



The ANC' 2017 National Conference

Strategic perspectives

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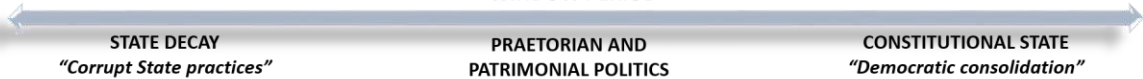
Introduction

- 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



ANC-POLITICS



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- Ideology is outdated and new thinking is necessary [Part of organisational renewal!]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:
 - Political transition (1994 – 2007).
 - 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?

FUTURE TRAJECTS FOR THE ANC

STATUS QVO

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.

(Cyril Ramaphosa)

Coalition politics with strategic partners.

Disintegration

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



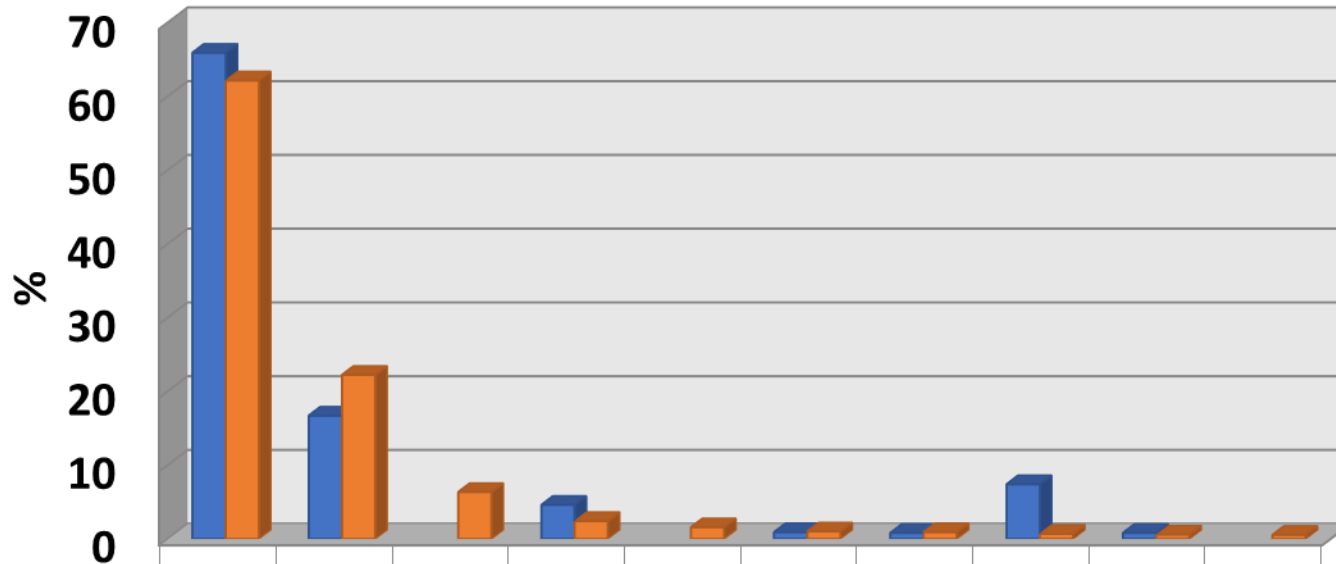
(Jacob Zuma)

A scenic landscape featuring a two-lane asphalt road with a yellow center line, stretching into the distance. The road is flanked by dry, brownish hills and sparse vegetation. In the background, there are more mountains under a cloudy, overcast sky. The overall tone is somewhat somber due to the grey clouds.

TOWARDS THE 2019-ELECTIONS

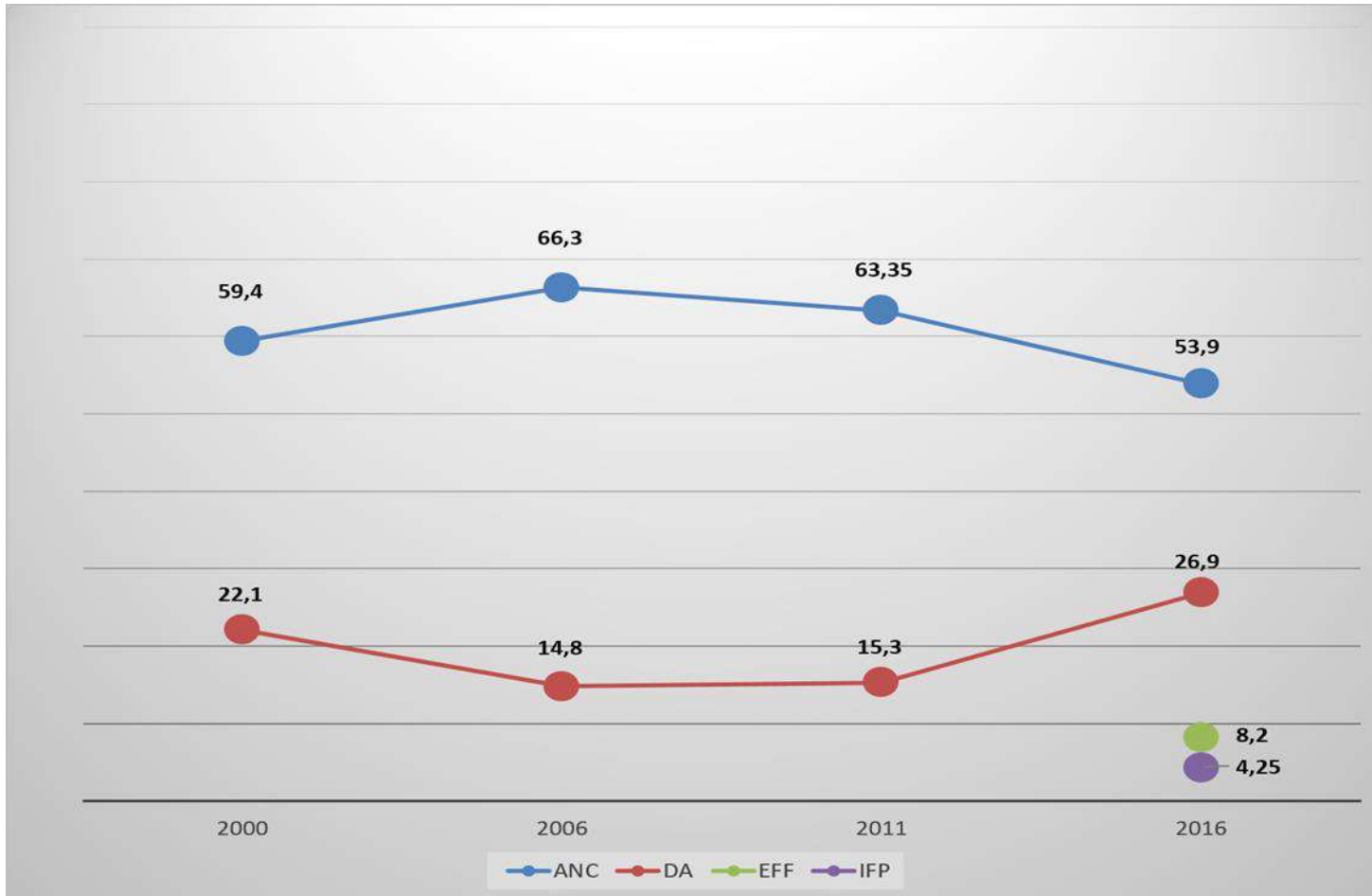
Lost of support

NATIONAL ELECTIONS RESULTS (2009; 2014)

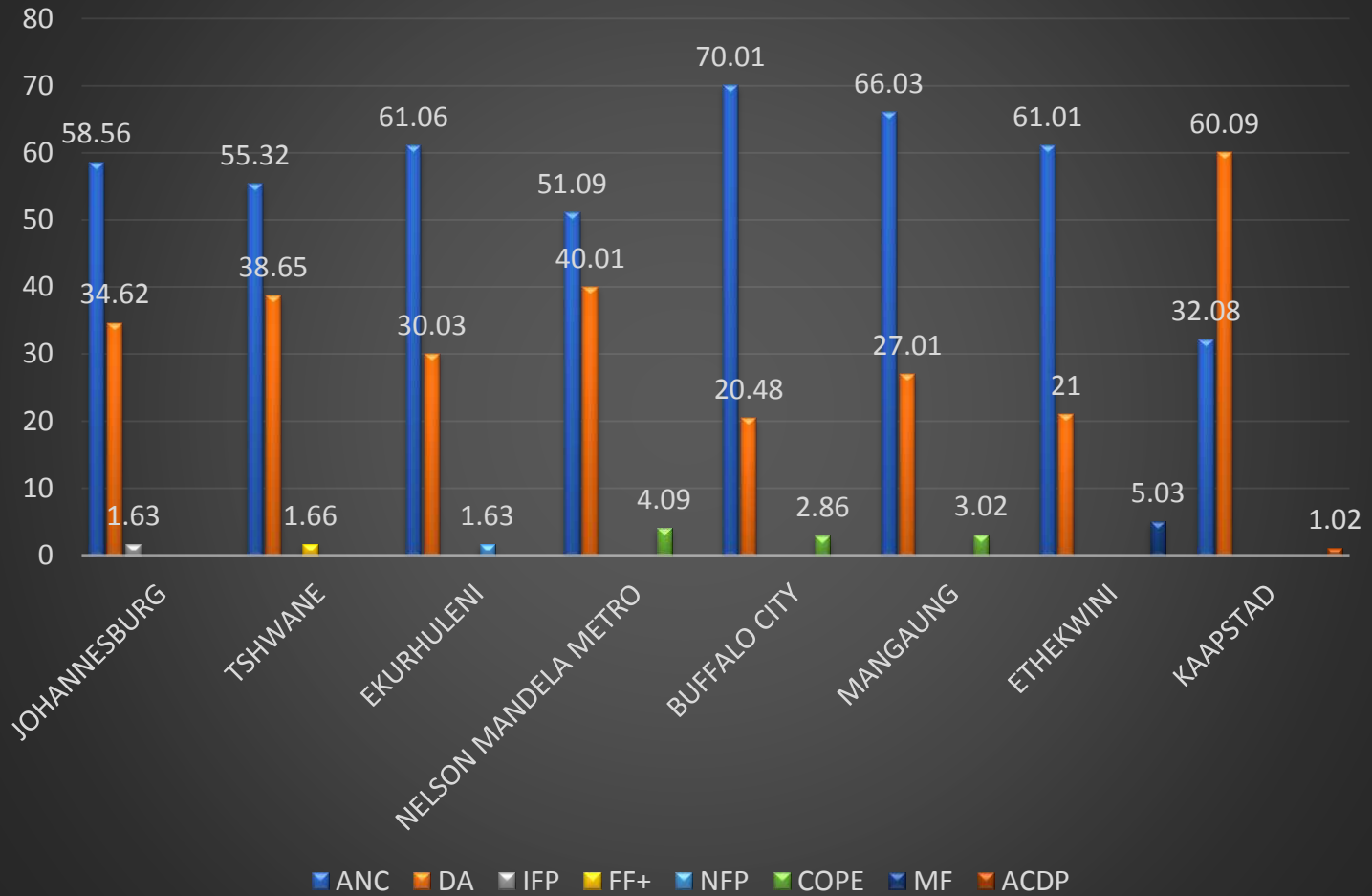


	ANC	DA	EFF	IFP	NFP	UDM	VF+	COPE	ACDP	AIC
2009	65.9	16.7		4.6		0.9	0.8	7.4	0.8	
2014	62.15	22.23	6.35	2.4	1.57	1	0.9	0.67	0.57	0.53

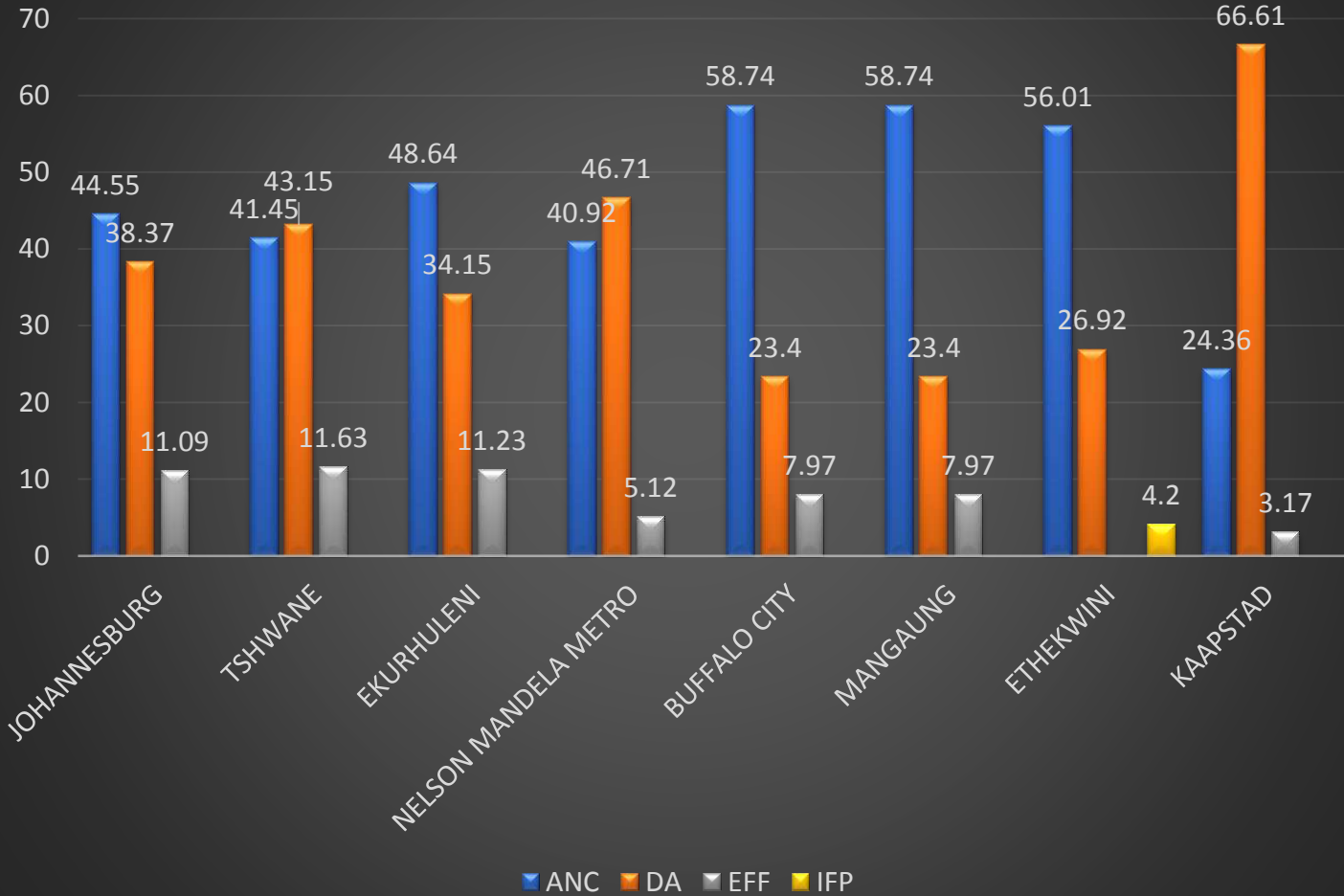
Local election results (2000 – 2016)



2011 LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESULTS

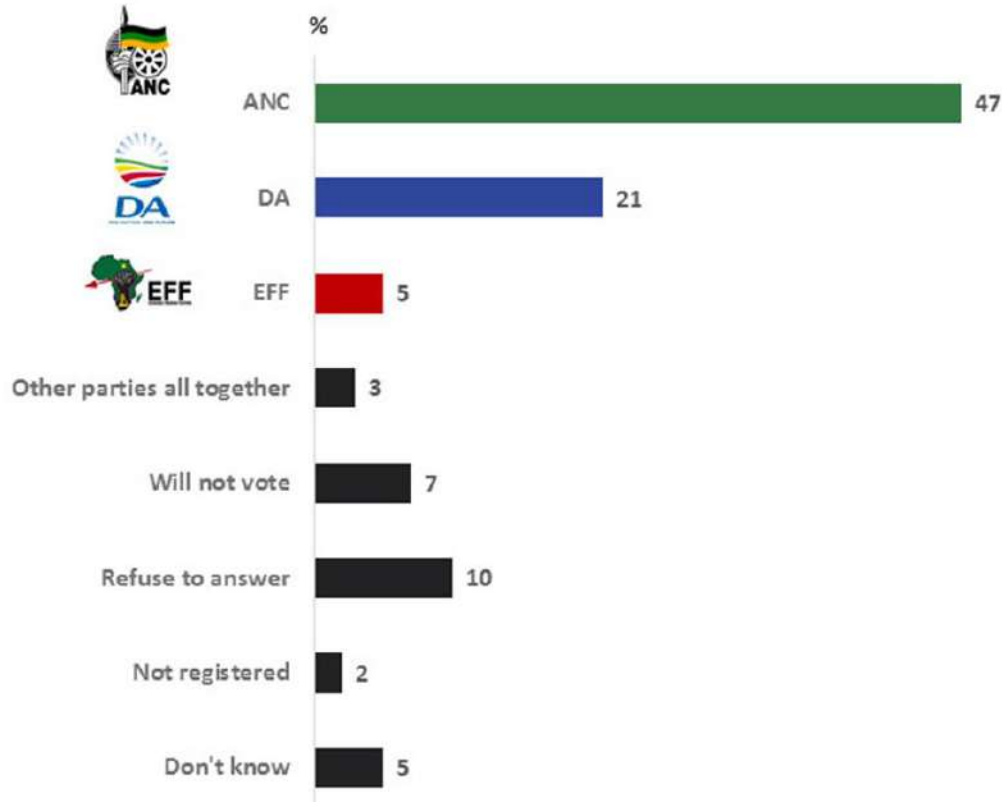


2016 LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESULTS



IPSOS

- Opinion poll of 4000 people: rural and urban



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!