THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS

ANC YL POLITICAL EDUCATION MANUAL
INTRODUCTION

• The essence of any revolutionary struggle is organisationally articulated through strategy and tactics, comprising the underpinning programmatic and methodological pillars guiding and sustaining revolutionary movements towards attainment of the movement’s strategic objectives.

• This can be in a form of a specifically written text or combination of ideals in the movement’s base documents and resolutions.
What are the tasks of S&T?

• It is against this background that the African National Congress has since 1912 had a set of tactics and a strategy, documented or otherwise to fulfill the following tasks:
  1. summarises the strategic goal;
  2. identify and set out strategic and tactical methods towards the strategic objective;
  3. analyse of the balance force;
  4. outline and define the motive forces and identify who the enemies of the revolutionary movement are.
  5. Set out tactical methods of what should be done in the immediate towards attainment of the strategic goals.
What is the strategic goal of the ANC?

• At formation, the central strategic goal in the ANC has been creation of a non-racial South Africa, where the black majority and Africans in particular are emancipated to enjoy equal opportunities presented by civilization.

• This historically evolved to recognise that creation of a non-racial society could not be separated from economic emancipation and resolution of patriarchy— which were defined in South Africa’s Colonialism of a Special Type.

• This is delicately summed up in the 2007 S&T as the need to “to build a truly united, democratic and prosperous South Africa in which the value of all citizens is measured by their humanity, without regard to race, gender and social status and where all enjoy equal rights and access to opportunities”.

• The Freedom Charter summarizes concretely and correctly, the Strategic Objective of the ANC, so the Strategic goal of the ANC is attainment of the Freedom Charter objectives.
What have been the tactical positions of the ANC towards attainment of the strategic goal?

- **1912 to 1949:** Deputations and negotiations for the rights of civilised black men.
- **1949 to 1960:** Mass Mobilisation; Defiance of the apartheid laws and formation of strategic alliances with progressive forces.
- **1960 to 1990:** Military action; international solidarity, mass mobilisation and underground work.
- **1990 to 1994:** Negotiation and Mass mobilisation.
- **1994 onwards:** Mass mobilisation and governance.
History of ANC S&T

- It was only in 1969 in the ANC/Alliance National Consultative Conference in Morogoro (25 April to 1 May), Tanzania that a documented Strategy and Tactics was adopted.
- This was in the midst of the decolonisation of most African nation-states and rising strength of the Socialist and anti-colonial forces worldwide.
- Recognising and somewhat inspired by these regional and global realities, the 1969 Strategy and Tactics of the ANC was started by an observation that “The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition to the Socialist system, of the break-down of the colonial system as a result of national liberation and socialist revolutions, and the fight for social and economic progress by the people of the whole world” (S&T, 1969).
Defining Liberation

• The 1969 Strategy and Tactics made a clear definition of what became the core of the revolutionary and distinct character of the national liberation movement in South Africa, the fact that “In our country - more than in any other part of the oppressed world - it is inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without a return of the wealth of the land to the people as a whole... It is therefore a fundamental feature of our strategy that victory must embrace more than formal political democracy” (S&T, 1969).

• The 1969 S&T re-affirmed the Freedom Charter as the ANC’s strategic goal.
1969 S&T to 1985 Kabwe Conference

• The African National Congress was guided by these observations in the period post 1969-such that when analysing the South African Ruling Class in the Second National Consultative Conference in Kabwe in 1985, there was no that the enemy of the National democratic Revolution is white monopoly capital.
• It is instructive to note that a Draft Strategy and Tactics was presented in the 1985 Kabwe Conference and could not be adopted due to certain omissions in the Draft.
• Conference then mandated a Drafting Committee composed of the National Executive Committee and the Politico-Military Council to revise and strengthen the Draft S&T presented to Conference.
• Vivid in the omissions that Conference noted included the role of the working class and emergence of the trade unions; the Bantustans and their changing nature; programme of action for rural areas outside the Bantustans; and the revolutionary alliance (Kabwe S&T Resolution, 1985).
• Whilst not avowed, the 1969 Strategy and Tactics remained the telescope and guide of the ANC post Kabwe Conference, as the Draft was not adopted. This is despite the changing conditions globally and domestically. Other resolutions of the Conference re-affirmed the Strategic goal of the ANC and the tactical methods towards the goal.
The 48th National Conference in 1991

- The 48th National Congress of the ANC in 1991 did not make a substantive analysis of the balance of forces (which had substantially shifted with the collapse of the Socialist forces, symbolised by the fall of the Soviet Union), yet noted in the Strategy and Tactics resolution that despite the repeal of some apartheid laws, “the basic political, social, gender and economic relations of oppression and exploitation [remained] intact” (S&T Resolution, 1991).

- The 48th Congress recommitted to the elimination of apartheid and creation of a united, democratic nonracial and nonsexist state. Key features of the 1991 S&T resolution encapsulated a commitment to “strengthening of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, SACP and COSATU, as a fighting force at national, regional and local levels” and opened up for negotiations “in the context of intensified struggle on all fronts and in combination with other forms of struggle” (S&T Resolution, 1991).

- The resolutions of the 1991 Conference pointed towards negotiations and ceasing of armed struggle as a tactic to defeat the apartheid regime.
1997 Mafikeng S&T

- An overall redraft of the ANC S&T was presented and adopted at the 1997 50th Congress of the ANC in Mafikeng.
- Certainly there was an unquestionable need for a new Strategy and Tactics to be adopted due to fundamental political changes that ensued with South Africa entering the new millennium having achieved formal political liberation.
- In 1997, an honest and correct acknowledgment was made, diametrically different from the 1969 S&T prologue, that the defeat and end of apartheid “take place in a world in which the system of capitalism enjoys dominant sway over virtually the entire globe”... yet in “a world too in which the agenda of the working people and developing nations can find creative expression in pursuit of a humane, just and equitable world order” (S&T, 1997).
- The essence of the NDR remained the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. Consistent with the 1969 revolutionary and distinct recognition, the 1997 S&T noted that “The symbiotic link between capitalism and national oppression in our country, and the stupendous concentration of wealth in the hands of a few monopolies therefore render trite the vainglorious declaration that national oppression and its social consequences can be resolved by formal democracy underpinned by market forces to which all should kneel in the prayer: ‘everyone for himself and the Devil takes the hindmost!”
1997 Mafikeng S&T

- The 1997 Strategy and Tactics contextualised the working class leadership of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) thus: “South African capitalism gave birth to a collective of black workers whose class position and social existence placed it at the head of the struggle for freedom. By dint of its activism and organisation, this class won the respect of all the other motive forces as the leader of the NDR.” (S&T, 1997).

- The 1997 Strategy and Tactics went further to reward and inaugurate the emerging black bourgeoisie as a motive force for fundamental change, and asserted that “in the overall, the rising black bourgeoisie and middle strata are objectively important motive forces of transformation whose interests coincide with at least the immediate interests of the majority” (S&T, 1997).

- Vivid in the 1997 S&T was a reaffirming of the Alliance, stating that the “Tripartite Alliance is therefore not a matter of sentiment, but an organisational expression of the common purpose and unity in action that these forces share, and continue jointly to define and redefine in the course of undertaking the tasks of the NDR” (S&T, 1997).
2002 Stellenbosch Preface to the S&T

• Proclaiming People’s Power in Action in 2002, the 51st National Conference of the ANC in Stellenbosch retained the key observations and outlining of strategic and tactical paths towards resolution of the class, gender and national contradictions; and in creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and united South Africa.

• The 51st National Conference did not change the 1997 Strategy and Tactics, but only added a Preface.

• The 2002 Conference appended an explanatory note (in the form of a Preface) to the Strategy and Tactics adopted in 1997, and emphasised that although it aided in defining the conjecture then, the whole S&T had to be read for a thorough comprehension of the tasks and pathways towards the Freedom Charter envisaged society; what constituted possible threats; and what the global and national objective environment was.
STRATEGY & TACTICS OF THE ANC ADOPTED IN THE 2007 52ND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

BUILDING A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

FIGHT.PRODUCE.LEARN
What is Strategy and Tactics?

• **Strategy**: to build a truly united, democratic and prosperous South Africa in which the value of all citizens is measured by their humanity, without regard to race, gender and social status and where all enjoy equal rights and access to opportunities.

• **Tactics**: the methods and actions that change according to changing conditions.
SOME KEY TERMS

Talk to the two people next to you for five minutes and try to define what we mean by the following terms:

– National Democratic Revolution (NDR)

– Balance of Forces

– Motive Forces

– Character of the NDR
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

• A process of struggle that aims to transfer power to the people. Power relates to political, economic and social issues.

• Objective of the NDR is to build a truly united, democratic and prosperous South Africa, in which the value of all citizens is measured by their humanity, without regard to race, gender and social status.

• ANC sets goals for each phase of our NDR— contained in Strategy and Tactics documents
BALANCE OF FORCES

• Understand and assess the balance of power between opposing forces in a conflict – strengths and weaknesses of each side.

• In the process of a revolution these forces are social groups, like classes or strata, which occupy a particular place in society.
MOTIVE FORCES

• The forces that drive or push for change or revolution.
• The social classes and strata who objectively stand to benefit from change and fight for it because it is in their interest for change to occur.
CHARACTER OF THE NDR

• Who are the motive forces and what is the balance of forces.
• What does the NDR seek to achieve? What kind of transformation is required?
• How do we understand the current phase of the NDR?
• What are our objectives of transformation – in terms of political rights, government, the economy, social development, services and delivery?
• What progress has been made, what obstacles remain?
Where have we come from? [our history]
Where are we today?
What is the character of our revolution?
What is the nature of our organisation?
What are the Balance of Forces?
Who will ensure we get there?

Our vision of the future
Who will benefit the most from the new situation?

Strategy = Where is it we want to go to?
Set of conscious decisions – not by accident.
WHY ARE THESE ISSUES IMPORTANT?

• Gives us a sense of purpose: we must know where we are going
• Informs our daily action
• Allows us to be flexible
• Helps us identify what is important and urgent
• Enables us to act out of a set of principles
• We do not become opportunists who act for personal gain rather than social good

“A national democratic society has to be systematically constructed. It is not found ready-made at the point of transfer of political power.

Therefore, ANC cadres should continually improve their capacity – both political and technical – to act as the most advanced elements of society.

The ANC cannot behave like a shapeless jelly-fish with a political form that is fashioned hither and thither by the multiple contradictory forces of sea-waves. There should be clear value systems that attach to being a member and a leader of the ANC, informed by the strategic objectives that we pursue”
Introduction:

WHERE ARE WE NOW

- South Africa entered its **Second Decade of Freedom** with the strengthening of democracy and acceleration of the programme to improve the quality of life of all the people.
- But we are only at the **beginning of a long journey** towards a truly united, democratic and prosperous South Africa.
- Democracy provides the **opportunity** to take forward our five pillars of change:
  1. **The state**: a government that is people-centred and people-driven
  2. **The economy**: growth, development and redistribution for a better life
  3. **Organisational work**: Strengthen the ANC as a leader of social change and a movement rooted amongst the people
  4. **Ideological struggle**: Building the value system based on human solidarity
  5. **International work**: together with Africa and the global progressive forces
PROGRESS IN CHANGING SOCIETY

Contradictory features

- Vibrant democracy
- Transformation of state and progressive legislation
- Flourishing civil society and strong unions
- Growth of black middle strata (but with few women)
- Economic growth is strong, employment creation is improving

But ….

- Persistent poverty trap for many
- Insufficient job creation
- Quality of jobs created
- Racially skewed ownership of economy and land remains
SOCIAL TRENDS

• Migration to urban areas, growth of informal settlements
• Youth asserting themselves, participating in the economy
• Women in government (but less visible in private sector)
• Children vulnerable to poverty and abuse
• Huge expansion of access to services and grants, but many still in need
• HIV and AIDS reducing life expectancy
• Crime, women and child abuse
• Common SA identity growing
• Gap between rich and poor remains
• Value system that encourages greed and corruption
BALANCE OF FORCES

• Since 1994, the balance of forces has shifted in favour of the forces of change

• It provides the basis for speedier implementation of our programmes

• But the questions remain:
  – Can we mobilise society for faster progress?
  – Do we have cadres to resist negative values?
  – Can our cadres lead us to a more caring society?

FIGHT.PRODUCE.LEARN
WHO ARE THE MOTIVE FORCES OF OUR NDR?

• The main tasks of the NDR remains to **eradicate the socio-economic legacy of apartheid**. Who are the forces that the ANC relies on to achieve this?

• **Africans in particular and Blacks in general** are the centre of the motive forces for social change, since they have the most to gain from eradicating the legacy of apartheid.

• In class terms: **black workers** – employed and unemployed, rural and urban.

• The **rural poor**: unemployed, landless, micro-entrepreneurs, farm-dwellers

• The **black middle strata**: intelligentsia, small business and professionals.

• **Black capitalists**: also stand to benefit from change and have the potential to play a critical progressive role but can have negative tendencies
What About the White Community and White Capital?

• Unlike before - when white support for non-racial democracy was an exception to the rule - **large sections** within this community accept the imperatives of the national constitution.

• Non-racial democracy and social transformation are in their **long term interest**, although some do not realise it yet. Liberation movement must continue to clarify.

• Need to overcome racial division, particularly amongst the working class, and build a **united nation**.

• Our relationship with private capital is one of **unity and struggle**: we must create and environment conducive for investment, but also ensure redistribution of income.
“These then are the core, the real and potential drivers of change in the NDR... The concentric circles of united action are taking shape, with Black workers at the core and Black communities broadly as the motive forces...

Tapering off to the outer edges of the concentric circles of drivers of change is the balance of the nation’s majority, made up of all races, steadily forging a social compact of common interest”
CHARACTER OF THE ANC

To carry out the NDR, the liberation movement must:

– Understand the connections between political and socio-economic challenges
– Lead the motive forces of change
– Win elections so as to use state power in line with the constitution
– Build partnerships to drive development, nation building and reconciliation
– Conduct itself in line with the ideas represented by the NDR.
TO DO THIS THE ANC MUST:

• Provide leadership to all sections of society, and win over those opposing goals of the NDR.
• Enable the people to become their own liberators.
• Recognise leading role of the working class in social transformation.
• Pursue gender equality in all practical respects.
• Build a developmental state and adhere to the principles of democracy.
A DISCIPLINED FORCE OF THE LEFT

The ANC’s position is contrasted with:

• National liberation struggles which stalled, where political power became the goal without social and economic change.

• Neo-liberalism: believing the market is supreme and neglecting the role of the state in economic and social transformation.

• Ultra-leftism: embarking on programmes that cannot be achieved, placing the NDR in danger of defeat.
TO LEAD ANC MUST:

• Deploy its cadres to all centres of power:
  – State Institutions
  – Mass organisations and civil society
  – Ideological struggle: media, arts, entertainment and culture, general education and universities/technikons
  – Economic centre including business
  – International work

• To influence the value systems of society does not mean that external independent organisations become extensions of the ANC, rather we should influence through open debate.

• Everywhere, ANC members should act as the custodians of the principles of the NDR, and win respect through exemplary behaviour.
ANC – Leader of Change and Driver of Transformation.

Society

The State

The Economy

THE INTERCONNECTEDNESS OF THE ANC WITH BROADER SOCIETY

FIGHT PRODUCE LEARN
A MULTI-CLASS ORGANISATION

- The ANC is a broad based - **multi-class organisation** building maximum unity with other formations, even around limited programmes, to advance the NDR.
- At times the narrow **self interest** of a particular class or strata may not coincide with others.
- ANC must work to ensure ‘**contradictions amongst the people**’ do not undermine the long term goals of the NDR.
- ANC members have a duty to improve their skills and knowledge and to be the most advanced elements of society – both politically and technically. We have to be the change we want to see.

FIGHT.PRODUCE.LEARN
LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN POWER

• The ANC is not just an electoral machine. It has values, a programme and purpose.
• Political power opens new opportunities for material gain, also places new responsibilities on our conduct – when we forget where we came from we can also forget where we need to go to.
• Run new risks relating to corruption, personal power & enrichment, lack of care and service to the weak and the poor.
• If we fail, the masses will choose alternatives.
PRINCIPLES TO BE OBSERVED

• Political power a tool to address problems caused by colonialism. We are servants of the people
• Provide leadership and direction for our members working in public institutions and government
• Take regular stock of achievements, account
• Enhance systems of sharing information within all rungs of ANC especially to those outside of government
• Maintain separation between the ANC and the state
• The ANC determines the transformation programme. The state is not a party political tool but should be transformed to support programme of change.
ROLE OF THE LEAGUES AND THE ALLIANCE

• The ANC WL: responsible for broadening the base of the ANC to reach important motive force and provide leadership to all women in our society.
• The ANCYL: political school for future leaders. It seeks to mobilise the broadest section of our youth into political action for transformation.
• Three streams of the national liberation movement have found common cause in pursuit of the NDR:
  – Revolutionary democratic
  – Socialist
  – Progressive Trade Unions
• We must also build unity with broader democratic movement.
INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

• ANC is part of the worldwide progressive movement
• Capitalism prevails and the US is dominant.
  – Unipolar world: dominated by one ‘hyper power’ (i.e USA):
  – Unilateral military action and “War on Terror”.
  – Undermines rule of law and further fuels terrorism
  – Popular anti-war movement
• Growth of regional blocs: China, India and Russia
GLOBALISATION AND DEVELOPMENT

• Globalisation results in accelerated development of technology and production, increase in trade in financial instruments, goods and services.
• Global corporations control vast wealth and power eroding the sovereignty of nation states.
• Poor countries compete to attract investment – lowers wages, living conditions and degrades environment.

But …
• Developing countries are the fastest growing.
• In Africa, conflict has decreased, democracy is spreading, African solutions preferred and many countries growing strongly.
• New technology broadens the horizons of human civilization.
• Inter-dependence between nations places global progress on the agenda.
Programme for National Democratic Transformation

• RDP and our election manifesto contain the tasks we must implement to build a national democratic society.

• Strategy and tactics outlines the main tasks in terms of:
  – Constitution and Governance
  – Building a Developmental State.
  – Accelerated and Shared Growth
  – Meeting social needs
  – Safety and Security

• Further discussion on these and other issues are contained in the policy discussion documents

FIGHT.PRODUCE.LEARN
Our Strategy and Tactics – 5 Pillars for Transformation

1. Transforming the state to serve the people,
2. The economy,
3. Organisational work,
4. Ideological struggle, and
5. International work.
Discussing strategy and tactics with your branch

- Present the summary as an input – use it as an opportunity for political education
- Break into small groups and discuss:
  1. What type of society are we trying to build and how do we define it?
  2. How can we improve the analysis of balance of forces – anything to add or change?
  3. Are we correct in the way we see the motive forces and the idea of concentric circles?
  4. How can we improve the thinking on the character of the ANC and our key tasks for this phase?
- Get feedback from each group and open for debate