The ANC’ 2017 National Conference

Strategic perspectives

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Introduction

• While preparing this presentation the fate of Jacob Zuma was not yet decided.
• Proposition: Jacob Zuma is going to leave [exit] soon and his exit-strategy is currently negotiated behind the scenes.
• Focus points of this presentation:
  • Macro dynamics of SA politics
  • The nature of ANC politics
  • The future of the ANC
  • The post-Zuma political environment
South Africa – Macro dynamics

Difficult and challenging political environment
Ideological foundation

• Complex and reflects diverse ideological thinking (Africanist, Communist, Socialist, Social Democratic, Liberalist).

• The application of transformation on every terrain of society.

• NDR’s prime idea: “A process of struggle that seeks to transfer power to the people and transform society into a non-racial, non-sexist, united, democratic one, and changes the manner in which wealth is shared, in order to benefit all the people.” (ANC 2012:70)

• Ideology is outdated and new thinking is necessary [Part of organisational renewal!]
Ideological foundation (Execution)

• Two phase revolutions:
  - Economical and social transformation (2007 →).

• Currently in phase 2 with foci:
  - Job creation, poverty relief, social security, increased land reform, education, health and an end to corruption.

Outcome:
  - A national democratic society with development, justice and equality as outcome.
The ANC today: Challenges

• The organisation is confronted with the biggest challenges in its existence.

• Challenges:
  - Internal conflict and tension (race, class and culture).
  - Leadership crisis.
  - Ideological uncertainty (second phase).
  - Poor government record (big challenges).
  - Timeline and legitimacy crisis (20+ years as liberation movement).

• Questions:
  - Can the organisation keep its unity in the post-conference political environment 2019-elections?
  - The struggle is not finalised yet?
Go ahead and experience erosion of support base and eventually total loss of power.

“Iron men never die they simply rust away.”

**NEW IDENTITY**

Successful transformation towards a political party within the existing dispensation placed to the left of centre.

*Coalition politics with strategic partners.*

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**Status Quo**

An inability to address challenges leads to the disintegration of the party with severe political implications.

*(Jacob Zuma)*

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**Disintegration**

*(Cyril Ramaphosa)*
TOWARDS THE 2019-ELECTIONS
Lost of support

NATIONAL ELECTIONS RESULTS (2009; 2014)

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Local election results (2000 – 2016)
2011 LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESULTS

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Legend: ANC, DA, IFP, FF+, NFP, COPE, MF, ACDP
2016 LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESULTS

- JOHANNESBURG: ANC 44.55, DA 38.37, EFF 11.09
- TSHWANE: ANC 43.15, DA 41.45, EFF 11.63
- EKURHULENI: ANC 48.64, DA 34.15, EFF 11.23
- NELSON MANDELA METRO: ANC 46.71, DA 5.12
- BUFFALO CITY: ANC 58.74, DA 23.4
- MANGAUNG: ANC 58.74, DA 23.4
- ETHEKWINI: ANC 56.01, DA 26.92
- KAAPSTAD: ANC 66.61, DA 24.36

ANC, DA, EFF, IFP
IPSOS

- Opinion poll of 4000 people: rural and urban

[Bar chart showing percentages for ANC 47%, DA 21%, EFF 5%, Other parties 3%, Will not vote 7%, Refuse to answer 10%, Not registered 2%, Don't know 5%]
2016-Election

• Political apathy is a major factor.
• Nearly 26.3m of the 36.8m potential voters registered but only 15.3m voted.
• Greater participation can totally change the political game completely.
The post Zuma political environment

• General perspectives
  • Current a lot of euphoria exist (not a realistic perspective).
  • The environment is risky within the ANC and also within the bigger political environment.
  • This is a Kairos moment for Cyril Ramaphosa (use it or lose it?).
  • Change processes is reflecting elements of a macro regime change (conflict and violence cannot be excluded).
Major challenges

• Keep unity within the ANC while exiting Jacob Zuma.
• Keeping the integrity of the constitution and rule of law in place.
• Positioning himself as a visionary leader (South Africa first?) within a challenging political environment. The SONA is therefore very important.
• Immediate attention to pressing financial challenges (Eskom etc) and preparing the budget.
• Consolidate a divided and disorganised ANC in preparation for the 2019-elections.
Future perspectives

• The following 2-3 months is critical for Cyril Ramaphosa to establish himself as a strategic and visionary leader.
• The biggest test, however, is dealing with the challenges from the bigger political environment in such a way that (together with the rebuilding of the ANC) the latter can be successful in the 2019-elections.
• Risks include:
  • Counter mobilisation within the ANC and even the establishment of an opposition party/grouping.
  • A general lost of support and political apathy.
  • The disintegration of the structure of the ANC and the quest for organisational renewal.
  • Major political, economic and social challenges within the larger political environment.
Question

Cometh the hour,
Cometh the man?
THANK YOU!