REPORT
ELECTIONS STRATEGY
WORKSHOP
25 - 27 SEPTEMBER

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This report summarises the inputs and discussions held at the ANC Elections Strategy Workshop in Johannesburg from 25 to 27 September, which was attended by 150 participants from the ANC head office. regions, Youth and Womens Leagues as well as Cosatu and the SACP.

The workshop programme involved 3 major inputs looking at the Political Issues of the campaign, the Constitutional aspects of the election process and the campaign strategy process. (the issues are related but were separated for purposes of the discussion) These issues were then the basis of working groups which presented reports to a plenary session of the workshop.

This report is structured such that it covers the key points of the input, followed by the key points of the discussions in each of the three sections and ends with a section which highlights the tasks of the current period.

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1. The strategic objective of the struggle and our long term vision remains the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist ahid democratic South Africa. To this end we need to see the elections for a Constituent Assembly as a crucial step towards that objective. The outcome of elections will have serious implications for the kind of interim government we put in place, the constitution that emerges out of the CA, and on the shape of the future democracy in the country. We therefore have no choice but to win the election convincingly, both in terms of the percentage vote we win as well as the manner in which we do this, meaning we need to ensure we run a sophisticated campaign that persuades all South Africans that the ANC is their best option and is capable of governing.

2. There are a number of key questions that we need to answer in relation to the campaign. Among them are :

i. In what form does the ANC participate in the election?

ii. What social and political forces do we need to mobilise into the democratic camp?

iii. What criteria do we use in formulating a list for the election. how do we order the names and through what process do we arrive at the Final list.

iv. What political platform do we stand on?

3. To answer questions i and ii we need to go through two prior steps;

1. we need to do some analysis and

2. we need to define the key factors that influence the answers.

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4.1. Understanding the Electorate

The key to the answers is how do we understand the electorate. the people that will vote. We need to recognise that the electorate are not just individuals but are best understood as groups of people that are influenced by their participation in a political organisation. at community, cultural, religious, sporting professional organisation, they are better understood on the basis of the sector, region, class, ethnic group or language group they belong to. We therefore need to disaggregate the electorate in the country, region or locality we are working in to better answer the questions.

4.2. Existing Political Parties

A brief look at existing political parties gives us an idea of the large number of parties
that have varied levels of influence over the electorate. Whatever we might think of individual parties, they exist and will need to be taken into account in understanding the electorate ;

ANC, Bophuthatswana Democratic Party, Ciskei Military Council, IFP. DP. SACP
Dikwankwetla Party (Qwa Qwa), Intando Yesizwe (Lebowa), Inyandza National
Movement (Kangwane), Labour Party, National Peoples Party, Solidarity Party,
Nic/Tic, Transkei Military Council, United Peoples Front (Kwandebele), Venda
Military Council, Ximoko (Gazankulu), Conservative Party, PAC, AZAPO, AWB,
HNP, Volksunie, National Seoposengwe Party (Bop) etc.

4.3. Other Organised Formations

Again a brief look at other organised formations reveals how complex the electorate
is and will require much work to better understand where people are :
t Civics. Hostel Dwellers Associations, Homeless peoples organisations,
a Unions : Cosatu 1.2m members. Nactu. 258 000. Fedsal. 230 000. SA
Confederation of labour 95 000, Unaffiliated unions 400 000.
: 2.2million members.
2Churches and religious organisations, 34 main formations : 20 million people of all
ages. (look at enclosed table)
a Sports Organisations, over 20 codes, thousands of organisations.
a Business organisations. SACOB 35 000 members, AHI. Nafcoc. Fabcos, hundreds
of chambers of commerce, thousands of employer associations etc.
t Stokfels, Burial societies, Gay and Lesbian movement. environmental movement.
over 10 000 NGO,s doing urban, rural, education, welfare. etc work.
t Students and Teachers organisations. (at least 10 national orgs) Womens Movement.
Youth movement.
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4.4. Demographic Details

There are numerous other ways of breaking down the electorate. We could look at it regionally, racially, urban - rural or male -female breakdown etc. The purpose of the analysis is to better understand where people are. how they think and what they consider as important and to then use. this to inform our approach and strategy for the elections. Enclosed is a table which shows the breakdown of voters. by DBSA regions and races. While these figures may not be accurate they give us an idea of the location and number of voters which can help us plan. The important facts to note :

1. There are slightly more women than men voters, 10 511 367 women to 10 362 367 men.

2. Almost 6 million of the total of 20.9 million voters live in rural areas.

5. The Key Famg ;

There are at least four key factors that should influence our response to the questions;

5.1. The objective of broadening the democratic movement and maximising the unity against Apartheid forces.

5.2. The need to enSure the highest levels of representativity of the varied sectors and forces the movement has mobilised over the years.

5.3. The winnability factor, the choices we make should contribute to winning the election.

5.4. the need to win at all costs should not require us to win at any price and therefore the need to preserve our principles.

6.F I

Having looked at the two steps we can now examine the options in relation to the form in which we participate in the elections:

option one : As the ANQ on its own. This option does not enjoy much support because it is too narrow and excludes many of our supporters.

option two : As the ANC plus Alliangg. Again this option has not been supported because it is too narrow and will have us defending the alliance with the SACP.

option three : AN 1 Alli n 1 PF F rc (PF as defined in Codesa or in Durban Conference). This option was questioned on the basis that many of those parties in the PF are not credible. are rejected by our people and in fact may serve as a liability in an election. It was too broad a choice.

option four : ANC plus Alliance plus bilateral pagts. This option was regarded as problematic because it left the parties with whom pacts were developed as independent forces free to destabilise the ANC when they pleased as well as forcing us to treat all parties equally resulting in complex political problems and many compromises.

option live : AN 1 Alli l l f r in 'vi , based on an
ANC lead campaign, with ANC symbols and list. This option favoured by the NEC.
We need to consider the advantages and disadvantages of each option and find others
if we can. The task then is to look at what our chosen option means in practice and
how exactly do we go about implementing the option.

7. How d9 we compile 3 lg' t

7.1. In answering question iii about lists we need to first ask the question what will
be our criteria for choosing people for the list : should it be winnability,
representativity, or should the person be able to win 40 000 votes in their own right,
must they have a proven track record of serving the people. We need to establish
proper guidelines for people on the list.

7.2. A second but related question relates to ordering names on the list - Proportional
Representation means that the % of the list elected will depend on % of votes we
win. eg. If we win 60% only 240 of the suggested list of 400 will be elected. We thus
cannot have a situation where we have 160 women but they are all at the bottom of
the list etc. The one idea is that we choose to have blocks of 50 names that are
representative of the type of list we want with the key people in the top 50 positions
on the list.

7.3. A third issue is the process of formulating the list, exactly how do the names get
placed on the list and who orders them. This is obviously related to the form in which
we participate and the forces we want mobilised into the democratic camp. There are
various options;

option one : We start with an ANC list that is drawn by local and regional input being
tabled with the a senior ANC structure which modifies it according to national
conditions and priorities. The Alliance then provides a list which is negotiated and an
agreed number are added. other organisations then provide their names which are
again negotiated and added. The Final list is approved by a senior ANC structure. then
approved by the alliance and presented to the people.

option two : On the basis of an agreement on the form we participate in. a quota is
allocated to different forces, who then present lists and negotiate their position in the
list.

8. Our Polig'gl Platform

The final question iv. is that of deciding on the political platform on which we stand.
There are two broad issues here; one relates to the constitutional policies of the ANC
and the other to the socio-economic policies. We need to agree that those on the list
subscribe to a common set of policies and will not contradict each other and the ANC
in the campaign. There needs to be an agreement that there will be a common national

platform and policies, with room for local issues to be raised that are consistent with our overall policies. What remains to be resolved is the process of deciding the precise content of the platform.

9. Possible ggnm'g

To concretise the challenge a scenario was put forward on the possible outcome of the elections and to raise the enormity of the challenge.

Total voters :
African 14 364 122
White 3 951 866
Coloured 2 046 732
Indian 612 534
Total 20 975 254
With a 100% poll, if we win.
African 68% 9 767 603
White 3 % 118 556
Coloured 20% 409 346
Indian 30% 183 760 this is : 50% of total.

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1. Form of participation : There was general support for option five, ie. ANC plus Alliance plus selected other forces and individuals, based on an ANC lead campaign, with ANC symbols and list. The motivations included that this option avoided needing to work with unpopular organisations while maintaining a broad front, allow for a more coherent platform to be advanced. avoid danger of breakaways, as experienced after Durban PF meeting and finally that it correctly places the leader of liberation struggle, the ANC at the head of the campaign. It was further noted that the inclusion of other parties or individuals from other parties does not imply their dissolution.

2. Social and political forces to be mobilised : The election should be equated to the act of winning liberation and a break with the past of colonialism. The major force for mobilisation should therefore be the African people. The Coloured and Indian communities are part of the oppressed and should be seen as an important area of contestation. and that a special approach would have to be developed for them as with the White community. The fundamental point is the need for mobilising the broadest section of the people.

The social forces were specified as : workers - including farmworkers. women and their organisations. youth. religious groups and their organisations. influential personalities who are undecided, unemployed. disabled, urban and rural poor, sporting

groups, cultural groups, traditional leaders, educational and student organisations, security forces and other organisations.
Noted :
b the need to evolve policies that address the interest of the broadest sections of the people.
a approach to African communities must take into account the ethnic factor,
a that while it may appear objectively correct for African people to vote ANC the subjective inclination may not be there (it will require hard work),
a the need to continue to mobilise around basic needs and win victories now and improve our image as ready to govern,
a develop closer working relations with civil society, do more work around refugees (whose side are they on etc),
a the need for strategies for the minority communities (UDF experience should be instructive).
3. Compiling the List :
D' On the issue of regional and national lists, there was general support for a single li
st
where parties decide on regional content of the list.
a Composition to be decided on basis of overall approach and the forces we bring together.
3' Grassroots participation is crucial
a List must balance national strategic interests vs those of ANC members, must balance regional interest vs those of constituencies we mobilise.
ll Criteria must include - winnability, popularity (grassroots support), representativity (gender, urban -rural etc), accountability to ANC, competence.
at Persons on the list for specialised skills must have support of majority of regions.
a Selection of candidates must take into account the continuing needs of the ANC after elections, without infn'nging on the rights individuals to be voted for.
a list to be broken into blocks that are representative. need guidelines.
a The highest ANC structures to endorse the list after local and regional input. it should then go to national conference or extended NEC. Conference or extended NEC
to interfere minimally.
a a leadership code of conduct to be introduced for all people on the list.
4. The Platform :
t The election platform should capture the strategic importance of the elections and be portrayed as a contest between liberation and Apartheid forces.
a Must appeal to the broadest section of the people.
t must have a mass participatory character, enable greater identification with platform.
t need for consistency and accuracy in advancing platform.
a must consistently relate platform to local issues and demands.
bThe selected forces and individuals from outside the alliance should be allowed to enrich the platform but not digress from democratically arrived at policy positions. which must take precedence.

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Key Poing fmm the input 1m &!$ml

A. The Process to Elections :

t Phase 1 - Transitional Arrangements Agreed. passage of Transition to Democracy Act and establishment of Electoral Commission, Monitoring Agencies, Transitional Executive Council including Multi-part Ministries in respect of police and defence.

t Election Campaign and Elections

t Formation of CA / government of national unity and either elected)on the basis of election outcome or nominated provincial councils.

B. Elections :

it The national list : The election are to be fought on the basis of Proportional Representation and not Constituencies which means we need a national list and people vote for a party not a specific candidate in their area. If we want to form alliances. these have to be reflected in the list, or we could choose to form coalitions after the elections.

3' The regional / provincial list : We have supported a view that the elections are fought using the four provinces as regions and that the CA will resolve the issue of regional boundaries. This will mean that the elections will be fought on the basis of a single list with maybe 200 names from national and 200 from the regions (provinces) consolidated into a single list so each voter votes only once for the party at national and regional level. The Provincial Councils are then formed on the basis of how each party performed in the provinces or can be as currently, appoint an administrator who appoints the council.

it CA : will be a single chamber. One Election - One Vote - One Chamber.

C. Campaign Rules :

There are rules that have to be established in the Electoral Act which guide the elections.

t Funding : There can be internal or external sources of funding, it is possible to set a limit on external funds or even a limit on funds for the election that each party can use and this rule will be accompanied by disclosure rules etc. An idea is to get the government to set up a fund outside of what parties raise themselves and use the fund to suppon the electoral process. The fund could operate on the basis that a party can claim back a proportion of the fund on the basis of the % of the votes they win. eg if a R100 million fund is set up and the ANC wins 60% it can claim R60 million from government. This allows parties to borrow against what they think they can win.

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b Access to facilities and regions : There need to be rules allowing equal and free access to TV, Radio. Halls, Stadiums. hostels. farms, rural areas under chiefs etc. A system of monitoring these public facilities and areas needs to be designed by the electoral commission which can ensure access.
a Monitors : The monitors could be both local and international. Issues of accountability, independence and their strategic allocation to problem areas will be important.
a Electoral Commission : The composition of this key structure is important. There are two possibilities - a wisepersons option or a representative option. The wisepersons option raises questions of accountability ie. to whom do they account while the representative option raises questions of polarisation and being bogged down and being ineffective. The commission should be independent and have substantial powers of decision making. Its responsibilities include - monitoring public media, other resources, doing voter education, dispute resolution and disciplinary powers etc.
b Code of Conduct : There needs to be code for parties which should include rules on meetings (notice and not disrupting), vilihcation (ensure fair play and avoid abuse), prevent covert action, intimidation and have power to punish breaches.
a Role of security forces : police should be under joint control at ministerial level. a complaints facility should be established at national. regional and local levels to avoid abuse and an independent inspectorate to monitor should be set up. The military forces should have no role and be confined to barracks.
D. Electoral Process
1. How long should the process be : from date of announcement to election day 3 - 6 months. Should not be too long (allow for destabilisation) or too short (unprepared).
2. Registration
2.1. Voters roll or not : should we register all voters onto a new voters roll. The feeling is that due to problems with people having no IDls etc and the time constraint we should not establish a new roll.
2.2. Eligibility : The question is who is a South African and who can vote? The options that could be included are; South African by birth. by marriage, through being resident for a time, TBVC citizens. contract workers who have been here for a time. exiles. and those over 18 years (this was a debated issue with some suggesting 16 on the basis that 16 year olds have participated in politics. gone to jail etc).
2.3. Voter identification : If we choose not to register onto a roll we still need some way of identifying voters. The options are we use only IDis or a combination of forms of identification including; Idls. birth. marriage, matric, baptismal certificates and even a signed affidavit by two people who can vouch for you as acceptable form of

identification. This combined with the use of indelible ink will ensure inclusivity and prevent people voting twice.

2.4. Registration of parties and alliances : should parties have to register. the question
what are the benefits of registration over not registering, eg. if registration means the party has equal access to resources then it is a problem since every small party can claim the same as the ANC etc.

E. Voting

1. The ballot paper : should be simple, should have symbols and names of party to make it easy to identify the party you want to vote for.

2. Marking ballot paper - problem with cross, linked to negative feeling, need to broaden the options as long as mark, even if a tick makes intention of voter clear, it should be accepted. .

3. Voting period : should be at least over three days.

4. Ballot booths - need to decide how many, where (ensure easy access) and also restrict polling station from being in police stations, on farms etc.

5. Postal and special votes : can and have been abused, need tight monitoring if they are to be used.

6. Abuses : ensure secrecy of vote, no intimidation at polls, tightly monitored counting. (electoral commission to keep ballot boxes secret etc).

Ke ' fr Wr' r

1. Levelling the playing fields :

a. Electoral Commission

Of the two options presented at plenary, namely; wisepersons or representative, the following points were made :

h it should consist of individuals of high standing

h it should be such that (in terms of structure and composition) it is able to easily resolve disputes eg. eminent persons should have a veto (deadlock breaking)

at we must be careful how we define independence / neutrality of participants

it take into account the experience of other countries

x in a SA context. the electoral commission does not guarantee free elections.

The group generally agreed that we should seek to blend both the wisepersons and representative option with emphasis to the former option. The wiseperson option was to ensure that there is participation of both local and international persons with pre-eminence given to local participation. Such persons should meet two basic requirements; must command confidence of all parties. should have some minimum general knowledge of the task they are meant to perform. The emphasis was more on the former rather than the latter.

b. Media 2

Given our situation where media is not under our control eg. SABC, press. some strong suggestions were made in favour of the following :

i. Legislation on advertisements : need for legislation to ensure equal access and fair play by all media, including privately owned. Media should contribute in the creation of conditions for free political activity.

ii. An independent media commission be set up soon and not necessarily await the interim govt. This is to enable all parties to have free access to state controlled media .

c. Facilities :

In order to avoid problems of monopoly of some facilities eg. one party booking in advance some facilities with an intention of blocking equal access, it was suggested that all facilities (public halls, schools etc) should be under the electoral commission. Parties are meant to submit draft programmes, (detailing location and facilities they propose to use) to the commission. This will be synchronised by the commission and a fair/reasonable allocation be made to all parties applying for such facilities.

d. Code of Conduct :

Failure to comply with rules and regulations as agreed upon should be punishable, eg. if party X prohibits party D from using some facility under the supervision or control of the commission. a fine or suspension on use of facility be imposed.

2. Eligibility, Registration and identification of voters

a. Eligibility:

Age for voting is generally fixed at 18, however there have been instances where some countries have opted for 16 years as voting age , eg. Nicaragua.
There are obvious advantages of 16 - more voters, allow youth who have participated in political process right to participate. but the disadvantages are that it is too obvious
that we will beneht and it goes counter to international norms and our own policy guidelines. The consensus was that we should insist on 16 but at the same time be prepared to bargain for a compromise.

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2. Birth - accepted
aried between accepting and
3. Marriage ' .
rejecting marriage as a basis. Suggestion - anyone married and has chosen or indicated
the intention to regard SA as his / her home and provided that the individuals have
SA, could be given citizenship.
Problem areas :
s Dual citizenship not favoured - but practicalities of separating those with dual
citizenship a problem.
at Marriage certiiicates cou
free of abuse. As a means 0
temative identification and therefore not
Id be used as an al
for traditional / customary
f identification it does not cater
marriage.
t Residence (special or ordinary) as a way of determining citizenship has not been
applied fairly amongst all groups, eg. migrant workers who have resident for more
than iive years have not been allowed.
d to vote depends on a numbe
'b Allowing SAnis abroa
foreign missions, who verifies citizenship. Consensus - ci
1' of questions; who controls the
tizens are entitled to vote.
b. Registration :
gestion for some special voters card as opposed to a voters
roll. The voters card can be issued by the electoral commission through mobile units
on any reasonable / acceptable proof of SA identification. The voters card could
therefore be used as an alternate form of identification for voting. About 52 alternate
forms of identiiication have been identified.
i. There was a strong sug
it, enables us to have contact with voters at
Advantages : it is a form of mobilisatio
tential problem areas eg. rushing IDis
least more than once. assists in eliminating p0
two weeks before voting.
' it is not clear who does this registration, it is time consuming
Disadvantages .
especially given a number of potential voters without any form of identification i- 9
million.
lection (alliance partners) need not
3 that do not contest e
ht to form parties of their
ii. Party Registration : Partie
dividuals have a democratic rig
register, everyone/group of in
choice.
Criteria for qualification
of support, eg. 3
c. Monitoring process :
Kinds of monitors - local (independent), international (independent), party monitors.
ll

The latter should involve monitors who are specially trained to handle different aspects eg. voting process etc. Targeted for training in this group are the following; students. pensioners, youth, marshalls. members of allied groups. This means already identifying people to be trained as local monitors.

The question is, who identifies them and who trains them? - cannot be selected by us but only have to be encouraged to be independent to gain credibility.

Some estimates on polling stations - we need to estimate the required number of monitors in accordance with our estimates of the following; polling stations. regionally (PWV Natal), how long - 12 hours per monitor.

Duration of campaign - this should be provided for in the electoral act. basic point is that we need time for preparation, suggestions of between 3 - 6 months.

d. Identification :

Two principles - easy to acquire and must be simple.

Suggestions - motivations:

It is a form of giving meaning to the need to have all voters identified, encourage people to apply for any form of identification that might be helpful. We must tight that certain form of identification could be used for voting, challenge homes affairs right to issue IDls. There must be an appeal board for those who are eligible to vote but are refused. Friendly homeland administrations should be encouraged in the easy facilitation of acquiring IDls. The constitutional committee to look at other acceptable forms of identification.

3. Voting procedure :

r a cross was identified as a problem, generally used to indicate those you do not prefer.

a blind and handicapped to be assisted by person of their choice.

a ballot boxes and what they should look like be dealt with strictly by the electoral commission

a ballot paper - could have photo of leader of the party, symbol of the party and a corresponding space to indicate preference.

t on voting - any mark giving a clear intention of a voter should be accepted. eg a scratch. an x. a tick etc.

b number of days should not be more than 3, one of which should be a public holiday.

a vote counting can only take place on the evening of the last day on which polls close. There should be no tampering with ballot boxes over the nrst two days.

a liquor outlets are to be closed for the duration of the elections

:K adequate security to be provided for ballot boxes and their respective transportation to regional centres by international monitors

t Special votes - could be provided for

r Postal votes - not permitted as they are open to abuse, they are also expensive.

it Counting to be done by electoral commission only.

12

4. Security forces :
During election there should be joint control and co-ord of police including
homelands.
The army to be contined to barracks
We should consider more active role for the international community
5. Funding :
Should not place a restriction on foreign funds since we rely on it. No limit on funds
generally, The govt should support the electoral process, set up a fund that parties
with more than 5 % of the vote can claim their share based on the % of the vote.
Co "n mmi t r fl 1 b nth viw
Section Three : campaign strategy process
Key Points from the input (Ketso Gordhan)
1. Developing a strategy
The input describes a process that helps develop a strategy. The idea is to go through
the various steps answering the questions and these begin to provide the essence of a
strategy.
2. Objectives of the campaign
The First step is to identify the objectives of the campaign. The overall objective is
building a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. The more immediate
objective is to win the CA elections and draw up a democratic constitution.
Winning the election is the immediate objective but it needs to broken down into more
specific objectives. These can be divided into Primary objectives (on which we focus
and spend more time and resources) and Secondary objectives (which are important
but must not substitute the primary objectives).
2.1. The Primary objectives :
There are four key primary objectives;
a. To ensure that the CA elections are free and fair. Without this we will be unable
to reach the voters and be unable to have a chance of winning the majority.

b. Ensure that people WANT TO and know HOW TO vote (high % poll). At the moment there are millions of people who do not know how to or even want to vote. We have to persuade people that voting can and will make a difference.

c. Get the majority to vote ANC.

(1. Get the majority to the polling stations. There have been many campaigns where a party won the campaign but lost the elections because they were unable to get their voters to the polling station. We need to begin now to discuss transport and other logistics to ensure our supporters do vote.

2.2. The Secondary objectives :

Among others; to improve the image of the ANC, build strong democratic structures for beyond the elections campaign, place policies for transformation higher on the agenda, etc.

3. Strategy

Once objectives have been identified we need to move onto strategy to achieve the objectives. The process of developing the strategy was divided into three phases;

it do some analysis of conditions within which the objectives need to be achieved.

t spell out the implications of the analysis for the focus areas.

it By spelling out details within the focus areas, we get the framework for the strategy.

3.1. Analysis :

Analysis is in four steps :

i. Disaggregate or break down the electorate into useful categories that can inform your work. This applies at national, regional or local level.

ii. Examine all the organised political and social forces in a way which helps you better understand where the electorate are and how best to reach them.

iii. Examine other socio-political conditions and assess how they might impact on the campaign, eg the violence. illiteracy, etc.

iv. Do a SWOT analysis : This involves looking firstly at the ANC and allied forces and asking the question; what are the strengths and weaknesses of the ANC that will affect the elections. We then ask the same question of the NP and its allies; what are their strengths and weaknesses. The strengths and weaknesses can be looked at within the following categories 2 organisation. leadership, policies, history, image, public perception, resources. amongst others. To help us focus the SWOT analysis we then summarise the information by listing what we consider our three main strengths and weaknesses and doing the same for the NP and finally by asking what we think will be the tive issues on which they are likely to attack us and what are the five issues on which we can attack them.

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3.2. Focus Areas :

6. Once we have completed the analysis we can list the focus areas of the strategy. By focus areas we mean the issues around which we develop the strategy. There are four focus areas (we could add others);

i. Levelling the playing field
ii. Defining our taxget group
iii. Defining the message
iv. Deciding the nature of the campaign

3.3. Details :

7. The detailing of the strategy follows; this involves taking each of the focus areas and asking the question; in terms of our objectives and the analysis we have what should we and can we do to level the playing Field, what can we say about who our target group or voters are likely to be and who can we possibly win to our side, what should the form and content of the message we send to them in order to persuade them to vote for (enclosed are the results of a survey that asked the question. what are the major social problems facing people in the country, the results give an indication of what people think are important problems, we need to understand this better)us and lastly what kind of campaign do we need to implement.

4. Organisation - The Key :

The next step involves looking at how best we can begin to implement the answers to the questions asked above. The central answer will involve the process of organisation. Organisation is a complex process that involves many different things. The attached diagram spells out some of what organisation in this context means :

4.1. It involves a process of involving a range of forces into the campaign - including the ANC and Alliance structures. the MDM, other sympathetic organisations. and more specifically organisations involved in voter education (churches, Black Sash etc).

4.2.It involves a more focused involvement of technical resource people who we need to mobilise for media. research, fundraising etc, involves the strategic use of leadership in a way which maximises the impact they make, involves key personalities who may not be members of the ANC but have a major influence on people like sports and TV stars etc.

4.3. Organisation involves mobilising activists to do a whole range of tasks: we will need election campaign managers who co-ordinate the campaign, we will need canvassers who go door to door (we estimate that we need 1 canvasser per 100 voters which means we need 200 000 activists). These activists will need to be trained to carry out their work. so training will be an important part of organisation.

15

xx
Priority rating of social problems Der population group
; Black I Coloured 1 Asian J White :
  l l
I J I s
Unemployment ' 1 1 1 l I i
1
Poverty ! 2 3 I 3 I 2 5'
i . i a
Housing ' 3 ' I I 5 J   l
; ,
Violence
Educaziou
Political problems
Crime
Municipal problems
Racial attacks
VAT & Tax
Health

4.4. Organisation involves working with the electorate, and knowing who they are, where they live, whether they will vote for us etc, so part of organisation will involve getting very close to the people. It will involve different types of work: personal contact through house visits and meetings, general contact at churches and shopping centres as well as mass events like rallies etc. A special point needs to be made that organisation also involves the issue of transport, ensuring that everybody gets to the polling stations.

4.5. Organisation is also about doing different kinds of work at different ties, eg focusing initially on voter education. later on political work of the ANC and eventually planning for election days. etc.

5. Support Activities :

Organisational work will require a number of crucial support activities for it to work well; among the important support activities are the following :

5.1. Media:

We need to ask the question: what works for our people. There are many ways of communicating messages, through printed words, voice, pictures etc, We need to know what is the best way of getting the message to our people in a way which is easy for them to understand. Enclosed is an interesting survey showing what people say about different kinds of media.

We need to choose from; pamphlets. posters, badges, banners, bill boards, adverts, letters. stickers, cassettes, videos, plays and songs which is effective for different communities and different kinds of messages.

We need to remember that a significant percentage of our people are illiterate. Another major problem with media has been the issue of distribution. how best can we get material to our people and do it quickly.

5.2. Fundraising :

We will need to spend money on each voter, pamphlets. posters, mass meetings, transport. voter education etc. If we estimate the cost to be about R10 to R15 per voter. we will need between R200 and R300 million. This must be seen as a campaign in its own right, without which we will be unable to do the work we need to do.

5.3. Research :

We need to get to know our electorate better than we do, this involves doing detailed community and regional profiles. We will need to conduct surveys to Find out what people think. Assessing the impact of our work and whether we are making a difference will need to be researched as well as Finding out what the opposition is up

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(I ANC l j
ALLIANCE ORGS ff
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j , AGENCIES
K. / TECHNICA
gVOTER / RESOURC
?EDUC WORK: X / / PEOPLE
 _____  x /
ANC 5   LEADERSHI
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_ ORGANISATION PERSONALI'I
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J J 2700
TRANSPORT! / VOLUNTEERS
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:MASS / __l__ ,
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l DATA-BASE
DIRECT CONTACT- HOUSE!
i '_VISITS AND MEETINGS ETC1
l
f'GENERAL CONTACT - SHOPPING
CENTRES AND CHURCHES
SUPPORT RESOURCES
MEDIA /  REsEARI
LEGAL AND FUND4 COMMUNICATION SECURI'
CONSTITUT RAISING
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Ranking of media by South Afn'am Blacks
(gaunt: SAUC Critical Mass)
HAGAZINFS
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"a "o
I. Are caucsl
to understand Ill NJ
2 Enlcnam you 75 5.9
3. Inform you 10.3 9.8
4. Help you reduce 7,9 6.6
lonelincxs
5 Are the lim 9.2 5.8
mm the news
6. Lu you know aboul 8.9 7.6
good: you can buy
7. Tell you what 13 9,2 8.!
happening in your
urban nets
8, chp in touch wuh 7.! 9.3
what olhcr Black
are doing
9 Tell you about 8.7 7.!
fashion news
If). Give tip on how 7.7 5.7
lo enlcnam
ll. Communicate with 3.9 13.4
you in your own
language
12. Tell you hour It) 7/. 5.6
look Iltcr money
13. Keep you in much 4.3 5.7
mm your family
in the homelandu
H. You would feel 75 55
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15. Have adverts nhich 7.4 5.6
you use IO help
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16. You can relate In 7.9 6.8
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35 15 3.6
II 15 2.0
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to in our areas. This activity is important because it will help us sharpen our strategy on target groups and message.

5.4. Legal and Constitutional work :

This is technical information that will help us with informing the electorate about voting details as well as help us ensure a fair election by ensuring that we understand the rues and can monitor the opposition when it breaks the rules.

5.5. Communication :

Communication. co-ordination and getting information from HQ to the ground and vice versa will be critical to the campaign. Computers can link HQ to regions but we need to think how best we can link regions to locals and set up a system of communicating efficiently.

5.6. Security :

Ensuring that our leaders. our activists. our members and our information remains safe will be an important part of winning the election. We need to begin to formulate plans for maximum protection.

6. Structures :

The next step involves looking structures and systems for co-ordinating all the work. The attached diagrams are a proposal for structures.

At national level we have a planning committee which decides on strategy and a management team which implements. The management team are all full time people who co-ordinate and manage different aspects of the work, with the help of a task team who may be full-time in the ANC departments or from other structures of the alliance and N605.

The structure is repeated at Regional level, where at lest the Co-ordinator. administrator, organiser. trainer. media and fundraiser need to be full time. The co-ordinator must be a person with highly developed management, administrative and organising skills and should work closely with the regional secretary.

The structure is repeated at local level. The co-ordinator should either be full-time or be someone who will be available full-time for at least the last few months of the campaign. It will be useful to also have an office for the Final months of the campaign.

7. Planning :

The very final step in the strategy process is to try to (ill in the attached table which defines different phases of the campaign and asks to identify the kinds of activities that

will need to be organised in each phase and the details of who will do it. how it will

17

National
Regional : Election
F orum a Forum
(4 per region) i   MDM 4-PI
4- planning comm 3
MANAGEMENT TEAM
Chair : POPO. 4- NEC reps
Cosatu rep, SACP rep and others
Administrator and assisstant. j
MEDIA ORGANISING   FUND   RESEARCH 1 CONSTIT . come:
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AND _ w   AND AND . AND ; co-onoam
DISTRIB . 3. MDM   FINANCE INTELLIGENCE VOTER :
4. mmoamss l ' EDUCATION
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TEAM TEAM TEAM TEAM TEAM TEAM
6:?

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Regional Elections
F orum F orum
(2 per branch) MDM 4P!
4- planning comm
I COSATU AND SACP and others
REGIONAL CO-ORDINATION
   Rec reps. Cosatu rep, SACP rep and others L.
% ! Co-ordinator and Administrator 1
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4 Local Election Fort
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LOCAL PLANNING COMMITTEE
Branch Local Cosatu Others
i Exec and SACP
m
V
' LOCAL ELECTIONS b
4 CO-ORDINATOR
MEDIA 1 0mm 1 FUND RESEARCH '
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TWO :
VOTER
El)! K 'ATN)N
THREE :
ANC
POLITICAL
WORK
ELECTION
WEEK

be done. what resources will be necessary and by when it will be done. This provides
us with a plan of activity for implementing the strategy and meeting our objectives.
Key Points from the working group
1. General points about the objectives:
t we must be weary of a possible tension between primary and secondary objectives;
e we should consider the practical implications of our objectives, especime the
secondary ones.
2. Points on the Analysis :
a. Disaggregate the Electorate
t we have little real and credible information/statistics about the electorate, more
research need to be done.
it research need to be done at a general level, but also to very specifics, eg did we
know that there are African Buddhists.
t the process of getting community and regional profile should be of such nature that
it assist our activists in understanding our strategy;
Some issues about our electorate :
i. the National Question
1K in general. the oppressed communities have been excluded from formal political
structures. part of our strategy has been one of non-participation (boycotts of elections
)
and our political expression has been in mass organisations. as a liberation movement,
etc.
it African: need to take into account traditional and ethnicity factors.
t Coloured and Indian: have not participated in elections. majority fall into the lower
middle class category although large working class, the churches cultural, sports, and
other organisations play an important role. the minority group factor influences how
they think.
t Whites: educated and knowledgable about elections. they have a stake in apartheid
system and privileges.
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(b) Urban/rural - consider migration/urbanisation
(c) Women - 50.2% of the electorate - high section of illiterate - rural areas
(d) Youth - large part of the electorate - energy/vibrancy - our support base
(0 Class - workers - unemployed - peasants - middle classes - upper classes
(g) Religious - Christian, majority - Hindu, Jews. Muslims (need to consider minority religionS)
(h) Geographical considerations - where are the voters, which regions

Strength of the ANC :
History of mass mobilisation, access / close to the people, have substantial capacity on the ground, is a broad based movement, has progressive policies that represent the aspirations of the majority, represents the hop for the future for the majority,

Weaknesses of the ANC :
Make too many assumptions about our support based an inaccurate reports, our branches weak and being depleted, our styie of work has alienated many voters, complacency around need to build organisation, lack of co-ordination, unclear and contradictory public positions too often, women not adequately involved, rural areas ignored (left to tribal authorities), we have not countered adequately the perception that De Klerk is responsible for changes, government using its access to state resources, security forces and homeland administrations, t" we have a less educated constituency - no experience of elections, NP has powerful propaganda machine and a smooth image, NP has used low intensity warfare to destabilise us. they have a greater capacity to mount a election campaign.

Opportunities for the ANC (NP weaknesses)
History of NP carrying burden for Apartheid. Unpopular policies - forced removals etc. CCB and other security forces actions, responsible for rejected homeland. tri-cam systems, NP party of whites and males, NP not mass movement - few black activists. NP allies are embarrassment, corruption and economic mismanagement - unable to meet basic needs.

Things the Nats will attack us on :
Accuse ANC of violence. alliance with SACP. human rights violations -ANC camps. mass action, exploit "divisions" in leadership - doves and hawks, swart gevaar - black domination, nationalisation and our economic policies.
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Things we will attack them on :
NP history of Apartheid, Violence. mismle and corruption, total collapse of economy and everything else. unilateral restructuring.
Why South Africans should vote ANC :
1. Our Image : We are the organisation who lead and won the struggle for liberation and herald in peace and democracy.
2. Our organisational capacity : Our mass and broad based approach and leadership, we have activists on the ground and we can mobilise people into action.
3. Our policies : The policies of the ANC address the aspirations of all South Africans and in particular the poor.
Why South African should not vote NP :
1. Their image : They are the party responsible for apartheid, violence, poverty, corruption and the oppression of our people for decades.
2. Their organisational capacity : They have no history of mass mobilisation, have no activists in the black community, the black leaders in their ranks have been beneficiaries of apartheid and are discredited and mavericks.
3. Their policies : The NP policies seek to entrench white privilege, are divisive and will not address the needs of the poor.
3. Focus Areas :
a. On Levelling the playing field , we need to ensure :
Free Political Activity, access to hostels, farms etc, remove security and restrictive laws form the statute books. ensure joint control over media and security forces. that the IG has capacity to reach local areas, address illiteracy and voter education.
b. Target groups :
A useful way to address the issue of what is our target group is to divide electorate into the following categories :
h Sectors to which ANC policies appeal:
Poor. unemployment. youth, women, workers. landless, homeless. victims of forced removals, etc, African communities, sections of the Coloured and Indian communities
e The Middle Ground Forces
Sections of Coloureds and Indians, black middle classes, religious community, sports movement, white democrats, etc
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it Contested terrain
Security forces, civil servants. PAC/Azapo. business. sections of Afrikaner intellectuals.
3': Rival vote
NP and allies - IFP, ADM. Mangope, etc, Whites, Right wing
Other factors which impact on these groups :
political activities in areas/regions
strong structures
demographic composition of geographic region
history of violence
religion
history of unity or disunity in communities
xxititiii
Organisations
In determining a strategy for each of the above, we must look at which organisations they belong to or who influence them. Some of these are part of the liberation alliance, others have worked with us in the MDM, and others are ineutrali.
c. Our Message :
We need a strong central message that is both short and easy to understand.
We need to separate out message for different target groups, sectors and constituencies.
Emphasise that the ANC is an organisation with a record of struggle, which has a workable vision and has been responsible for the changes taking place.
Distinguish between our Democracy and theirs.
Central themes : freedom, democracy and a better life (housing, education. social services).
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We should have one strong central message, but have different emphasis for different sections of the electorate. eg:
i. LIBERATION
Blacks: end to oppression. racism. apartheid. discrimination, political rights. etc
Whites: fear. end to status as minority and oppressors, real democracy
Business: end to constraints of apartheid on the economy
All South Africans: a democracy of which all are part of. a legitimate political system for all.
ii. PEACE AND SECURITY
Blacks: end to violence. harassment, repression
Whites: end to apartheid war, insecurity, fear
Business: stability and growth
All South Africans: End to violence, apartheid war.
iii. PROSPERITY/IMPROVEMENT IN LIVING CONDITIONS
Blacks: raise standards of living, health, welfare. jobs, etc
Whites: skills will be needed in democratic SA
Business: open world markets
All South Africans: expand the economy for all in terms of participation and rewards.
d. Nature of campaign
Mass based - door to door, meetings etc.
Should focus and relate directly to target groups
Have mini - campaigns within it eg. through bosses to workers. through priests to parishioners.
Note the danger of balancing tactics eg, using militant tactics to win over one section might alienate another sector.
22

F_'__'_" '_____'_a
e 4. Strum :
General agreement to accept proposed structures with the following comments :
ll Should seek to involve all existing constitutional structures.
ll Should enhance existing capacity rather than create new capacity.
a': Constitutional structures continue to make decisions while other structures make recommendations.
I" a task team called campaign needs to be considered.
ll need to link voter education to other training
5k Youth and Womens leagues to be integrated at all levels.
e Need for a security task force
ll Need clarity on how National. regional and local are co-ordinated.
J'l Clarity on how alliance structures are linked.
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5. Planning :

PHASE ONE : PREPARATION :

WHAT ACTIVITY?

SET UP STRUCTURE
RE-ACTIVATE
ACTIVISTS
RESEARCH
1. COMMUNITY
PROFILES
2. SCIENTIFIC
ATTITUDE &
DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY
TO INFORM STRATEGY
FUNDRAISING
(ALSO FOR WAR
CHEST")
LINK TO DRAWING
UP A BUDGET
TRAIN ING
LINK TO VEP
BUILDING RELATIONS
WITH INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY
BUILDING RELATIONS
WITH OTHER ORGS
OUTSIDE ALLIANCE
LEGAL ISSUES
cg ELECTORAL ACT
SECURITY AND VIOLENCE

HOW?

' EDUCATION &
TRAINING
  CLARIFY
RELATIONSHIPS
' ESTABLISH
UNIFORMITY
N-R-L
' STRATEGISING
WORKSHOPS
REGIONS/LOCAL
' N-R-L
PARTICIPATORY
M ETHO DS
' GUIDELINES BOOK
FROM N-R-L ON
HOW TO CONDUCT
  TRAINING TO DO
' LOOK AT EXISTING
DATA
" EVENTS FOR FUNDS
& MARKETING POLICY
' INTERNATIONAL
  BIG BUSINESS
' INTERNAT. ARTISTS
' PROVIDE SERVICES
PRINTING/ TRANSPORT
FLR-L
ELECTIONS MANAGERS
CANVASSERS
LEADERSHIP
SURVEY TEAMS
VEP TEAMS
NEC/NWC/DEPTS
ASINAMALI
CAMPAIGN
ADOPT POLICY
TO IMPACT ON
GOOD VEP

24

WHO?

REG.STRATEGY
WORKSHOP
TO BE RATIF-
lED BY NWC
& PLAN.COM
ANC MEMBERS/
EXILES/
MDM STRUCTURES
OWN ACTIVISTS
STUDENTS/ etc
PLANNING
COMM.. TO INV.
EACH BRANCH
PR/ N-R-L
REG STRUCTU RES
TU's/ CIVICS
NEC
WHEN?
FINISHED
END NOV
END OF NOV
ONGOING
DEADLINE
FEB 93
SEND TO
REGIONS
IN 3 WEEKS
ONGOING
TO END
DEC 92
ONCE
BEFORE
XMAS
NOW
END OCT

PHASE 2 : CAlVfPAIGN AND POLITICAL WORK
x VOTER EDUCATION
x GENERAL AWARENESS
This phase should involve a mass, creative, popular approach.
PHASE 3 : MOBILISATION PHASE
:' GETTING OUR MESSAGE ACROSS
) LAUNCH OF ANC ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN, ANNOUNCE OUR LIST,
PLATFORM, ETC
  MOBILISATION WORK
- door-to-door
- blitz
- house meetings
- media
- tv/radio
- debates
- key personalities
- leadership, etc
PHASE 4 : LOGISTICS
  transport. polling booths. etc
x: Fmal propaganda onslaught
?' canvassing
PHASE 5 : ELECTION WEEK
  monitoring
a': delivering voters to the polls
25

_%
YT FR TW
1. Hold Strategy Workshops at both regional and branch level.
2. Begin to establish structures - reactivate activists.
3. Begin to identify resource people - for techniml work like media, research but also for electoral commission and monitoring work.
4. Research - do participatory but detailed community profiles (the HQ will provide guidelines within the next two weeks) and use these to do a regional profile. The main purpose is to collect information that will inform strategy.
5. Draw up a rough budget for the region and with it a fundraising strategy - look for a professional fundraiser.
6. Training - we will need to train regional and loml campaign managers, leadership and canvassers - draw up a plan of how many people will be needed. (the HQ training co-ordinator will contact you soon). We also need to link up with voter edumtion agencies in the area to see how we use what they have to offer. (Guidelines on this will be sent to you)
7. Begin to build links with other organisations and leading personalities in the region / area.
8. Begin to plan for security during campaign.