F,—__————

Irgrodgction

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 AN C head office, regions, Youth and Wcmens Leagues as well as Cosatu and the SACP.

5

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.

Section One : the Political Issues
_____—————————————————————————

Key Points from the input 120m Molefe)

1. The strategic objective of the struggle and our long term vision remains the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist and 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 atlthe 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.

righe Analysis :

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 influencedâ\200\231by their participation in â\200\234a political
organisation, a 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 Paxties

A brief look at existing political parties gives us an idea of the large number of parties
that have varied levels of inï¬\202uence 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 :
* Civics, Hostel Dwellers Associations, Homeless peoples organisations,
* Unions : Cosatu 1.2m members, Nactu, 258 000, Fedsal, 230 000, SA
Confederation of labour 95 000, Unafï¬\201liated unions 400 000,
= 2,2million members.
*Churches and religious organisations, 34 main formations = 20 million people of all ages. (look at enclosed table)
* Sports Organisations, over 20 codes, thousands of organisations.
* Business organisations, SACOB 35 000 members, AHI, Nafcoc, Fabcos, hundreds
of chambers of commerce, thousands of employer associations etc.
* Stokfels, Burial societies, Gay and Lesbian movement. environmental movement,
over 10 000 NGOâ\200\231s doing urban, rural, education, welfare, etc work.
* Students and Teachers organisations. (at least 10 national orgs) Womens Movement, Youth movement.

Table 1: South Africa: Populuï¬\201on groupc: 18 your- :nd older. Much 1992.
' D'vokapunnt n yon
Tom Anan- Bucks CoIourodo Whit.-
1. % X 'i 5
A Wm"! Cm 267137 10.81 14731 2.40 309199 2.15 1305187 " 63.77 638021 16.14
Capo porï¬\201on @7137 10.81 14731 2.40 309199 2.15 1305137 63.77 639021 16.14
Population gloup .- $ of total 100 0.65 13.64 57.57 28.14
B Nontnm Capo] Bophummwon- 628923 3.00 1285 0.21 357007 2.49 179654 n 8.78 90978 2.30
Cap. portion 444562 2.12 1285 0.21 172646 1.20 179654 5.78 â\200\23578 2.30
3090mm. 184361 0.88 0 0.00 184361 1.28 0 0.00 0 0.00
Poputmon group n % 0110111 100 0.20 56.76 28.57 14.47
C 0mg. Fm StmlBoï¬\202unhmm 1456183 6.94 51 0.01 1146407 7.98 43783â\200\231 2.14 265942 6.73
PM Sm. pomon 1271844 6.06 36 0.01 962710 6.70 43651 2.13 265447 6.72
leqw. 149324 0.71 15 0.00 148682 1.04 132 0.01 495 0,01
Bophuthm-n- 35015 0.17 O 0.00 35015 0.24 0 0.00 0 0.00
Population group n i of 10m 100 0.60 78.73 3.01 18.26
D Emm CloolCiukoiï¬\202rmskoi 2568754 12.25 8164 1.33 2019496 14.06 248862 s 12.16 292232 7.39
Capo portion â\200\2353&73 5.40 8164 1.33 583015 4.06 248862 12.16 292232 7.39
Cinkoi 415669 1.98 O 0.00 415669 2.89 0 0.00 0 0m
Trmlkli 1020812 4.87 0 0.00 1020812 7.11 0 0.00 0 0.00
Poput-ï¬\202on 9:00p u i of total 100 0.32 78.62 9.69 11.38
E Had] Tluukoi 4675513 2.29 494017 80.65 3653157 25.43 69779 3.41 458560 11.60
Nnd 9011100 1567293 7.47 490919 80.15 552187 3.84 67257 3.29 456930 11.56
Klnnuu 252685 12.07 3098 0.51 2525435 17.58 2522 0.12 1630 0.04
Tmnskoi 575535 2.74 0 0.00 575535 4.01 0 0.00 0 0.00
Population group n i of total 100 10.57 78.13 1.49 9.81
F Enmm TflanIAl 1098163 5.24 6325 1.03 856329 5.96 11349 0.55 224160 5.67
TV! 90:60:: 792962 3.78 6304 1.03 552583 3.85 10443 0.51 23633 5.66
Kangwm 305201 1.46 22 0.00 303746 2.11 906 0.04 527 0.01
Population group u % 01101.11 100 0.58 77.98 1.03 20.4!
6 Northern Tv1/Vondl 276204 10.85 2129 0.35 2173954 15.13 3813 0.19 96307 2.44
TV! pom'on 430496 2.05 2026 0.33 331467 2.31 2937 0.14 94066 2.38
Vanda 275864 1.32 0 0.00 275864 1.92 0 0.00 O 0.00
Low- 1204560 5.74 82 0.01 1202197 8.37 771 0.04 1510 0.04
Gunnlulu 365284 1.74 22 0.00 364426 2.54 106 0.01 730 0.02
Populnion group n x of total 100 0.09 95.51 0.17 4.23
H PWVIBOMMMI 5017111 23.92 51300 13.35 W345 21.33 1642479 8.02 1706719 43.19
Tâ\200\234 portion 4405272 21.00 81765 1335 2452842 17.08 163977 8.01 1706688 43.19
Kwnndobelo 215453 1.03 34 0.01 215117 1.50 270 0.01 32 0.00
Bophuthluwma 396386 1.89 0 0.00 396386 2.76 0 0.00 O 0.00
Populnion qvoup u i of 101A) 100 1.63 51.08 3.27 34.02
J Woï¬\202om Tï¬\202lBopMï¬\201dulnl 987266 4 71 4031 0.66 784ï¬\2028 5.46 20059 I 0.98 1 78949 4.53
Tvl pom'on 600555 2.86 4031 0.66 397517 2.77 20059 0.98 178949 4.53
Bophmhumlnl 386711 1.64 0 0.00 386711 2.69 O 0.00 0 0.00
Popuhuon gtoup a $ 01 101.1 100 0.41 79.43 2.03 18.13
Tom 20975256 100 612534 100 143641& 100 2046732 100 3951868 100
Tom Ron oi South Africa 12912396 61.55 609261 99.47 6314166 43.96 2042026 99.77 3946943 9 9.87
Tom TBVC coonlno' 3290353 15.69 0 0 3290353 22.90 C G C 0
Tom SoHâ\200\224govormng torrï¬\202oms 4T72507 22.75 3273 0.53 4759603 33.14 47% 0.23 492 5 0.12
Powwow nroue .._ $_o'.t_ot-I.___looâ\200\224.2.;_____W__Â£Jiâ\200\224_â\200\224_L_
Source: The 1985 consu- sauna to Much 1992.

‎‎ 4.4. Demcgraphic 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 ourapproach and strategy for the
elections. Enclosed is a table which shows the breaEdown of voters, by DBSA regions
and races. While these figures may not be accurate they give us an idea of the locati
on
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 Factors :

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

5.1. The objective of broadening the democratic mpvement 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 therefor
e
the need to preserve our principles.

6. Form of Participation in the Election

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 ANC 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 Alliance. Again this option has not been supported
because it is too narrow and will have us defending the alliance with the SACP.

option three : ANQ plus Alliance plus PF Forces (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 : _A_}_lC plus Alliance plus bilateral pacts. 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.

â\200\230I. nxanxou romnn xnacx warts: camounxn Ilnxnl
â\200\230 .xxbxnnuxrs: xxnx 2,832,252 899,732 1,428,130 503,419 970
azronuzn cauncn IN SA 141,688 31,734 106,798 3,141 34
NEDBRDUITSCH xzxx 236,226 16,395 218,409 1,220 202
cxunca or pnovxncz sa 118,785 49,821 28,390 39,848 726
cxunca or ENGLAND 182,765 90,372 85,927 6,111 255
ANGLICAN 747,544 434,357 147,200 162,930 3,058
METHODIST cauaca 1,637,825 1,251,616 298,961 85,602 1,647
â\200\231 PRESBYTERIAN caunca 360,840 274,735 80,486 4,891 728
UNTD couanzaxrzonnL 25,2516 119,114 16,801 113,373 3,228
LUTHERAN caunca 660,716 562,383 24,635 72,272 1,428
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH 2,043,239 1,540,821 280,668 209,690 12,061
APOSTOLIC FAITH MISS 350,800 91,764 201,155 55,946 1,936
OTHER APOSTOLICS 362,608 116,880 112,122 132,707 898
BAPTIST CHURCH 222,264 137,721 64,775 16,771 2,961
PENTBCOSTAL CHURCH 61,866 3,875 41,242 16,153 597
AFRIKAANSE PROT. KKK 28,489 0 28,489 0 0
FULL GOLSPZL CHURCH 178,325 77,935 59,587 21,794 19,009
GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCE 23,679 2,864 20,540 226 50
LATTER DAY SAINTS 7,031 1,203 5,367 382 79
PENTECOSTAL CHURCH 19,336 5,868 3,163 10,069 236
SALVATION ARMY 27,354 23,773 2,851 700 30
SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST 77,780 54,910 12,700 9,371 798
NEW APOSTOLIC CHURCH 126,939 18,794 20,281 86,996 868
SWISS CHURCH 36,425 36,123 127 153 22
ASSEMBLIES OF GOD 131,976 103,230 13,840 14,053 853
ZION CHRISTIAL CHURCH 1,224,503 1,218,922 1,143 4,235 203
OTHER BLACK CHURCHES 2,486,959 2,435,372 6,001 40,191 4,395
OTHER CHRISTIAN CERS 1,076,186 535,544 215,016 296,202 52,317
JEWISH OR HEBREW 59,064 1,262 57,218 422 162
BUDDHIST 2,046 404 971 125 S46
CONFUCIAN 1,242 549 234 329 130
HINDU ' 341,280 1,298 750 1,340 337,892
ISLAMIC 298,185 9,779 1,543 141,316 145,547
OTHER RELIGIONS 20,523 9,651 2,765 2,891 5,216
NO RELIGION N0 CHURCH 319,441 272,453 32,372 10,831 3,791
NOTHING GIVEN 7,394,705 5,346,037 901,184 886,519 260,964 V
IOIIL 26,288,390 17,973,320 4,521,873 2,929,322 836,876

Option five : ANC plus Alliance plus selected other forces or individuals, 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 do we compile a list

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 Political 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 Scenario

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.

Key p_oints from the group discussion :

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 inclusiori
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 :

* the need to evolve policies that address the interest of the broadest sections of the people,
* approach to African communities must take intoÂ°account the ethnic factoiâ\200\235,
* 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),
â\200\231* the need to continue to mobilise around basic needs and win victories now and improve our image as ready to govern,
* develop closer working relations with civil society, do more work around refugees (whose side are they on etc),
* the need for strategies for the minority communities (UDF experience should be instructive).

3. Compiling the List :

* On the issue of regional and national lists, there was general support for a single list
where parties decide on regional content of the list.
* Composition to be decided on basis of overall approach and the forces we bring together.
* Grassroots participation is crucial
* List must balance national strategic interests vs those of ANC members, must balance regional interest vs those of constituencies we mobilise.
* Criteria must include - winnability, popularity (grassroots support), representativity (gender, urban â\200\224rural etc), accountability to ANC, competence.
* Persons on the list for specialised skills must have support of majority of regions.
* Selection of candidates must take into account the continuing needs of the ANC after elections, without infringing on the rights individuals to be voted for.
* list to be broken into blocks that are representative, need guidelines.
* 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 leadership code of conduct to be introduced for all people on the list.

4. The Platform :

* The election platform should capture the strategic importance of the elections and be portrayed as a contest between liberation and Apartheid forces.
* Must appeal to the broadest section of the people.
* must have a mass participatory character, enable greater identiï¬\201cation with platform.
* need for consistency and accuracy in advancing platform.
* must consistently relate platform to local issues and demands.
*The 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.

â\200\230 .
section Two ; the Qomtitutional Issues
~ Key Points from the input lï¬\201fink Haysom)
A. The Process to Elections :
assage of Transition to Democracy
Monitoring Agencies, Transitional
pect of police and defence.
* Phase 1 - Transitional Arrangements Agreed, p
Act and establishment of Electoral Commission,
Executive Council including Multiâ\200\224part Ministries in res
* Election Campaign and Elections
of national unity and either elected)on the basis of
* Formation of CA / government
ovincial councils.
election outcome or nominated pr
B. Elections :
: 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 speciï¬\201c candidate in their area. If we want to form alliances
,
these have to be reï¬\202ected in the list, or we could choose to form coalitions after t
he
elections.
* The national 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
' ' rmed on the basis of how each
nistrator who
* The regional / provincial list :
* CA : will be a single chamber. One Election â\200\224 One Vote â\200\224 One Chamber.
C. Campaign Rules :
There are rules that have to be established in the Electoral Act which guide the
elections.
* 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
set up a fund outside of what parties raise themselves and use the ï¬\201'md
lectoral process. The fund could operate on the basis that a party can
of the fund on the basis of the % of the votes they win, eg
if a R100 million fund is set up an
government. This allows parties to
d the ANC wins 60% it can claim R60 million from
borrow against what they think they can win.