by the principal. This situation is exacerbated through the Alliance as SACP or COSATU members who are deployed in government positions, not as SACP or COSATU cadres, but as ANC cadres. The dysfunction lies not at the bureaucratic, but at the political level. One cannot blame a bureaucracy for failing to do the impossible.

- Organisational culture; the willingness of those in an organisation to trust one another, take risks, sacrifice short-term individual interests for the sake of the whole, and so forth, is a crucial determinant in the ability of the state to deliver.

Governance is impacted by the fact that senior leaders of the Alliance are particularly likely to consider the fates of the three organisations to be intertwined. Leaders within COSATU and the SACP are less likely to support a break with the ANC as many of them also hold executive positions within the ANC. Indeed, a large number senior COSATU leaders have since 1994 been leaving the organisation to go to Parliament, Provincial Legislatures and the Executive. This list includes, President John Gomomo, General-Secretary Mbhazima (Sam) Shilowa, First Vice President Connie September and National Treasurer Ronald Mofokeng, Assistant General Secretary Sydney Mufamadi, Thulas Nxesi (General Secretary of SADTU) - as well as the regional secretaries of the Witwatersrand and KwaZulu Natal, and the chairpersons of the Western Cape and Eastern Cape.

The route for the SACP to influencing ANC government is through the practice of dual membership; being members of both the ANC and SACP. The SACP is embedded in the ANC and, through that, influence the direction of the ANC. The issue is complex as questions arise as to whether SACP members within the ANC promote the identity and purpose of the ANC or whether these members are there to promote the SACP's ideological orientation and function as a communist bloc within the organisational parameters of the ANC. Being a "broad

church", it is not uncommon for the ANC to accommodate this arrangement, but another question that arises is whether the communist influence is disproportionate to its membership in the ANC.

The SACP Discussion Document (2012: 36), in preparation for the 13th National Congress in July 2012, states that the SACP has since 1994 been a "party of governance" as opposed to a "governing party". Many communists have taken up positions in government as cabinet ministers, members of legislatures, provincial executives, mayors and councillors and officials and workers in the public service. A number of communist leaders who serve in the Zuma cabinet as at December 2012, include the General-Secretary, Blade Nzimande (Minister for Higher Education and Training), First Deputy General-Secretary, Jeremy Cronin (Deputy Minister for Public Works), Deputy National Chairperson Thulas Nxesi (Minister for Public Works), Central Committee members Rob Davies (Minister for Trade and Industry), Jeff Radebe (Minister for Justice and Constitutional Development), Ben Martins (Minister for Transport), Yunus Carrim (Deputy Minister for Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs) and Godfrey Oliphant (Deputy Minister for Mineral Resources). Some within the COSATU ranks have complaint about the general-secretary of the SACP serving in government. The argument has been that this SACP deployment has robbed the SACP of the strategic leadership necessary to harness and consolidate the working class in support of socialism. It has furthermore led to the SACP, purported by this specific discourse, taking a much more cautionary as opposed to a principled approach in regard to the programme of government (government

policies), specifically where this programme is not in synergy with the views of COSATU and where COSATU depends on the SACP as the vanguard political party for the working class. The SACP's rebuttal to this is that it adopted a decision at its 12th National Congress to ensure that communists were at the centre of all sites – especially connected to government – that could have a positive bearing on the lives of the working class. It is in keeping with this resolution, that it has deployed its general-secretary to government.

The ANC's highest decision-making organ between conferences, the NEC (2007 – 2012), had nine SACP Central Committee members serving on it, including the General-Secretary, Blade Nzimande, National Chairperson, Gwede Mantashe (also ANC Secretary-General), Jeremy Cronin (First Deputy General-Secretary), Joyce Moloi-Moropa (Deputy National Chairperson), Phumulo Masualle (National Treasurer), Joyce Mashamba, Noluthando Mayende-Sibiya, Thenjiwe Mtintso, and Jeff Radebe. This has increased to eleven senior SACP leaders (Central Committee members) for the ANC-NEC for the period 2012-2017 (Rob Davies, Fikile Majola, Joyce Mashamba, Blade Nzimande, Thulas Nxesi, Jeff Radebe, Sidumo Dlamini, Senzeni Zokwana, Joyce Moloi-Moropa, Gwede Mantashe and Phumulo Masualle). Opportunities exist for the SACP to influence the policy direction of the ANC through these dual leadership positions.

In some ways COSATU's position in the Alliance is invaluable. It has an inside view of the ruling party and use this to its advantage through active and continuous engagement with the government. However, because it is part of an Alliance, with many of its members also members of the ANC, there are often

conflicts of interests and these can be impediments to full-blown criticism of government. COSATU is one of the biggest critics of government's economic policies, and it can be argued, has been able to influence the slight shift from GEAR to the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative – South Africa (ASGI-SA) and more recently, the NGP.

In a study conducted by Mackay and Mathoho (2001), some union members interviewed felt that the Alliance had engendered a culture of self-interest. Members would be less willing to stand up to government if they felt it hurt their chances of getting into government positions. More recently, COSATU has embarked on mass strike action because of job losses and this has had the desired effect of mobilising workers. Mass mobilisation does work if used correctly, as when COSATU marched with the TAC for ARVs in the early 2000's and the suspension of implementing the E-tolling system in Gauteng in 2012; and it is even more likely to produce results if there is a coherent, clear policy strategy that determines the situation and what should be done. It could also be argued that ASGI-SA was the result of pressure - including marches and policy pressure from COSATU and others; so these tactics have partially yielded the desired outcomes.

There are also some pragmatic organisational reasons why there is little real drive behind sentiments that might see the Alliance break apart. For one thing, there is no other obvious party to support. In the 1999 elections, the (New) National Party was closely associated with the apartheid past and with a neo-liberal identity and the Democratic Party was dominated by whites and closely

associated with an even more strident neo-liberalism. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) enjoys mainly regional support and a very tense history with COSATU, and the United Democratic Movement was widely seen as being comprised of opportunists (comprising splinter groups from the NP and ANC) as is the Congress of the People (a splinter group from the ANC) which came about after Polokwane.

Would a more plausible alternative to the Alliance be for COSATU and the SACP to team up to offer a left alternative to the ANC? There appears to have been some movement in this direction with the pledge at various COSATU Congresses to build the SACP and to provide the party with some financial resources. However, the SACP itself is unwilling to break with the Alliance, while many of the middle-rank unionists who would support leaving the ANC did not see the SACP as a natural ally. Another alternative, and one supported by some unionists, has been the idea of forming a new workers party. There has been no viable sign yet of discussions that might initiate such an alternative, however.

Establishing a workers' party would take workers a number of years to get going and against enormous odds with few financial resources, mass media hostility, and divisions among COSATU members and leaders on the merits of the proposal.

There remain signs, of course, that there is fairly widespread disillusionment with the ANC that may manifest itself in other ways instead. There is evidence suggesting that despite the considerable financial and personnel resources

COSATU and its affiliates have invested in the ANC electoral campaigns, trade union activists at the shop floor level have not invested a lot of energy into it.

Governance is about implementation of policy. This requires the requisite state capacity. The policy that gets implemented is not Alliance policy, it is the ANC policy. The political principals (Ministers) may originate from COSATU or the SACP, but when appointed Minister, they are appointed on an ANC slate. This has the potential to paralyse delivery or state effectiveness as Ministers appointed as such are put in positions where they are responsible for implementing ANC policy, but are accountable to either the SACP or COSATU from whence they derive their political mandate and legitimacy. Governance furthermore requires the appointment of technically competent officials. Whilst the ANC manages the deployment of cadres in key state institutions, it is necessary that political intelligence be balanced against technical competence in order to ensure effectiveness.

Policy contestation between the Alliance partners has a direct impact on the state departments. Biases of members from the different Alliance partners have an impact on the success or failures of policy implementation. Kuye (2009: 604) correctly asserts that policy proposals can be subverted, even amongst Alliance partners, by political forces or administrative sabotage under the guise of political incompatibility with some vague reference to political reality. Organisational culture influences the ability of the state to deliver. A lack of trust between Alliance partners will debilitate service delivery. This is evident in public sector trade union disputes with the government. Furthermore, the ANC's character as a

home for all (broad church) movement has attracted some whom have been labelled as "tenderpreneurs" by the SACP whilst COSATU has raised concerns around "hyenas" and a "predator state". These are symptoms of the low levels of trust that has taken root within the Alliance as those deployed started to abuse the state machinery for private gains and wealth accumulation rather than serving the public good.

When it comes to the Alliance and the developmental state, Kuye (2011: 177) cautions that while there must be greater intensive state driven economic and social policy direction, in adopting the character of a developmental state, some of the "prescripts of good governance", which includes good human rights records and an effective civil society, should not be sacrificed. It is against this context that the difficult question must be posed as but one example of recent governance decisions under the ANC-led Alliance: "To what extend will the POSIB lead South Africa down the democratic slippery slope?"

5.8 Summary

The NDR, as an ideology, has been the penetrative force that has kept the Alliance intact. While the NDR has been conceived from within a communism context, it has been appropriated and reinterpreted by the ANC. The NDR is today the main political ideology in the Alliance and influences the way in which government policy is developed, how governance is conducted and the way in which the state is ultimately led.

While COSATU and the SACP have in the past called for the Alliance to be the strategic political centre, both organisations explicitly accept and implicitly understand the leadership role of the ANC in the Alliance. It is the ANC that contest elections on an ANC policy platform, forms the government, deploy cadres to senior state positions and finally decide on and implement policy. COSATU and the SACP may influence these processes, but the decision remains that of the ANC.

The nature of the Alliance is complex. Processes are complicated through practices such as dual or multiple memberships, specifically in relation to the SACP, which is a political organisation just like the ANC, and whose members are also members of the ANC. When the ideas of the SACP enjoys hegemony within ANC structures, it is not always clear that the outcomes (specifically in regard to policy), are ANC outcomes.

Multiple or dual memberships also confuses the political landscape specifically in regard to organisational autonomy and independence, and particularly between the SACP as a political party and the ANC as a political party (COSATU is a labour federation, with a strong political unionism orientation). The SACP enjoys a large number of parliamentary representatives (approximately 80 of the 400 MPs are SACP members), but not as SACP MPs, but rather as ANC members. This is a uniquely South African phenomenon given that the SACP is registered as a political party with the Independent Electoral Commission, but has opted not to test its policies at the ballot box and yet managed to secure such a large number of MPs albeit under the disguise of the ANC. All four presidents of

democratic South Africa (post 1994) – Mandela, Mbeki, Mothlanthe and Zuma – has at one point or another been members of the SACP.

Another perversity of dual membership has been in the relationship between COSATU and the ANC as governing party. It may not be known the extent to which labour interests have been sacrificed because some leaders of COSATU have used their positions in the labour federation as a stepping stone towards a government position.

Notwithstanding the challenges, what this chapter shows is that the ANC leads the Alliance in all respects. This leadership is however not a "pure" ANC leadership, but rather a leadership that has been informed and shaped by the penetrative influence of the SACP largely and to lesser degree, COSATU. Notwithstanding this, the ANC has claimed the NDR as its own; decides on which policies to pursue and determines the nature of state governance. The most potently political instrument – the deployment committee – is not under the scope of the Alliance, but rather the sole responsibility of the ANC. It is this committee that decides which cadres get deployed to which senior government and business entities.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1   Introduction

The key strategic challenge for the Alliance and the entrenchment of democracy in South Africa, in the context of a developmental state, is centred on leadership, governance and public policy. The way in which the partners to the Alliance – ANC, COSATU and SACP – address and manage the persistent economic and social challenges that continue to mire progress in the country is and will continue to be central.

The Alliance is presented as a political formation where ideology and individual persuasion are not necessarily clearly delineated, but rather integrated in support of the broad-based tendencies of the ANC.

The nature of the Alliance presents a challenge to the shaping of the public service in South Africa. This takes the form of how "cadres" within COSATU and the SACP will use the autonomous and independent organisational structures as well as the Alliance structures to secure careers and other opportunities in and with the state. When one goes beyond the rhetoric, it is clear that leaders of both COSATU and the SACP fully comprehend the leadership of the ANC and understand that mobility (in terms of careers and opportunities) within the state apparatus can only be secured through the ANC.

What has emerged and is becoming more entrenched is the influence of Alliance partners on the leadership elections of each other and how this has the potential to compromise the organisational autonomy of each of the partners. Ideology and organisational integrity, when contesting for political power, sometimes steps back in favour of individuals and the perceived benefits (for personal enrichment) that such individuals can bring about.

The unique nature and character of the Tripartite Alliance presents South Africa with exceptional opportunities, specifically in regard to combating corruption in the public service. Alliance partners have, over the last number of years, developed the acumen, capacity and skills in exposing corrupt activities within the state. Through the Alliance structures, individual leaders within the governing party are held to account.

Notwithstanding the significant progress that has been made specifically related to public sector transformation and reform since 1994, the character of the Alliance and its influence on public administration has led to many and growing concerns in regard to the capacity, ethos and commitment of the public service. Weaknesses in the state has been identified by the respective partners to the Alliance and interpreted through their respective lenses. In some instances there is a convergence of the strategies and tactics espoused by the Alliance partners, whilst in others there is a clear divergence which lead to uncomfortable spaces within the Alliance and consequent inaction on the part of government or even action by government technocrats acting outside of the ANC mandated or an Alliance specific position.

There is a general understanding within the Tripartite Alliance that an approach based on speeding up economic growth, job creation, poverty reduction and building a capable state is the most appropriate and radical one in pursuit of social equity. This is broadly reflected in the policy positions adopted by the government.

6.2   Synoptic Overview of Research Findings

The locus of this study is Public Administration which necessitated exploring the principles and practices of Public Administration. The researcher reviewed, discussed and examined the relevant literature pertaining to the discipline of Public Administration and identified a number of challenges that the current administration is faced with.

South Africa needs a developmental state to overcome the injustices of apartheid and to correct the imbalances which are developing in the course of the liberalisation and globalisation of the South African economy. This is basically the outset of a left agenda and is claimed to have been followed by Mandela, Mbeki and now Zuma.

What has been achieved?

The ANC inherited a bankrupt state in 1994. Since then, the economy has grown continuously, nearly 5% in the five years before 2008. In 2009 the economy shrank by 1.8% for the first time. Exports account for 33% of GDP and public debt was halved to 23% of GDP in 2008. Government spending on housing,

health and education, the strategic fields through which social justice can be achieved, remained high.

While many more South African households now live in brick structures, flats and townhouses, a significant portion (15%) of households still live in shacks. It would appear that the major challenge is the quality of human settlements, particularly for Africans and Coloureds.

Infrastructure such as access to water and sanitation dramatically improved as did access to electricity.

The ANC government under Zuma has identified unemployment, inequality and poverty as its greatest challenges and this presents the greatest risk to embedding democracy in South Africa. These three pathological diagnostics have been growing steadily in the last number of years and if not dealt with resolutely, will lead to the eventual disintegration of the Alliance.

6.2.1   Fault-lines

The fault-lines remain. If they are not addressed systemically and purposefully, then they will eventually redefine the nature of the Alliance between the ANC, COSATU and the SACP. These fault-lines are characterised by, *inter alia*:

- Unemployment among Africans remains at unacceptable high levels with an estimated 25% of the population surviving on state grants.

- Despite heavy spending in social welfare, South African society has remained one of the most unequal in the world and has overtaken Brazil in this respect.

- Up to 80% of South Africa's schools are considered as being dysfunctional and produce students who are barely literate and numerate.

- Corruption has become a growing national priority. There is a danger that if the current trajectory continues, then the entire state and society will be enslaved to the highest bidder. Given that state procurement is on a massive scale (over R800 billion for infrastructure over 3 years), failure to deal with endemic corruption would leave South Africa with a huge challenge. Corruption covers a range of activities in society, but the most insidious and dangerous is the systematic abuse of access to state power and political contacts, to accumulate capital illegally. This includes abuse of political influence to corrupt state tenders and procurement processes, illegitimately winning contracts; and abuse of political access and manipulation of BEE provisions to manufacture illegitimate business 'deals'. All these practices have in common the *systemic creation of a network of patronage and corruption* which means that no-one will over time be able to do business with the state, without going through corrupt gatekeepers, who do not merely demand bribes, but systematically leverage their power to control large chunks of the economy. When key actors in this patronage network are close relatives or friends of people in power, the situation is

particularly serious, since the likelihood of decisive action being taken to stop these practices becomes increasingly slim.

Polokwane presented the Alliance with the opportunity to define the shape and direction of the State. The Alliance partners entered Polokwane as a cohesive force united behind a leader figure (Jacob Zuma) and a generally agreed-to platform upon which the government would build its policies. However, within a few months after Polokwane, the cohesion started to fragment as the incumbent president exhibited strong tendencies of appeasing big business and relatives at the expense of publicly pronounced Alliance positions.

2012 was another watershed moment for the Alliance. While leaders such as Nzimande and Vavi were re-elected to their positions in the SACP and COSATU respectively, the re-election of Zuma was accompanied with uncertainty. The SACP would appear to endorse Zuma fully. While COSATU has officially endorsed Zuma (through its CEC), its main affiliates remained divided on the matter. Zuma chose, as his deputy president candidate, Cyril Ramaphosa, a former general-secretary of the NUM and senior leader in COSATU who went into business after 1996, benefitted from BEE and became one of the richest citizens in South Africa. Zuma is likely to adopt a centrist position and remain indecisive where decisions could hurt either of the Alliance partners. The probability that the nationalists within the ANC will use socialist terminology to gain the support of the public and will claim to be the true champions of the poor is high. Events in the ANC and in the broader Alliance has, since Polokwane, revealed the ANC to be mired in a crisis in leadership and exposed itself to be

exploited by a cadre of leaders who are enriching themselves. The ANC does however have the capacity to turn around and reclaim its leadership role within South African society.

Although the ANC never labelled itself to be socialist, it has a "left" history committed to a developmental state which corrects and intervenes in order to achieve social justice. It practices a soft form of social democracy. Nearly two decades after the liberation struggle, personal gain, as motivation, has become as important, or even more important to many politicians as their commitment to an ideology of justice and equality. One might call this the "normalisation" of a political system after the heroic Mandela years. At present, the checks and balances of South Africa's democracy are tested. Some developments are very disturbing such as the perceived unwillingness or slackness on the part of the Executive to fight corruption or the party politicisation of the legal system. The ANC's constitutional obligation to care for the poor is at risk of being lost, irrespective of the leftist rhetoric that is used.

6.2.2   The Alliance in a State of Paralysis

The implementation of the Polokwane policy platform (mandate) has had mixed success. Policies such as the New Growth Path took extraordinarily long to be adopted while key policy initiatives, not necessarily informed and endorsed by the ANC, are being rapidly driven by *inter alia* the Presidency through the Ministerial performance agreements / outcomes approach. Input by the Alliance has not yet had an impact or effect on this. Other policies, such as the National Development

Plan, while adopted by the ANC Mangaung National Conference in 2012, do not enjoy the wholesale support of either COSATU or the SACP.

Robust policy debate has been the victim in the continuing fragmentation and fragile state of the ANC. There seems to be serious contestation around key issues such as economic policy, and the debate around the political centre. COSATU, for example, has in 2010 been excluded from participating in a meeting of the ANC-NEC Economic Transformation Committee to which it previously gained access.

The indecisiveness on the issues of policy and leadership constitutes a political crisis. What underpins the ANC's fear of engagement, particularly at the level of the Alliance in a sustained and regular fashion? The cooling of contact breeds conditions for growing mistrust within the Alliance. The succession battles within the ANC has led to a situation where ANC leaders are perceived as being sterile and impotent in fear of losing positions and, through that, access to power. The result of these internal ANC dynamics has left the Alliance in a state of limbo. It has also led to a situation where the "broad church" is fragmented into various denominations through the practice of slates. This denies the ANC of the full benefits of accessing the contributions and capacity of its Alliance partners and furthermore risks compromising the leadership role of the ANC.

To complicate matters, while the SACP's membership has grown to a significant one-hundred-and-nine-thousand (109 000) in 2012, it may have reached its full potential. Put differently, it may have reached its membership saturation point, though not necessarily its influence on the ANC. Increasingly the SACP, because

of its proximity to the ANC government, is unable to play its role as a vanguard party for the working class. It is in danger of becoming more and more invisible, given the full-time role of its office bearers in government and in the ANC. Further, the SACP's cautious approach has in some cases been seen as a move towards conservatism and defensiveness. Its initial approach to the nationalisation debate has bolstered some in the ANCYL to use radical populist rhetoric, to disguise a nationalist agenda of accumulation, and anti-working class politics. The SACP needs to re-establish its focus, and ensure that it has full time leadership whose primary commitment is to drive the organisation, at national and provincial level. The SACP needs to ensure capacity, visibility, and ideological clarity.

The SACP does not readily have resources to pay full time elected office bearers. COSATU, as the organised working class, has not adequately played its role in supporting a viable and truly independent working class party capable of being a vanguard for a struggle for socialism. This may inevitably have given rise to the current situation where SACP full time office bearers are in full time government positions, creating confusion around ideology and policy matters. But also, as is the case in the Western Cape where the Democratic Alliance secured the majority vote, not all COSATU members are necessarily sympathetic to the SACP or ANC cause. COSATU-affiliated unions have managed to negotiate closed-shop agreements in the workplace which effectively deny workers the freedom of association in terms of trade union membership. So while workers in the Western Cape might belong to a COSATU-affiliated trade union, it does not automatically translate into a political consciousness that is aligned to the

Alliance. This may well be the consequence of a weakening of the political education of these workers.

At the level of governance, the call at Polokwane was for the ANC, together with the Alliance, to reassert leadership of all processes of governance. It is not clear where the power resides. Is it Luthuli House, or the Union Buildings, or Treasury, or the Executive, or Parliament, or the Alliance? In post Mangaung, one may even add Nkandla. The reality is that the ANC is not on top of processes in government, and that policy decisions continue to be made in a non-transparent way, without the meaningful participation of the ANC, or Alliance. For example, some of the key policy debates, such as the President's Performance Agreements with his Cabinet, the New Growth Path and the National Development Plan had not necessarily been initiated and debated in the structures of the ANC, let alone the broader Alliance at first. In respect of the ANC, the NDP was introduced post the fact and adopted at Mangaung. Even within Cabinet, not all government ministers are perceived to be committed to the NDP. Alliance partners had to insist that these consultative processes be followed. While there has been an improvement in the relations between the Alliance since 2007, the ANC continues, generally, to operate as before, with government largely leading processes outside of the Alliance or even ANC structures.

At the November 2009 Alliance Summit, the ANC contested a previous agreement that the Alliance should be the political centre. The irony of the resistance by some ANC leaders to take forward the agreement that the Alliance

should be the *strategic political centre*, is that the ANC *itself* is not acting as a strategic centre, and that resistance comes particularly from ANC leaders who are in government, and who do not necessarily want government to be held accountable by the ANC or the Alliance. Further, the statement that the ANC is the leader of the Alliance is interpreted by some to mean that it is the sole political centre and in a way, this marginalises the SACP and COSATU.

6.2.3   *Managing the Alliance through a System of Loyalty and Power Brokering*

A political party that is linked to the labour movement would sometimes choose policies that have a perceived adverse effect on its constituencies. In the case of the ANC-COSATU relationship, the issue surrounding a youth wage subsidy is an example of this tendency. Whilst the youth constitute a huge constituency of the ANC, the political influence of COSATU outweighs the quantitative numbers of the youth so much that even though the ANC government has set aside an amount to kick-start the youth wage fund, it has not done so given the opposition of COSATU to this programme. It could be argued that the Democratic Alliance, as the official opposition, appropriately identified and targeted COSATU when it marched to its headquarters in May 2012 that dealt with this issue particularly.

As mentioned earlier, the ANC-COSATU-SACP Alliance has deep historical roots, cemented through a common ideological persuasion, the NDR. The stability of this alliance rests on the fundamental pillars of trust and loyalty.

Neither of these pillars can be built overnight. Instead, they tend to derive from a longer period of mutually beneficial exchanges.

With regard to an "economic bargain," it is in the interests of COSATU to prove their loyalty to the ANC as the governing party by keeping their commitment to wage restraint and avoidance of strikes. The ANC, in turn, will prove its loyalty to the union movement by pursuing favourable policies, delivering tangible benefits to labour, or strengthening institutions like NEDLAC that increase the input of labour in policy-making.

In the case of a "political bargain," COSATU will show its loyalty by supporting the ANC in elections, while the ANC will stay loyal to COSATU by offering protective legislation or government positions to union leaders. It is important for each partner to stick to their side of the bargain in order to ensure a steady flow of exchanges which will in turn generate mutual trust and strengthen "loyalty bonds". It can generally be considered that this kind of *quid pro quo* has become central in the Alliance relationship.

However, it is inevitable that at some point, external constraints, such as fluctuations in the economic conjuncture, might increase uncertainty and thus challenges the base of the Alliance. For instance, in periods of cyclical economic crisis (such as the high youth unemployment rates), even the ANC might not be in a position to keep its promises to unions. This does not mean that COSATU will retaliate immediately with industrial actions or by withdrawing their political support for the ANC. Instead, the federation might be inclined to cooperate since a prolonged experience of interactions yielding positive results for both partners

feeds union expectations that the party will reward it once the economic conditions improve. The factional nature of the ANC furthermore creates the conditions conducive for COSATU to actively, albeit subversively, lobby for leadership change of the ANC itself as was seen during the Polokwane Congress and again emerging for the Mangaung Congress of the ANC. Should the ANC under Zuma forfeit and experience a decrease in the popular vote, then the chances for an emergence of a worker-led leadership in the ANC will be strengthened. The insertion of Ramaphosa as deputy president of the ANC may be perceived by the labour movement and some within the SACP as the ANC's tendencies to appease market forces rather than listening to the poor and the unemployed. COSATU can afford to take a short-term risk by cooperating with the ANC which is consistent with long-term union interests. In other words, a longer history of mutually beneficial exchanges allows for the accumulation of reserves – a type of deposit into a political favour bank - of loyalty that could be tapped (withdrawals) in times of stress and replenished (deposits) in times of prosperity.

However, in the case of a structural economic crisis that requires a major restructuring of the economy for improvements to be affected, the stress on the relationship would be more intense. This was the case shortly after 1995, when the ANC introduced the GEAR programme in response to restructuring the South African economy and what some have described as a response to the changed global political and economic conditions at the time. From the perspective of both COSATU and the SACP, GEAR was diametrically opposed to the NDR as a path

to socialism as it embraced a neoliberal approach. The result was that the ANC government deflected repeatedly in matters related to the Alliance. The period between 1996 and 2007 can be described as one where the loyalty reserves were depleted significantly to the point of being almost exhausted. It appeared that the "structural pessimism" of this period posed a real risk to the shared visions and political identities of the ANC, COSATU and SACP to sustain cooperation between them. During this time, the Alliance partners weighed the benefits of staying in the relationship in its present form against those of relationship transformation (or even break-up), discounted for future uncertainties. The ANC it would appear at the time, in particular, became increasingly aware that it had miscalculated the benefits of a close relationship with COSATU and the SACP, whilst COSATU and the SACP were seriously considering the viability of a workers' party.

What has become evident is that a protracted structural crisis, such as the leadership succession contestations within the ANC, has the probability to lead to divisions within COSATU as some affiliated trade unions will be more vulnerable to the inevitable battles as they find themselves supporting different ANC leadership candidates or factions, the case of NUM and NUMSA being very pertinent. Whilst NUM has made its intentions clear to support Jacob Zuma for a second term as ANC President, NUMSA has been much more dubious in their declaration of support for Zuma for a second term. Also, the president of COSATU is now a member of the ANC NEC (for the period 2012 – 2017), while COSATU's general-secretary declined nomination to the ANC NEC.

Consequentially this erosion of internal unity (such as what is emerging in COSATU) solidarity, with the weakening of the union movement and the increasing pool of new interests has the propensity to enter the calculus of the ANC and determining the character of the leadership and thus policies of the ANC. On the other hand, the ANC too would be calculating its costs derived from being exclusively oriented to COSATU as a result of the Alliance. In this instance, whilst the ANC has been arguing for a youth wage subsidy, COSATU has vehemently argued against this and used the NEDLAC structures to stall any implementation of this scheme to date. COSATU leaders are likely to encounter pressure from their constituencies whose sense of betrayal will increase in proportion to the length of the leadership crisis with some leadership casualties to be expected. Tactically, COSATU has established a distance from the ANC in its leadership battles indicating that it will only pronounce on this much closer to the elective conferences. This would seem like a rational strategy for union leaders who want to avoid being perceived as selling out labour interests in pursuit of political point scoring.

6.3   Specific Findings and Recommendations

Finding 1

The study found that the interface between alliance politics and public administration in South Africa is functioning in a complex system with multiple challenges. One of the root causes of these challenges is the failure from Alliance partners to plan, co-ordinate and implement an Alliance Programme that

is effectively carried over into a Government Programme of Action. The Alliance has, since 1994, proven itself to organise and implement an election campaign that returned the ANC to government with an overwhelming majority in four consecutive elections. It remains disconcerting though that as soon as the new administration assumes office, the election pact or manifesto as agreed to between Alliance Partners are pushed aside for what can be described as a technocratic pact to public administration or governance. The democratic basis of the election pact is rendered null and void with only certain elements being pursued at best. The Executive and the Presidency determines the programme of government as opposed to the Alliance under the leadership of the ANC. A consequence of this leadership melancholy is a threat to the internal unity of Alliance partners and has already resulted in a break-away political party, namely COPE. The dissonance between COSATU leaders and shop stewards is also growing. While the CEC of COSATU has endorsed Zuma for a second term, it is not a given that this is the position of shop-floor leaders and the broader membership of COSATU. There is also an acute dualism in the person of the general secretary of COSATU, Zwelinzima Vavi, who has been one of the most vociferous critics of the Zuma Administration, yet is expected to communicate the collective COSATU leadership decisions, which are not necessarily his personal convictions.

Recommendation 1

The Alliance programme, which forms the agreed-to (consensus) elections platform, must be seminal and explicitly reflected in the programme of government.

It is clear and accepted that the ANC is the leading partner in the Alliance. However, this leadership has consistently failed to translate into the ANC assuming the political centre in relation to the business of Government. In fact, it has weakened the ANC, as the Alliance partners (COSATU and the SACP), at different points in South Africa's political history since 1994, distanced itself from both the ANC and the Government on matters where there was divergence. Examples include GEAR in the 1990s and 2000s and the E-tolling System in Gauteng in 2012, where COSATU has vocally and through protest action indicated its opposition.

The disconnect between the election pact and government's programme does not enhance the relationship between Alliance partners, but rather strips away at the loyalty and trust currency or capital that has been "banked" over decades. It has taken just over three years for the Polokwane euphoria between Alliance partners to have dissipated into a government perceived to be more fractured and leaderless as a result of tactical disagreements around how to implement the Polokwane resolutions and 2009 election manifesto. This trend or tendency has been repeated since 1994; for example the replacement of the RDP (the basis on which the 1994 election was campaigned on) with GEAR in 1996.

Finding 2

The study has found that all three partners to the Alliance are joined together by the political idea or ideology of the NDR. This transcends identity of being part and partial of a "Congress" tradition. However, each partner interprets the NDR differently with assertions by the SACP that elements in the ANC has "hijacked" the NDR to fit a neo-liberal agenda under the pretext of social democracy. The retort of some from within the ANC is that the NDR as it was originally conceptualised meant to address the political conditions relevant to a specific context. That context has changed since 1990 and continues to evolve which necessitates a reinterpretation of the NDR. The parties do however seem to agree that the NDR does not pursue either a socialist revolution or a capitalist revolution.

Recommendation 2.1

The thread of the NDR, as the ideological glue of the Alliance, must be explicit and central to public policy development and implementation within the public administration space. However, this will require a shared understanding and agreement between the Alliance members as to the critical features of the NDR.

The Alliance must pay close attention to this matter because disagreement on the NDR poses the greatest threat to the eventual disintegration of the Alliance. If there is no shared understanding of the idea behind the Alliance, then there will be no clear policy direction and leadership in implementing government policies.

Ideological clarity at the level of the Alliance is a pre-requisite for an effective public administration system.

Recommendation 2.2

The senior public service, at least at the level of Director-General, must have a dual role as both administrative head with some degree of political access to the ruling party in order to translate the political ideology of the NDR into administrative policy and implementation. Political deployment at the most senior levels, coupled with proper political education and technical capacity is supported.

Recommendation 2.3

Policy coherence must be improved between the Alliance Partners. Communication between the Alliance leadership must be more open and the Alliance Secretariat must be more vociferous in facilitating the alignment of policy issues.

Finding 3

The study has found that, through the practice of dual membership of political entities, the number of SACP leaders are increasing in government with four Ministers and three Deputy Ministers coming from the leadership ranks of the SACP as at December 2012. In addition, the secretary-general of the ANC (in terms of the ANC Constitution, this position is the chief administration officer of the organisation) for 2007 – 2012, was also the Chairperson of the SACP until

2012. For 2012 – 2017, the ANC NEC comprises eleven members who are also leaders on the Central Committee of the SACP. The core question that arises in this context is whether one is first and foremost a SACP member or an ANC member. This can lead to a situation of ideological dissonance within these members which may in turn spill over into organisational disorientation. The SACP policy documents clearly state that SACP members serving in fraternal organisations such as the ANC and COSATU should refrain from forming factions within those organisations, but should simultaneously pursue the communist agenda within such organisations.

Recommendation 3

The ANC must create formal structures based on caucuses.

The ANC by its very nature is a broad-based organisation which accommodates a plethora of different ideological persuasions. In respect to its Alliance Partners, creating the formal space for a caucus dynamic can only enrich the democratic practice within the ANC as Alliance Partners – together with any other interests within the ANC – can argue for and defend their ideas based on the strength of the argument. The informal approach or non-commitment to formal caucus structures within the ANC is denying the ANC of strengthening democratic values within the organisation. This in turn has a debilitating impact on public administration as communist members of the Executive find themselves constantly having to justify their decisions as either being ANC or SACP positions

and are consistently exposed to public criticism. This in turn leads to a crisis in credibility.

Finding 4

The study found that the most bruising battles in the ANC had been around the issue of leadership. Both COSATU and the SACP had been critical agents in the election of ANC leaders. Both have been instrumental in the rise of Jacob Zuma in 2007 and COSATU affiliated unions were split in their support for Zuma for a second term in 2012. These developments have infiltrated the SACP-COSATU axis where there are strong disagreements between the SACP, who supported Zuma for a second term, and some of the COSATU leadership. Since 1994, the ANC president has also been the State president. This has led to a situation on many occasions where state governance (public administration) was compromised and ineffective as internal ANC and Alliance leadership contestations required the full attention of the president.

Recommendation 4

The ANC must separate the positions of president of the ANC and president of the State. The roles of ANC president and ANC chairperson must be collapsed into one.

Those members of the Alliance who has any state presidential ambitions must be required, through a system similar to, for example, the primaries in the United States, make their case in front of the ANC and Alliance and in that way be

endorsed by the ANC with the support of the Alliance, as the candidate for state president. The contract will be between the state president candidate and the ruling party, endorsed by the Alliance. Separating party president from state president will alleviate the impotence in governance as a result of internal leadership contestations as the intertwined stakes embedded in the current set up will be divorced.

Finding 5

The study found that the Alliance operate in a perpetual crisis management mode as evidenced by policy uncertainties and ambiguities as well as leadership ambivalence. At the Alliance secretariat level, the SACP currently enjoys a definite hegemony as the general-secretaries of all three partners are members of the SACP. This poses the question as to why there still appear to be difficulties and challenges in deriving at an Alliance position into which all three partners would commit. Whilst the Alliance has in the early 1990s been formalised, a dedicated structure which is adequately resourced with full time capacity to manage the business of the Alliance has not been realised.

Recommendation 5

The ANC, COSATU and the SACP must resource an office with the requisite capacity to manage the totality of the Alliance. This must include ensuring regular meetings at the leadership levels, determining an Alliance agenda based on the distinct agendas of the three partners and acting as an

instrument to ensure that functional collaboration, together with a system for dispute resolution between partners, is in place.

The Alliance will not usurp the responsibilities of the ANC as the ruling party, but must keep government accountable to the consensus positions of the Alliance as a whole.

Finding 6

The study found that the Alliance is not static, but is in fact very dynamic. The onslaught on loyalty and trust (criteria that has kept the Alliance intact to date) amongst Alliance partners should not be under-estimated. At the moment, the common interests between Alliance partners are dwindling and the Alliance appears to be kept alive primarily by a generation of leaders who share struggle credentials. A new leadership is emerging across the Alliance spectrum that do not share the same struggle interest, and who are more globally connected. This will, inevitable and irreversible, change the character of the Alliance and its future interface with public administration. The ANC's future as a ruling party is dependent on how it and the Alliance inducts the "born free" generation into Alliance politics.

Recommendation 6.1

Political education, at the level of the Alliance is imperative for the survival of the Alliance. The new generation must be inducted into the Alliance and the Alliance in turn must manage how it integrates and accommodates the

new generation. In this context, it will be critical that the Alliance, as opposed to its constituent parts, drive the political school.

Recommendation 6.2

The Alliance partners, specifically COSATU and the SACP, must in future consider an electoral pact with the ANC. This must include agreements on deployments; possible quotas; the accountability of elected representatives including implementing dual mechanisms of accountability; the election manifesto; and the importance of an independent face and role for the Alliance Partners and its members within legislatures. *Alternatively, at least the SACP and the ANC, as political parties, must contest elections on independent electoral lists on the voters' roll with the possible objective of constituting a coalition Alliance agreement after elections.*

Finding 7

The study furthermore found that, probably the greatest threat to an effective interface between alliance politics and public administration rests on the ability to successfully deal with corruption. Alliance formations create the conditions and possibilities for a network of patronage and a replenishment of principles as partners gain access to state power and resources. In order to not be seen as corrupt, state institutions responsible for executive oversight – such as the PSC, Judiciary and Public Protector are increasingly at the receiving end of political battering. The developmental state requires both decisive intervention, as

opposed to interference, and administrative capacity to deliver on policy programmes.

Recommendation 7

The Alliance, as the prevalent political force, must ensure a strong and effective state, where corruption is not tolerated, in order to provide the necessary state functions. It is recommended that an anti-corruption mechanism, similar to COSATU's Corruption Watch, be established as an Alliance initiative.

The greatest threat to achieving an effective state apparatus is corruption. Corruption covers a range of activities in society, but the most insidious and dangerous is the systematic abuse of access to state power and political contacts, to accumulate capital illegally. This includes abuse of political influence to corrupt state tenders and procurement processes, illegitimately winning contracts; and abuse of political access and manipulation of BEE provisions to manufacture illegitimate business 'deals'. Political will is an absolute necessity for the success of an anti-corruption campaign. It gives moral strength to dealing with bureaucratic corruption. It will also fracture the politico-administrative collusion to plunder the state.

6.4   Conclusion

This research set out to investigate the phenomenon of alliances in government and the challenges that it may face in public administration. The seminal research question that was probed was: **"*To what extent does the interface**

between Alliance Politics and Public Administration address the ANC-SACP-COSATU dialogue in South Africa?"

In support of the research question, the following conclusions are presented:

- A clear charter or protocol document or agreement must be in place that stipulates the rules governing the alliance on matters *inter alia*, the centre where strategic government decisions are taken, deployment of cadres, the election manifesto, membership and members' loyalty in instances of dual membership. This cannot be left to irregular summits and meetings with joint statements being released;

- An alliance office must be created and adequately resourced, including a working governance framework and structure, to ensure that the alliance manage and co-ordinate issues that is beyond partisan interests;

- Administrative capacity and political will is needed and must be shared across the alliance to buffer the greatest threat to any state, viz a viz corruption; and

- There must be clear role differentiation between the different partners to the alliance, specifically in the case of leadership positions and office bearers as this obfuscate issues of governance and ideological clarity. Ideally, those elected in a leadership position or office bearer position in one of the alliance formations should not qualify for election or a leadership position in one of the alliance fraternal organisations.

This chapter provided a summary of the research findings and made very specific recommendations in identifying what was required to support and enhance a seamless interface between alliance politics and public administration in the ongoing dialogue between the ANC, COSATU and the SACP.

In conclusion, the combined paid-up membership as at the end of 2012 for the ANC-COSATU-SACP Alliance was between 2.9 and 3.2 million. The onus largely rests on the Alliance to ensure that service delivery through an effective public administration regime takes place. It is critical that the distinct advantages of each of the Alliance partners be exploited in service of the South African public. The SACP has a rich history and tradition of intellectual rigour, COSATU was founded on the principles of democratic participation (through the shop-steward system) and organisational competence, whilst the ANC record as a liberation movement that accommodates a variety of different ideological persuasions is impeccable. Harnessing the strengths of each of these partners will ensure that the developmental state envisaged in the multiple policy documents of each one can indeed become a reality in dealing with the social, economic and political challenges facing South Africa.

Through the Alliance structures, individual leaders within the Governing Party are held to account for their actions – and, after a hundred years of existence, the Governing party and Alliance structures have managed well even in the heat of political transformation and organisational decorum.

The logic of maintaining this *political marriage* and triangulation, and also interpreting the essence of consolidating *party manifestos* to its membership, and

further to preserving democratic principles, while at the same time translating this into the action of good governance in South Africa, is complex yet manageable.

Whatever the predictions, hopes and machinations are for the dismantling of the Alliance, it is worth remembering the words of Oliver Tambo in his address at the 60th anniversary of the SACP in London in 1981:

> "Ours is not merely a paper alliance……Our alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle."

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TABLE 2: Brief History of Milestone Events in the Alliance 1912 - 1990

YEAR	IMPORTANT EVENTS
1912	**Launch of the ANC**
1915	Launch of the International Socialist League
1919	**Industrial Chemical Workers Union - ICU (led by Clements Kadalie) Launched**
1921	**Launch of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA)** The first Marxist Leninist party in Africa is formed, emerging from revolutionary socialist active among white workers
1922	White mineworkers' strike
1924	**Africanisation of the CPSA** Stalwarts such as JB Marks and Johannes Nkosi join the party
1926	**ICU expels communists**
1928	**Emergence of African Leadership in the CPSA** 1600 of the CPSA's 1750 members are black
1929	**Black Republic Thesis** The CPSA develops a strategic line, with the assistance of the Communist International: 'The most direct line of advance to socialism runs through the mass struggle for majority rule'
1941	**CNETU Formed** Congress of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) launched as South Africa's manufacturing industry booms African Mine Workers Union formed with JB Marks (SACP member) as president Food and Canning Workers Union formed.
1944	**ANC Youth League is formed.**
1946	**Black miner's strike led by the African Mine Workers union** 100 000 miners strike, led by JB Marks a long standing SACP member
1948	Nationalist Party elected:
1949	**ANC Programme of Action** The ANC moves towards a more militant, mass line
1950	**CPSA Banned with the Introduction of the Suppression of Communism Act**
1952	**Years of ANC-led mass action start**

	Defiance Campaign, boycotts and national strikes
1953	**SACP Launched** A new underground Party is launched (CPSA now the SACP)
1955	**SACTU (predecessor to COSATU) founded on 5 March and becomes a member of the Congress Alliance** including the ANC, South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured Peoples' Congress and the South African Congress of Democrats Congress of the People adopt the Freedom Charter in Kliptown in June JB Marks (SACP) becomes advisor to SACTU
1959	**ANC split leading to the formation of the PAC who were not in favour of the admission of SACP members into the ANC** Chief Albert Luthuli, ANC President, is guest speaker at the SACTU Conference
1960	**ANC banned** Moses Mabhida, South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) chairman, flees South Africa The State of Emergency is declared and a three months ban on South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) meetings is declared March - April, Nation-wide strikes in response to banning of the ANC 21 March, Sharpeville massacre 30 March, Unlawful Organisations Act used to ban the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)
1961	**Armed Struggle** On December 16, Umkhonto we Sizwe is launched jointly by the ANC and SACP
1962	**Road to Freedom** At an underground conference, the SACP adopts a new programme
1969	**ANC Morogoro Conference in Tanzania: First Strategy and Tactics Document adopted** The ANC opens its membership to include white people. Jack Simons and Ray Alexander Simons, both SACP members, are amongst the first White people to become members of the ANC.
1970	**Augmented Central Committee** The SACP reviews 9 years of armed struggle and concludes: 'Armed struggle without mass mobilisation and organisation will lead nowhere'
1973	**Durban strikes**

	A new era of trade unionism begins
1976	**Uprisings (Soweto, etc)**
	The start of 15 years of semi insurrectionary struggles
1983	**United Democratic Front is Launched**
1985	**COSATU Launched in December**
	Joe Slovo (SACP leader) is the first white person elected to the NEC of the ANC
1986	**65th Anniversary of the SACP**
	Inspired by the growth of a powerful union movement, the SACP reasserts a more independent profile
1989	**7th SACP Congress**
	A new Party programme is adopted
1990	**ANC, SACP, PAC and other liberation movements unbanned.**
	SACTU disband
	COSATU formally enters into Alliance with ANC and SACP