

**POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE WESTERN CAPE,
CDE MARIUS L. FRANSMAN,
AT THE 8TH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE OF THE
ANC IN THE WESTERN CAPE,
ON 27 JUNE 2015 IN CAPE TOWN**

Convenor of the Deployees of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress in the Western Cape, Cde Derek Hanekom

Members of the NEC of the ANC, especially those deployed in the Western Cape

Members of the outgoing Provincial Executive Committee of the ANC in the Western Cape

Members of PEC's from other provinces

Leaders from our Alliance partners: the SACP, COSATU and SANCO

Leaders from the Mass Democratic Movement and other fraternal organisations

Honoured guests

Members of business and civil society,

Members of the media

Delegates, Comrades, friends

1 Introduction

We meet at this historic 8th Provincial Conference of the African National Congress in the Western Cape. We gather in this the 60th year of the anniversary of the Congress of the People and the people's mandate, the Freedom Charter.

We gather in this the 55th anniversary of the massacres of Sharpeville and Langa; while we remember the martyrs of the Trojan Horse massacre in Athlone, thirty years ago.

Thirty years ago the ANC held its historic conference in Kabwe where, crucial to our own province and its unique make-up, especially in regards to the national question, the ANC, at Kabwe, reaffirmed its commitment to the Freedom Charter and specifically to building a free, non-racist, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa.

Today, the ANC in the Western Cape, 30 years after Kabwe, must reaffirm its own commitment to a free and prosperous Western Cape, free of racism and sexism.

In this the 30th year of the formation of COSATU, the ANC in the Western Cape must tangibly display its willingness to COSATU, in our province, that we stand united with them as they continue to work towards unity and strengthening COSATU.

Today we also gather here , 25 years after the unbanning of the people's organisations: the ANC, the SACP, among others.

As we end our term of office, as this PEC, we do so against the backdrop of being in office for 4 years and 4 months. We would certainly be dishonest if we were not to admit that it has been a long and difficult 4 and half years, filled with great lessons to arm us going forward.

We encountered many old as well as new challenges and threats. We have developed and inherited some old and developed some new weaknesses. Equally so we have created many new strengths and opportunities. As we embark on this provincial elective conference it is important that we thoroughly assess our performance over the past 4 years and whether or not we have effectively fulfilled the mandate given to us by Conference in 2011.

We must thoroughly assess whether or not as a collective leadership we were able to fully meet our strategic vision, goals and objectives set by Conference in 2011. We must be robust and above all constructive, as we serve our movement at the behest of its members.

We must thoroughly assess the reasons for both our successes and our losses, challenges and weaknesses. We must further assess whether the material conditions and balance of forces have changed since 2011 and what we need to change if needs be. In other words, we could pose the question: what must be changed in respect of our strategy, structure, staffing, skills (what new skills do we require in our political leadership), style of leadership and shared vision, among others?

We must assess, in detail, what we should retain in respect of the above and build on it as well as what type of leadership we require going forward in respect of demographics, skills sets among others. For above all our collective decisions this

weekend will lay down the trajectory of our program of action over the coming 4 years of the new PEC, but more importantly to lay the basis for victory in 2016 and 2019 for the ANC.

In assessing our collective performance we must recall that Conference's clarion call to us, in 2011, was to ensure unity, cohesion and organizational renewal in order to lay the basis for winning back the Western Cape from the colonial and right wing governing party here in the Western Cape.

However, even more important is why we want to win back the Western Cape. We must not lose sight of this: we as the ANC are the only organization that is able to and committed to building our vision, as set out in the Freedom Charter, of a non-racial and non-sexist, national democratic society within our province in substantive terms.

We must recognize that to achieve this vision of a non-racial, non-sexist, national democratic society we need to be in control of the levers of all spheres of government. We are the only organisation that has the political will to roll back the historical legacy of colonialism and Apartheid still prevalent in our province today.

We are the only organization that has the will to address the racial, spatial, environmental, economic, class and cultural oppression of people which is further perpetuated and accelerated by the present Western Cape provincial government. The very vision and principles upon which our organization has been founded in 1912 and still remains today is to ensure that we have a non-racial, non-sexist, national democratic society for all South Africans.

This clarion call of winning back the Western Cape (which was the first and today the last colonial outpost in South Africa) was captured in our strategy document the Path to People's Power (hereafter referred to as P2PP). This strategy provided a strategic framework to achieve Conference's mandate then.

Even though the P2PP affirms the correctness of the PEC in many of our key strategic decisions taken in the past 4 years delegates must begin to ask the difficult and hard questions of whether our strategy and the foundations upon which they were premised continue to be relevant today. We must assess whether it should be completely overhauled and or adapted, based on the changes in the balance of forces and material conditions we face today as compared as compare to 2011.

2) Background

We begin this Provincial Elective Conference against the backdrop of a number of factors:

Firstly, having contested and completed our 2014 National and Provincial Elections in which we were able to achieve the short term objective, as set out in our strategy Path To People's Power. That is, to continue, as we did with the Local Government Elections in 2011, to neutralise our historical downward trend from 2006-2009; while at the same time ensuring that a mildly modest improvement in our overall provincial support of almost 3% since 2009 and approximately 18% improvement in our rural areas.

Secondly, we meet at this elective Provincial Conference, having hosted a very successful ANC January 8th Celebrations in the province. Not since the release of our late President Isithwalande Cde Nelson Mandela almost 25 years ago at the Grand Parade has the ANC been able to mobilize and bring together so many supporters to an event in the Western Cape province.

Thirdly, on 4 February 2015 we won 2 by elections in Swellendam and Ceres, communities we can regard as having been rural frontier wards, which are mainly Coloured. These results further confirms the body of evidence of previous by-elections, the 2011 Local Government Elections and 2014 National and Provincial Elections results that we are on the right track in terms of our rural strategy as found in Path to People's Power to win back and consolidate our rural Black that is, Coloured and African support base. These communities have affirmed their belief that the ANC is the only vehicle permanent transformation.

Fourthly we were mobilised a number of sectors around key service delivery issues within our African and Coloured communities including, water and sanitation, farmworkers rights, education and the saving of our schools, land evictions amongst others.

The above outcomes reflect some of the broad results of how we as the leadership have performed over the last 4 years. These outcomes broadly reflect our successes, challenges and opportunities which we have grasped and at times missed. It also reflects our weaknesses and threats which we were confronted with and how we responded to them; including the threats to our unity and cohesion,

organizational renewal, community and sectoral mobilization, alternative governance and role as the opposition and where we govern in some municipalities.

Therefore the revolutionary task before us, over the next 2 days, is not only to elect our new leadership, but more importantly to reflect, discuss, robustly debate and plan our way forward for the next 4 years. This is premised on our ability to remain relevant to the needs and aspirations of ordinary people of the Western Cape.

If we want to ensure that we achieve our medium term objectives as set out for us in Path to People's Power, that is, to win back the Western Cape in order to advance our National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and achieve our long term vision of a non-racial, non-sexist national democratic society in our province, we must deepen both the theoretical underpinnings as well the strategies and tactics of our Path to People's Power. We must do this by taking into account the current and future material conditions and political balance of forces at these various levels.

The body of evidence and trends over the past 4 years broadly suggest that the basic ideological and theoretical underpinnings of our strategy as well as our assessment of the historical material conditions and balance of forces still remain relevant and correct. Equally so, we must be cognisant that over the last 4 years a number of newer threats and opportunities have also emerged that we were unable to identify or predict then and therefore we may have to amend and or reinforce some of our strategies, tactics and programmes.

As we embark on this task of robust reflection and revolutionary forward planning we must furthermore ensure that our strategy remains in line with our National Vision, policies, strategies, tactics and programmes of the ANC.

Today as we celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Freedom Charter we must ensure that our strategy still encapsulates and remains rooted in the spirit and letter of this revolutionary document.

We must also ensure that going forward, the leadership we elect for ourselves and programmes of action we develop for our organisation affirms and remains rooted in the principles and resolutions found in, amongst others:

- 1) ANC strategy and tactics document of 1969 as adopted in Morogoro;
- 2) ANC Conference Resolutions at Kabwe in 1985;
- 3) ANC Conference Resolutions adopted in Durban in 1991;
- 4) ANC Conference Resolutions in Johannesburg in 1994;
- 5) ANC Conference Resolutions adopted in Mafikeng in 1997;
- 6) ANC Conference Resolutions as set out in Stellenbosch in 2002;
- 7) ANC Conference Resolutions adopted in Polokwane in 2007;
- 8) ANC Conference Resolutions resolved in Mangaung in 2012;
- 9) ANC Election Manifesto in 2014; and,
- 10) ANC NEC January 8th Statement as read out in Cape Town this year.

3. Historical & Contextual Considerations - Reflection on the Ideological and Strategic Underpinnings of our Programme of Action and Strategy – Path to People’s Power - Where we are coming from since 2011.

The Path to People’s Power and the clarion call by conference in 2011 for unity, cohesion and organisational renewal was developed against a background of an ANC that had been highly divided and factionalist. In most instances structures were decimated due to its internal divisions and many members and supporters both african and coloured left to form and join other political parties or became politically inactive.

These divisions were precipitated by the historical ideological, strategic and tactical errors of the previous leadership from 2005-2009. This included that the assumption that the Coloured vote was not relevant nor needed in order to win the Western Cape. These public divisions were rightly or wrongly perceived by the majority of Coloured voters (who in 2004 voted for the ANC) that the ANC no longer cared nor were we sensitive to their needs, insecurities and fears. Furthermore, these voters perceived our organization as a crude Africanist organisation rather than the revolutionary and progressive Africanism premised on non-racialism that our movement was founded on and survived on for more than a century.

Thus in 2009 many of the Coloured support we had built up between 1994 and 2004 punished the ANC by not voting for it. We also experienced the beginnings of a drop in our historically hegemonic African base areas in 2009.

The effect was a drastic downward spiral in electoral support in 2006 and culminating in a drop of 16% in five years in 2009 and our lowest level of support since 1994.

Equally so, the opposition had been able to effectively exploit these divisions coupled with its *swart gevaar* racial mobilization tactics to hegemonise the White vote and increase its Coloured support and taking control of the provincial government levers of power.

It was against this background that as the ANC in the Western Cape recognised that winning back the Western Cape was always going to be difficult and a long term project, given what we were and are up against.

Conference in 2011 then recognised that we have to win back our province because the Western Cape remains strategically important. It is important not only for us, who live in the province and our people but also for the ANC nationally due to, amongst others:

Its unique demographics where a national minority is a provincial majority and therefore it is a province where the ANC can practice and showcase non-racialism in a practical manner. It is a province where we can address the issue of the national question as it relates to so called minorities with all its unintended consequences as well as addressing the psychological scars of centuries of colonialism and decades of apartheid on our people's mind-set particularly (Coloureds and Indians).

The Western Cape is the 3rd largest economic hub of this country and the first and last bastion of colonialism and apartheid under opposition rule using this province as a basis, springboard and resource to further its national and international right wing neo liberal racist agenda.

The opposition in the province rolled back all the incremental progress made to de-racialise our economy, capital, property relations, workspace and spatial planning as well as the cultural heritage of all our people.

That we will be unable to further advance our National Democratic Revolution and achieve our national vision of a non-racial, non-sexist national democratic society in South Africa as long we do not control the levers of state power in this province.

We further resolved in 2011 that in order to achieve this objective we needed to recognize the following:

That we cannot win back the Western Cape without the majority support of the Coloured population together with the African population.

That unity, cohesion and organizational renewal right down to the branch level was and remains critical for our success.

That the Coloured vote was and continuous to be one that is not homogenous. In fact it is a vote that is politically fluid and can be won back.

That we needed to rebuild our unity with the Alliance and Leagues and help them rebuild their structures.

That we needed to go back to basics through community and sectoral mobilisation within our African and Coloured working class and middle class communities in particular.

That the African historical hegemonic vote was also decreasing and we needed to rebuild, retain, and consolidate this hegemony. In this regard we needed to stop our opposition within our townships moving to parties such as COPE and the UDM then and the EFF now.

Given the above, our strategy of Path to People's Power was underpinned by 4 Pillars, namely:

Firstly, organizational renewal, which included amongst others rebuilding our branches, ensuring unity and cohesion, cadre development, political education and an effective administrative, organizing, research, information and communications machinery.

Secondly, community and sectoral mobilization. We affirmed the notion that the ANC Lives and the ANC Leads wherever it finds itself. This pillar was premised upon mobilizing communities and sectors based on issues which directly affected them some would be cross cutting whilst others unique to the voting district, ward, particular sector and / community. It would suffice to say that we had a number

of successes in mobilizing communities and various sectors particularly. A broad reflection of areas of mass mobilization included Land campaign and Rural Development , Basic Service delivery ,Education & skills development , Housing & Transport ,Safety and Security ,Culture & Identity ,Economic empowerment for the poor and Job Creation , International Solidarity. Some of the mobilization campaigns included:

Thirdly, alternative governance and direct national investment. This pillar was premised on the principle that as an ANC government nationally we needed to ensure direct national spatial investment projects in our poor and working class black African and Coloured communities, particularly since the provincial government and municipalities controlled by the DA were and are diverting there resources to the historically white and middle class communities as well as ensuring that most government projects and procurement were benefiting the historically advantaged communities , business and capital.

Fourthly building, an effective government an effective opposition in the Provincial Legislature and effective government where we do not govern in municipalities.

4) The material conditions

The national and provincial trends all indicate that the ANC's historical hegemonic Metro working class and poor support in our base areas are declining and that the ANC may be in danger of losing other Metros as well and becoming a rural based party.

Whilst this threat is not immediate, we dare not become complacent. We must put in place the necessary strategies, tactics and plans to arrest the decline or this threat that this may become a reality in medium term.

The same national trends apply to the Metro African middle class as well. In other words, whilst the overwhelming majority of African voters, working class and poor as well as the middle class continue to vote for the ANC there is a decline in support. We must therefore ask the question and interrogate the assumption whether this vote remains completely hegemonic? These same trends apply to our own historically hegemonic working class and poor base voters.

In other words, put differently, could we suggest that what has happened in our own province, with the decline in working class support for the ANC but firm support in the rural areas, is now happening at a national level as well. Our dynamic of a declining middle class support, is an area for critical analysis for the ANC as it comes to grips with these contradictions nationally.

The past 4 years and 2014 elections have also indicated that whilst we have begun the work of sectoral mobilisation and organisation in some of the historically Metro Coloured working class areas we have only laid the foundations. The incoming leadership must therefore ensure that this work is deepened. The challenge here was and remains the greatest. It is this constituency that is the least trustful of the ANC and the ones most affected by the psychological scars of centuries of colonialism and apartheid social engineering. Even at the best of times, we never quite received the majority of their support even though at the time we made inroads into pockets such as Macassar, Bellville South and Atlantis which today are no longer ANC strongholds.

Equally so, we have not sufficiently addressed the fears and effectively mobilized the Coloured Metro middle class which together with the rural Coloured population were historically our supporters of the ANC. Going forward we will need a consistent, nuanced and multi-pronged strategy to win back this support which has been historically fluid as we have done in the rural areas.

This challenge is not unique to the Western Cape though as the national trends indicate, the ANC nationally has also seen a drastic decline in support in the historically middle class Coloured and Indian areas from Rylands to Fordsburg and beyond where we had pockets of strong support before. These areas were at some point regarded as ANC strongholds. These trends indicate that the opposition has been successful in its racial mobilization instilling fear into these communities as so called minorities.

We therefore need a clear and nuanced proactive push back political campaign both nationally and provincially with the right message and narrative that the ANC is caring and sensitive to all people in general and blacks which includes Coloureds, Indians and Africans or we risk losing these communities completely.

Since 2011 when we took office we were up against a very hostile and antagonistic media which was at the same time providing embedded and biased journalism for the opposition. However as a leadership we took a decision that we should

consistently contest this space rather than disengage. Since then, the conditions have changed to some extent with some provincial newspapers providing more balanced reporting in our province. Our challenge is to contest robustly this space but more importantly we must exploit the opportunities created by the change

5) The Political Economy

The ANC was established to be an instrument in the hands of the people against racial oppression and economic exclusion. It sought to bring about equality, human dignity and social justice for all South Africans irrespective of colour or creed as enshrined the spirit of the Freedom Charter.

The Freedom Charter provides that the people shall share in the country's wealth such that amongst others the national wealth of the country shall be restored to the people and that all other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people.

Our country has now entered the second phase of transition from apartheid colonialism to the National Democratic Society, which is characterised by radical economic transformation. The radical economic transformation strategy is a conscious choice of the 53rd National Conference after its analysis of the objective conditions prevailing in our country post the 1994 democratic breakthrough. The undeniable truth is that the first phase our transition was successful in eradicating the system of apartheid colonialism from our statute books and replacing it with a democratic constitutional dispensation founded on the values of human dignity, equality and freedom.

Be that as it may the legacy of apartheid in the form and manifestation of poverty, inequality and unemployment has not been successfully reversed owed amongst others to the resilience of the apartheid economic growth path, which continues to churn out skewed distribution of material wealth amongst our people.

We therefore have an obligation to contribute to the execution of the second radical phase economic transformation not only to reverse the legacy of apartheid but to facilitate the restoration of material wealth to the people of South Africa in general and of the Province in particular.

It is against this backdrop that we have to undertake a brief overview of the political economy of the province. Political economy deals with the production of material wealth – the basis of the life of human society.

In order to live, the primary things people require are food, clothing and footwear, housing and other material goods, and in order to have these, they must produce them – people must work. Any society will perish if it ceases to produce material wealth, so, as Marx teaches, the production of material wealth is the basis of the life and development of any society.

In other words, effort by the incoming PEC must be undertaken in order, together with the Alliance partners to undertake a thorough study of the political economy of the province, in particular over past 5 years under the DA.

For example, salary and wage patterns should be assessed per sector. It should be established whether firms adhere to minimum wage prescripts and whether equity targets are being met.

The provincial Gini Coefficient should be compared to the Nation as well as to other provinces.

Business involvement in community development and other social causes should be assessed per sector.

It needs to be investigated whether small and medium-sized enterprises have an equitable opportunity to participate in the economy. This should be established amongst others by investigating whether some firms located in the Province are not *inter alia*:

Dividing markets by allocating customers, suppliers, territories, or specific type of goods;

- Involved in collusive tendering;
- Refusing to give competitors access to an essential facility when it is economically feasible to do so;
- Requiring or inducing suppliers or customers to not deal with a competitor;
- Refusing to supply scarce goods to competitors when supplying those goods is economically feasible;
- Selling goods or services on condition that the buyer purchases separate goods or services unrelated to the object of a contract, or

forcing a buyer to accept a condition unrelated to the object of a contract; or

- Buying-up a scarce supply of intermediate goods or resources required by a competitor.

The provincial balance of trade in general and sectoral ones in particular should be assessed against the national and against other provinces while tax compliance should be tested per sector. We should understand whether consumers are provided with competitive prices such that firms are not involved in direct or indirect fixing of selling prices and that they don't charge excessive prices at the expense of consumers; as we have seen with the price-fixing for bread and in the construction industry.

Comrades,

Mangaung (2012) was clear:

“The task of social transformation is about advancing the goal of the ANC as articulated in the Strategy and Tactics of 2007 which states that: ‘our strategies for social transformation must seek to empower people to lift themselves out of poverty while creating adequate social nets to protect the most vulnerable in our society’ (Mangaung Resolutions)

Central to the social transformation of our society therefore is the quest for economic emancipation. Instrumental in this quest for economic emancipation is the Freedom Charter together with other documents such as the National Development Plan. The NDP, for example, recognizes both the work that has been achieved in the last 21 years as well as the challenges, which continue to persist. No doubt, key among these are the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

In this province, according to *StatsSA*, the majority of people are employed in the manufacturing, finance, trade and community and social services. However, the economic drivers within the province include finance, real estate and business services.

As the economy grows both nationally and provincially, we must ensure that our members participate in the programmes especially those, which seek to emancipate our people.

For example, an estimated R20bn has been allocated to actual and planned investment in the Western Cape renewable energy sector while the oil and gas industries are said to be the fastest growing sector, in the country. Africa, for example, produces 8 million barrels of crude oil per day, some 10% of the world production. Our province is said to be well placed in servicing this global demand; hence the expansion of the oil-rig industry for example.

We are aware that Saldanha Bay is the site of the country's largest oil-storage facility while PetroSA's gas-to-liquid refinery in Mossel Bay is the country's leading gas facility. The IDZ in Saldanha Bay is also said to be play a strategic role in the industry while there is said to be an estimated one trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves in the Bredasdorp Basin.

Manufacturing is the second largest contributor to the Western Cape's economy. Food processing, clothing and textile and minerals, such as steel, continue to contribute to the sector. No doubt, while cheaper imports especially from the East has given this sector a knock other emerging industries such as furniture, printing, pharmaceuticals, and publishing are able to buffer the true impact on the sector.

Another emerging sector is the province's financial, business services and real estate industries in the financial sector. Other industries such as the call-centre one has also allowed this sector to grow substantially.

All of us know that the province has grown a large tourism industry since 1994. It is said that half of tourists who visit South Africa visit the Western Cape. Cape Town, the Garden Route and the Winelands remain hot attractions for tourists.

Notwithstanding the deep structural inequalities in the agriculture and agribusiness sector it remains one of the most strategic for the province. Figures estimate that the combined contribution of the sector to the gross regional domestic product of the province is just below 5%. In fact, 11 commodities are marketed in the province through the sector, these include: fruit, poultry/eggs, winter grains, viticulture and vegetables. Key agricultural export products it is said include wine, wool, ostrich related products essential oils and fruit while wheat and other cereals are extensively cultivated in the Swartland and Overberg.

In respect of small-scale fishing it is important that we highlight national government's Operation Phakisa is of importance for our purposes. The intended

consequences that this program will have on our fishing and coastal communities will be important and the promises of improvement are real. It is therefore important once again for our structures, especially our branches to take up this challenge, specifically in these coastal towns, and work with national government in the execution of Operation Phakisa.

Transnet implemented some huge projects in Saldhana Bay nothing less than connecting the Northern Cape to the bay. The IDZ promises amongst others to ensure sectors such as rigging, marine vessel maintenance and repair, engineering and fabrication activities, logistical services among many others to flourish.

All of the initiatives are drivers by our national government, yet the DA claims its success, its failures are the ANC's. The DA takes from national fiscus and implements national policy but claims its victory, this we cannot allow and must expose.

Comrades,

We must not underestimate the national infrastructure programmes that continue even post the Soccer World Cup, especially in our province. One such project is the Clanwilliam Dam which exposes our municipalities and provinces to economic development.

At the same time, we must not underestimate the importance of continuously promoting skills development, education and training. We count on COSAS and SASCO to ensure that making education fashionable becomes a reality and that the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality are addressed through education and skills development.

6) Balance of Forces

Over the past 4 years we had experienced a much more heightened, hostile and sustained media attack on the ANC whilst at the same time a media that was highly supportive to the opposition parties.

This extreme bias is evident in most national provincial and local newspapers which consistently ran numerous negative articles that tried to portray the ANC as corrupt, inept, incompetent and insensitive whilst at the same time supporting the opposition through both deliberate and intentional silence, positive neutrality as well as positive and sunshine journalism.

An analysis of the media broadly indicates a media whose stories of the ANC and government go far beyond the inherent tension assumed in a democracy between the state, ruling party and the 4th estate to one which was far more vicious, antagonistic and bias against the ruling party whilst entering into an unholy alliance with the opposition parties through their actions and omissions.

A paradigm that has emerged over the past 20 years seem to have entrenched itself amongst the media in the past 5 years wherein the media has a belief that it will not be in the interests of democracy to expose opposition parties even when and where they governed and governed badly and corruptly.

We are experiencing a number of other challenges where our own constitutional state and chapter 9 institutions are following a similar paradigm of attack. These institutions such as the Public Protector themselves are being used and abused as a site and tool of the opposition to weaken the ANC as a party and government.

Similarly an incremental body of evidence is emerging that similar trends exist within the judiciary where a number of judges have, through judgment's, expressed their disdain and antagonism for the ANC government.

Another dangerous pattern which is emerging is the one amongst big capital who have developed a more hardened attitude towards the ANC and government choosing rather to work past and without government wherever possible rather developing a social compact.

There seems to be a paradigm amongst many of the captains of industry to treat the ANC and the ANC government with disrespect and disregard in turn the ANC and government distrusts big capital. This sector's view, it seems, is to work with those leaders whom they choose to work with.

There have been trends of increase in the funding and number of internationally funded hostile and critical civil societies organisations, think tanks such as the ISS, SAIRR, F.W. De Klerk Foundation as well as right wing trade unions.

The cultural hegemony of a neo-liberal and conservative political and economic ideology that is antagonistic towards the ANC is also gaining ground amongst most of tertiary institutions both nationally and locally both amongst the academics and students.

This same cultural hegemony is gaining ground amongst many Black professional bodies, intellectuals and authors. An analysis of most of the South African books published over the past year about our country will confirm this trend.

Within the context of the Western Cape as the ANC we are up against all the above mentioned challenges and conditions.

7) Community Mobilization -Taking up campaigns to highlight the struggles of our communities

Comrades,

As we highlighted earlier social transformation and the quest for economic emancipation are interlinked. The social struggles endured by our communities emanate from the deep structural challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

This leadership in particular has been relentless in ensuring that communities and sectors are mobilized based on issues which directly affect them and that these issues would be a rallying point to organize and unite these communities.

Our strategy Path to People's Power spoke particularly in pillar 2 of the need for mass mobilization of communities, sectors and the pursuance of campaigns. Some of the community campaigns that we have pursued in the last 4 years:

- The Hangberg Community of Houtbay, based on the issues of land – 2011
- The Open toilet campaign - Khayelitsha – 2011
- The Hunt Liscaris Campaign against the DA – 2011
- The Save our Schools Campaign - 2012/13
- The Farmworker Campaign – 2013
- The porta-porta sanitation campaign (which became a fault line) -2013
- Sectoral Mobilisation of the MJC , and individual churches 2012-2014
- International Solidarity Campaign i.r.o. Palestine 2012-2014
- Sectoral Mobilisation of the Kaapse Klopse 2012-2014
- Sectoral Mobilisation of the Khoisan 2012-2014
- Evictions Campaign in Tafelsig 2011
- Evictions Campaign in Heideveld - 2014

However, sector and mass mobilization and the pursuance of campaigns have only been the means and not an end in itself. We have worked to ensure that while mobilization of sectors and communities takes place on the one hand, alternative governance, pillar 3 of our Path to Power strategy has taken place on the other hand as well. Direct national investments in these areas have therefore become critical in the pursuance of both economic and social transformation. Through our national departments and State Owned Enterprises we have been able to focus on the following areas:

- Land campaign and Rural Development
- Basic Service delivery
- Education & skills development
- Housing & Transport
- Safety and Security
- Culture & Identity
- Economic empowerment for the poor and Job Creation
- International Solidarity

Never before in our democratic dispensation has the cause of the Khoisan been championed as it is being championed under the leadership of President Jacob Zuma; starting with the 500 year celebrations of the Royal Griqua House of Adam Kok in 2011 in the Good Hope Centre. At that occasion the President pledged to resolve the outstanding issues faced by the Khoisan and the community has certainly seen tangible outcomes from that pledge.

Since the proposed amendments have been made to legislation that has seen the recognition of the Khoisan and the restoration of their rights as traditional leaders on the one hand; and the amendments relating to land claims pre-dating the 1913 Land Act on the other. We are calling that this be urgently finalized

2013 also marked the centenary of the repressive 1913 Land Act. Over the past 4 years the ANC a national government we made a number of legislative and policy changes to our legislation as it relates to land restitution. These changes will directly benefit the Khoisan communities. In this regard, we have been developing strong relations with the leadership of these communities.

Going forward we will need to ensure that we run more effective communication campaigns and events that seek to highlight the delivery to these communities and the benefits.

We have had a number of successes in participating and supporting a number of community based service delivery protests against the provincial government highlighting its non-delivery since 2011 until 2014. However the community mobilization has been mainly in the Metro, the Boland and some parts of the Southern Cape. We must continue to support community mobilization against lack of service delivery within the Metro both by African and Coloured working class communities areas as well as in the rural municipalities.

Over the past 4 years we had some major successes in ensuring skills development for the unemployed. The most notable being the Mitchells Plain Skills Development Centre. At the same time, the Save Our Schools campaign, which sought to correct the process of the closing of 23 schools in the Western Cape, was supported and encouraged by our leadership.

When children were left out of school, when children could not get transport to school or when children were not being taught because of lack of teachers, we initiated a help-line, to help SOS in order to further the campaign for education. In addition, our mobilization in this campaign was so successful that we could get over 50 000 people to sign the petition.

Over the past 6 years the DA government at provincial and local level has been unable to deliver on its own targets of building human settlements i.e. both the delivery of serviced sites and houses as compared to the period when the ANC ruled. In addition, we must assess how state social housing projects i.e. where communities have been renting for years have not as yet received ownership through the national government's EEDBS scheme (Extended and Enhanced Discount Benefit Scheme); these communities being mainly working class.

In respect of the issue of transport, much more work could have been done to capitalise on the anger of key constituencies such as the taxi drivers especially in the light of the BRT process.

A special and focused task of the safety and security commission at this Conference will be to look at the question of substance abuse, gangsterism and crime, especially in our communities. While historical and practical facts will need to be taken into account, it will be important for this commission to come up with resolutions that we will be able to pursue at a national level.

The truth must be told: there is no political will by the party of the elite, the party governing this province to deal with the scourges of drug abuse and gangsterism in this province. Continuously they blame national government or call for sensationalist, short-term measures like calling in the army.

The ANC lives and therefore the ANC must lead on the challenge of gangs. Apartheid could not hold our communities ransom, why should a criminal few hold them ransom today?

Over the past 4 years the ANC national government and this leadership in particular have made major inroads with particular sectors to help them restore and recognize the culture and heritage of these communities. In particular, we have worked very closely with leaders of the minstrels and assisted them in accessing national opportunities in order to strengthen the klopse carnival and the year-long machinery behind it. The battle with the City in 2013 for the tweede nuwe jaar, which was mediated by the ANC, was a major victory for us.

Whilst we have created a number of job opportunities over the past 4 years through direct national investment including through the CWP, SETA's, DTI, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries and Economic Development interventions etc. we have not been able to sufficiently quantify and claim the credit for many of these interventions and deliverables.

In addition the provincial government has managed to hijack and claim the credit of many of our interventions by national departments due national officials delegating and allowing the DA Provincial Government to take programme and operational control of the events.

Equally so what should have been another opportunity i.e. allocation of fishing rights to our poorer communities became a threat that will need to be managed in a sensible and sensitive manner. As mentioned earlier, Operation Phakisa itself becomes instrumental in changing the socio-economic conditions of our coastal communities.

Together with the campaign for socio-economic transformation comes the added responsibility of mobilizing the religious sector and in particular the Christian churches and the Muslim Judicial Council. We have been able to mobilize the Muslim community in respect of our international solidarity campaigns particularly as it relates to the Middle East. Moving forward we must build a campaign that seeks to expose the trend of the Western Nations using International multi lateral

instruments to further their own imperialist agendas. The body of evidence indicates that The International Criminal Court (ICC) is one such instrument that has been used and abused by numerous Western Powers to persecute African Leaders only. Since its inception it has only investigated and charged African leaders whilst failing to pursue any Western Leaders who have violated international law and human rights. Some of the cases have in fact been referred by western countries who are not even signatories to the Rome Statute. It is clear that the rules and mechanisms for referring cases to the ICC is biased and unfair and developed to pursue the agendas of the West rather than international Justice. As the ANC going forward we should mobilize and call for our governments withdrawal from the Rome Statute and support for the ICC and by implication the withdrawal of the domestic legislation that supports it.

We have had a few major successes in exposing the DA and the Premier in particular for their racism particularly as it related to her refugee remarks. We have also highlighted and at time exposed a number of individual racist incidents that have been perpetrated by citizens in the province.

We were unable to run sustainable campaigns in the areas of Housing, Safety and service delivery issues other than the Khayelitsha campaigns of open toilets and porta-porta as well as a sustained negative campaign that the DA was bringing back apartheid in its delivery.

The main reason once again for this performance links back to pillar 1. Without strong branches and structures the ANC was and will remain unable to remain consistently visible in community driven campaigns even the campaigns that we ourselves were the catalyst for.

8) Assessment & Achievements

Since 2011 to present the PEC has made substantial progress in some areas of the 4 pillars whilst making modest progress in other areas. At the same time, there have been some areas where we have made minimal progress.

The short term impact of our overall performance is reflected in the results of our 2011 Local Government Elections and all our by-elections over the past 4 years as well as our National and Provincial Elections of 2014. It has shown that we were able to neutralize the spiraling downward trend in our support in 2011 and 2014 showing a modest increase (approximately 3%) in our provincial overall support in both elections.

We have seen a remarkable increase and improvement in winning back our historical rural support both African and Coloured as indicative of most by-elections, the Local Government Elections of 2011 and the 2014 national and provincial elections. These results confirm that where we fully implemented organisational renewal of our branches and recognising that the branch is the basic unit as well as the back to basics of community and sectoral mobilization we are able to win back our support.

Importantly, within the rural areas the critical success factors were maintaining unity and cohesion at all times despite the strategic and tactical differences while coupled with building branches and consistent community based, issue based and sectoral mobilization.

What we have learnt from this experience is that when the ANC remains rooted in community based and sectoral specific issues, led by strong and visible branches and cadres deployed into and leading community structures and campaigns it is able to successfully contest and change the narrative that the ANC is uncaring and insensitive to local communities and win back there support.

Within the African base areas we have also achieved some major successes through our hard service delivery campaigns particularly in respect of water and sanitation and our message of radical economic transformation.

We were able to bring back many of our cadres and supporters that left the ANC.

We can confidently say that the EFF's second worst provincial performance in the country was in the Western Cape. The reasons can be attributed to the fact that as the ANC we were had effectively claimed the space of mobilizing our communities on the basis of radical economic transformation. This vacuum was closed by our movement and community based organisations supporting our movement and led by our cadres.

Finally one of our major achievements that has underpinned all of the above successes is that we have managed to broadly retain our unity and cohesion as a PEC leadership despite all the challenges and fault lines that emerged over the past 4 years including an ANC that was wounded by its historical factionalism and divisions before 2011. New divisions that emerged since 2011 amongst the leadership as it related to Mangaung, the National Parliament and provincial

legislature deployment and list processes; The relationship, participation and integration of Ses'khona with the ANC.

9) Our next battle: Local Government Elections 2016

Whilst we recognise that the task of preparing for next year's local government elections is that of the new and incoming PEC, it is suffice to say that that this outgoing leadership has given thought and action to the 2016 elections.

Pursuing the Imvuselelo Campaign, like the rest of the organisation nationally, as well as preparing for regional and provincial conferences, was an important part of preparing and renewing our structures for 2016. s.

Local Government Elections have a unique dynamic to them compared to National and Provincial Elections. At the same time, a much more localised approach is needed. Among others, candidates play a more active and influential role in the campaign as well as generally a much lower voter turnout on Election Day. Getting Out The Vote (GOTV) then becomes an opportunity for us.

Our leadership has been able to identify strategic municipalities as well as the systems needed to be put in place to Get Out The Vote. Our regions therefore must start working now already through workshops to identify low hanging fruits and campaigns, which they will pursue in preparation for these elections.

There are currently 30 municipalities in the Western Cape. In preparation for 2019, the ANC must be able to consolidate its support in the 7 municipalities it currently governs and capture other strategic municipalities.

Our main focus over the next 12 months should be to ensure that we register all our voters.

10) What Must Be Done and Our Tasks In The Period Ahead

The strategic task of the Movement in the Western Cape is to challenge the hegemonic position of the DA through a multi-pronged approach that includes delivery, resistance and the development of an alternative project we can offer the People of the province. This is the task of the entire liberation movement including our allies in the province.

Unity and Cohesion – our hope of challenging the DA is practically non-existent if we do not develop and sustain a united organisation amongst ourselves, and between ourselves and the broader civil society. The requirement of unity is paramount to our chances of progressing, but should not be based on a lowest common denominator type of unity. It is essential that our unity speaks to two principled premises:

On the one hand it must be centered on the centrality of our Strategic Objective, which is the attainment of a national Democratic Society, based on the Strategic documents of the ANC. Our Unity cannot be based on fundamental deviations from ANC Strategy in order to supposedly accommodate supposed nuances, personality dynamics or organizational challenges.

Strategy reigns supreme, and we need to build everything, including unity, around this. At the same time, our ability to achieve unity is dependent upon our tactical flexibility, and the success with which we can develop a unique political project that we can offer all the people of this province. How do we take this project to our People?

We need to rekindle the relationships we historically had with civil society, some of which we managed to do during our most recent election campaign.

ANC Leads – the political project we want to develop with, and present to our people can neither be developed, nor materialized in small rooms or lecture halls. It has to be created through the ANC's leadership in concrete struggle.

Are we able to lead real community struggles at this point, or have our structures calcified to the point where they exist merely for the purpose of conferences and electing leaders? If that is the case, we need to re-establish ourselves as the representative political home of the oppressed in this province.

Our failure to do so will only mean that this role is taken on by the growing social movements, while a disaffected people are often driven into the arms of their very oppressor by the absence of a clearly articulated project.

The movement can only lead when its representatives are ideologically schooled and skilled to clearly and aggressively communicate our positions, successes and delivery to our communities. Our political education and skills development need to take precedence as we seek to enhance the internal capability of our collective

Movement.

The movement can only lead when it is in tune with the people. What is our ability to sense the pulse of our people, to direct their anger and frustration at their social condition into organized and coherent political action against our adversary? We need to develop a deep understanding of this social condition at all levels and in all areas where we are active or need to be active.

The movement can only lead, and gain the fruits of its labour, if we relate these daily struggles to our broad strategy and political project, and communicate it as such.

11) Conclusion

Comrades,

In conclusion and as we reflect on this historic moment and provincial elective conference, we draw deep on the traditions and strengths that has kept our movement going since its inception.

From battle to battle, from struggle to struggle until we tasted victory. We reflect on our triumph over statutory apartheid and our advance to a universal franchise in 1994.

We reflect on the challenges and successes of two decades of ANC led national government.

We reflect on a time when we governed this province, the City of Cape Town and more than half of the local municipalities. We know how to win in this province and we know how to govern and serve our people. It is time now to take stock, close ranks and push forward to rebuilding the path to people's power.

The bitter experience of factionalism, organisational decay and parochialism is now largely behind us. The task of renewal is dynamic and demands of us to be nimble, agile and ready to adjust to changing circumstances and new priorities that emerge. We remain rooted though in the discipline, values and traditions of our movement.

We must organise for power or starve from power, these were the clarion slogans of a greater Western Cape ANC leader, none other than cde Oscar Mpetha.

As cadres we must remain committed to walk in the gigantic but humble footsteps of OR Tambo, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, and Nelson Mandela. From them we must learn greatness of heart combined with an indomitable spirit to fight, to persist in the face of immense odds and the unshakable belief that we can win back the Western Cape.

We know that the path to that inevitable milestone requires that we win back the confidence of the people of the Western Cape; to win back the hearts and minds of the people of the Western Cape.

We have come a long way in recovering some lost ground but lots of hard work still lies ahead. We tell no lies and claim no easy victories.

Over the past four years we have had to contend with some distractions that momentarily challenged us to keep focus. At times the dogs of war exerted all efforts to perpetuate the discourse of disunity, factionalism and all types of shenanigans.

In the face of such efforts we realised that as a leadership and an organisation we had matured and mastered to some extent the discourse of engagement, debate and the battle of ideas.

These past four years have been momentous times as we engaged the farmworkers revolt of 2012; the Save our Schools Campaign; the rolling service delivery protests of 2013 and 2014 and others that captured the imagination of our people and drove home the lesson that the ANC is the natural home for the struggling masses.

For those who have lost hope; for those drowning in despair and reeling under the weight of poverty; for those who have inherited the mantle of inequality; and especially for those whom the ANC has become a voice against injustice, exploitation, abuse and inequality.

Here we once again reminded ourselves and the world of our revolutionary character rooted in the fact that our freedom is incomplete as long as there is a single human being suffering anywhere in the world. Our solidarity with the Cuban people and the Cuban Five in particular finally broke through the barriers of six decades of isolation and embargo.

As we meet this week, we reflect on the Cuban 5 that we just hosted and the wonderful opportunity this was in order to indicate our real solidarity between our two countries. Indeed, their visit came in the context of the deep relations Cuba has with the struggle for freedom and development in our country and continent. But the Cuban 5 also illustrates for us the quest for international justice. An international justice that calls for: justice for one, justice for all.

Our support for Palestine the biggest moral issue of our time and the bigger cause of peace in the Middle East must continue.

Our historic stand with the Sahrawi Republic and their inalienable right to self-determination; the Somali drought relief campaign; the 30 years anniversary of Cuito Cuanavale and our fraternal ties with the Angolan people who gave refuge and training to our freedom fighters.

These were but some of the key issues that ensured that we sharpened our bonds of international solidarity and never lose our revolutionary noise.

This is the challenge that the people of the Western Cape requires of us; to inspire hope where there is despair; to infuse energy and action where there is apathy. To provide leadership where there is chaos and entropy; to mobilize where there is fear and intimidation; to direct resources and access to opportunity where there is frustration. This is the legacy of renewal and our efforts to rebuild a new ethos in our movement on the basis of a new cadre.

The passing on of Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela and some of our cadres here in the Western Cape reminded us of the frailty of life and the temporal nature of struggle. Their deaths reminded us that as cadres we are tied to each other by an umbilical cord forged in struggle and the vision and values that bind us and which cannot be broken.

We must share such an ethos with our neighbours, and communities so that we can build bonds of trust, caring and dignity. Only then will we begin to be the hope of our communities and they will say about us and reflect what Cde Nelson Mandela said of Cde OR Tambo:

We say he has departed.
But can we allow him to depart while we live!
Can we say Oliver Tambo is no more, while we walk this solid earth!
Oliver lived not because he could breathe.

He lived not because blood flowed through his veins.

Oliver lived not because he did all the things that all of us as ordinary men and women do.

Oliver lived because he had surrendered his very being to the people.

He lived because his very being embodied love, an idea, a hope, an aspiration, a vision.

As a mass based movement and as a government representing the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans we have always claimed that the struggle is far from over and much work remains to be done. The Western Cape is no exception to this and we must rectify our weaknesses whilst tirelessly pushing ahead, we shall overcome and victory is inevitable.

As a collective, we have over the past four years made firm strides on the path to people's power. We must stay the course. We dare not abandon hope we dare not give up.

To paraphrase Madiba's historic speech at the City Hall after his release on the 11th February 1990:

'Our struggle has reached a decisive moment.

We call on our people to seize this moment so that the process towards winning back the Western Cape is rapid and uninterrupted.

We have waited too long...

We can no longer wait.

Now is the time to intensify the struggle on all fronts.

To relax our efforts now would be a mistake which generations to come will not be able to forgive.

The sight of freedom looming on the horizon should encourage us to redouble our efforts.'