

PATH TO POWER-

**MOBILISING
THE MOTIVE FORCES
FOR
ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL,
REGENERATION
AND
UNITY**

**A POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR THE
WESTERN CAPE
– 2011-2014
DISCUSSION DOCUMENT**

‘Renewal of the Organization’

Requires:

Reflecting, on our Historical Role

Rectifying our Historical Errors

Restoring our Revolutionary Values

Rebuilding Revolutionary Trust of Cadres

Through

Regeneration of our structures

Reconnecting with the Communities

& becoming

Rooted amongst the People

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1. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

About the Political Strategy

A strategy can be defined as the broad path that an organization takes towards achieving its goals and objectives. It is an expression of hard choices -options of difficulties. It is not a programme of action. A programme of action is derived from the strategy and consists of detailed tactics which the organization needs to take it on the path towards its objectives.

A strategy must furthermore be based on the principals upon whom the organisation stands for and believes in and provide a three to five year horizon.

The ANC's principals must be the starting point for our political strategy. The ANC, s objectives are therefore our destination. The route we travel and direction we choose is our strategy. The vehicle we drive, who drives, the speed we travel at, the stops we make (tactical retreats) all constitute our tactics.

Our strategy must be premised upon the documents which encapsulates and confirms our movement's principles and that have guided and led our movement for more than 5 decades. These include:

1. The Freedom Charter- Kliptown 1956
2. Morogoro Conference resolutions 1969 (NDR & S&T in particular)
3. Kabwe Conference Resolutions 1985
4. Durban Conference 1991
5. Bloemfontein 1994
6. Mafikeng Conference 1997
7. NGC Port Elizabeth 2000
8. Stellenbosch Conference 2002
9. NGC 2005
10. Polokwane Conference 2007
11. NGC Durban 2010
12. Policy Conference draft documents -GTN 2012

2. OUR STARTING POINT: A PROUD FOUNDATION

2. 1. ABOUT THE ANC (HISTORICAL CONTEXT)

Where we come from:

The ANC was born in 1912 as part of the Struggle against colonialism and became the leader in the fight for a united non racial, non sexist and democratic South Africa. The ANC remains a national liberation movement today in the struggle to fundamentally transform society.

What we stand for:

Some Key Characteristics of the ANC includes

1. **Unity** with all the motive forces uniting behind a single strategic vision
2. Building **No n Racism & Non Sexism** as a principle in action within our leadership, structures, and communities
3. **Nation building** and **social cohesion** to heal the divisions of our past by uniting all South Africans.
4. the **liberation of blacks (Coloured and Indians and Africans)** , the majority of whom are poor and female;
5. The multi-class character of the ANC, with its **bias towards the working class and the poor.**
6. The **strategic centre** of power, within the Alliance,
7. A disciplined **force of the left, and a mass movement** with an internationalist and an anti-imperialist outlook.
8. **Leadership** through direct engagement with and working to ensure that **transformation** benefits all the motive forces, especially the working class and the poor.
9. **Building the consciousness** and capacity of the emergent black business class to be productive and play a progressive role in the **transformation of the economy**, especially in pursuit of our agenda for decent work, job-creating growth, equity and empowerment.
10. Building **grass roots people power**

What are we busy with:

During this critical phase of struggle the ANC has developed a programme based upon the five pillars of social transformation in which the ANC must intensify work and lead:

1. the state,
2. the economy,
3. organisational work,
4. ideological struggle,
5. International work.

2.2. ABOUT THE WESTERN CAPE (HISTORICAL CONTEXT)

Due to the historical legacy of the Western Cape being a coloured preferential area prior to 1994 coupled with years of racial segregation and indoctrination amongst whites and coloureds, one of the major challenges still confronting the ANC in the Western Cape today is the building of Unity and Non Racialism amongst the citizens in general and amongst the African and coloured working and middle class population in particular . Race remains a factor in people's attitude. (Fear amongst many whites, insecurity amongst coloureds and the feeling of alienation amongst Africans).

This racial challenge and tensions particularly amongst the African and coloured population will increase over time as the DA continues to institutionalize racial and class inequality in every aspect of Western Cape society during elections and bi elections through swart gevaar campaigns as well as through it's service delivery programs which is aimed at the perpetuation of white white privilege and creating conflict in service delivery amongst the African and coloured communities.

Therefore today the Western Cape because of its unique demographics i.e. coloureds still being the majority, this province becomes important for our movements non racial programme as it is in this province that we are able to practically implement non racialism in a visible manner through our leadership, membership and programmes and so further the aims of the building of our national democratic society.

Furthermore the Western Cape along with Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal also forms the engine room of the South African economy. For this reason it forms an intrinsic part of the broader social and economic transformation vision and impacts on the ability to leverage change in various sectors of our national economy and society.

Electoral trends since 1994 indicates that the Western Cape has always been contested space for the ANC and in which the ANC could not get an absolute majority i.e. 50+1. In 1994 it received 33% of the vote and this was increased to 42% in 1999 elections culminating in a high of 46% of the vote in 2004 and sliding back to 31% in 2009 and incrementally increasing its support to 34% in the 2011 LGE indicating a neutralisation of the downward trend since 2006. (Since then numerous bi election results particularly in our rural coloured areas indicates a drastic increase in support for the ANC last evident in 2004.)

The main reasons for the decline in support over the last 5 years

An ideological Fault line emanating post 2004 that was based upon the false premise that the coloured electoral support was not necessarily a precondition to winning the Western Cape.

- The creation of two centers of power and factionalism between the ANC government and the Party and ANC legislature which represented the two competing ideological lines.
- This fault line resulted in the ANC strategy, tactics, plans and messages being deployed mainly to African support bases only.

The key trends that have emerged in the Western Cape over the past 15 years are that:

1. The coloured electorate is firstly a necessary precondition to winning the Western Cape.
2. The coloured vote is not homogenous; and
3. The coloured vote is fluid and therefore with the right policies, strategies, tactics and plans this support can be won again
4. That since 2006 the African vote is also no longer hegemonic. We have seen since 2006 pockets of our support not voting and or voting for other parties,COPE and independents in particular although the ANC still receives overwhelming support from this group.

5. That the overwhelming majority of the white electorate is a hegemonic one against the ANC since 1994 (we have never received more than 1% of this vote in every election no matter what service delivery and social cohesion programs we have put in place)
6. That the Indian vote is moving away from the ANC but is fluid and can be won back
7. That there is a drastic increase in youth voters coloured, African, Indian and white who have no historical loyalties and ties to the ANC
8. A realignment of opposition parties and opposition coalitions to form one super opposition in order to hegominise and unify the coloured vote given its fluid voting patterns with the white vote against the ANC based on a sophistaicated social engineering campaign of swart gevaar and protection of minority rights I.e. white,coloured and Indian,
9. That (Western Cape) the traditional opposition parties in the Western Cape DA,ID,ACDP,NNP,AMP, NPP etc core constiuecy has been white and coloured and that they have not been able to make any inroads in African Areas
10. That the emergenace of COPE made a serious impact on our African vote but has been neutralized by the ANC

2.3. ABOUT THE DA (HISTORICAL CONTEXT)

The DA was born out of the collapsing of the DP and NNP's mainly white members to prevent the ANC from taking control of the Western Cape in 1999 and to act as a united opposition to ANC nationally. It represented and still continues to represent a conservative right wing and liberal constituency. This is reflected in the in the mass consolidation of the white vote in 1999, 2000, 2004, 2006 and 2009 behind the DA.

The historical glue that held it together was and is its opposition to the ANC. Its tactics and strategy has been based on a sophisticated swart gevaar and minority group fears philosophy coupled with afro pessim. This approach is what

has made it successful in growing the party since its inception and hegemonising the white vote and growing support amongst the fluid Indian and coloured population.

However the DA itself has come to the realization that it has or is nearing its peak support nationally and provincially and that its current strategy and white base alone together with the fluid coloured support base is not sustainable. It recognizes that it must hegemonise its black support (coloured and Indian) and grow its African support if it wants to survive. Its strategy to grow is firstly to swallow up all the smaller opposition parties under its leadership which has been happening since 2006 i.e. the creation of a super opposition. Coupled to this is the active recruitment of former disillusioned ANC members and supporters particular African and coloured working and middle class and the white left and liberals as well as the much younger African and coloured born free generation.

The DA ideology is continuously evolving from its liberal roots of the DP as it continues to swallow up supporters of other smaller opposition parties. Today it can be loosely interpreted as masculine liberalism, with a conservative social, religious, cultural and economic policy. However its goal remains to essentially entrench the gap between white privilege and coloured and African poverty. This is based on principal but also on the real politik of having to deliver services to its core constituency – the white middle class. This delivery essentially means trade-offs against the African and coloured working and middle class.

Over the past 18 months we have witnessed its ideology in action with increased service delivery in historically white middle and upper class areas at the expense of the coloured and African poor. The DA furthermore since in power seeks to prevent the emerging coloured, African and Indian middle class from getting access to government contracts, access to state resources, and state jobs through its policies such as “fit for purpose.” It continues to perpetuate gender, class and most importantly racial polarisation particularly amongst black people (Coloured, African & Indian) due to its skewed and biased service delivery.

The DA has developed sophisticated communication machinery supported by the mainstream print media and many academics as it portrays itself as the only reliable opposition to the ANC. It relies more on spin than on substantive policies and programmes when dealing with African and coloured population as its only cohesive policy is that of perpetuating white middle class privilege.

3. OUR VISION

A united, democratic, non-sexist, non-racial and prosperous South Africa and Western Cape.

4. OUR STRATEGIC GOALS

In the Western Cape as in the rest of South Africa the ANC's main outcome is the transformation (racial, social and economic) of society.

Therefore our core goals over the next 3 years to achieve this outcome should be:

- **Defeating the DA** in the Western Cape as only an ANC led government can drive this transformational agenda given our history, capacity, experience and commitment to transformation.
- **Building Non-Racialism**-Given the ANC's proud history and tradition of non-racialism only the ANC has the capacity, experience, and understanding to building lasting and real non racialism within the Western Cape in general and amongst African and Coloureds communities in particular.

CRITICAL SUCCESS FACTORS TO ENSURE OUR OBJECTIVES ARE MET

Acknowledgement that the coloured population remains the majority in the province and therefore there electoral support is a precondition to any political party electoral victory in the Western Cape. This position does not detract from

the ANC's historical commitment to a policy of non-racialism but rather speaks to "coloureds" as a targeted voting block.

Unity and Cohesion - becomes the underlying principle for all decisions – leadership, ideological, policy, strategic, tactical and operational. Whilst leadership and members will consistently disagree on strategy and tactics to build non racialism, all decisions must ultimately be based upon the premise that the *centre must hold*.

"unity is the rock on which the ANC was founded," Comrade
Isithwalandwe Nelson Mandela

5. STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES: THE 4 PILLARS

5.1 PILLAR 1- ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL

Rebuilding our membership, developing our cadres and structures and ensuring unity and cohesion of our movement, leadership, policies, strategy and tactics, and programme of action

5.1.1. Back to Branches-Strong Structures/ disciplined cadres

The rebuilding of the ANC in the Western Cape with solid branches (not only for Conferences) but active, vibrant structures that hegemonises communities is a mammoth task. However this is by far overshadowed by our historic responsibility to entrench the National Democratic Revolution and its goals in this province.

In rebuilding organizational structures consideration must be given to the following:

- i. mobilizing ANC activists residing at local level
- ii. identifying dormant/inactive members
- iii. leveraging the capacity of alliance members/structures
- iv. Mobilising ANC supporters/progressive activists in community structures

- v. Drive rigorous membership campaign particularly amongst “new” electorate/first time voters.
- vi. Recruiting activists we have lost to other opposition parties
- vii. Building voter registration campaign on an ongoing sustainable basis.

We must recruit as many new members as possible as well as reactivate and recruit past members, activists and cadres. However the campaign is not just about recruitment and increasing numbers. It is about building an ANC cadre who is loyal to the organisation and who understands the mission, principles, character and traditions of the movement, as well as the responsibility of an ANC member.

Branches must again become the centre of every community and the basic unit of our movement. The challenge now is to not only to build new branches but relaunch old branches (particularly in the coloured areas) which have become defunct.

Branches must serve as the vanguards in there communities. They must identify and lead community campaigns around local development and service delivery issues. They must mobilise and inform communities of government programmes and encourage active participation. They must direct, lobby and influence the work and delivery of local government and hold them accountable within there ward. They must engage and participate with different sectors and community structures. They must strengthen the alliance structures within there communities.

Branches should build and lead broad local fronts for transformation targeting the working class, poor and most vulnerable communities through specific campaigns and programmes.

Branch cadres must be deployed to play a leading role in all community based structures and serve on the executives of these structures.

5.1.2 Cadre Development & Deployment

Political education must be at the centre of our development with a special emphasis on building non racialism and addressing the national question within the context of the Western Cape as well as mass mobilization and community activism. Training should be provided combined with active

participation in branch based campaigns, mass work and problem solving in communities.

5.1.3 Developing a Nerve Centre

Given the unique circumstances of being the only province where the ANC is in opposition it requires that the ANC deploy more resources and innovative strategies and tools if we want to win back our Provincial Government and councils. Being in opposition means that the ANC requires more resources to hold government more accountable and implement its strategy to win backed the province.

The ANC provincial office is the critical nerve centre. It will co-ordinate the work of the ANC in Provincial Legislature and local Councils, constitutional structures (committees, departments, desks, task teams) at every level. The Nerve Centre will establish a permanent War Room. It will be responsible for co-ordinating the implementation of the political strategy by all the sites of struggle, National Parliament ,Provincial Legislature, Local Councils, and Constitutional Structures of the ANC, National Departments, State Owned Enterprises, Alliance Structures, Leagues, and Veteran Associations

5.1.4 Building Hands on Units and Committees

Currently various departments, committees and desks exists in the organisation which are operating at different levels of effectiveness.

The ANC will have to establish various committees which are currently not in existence in line with the new strategy as well re activate the dormant committees. It will have to prioritise the following :

- Organising
- Political education
- Media & Communication
- Policy Co-ordination

- Research, Analysis and Political Information Management

5.1.5 Creating a War Chest

There is a need for co-ordinated fund raising by the province, regions and branches. The ANC will need to recruit experienced businessmen/women to assist with fundraising strategies to ensure that the strategy is sustainable. Funding will be a lot more challenging given the current material conditions of being in opposition coupled with the negative economic climate. Therefore traditional fund raising methods must be coupled by more modern and innovative methodologies.

5.1.6 Building the Leagues, Alliance and Veterans Structures

The Leagues and Alliance remain central to the successful implementation of our strategy, unity, cohesion and mass mobilization of our communities. Cosatu in particular must play a central role in the mobilization of the coloured working class. SACP, SANCO and the Leagues should lead community campaigns for service delivery and are essential to maintaining unity on the ground.

The alliance must be driven by a common programme on the ground based upon our strategic objectives. Strengthening the Alliance requires the creation of effective structures at all levels for joint strategizing on the key political questions facing our province. The ANC has a historical responsibility to help strengthen the alliance by recruiting into its ranks its members.

The ANC has an historical responsibility to strengthen the work of Leagues. Our campaigns must remain co-ordinated and integrated with a particular focus on service delivery, women and youth and the issues affecting them such as unemployment, crime, drugs, sexism etc.

The same applies to the Veteran Structures, MKVA, Ex activists forums, SANCO, SASCO

5.2. PILLAR 2: MASS MOBILISATION & REBUILDING THE GRASSROOTS FOR PEOPLES POWER

Creating greater social and economic equality by fighting poverty and deepening democracy, particularly amongst the African and coloured working class, rural and urban poor

One of the major factors for the loss of ground to the opposition in the 2009 may be ascribed to our shift of focus from the coloured majority to the African base areas only, as well as loss of some support in African areas due to factionalism and weak leadership. This has resulted in our key constituency and electoral support losing trust in our movement. Therefore going back to the ground is key if the ANC wants to achieve its objectives.

The ANC needs to become more firmly in touch and ***reconnect with the grassroots leaders and communities*** and avoid the danger of a perceived growing distance from the people. The ANC also needs to ***regain the trust of the numerous ex cadres and electoral support it*** lost over the past 5 years (particularly African and coloured) working class and poor as well as the black middle class. Secondly given the DA's lack of appetite for active community engagement and democratic participation in the poorer communities the ANC needs to ensure that community structures remain active through our participation and leadership as well as national investment in these structures to ensure its sustainability. It should become not only a site of delivery for our community but as a central opposition space to hold the local and provincial government accountable for lack of delivery.

Consolidating our African Base- Regaining and Reconnecting

Even though our electoral support in African areas remain our historical stronghold (70-80%), during the 2009 elections a few challenges emerged.

- We lost between 10 and 15% of our support to COPE
- Lower voter turn out than expected
- A number of potential voters were not registered

The ANC must therefore be committed to

- Active visible work on the ground by all our elected representatives
- Consistent communication with communities and identifying problems and community frustrations at an early stage
- Maintaining peace in the face of provocation
- Sustain and encourage active participation in ward committees as the key link between councilors and communities
- Sustain and encourage active participation and control of all other community structures such as CPF'S, Development Forums, Civics, Street Committees etc
- Working with ANC national government to effect delivery in areas where the ANC is in opposition and use these delivery programmes to build non- racialism
- Maintain a special focus on sectors such as youth, the emerging middle class and the traditionalists who are new to the urban context
- Leading the Mass mobilization of communities in partnership with other community groups to pressurize and agitate the DA government to ensure more equitable service delivery
- Creating the necessary conditions for former ANC members who joined other political parties to return home.

5.2.2. THE COLOURED COMMUNITY- RECONNECTING, REGAINING AND REBUILDING LOST GROUND

Historically the majority of our coloured support base has emerged from the rural towns and therefore we need to regain and consolidate this support. The ANC needs to ensure that it supports local popular community leaders as councilors. The ANC needs to develop programmes and campaigns in which African and coloured communities work together to lobby and agitate for service delivery and in so doing break down the racial barriers and polarization between these communities.

Farm workers are one of the most exploited sectors in our province. We need to reconsolidate our historical support and win new support which is by and large poor coloured and African workers through the continuous emphasis on turning rights into reality and the protection of their rights. The ANC cadres will have to work with and mobilize union and community leaders, NGO's and advice workers by developing leadership and sectoral partnerships.

The Metro- We need to firstly regain the pockets of lost support as well as identify key areas and wards which should become our local battlegrounds. Mitchells Plain, together with Mannenberg, Atlantis, Macassar, and Hanover Park still remains the largest coloured working class areas and must become the main battleground in this regard. Whilst building hegemony in these areas, is a much longer term project for the ANC some of the immediate actions should include rebuilding the branches and an active recruitment drive led by a team of core activists. Sustained and continued visible campaigns and continued and sustained deployment of ANC national, provincial and popular local leaders. A sustainable programme of work for all cadres which seeks to ensure medium to long term results. Increased direct national investment projects. Active and visible participation in local community structures. The ANC will also assist in the development and build sustainable partnerships with credible social movements and community based organizations. Our cadres need to occupy the centre of a

mass social movement against the anti poor policies of this provincial and local government.

Within the metro middle and professional class (Coloured & Indian) the past 15 years have resulted in what was initially strong support for the ANC incrementally decreasing over time. It is our historical duty to ensure that we regain there support as they will be exploited by the DA government as its deployment of resources, state jobs, tenders etc remain the domain of the white middle and business class.

The ANC will not surrender White support to the DA even it (DA) has historically hegomonised this support. Our core principle of non racialism requires that we must begin to make inroads in this constituency as a long term project and in the interests of nation building. In the short to medium term we need to ensure that we regain the pockets of support of the white left that has been lost in the recent elections as well as white youth. The ANC will develop a clear programme to develop support amongst the Afrikaner community to address there fears.

5.2.3. CAMPAIGNS -KEY TO CONNECTING

Campaigns are a critical pre condition to getting the ANC active and making it visible within communities as well as a catalyst for mobilization against the DA policies. Some of our campaigns will be nationally driven but most of our campaigns must be localized.

Our key campaigns should broadly be based on the following themes;

- Building Non Racialism – Our campaigns should begin to expose the racism with the implementation of the DA programs and actions as well as ensuring that ours builds non – racialism through integrated community programmes and participation

- Crime, Drugs and Gangsterism- claiming our victories, pressuring the DA to fund community structures and social crime prevention projects, pressurizing the DA in respect of its focus areas and resource distribution with its bias to the middle class and driving campaigns such as gun control, anti gangsterism, tik and victim support
- Human Settlements- Driving a campaign to hold the DA accountable to ensure the delivery of proper integrated human settlements as well as the transfer and return of state rental stock to our communities and rental issues as well as evictions
- Basic Services and other local issues- exposing the DA's anti poor policies -focusing on access to basic serves
- Community Development and active public participation– Leading the process of building and sustaining community partnerships and people organizations and forums
- Rural Development- Highlighting the plight of rural poor and farm workers in Particular
- Women and Gender- Highlighting our successes and focusing on child maintenance, domestic violence whilst exposing the DA governments weaknesses in this regard
- Elections- maintaining a permanent elections campaigning capacity so that the ANC is not just prepared for National, Provincial AND Local elections but bi –elections as well
- Nation Building – Particularly using the key public holidays – Human Rights Day, Youth Day, Reconciliation Day etc
- International Solidarity campaigns in respect of Palestine, Cuba and Western Sahara

5.2.4 SECTORAL MOBILISATION OF A BROAD FRONT FOR PEOPLES POWER

Given that our (African, Coloured Indian and white) constituencies are not homogenous the ANC must work closely with identified sectors focusing on groups who share specific social, cultural, religious, and economic, interests, concerns and other characteristics

The ANC must identify new sectors which can contribute to and / or benefit from our transformation goals. It should consolidate and reconnect with our historical sector relationships. Mobilise these key sectors towards specific events and around key issues. It must drive sectoral work with the support of our PEC leadership, Ministers, MP's, MEC'S, MPL'S, councilors and national departments and SOE's who's portfolios impact upon the sectors.

Specific sectors include

- Re establishing relationships with the religious sector –Churches (Pente Costal) and Mosques in particular in order to consolidate there support
- Re Establishing relationships with the Khoi and San organisations.
- Re establishing relationships with sports bodies – the soccer and rugby fraternity specifically to win support of the rank and file
- Reconnecting and rebuilding trust with the Fishing Communities
- Building a sustainable relationship with the Kaapse Klopse and Nag Troepe
- Mobilising The taxi industry
- Campaigning for Senior Citizen and re establishing links with there organizations
- Consolidating the Alliance -COSATU/SACP/SANCO,SASCO and Leagues
- Consolidating ex activist forums
- Establishing and consolidating links with progressive business, professionals and academic forums and individuals and asserting our gains of the last 15 years

- Consolidating our links with progressive local, national and international solidarity groups, special interests lobbying groups and organizations - Palistine, NIMNC, etc
- Consolidating our support of community civic associations, community structures such as CPF's and street committees, as well as building partnerships with social movements
- Campaigning on behalf of farm workers in partnership with local NGO's and CBO's.
- Rebuilding our support of students (higher learning)

5.3 PILLAR 3: ALTERNATIVE GOVERNANCE- MOBILISING OUR RESOURCES FOR THE POOR

Given that the DA will use this province to act as a spring board to take control of other municipalities and provinces in order to implement its anti poor and anti transformation agenda it becomes a political imperative and responsibility of not only the Western Cape ANC but the National ANC (Party and Government) and Alliance structures to assist in changing the balance of forces.

National and provincial structures of the ANC must work together for transformation and set the agenda; this should include:

- A dynamic NEC provincial committee that understands our unique historical context, material conditions and challenges and to act as the link between the ANC Western Cape and the NWC and NEC as well as national departments investment
- National investment by the Alliance. In particular Cosatu's role to assist in ensuring a sustainable programme of action that assists in winning over the coloured urban working class
- National Cabinet and National Departments and SOE's which have a direct influence over investment in the province to ensure direct

delivery programmes within our communities and more stringent monitoring and evaluation of provincial DA delivery in our communities

It is the historic and strategic responsibility of alliance cadres including comrades who are councilors, members of the provincial legislatures, members of parliament and their support staff, as well as Alliance staff that they should consistently and jointly work together in a sustainable manner with the ANC Western Cape Leadership Structures to divide and weaken the DA and win over their members and supporters. Comrades from the Western Cape deployed to national parliament and the NCOP as well as cabinet should highlight service delivery achievements of the ANC whilst at the same time strengthen oversight of the DA delivery in the Western Cape. Given the historical advantage of the Western Cape infrastructure and systems and therefore service delivery record as compared to most other provinces this requires much more rigorous and substantive monitoring and evaluation if we are to be successful

5.4 PILLAR 4 GOVERNMENT & OPPOSITION

The ANC in the Western Cape plays a dual role – in opposition in the province and in most councils, whilst governing nationally and in some councils. Both these roles if co-ordinated correctly provide infinite opportunities to further political gains in stemming the tide of the DA. Unlike the DA the ANC will play its role as a constructive opposition by highlighting service delivery issues. MP's, MPL's and councilors deployed must not only be rooted in government but within communities and their constituencies as well. The ANC is committed to transformation and delivery even in the Western Cape and must defend and strengthen national policies and programmes.

In opposition we must

- Rebuild our successes of 2004 and regain the lost ground realizing that an ANC government in the Western Cape is still achievable and inevitable.
- Prepare ourselves as a government in waiting again.

- Own and claim transformation and delivery and contrast this programmes and policies of the DA which entrenches the privileges of the past and is anti poor.
- Provide a credible opposition that whilst it is constructive it is also robust in holding the DA accountable for its service delivery failures
- Concentrate and link parliamentary opposition work with the campaigns and mass mobilization within the constituencies
- Work with branches and ward committees together with all other community structures and lead community campaigns to speed up service delivery, whilst highlighting the DA's lack of delivery in poorer areas.
- Mobilise mass popular people's campaigns against the anti poor DA policy and service delivery i.e. basic services and infrastructure in poorer communities , evictions, and safety focus etc.
- Unite sectors against the DA's anti poor policies, racism and lack of international solidarity

This approach to opposition requires high levels of communication, integration and co-ordination as it seeks to directly link the role within opposition in the legislature and councils with the opposition to the DA by the ANC as a party and opposition by communities. It will require integration between our structures at all levels of government with our constitutional structures, the alliance and between the ANC, alliance and civil society structures.

Where we govern we must ensure that we accelerate the delivery of free basic services. We must ensure that our national counterparts provide direct assistance, support and investment to speed up service delivery. We must commit to transformation of councils, good governance and efficient management. We should ensure that our communities directly benefit from procurement of services, beneficiation and public works programmes. Sustain the effective implementation of ward committees and all other community structures to deepen public participation and accountability and work to ensure

that they are non racial in there make up. Ensure consistent pressure through all our forums to ensure that the DA province provides resources to our municipalities.

It is imperative that all councilors whether in government and / or in opposition must remain in regular contact and with our communities. They should lead and actively participate in all community based structures and campaigns.

6. CONCLUSION

Beginning with the task of rebuilding internal ANC structures the ANC will position itself once more as the vanguard for the aspirations of the working class masses. Only dogged determination and a willingness to understand and accept the realities of divisions of race, class and gender as defining factors of this province holds any hope for winning back the west. More important, the successful recipe for such an ambitious project rests in the recess of the recent history of the ANC in this province. The institutional memory is not too dim and too distant but does require decisive and profound action. The only approach that will stand the ANC in good stead is an all encompassing and comprehensive approach! This, approach must be premised upon:

- Renewal of the organisation, restoring our historical ANC values, rebuilding trust of our cadres and electoral support, reconnecting with communities, and being rooted amongst the masses.

By doing this it holds the potential for creating a vibrant and robust bridgehead to unseating the DA government in the Western Cape and ensuring the quest for our hegemony and deepening of our national democratic revolution.