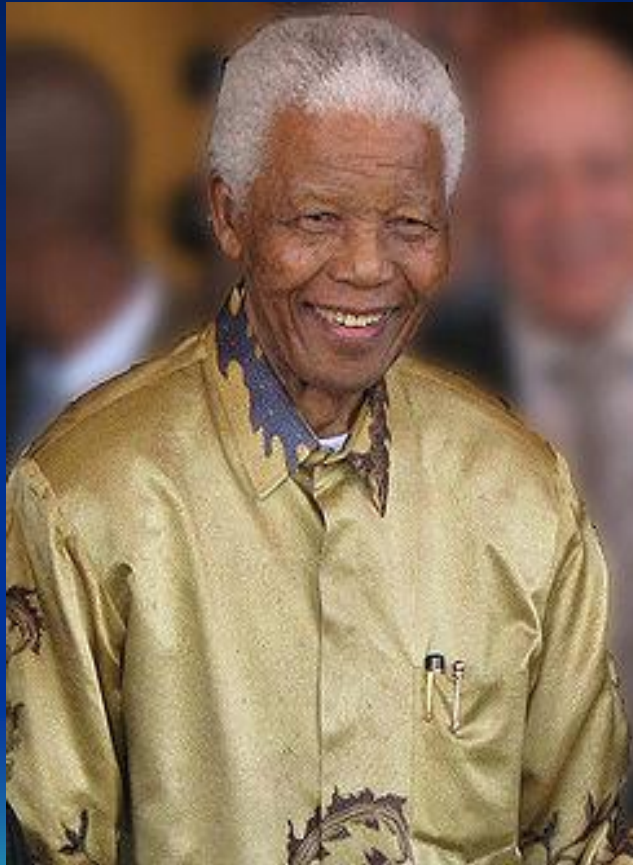
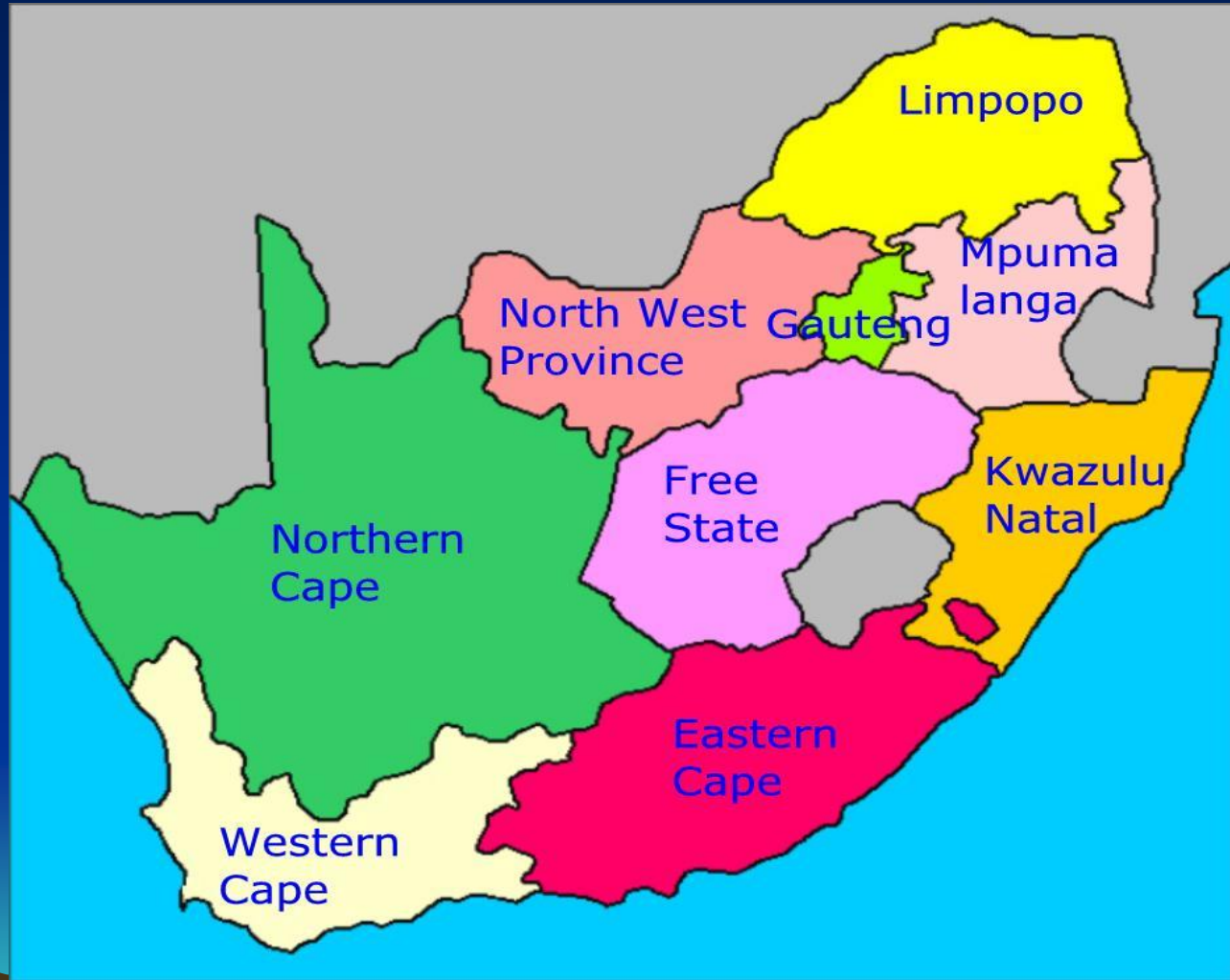
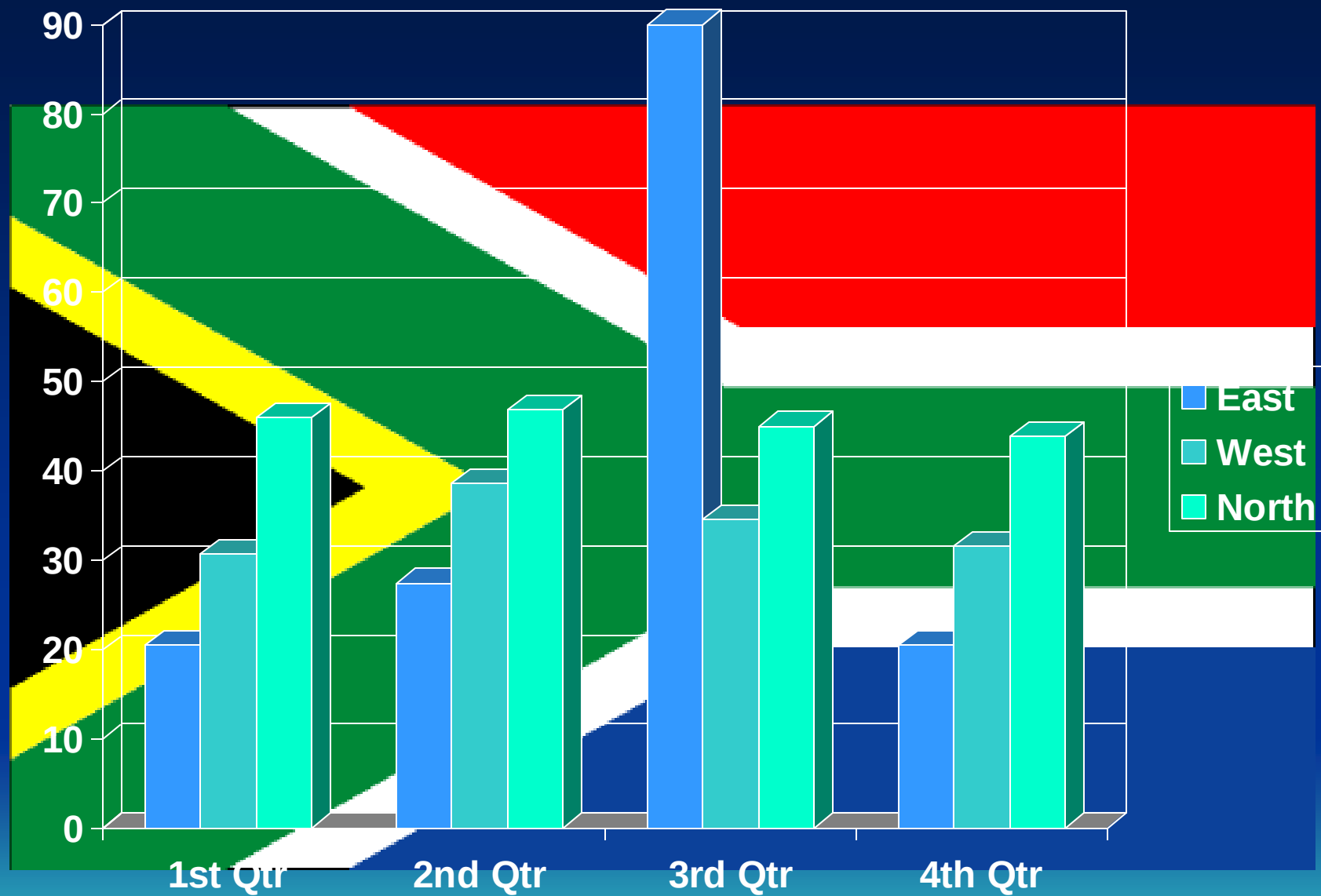


From MANDELA to ZUMA in 2 Decades “Cry the Beloved Country??”



SA & its 9 Provinces





Hope



Rainbow Nation

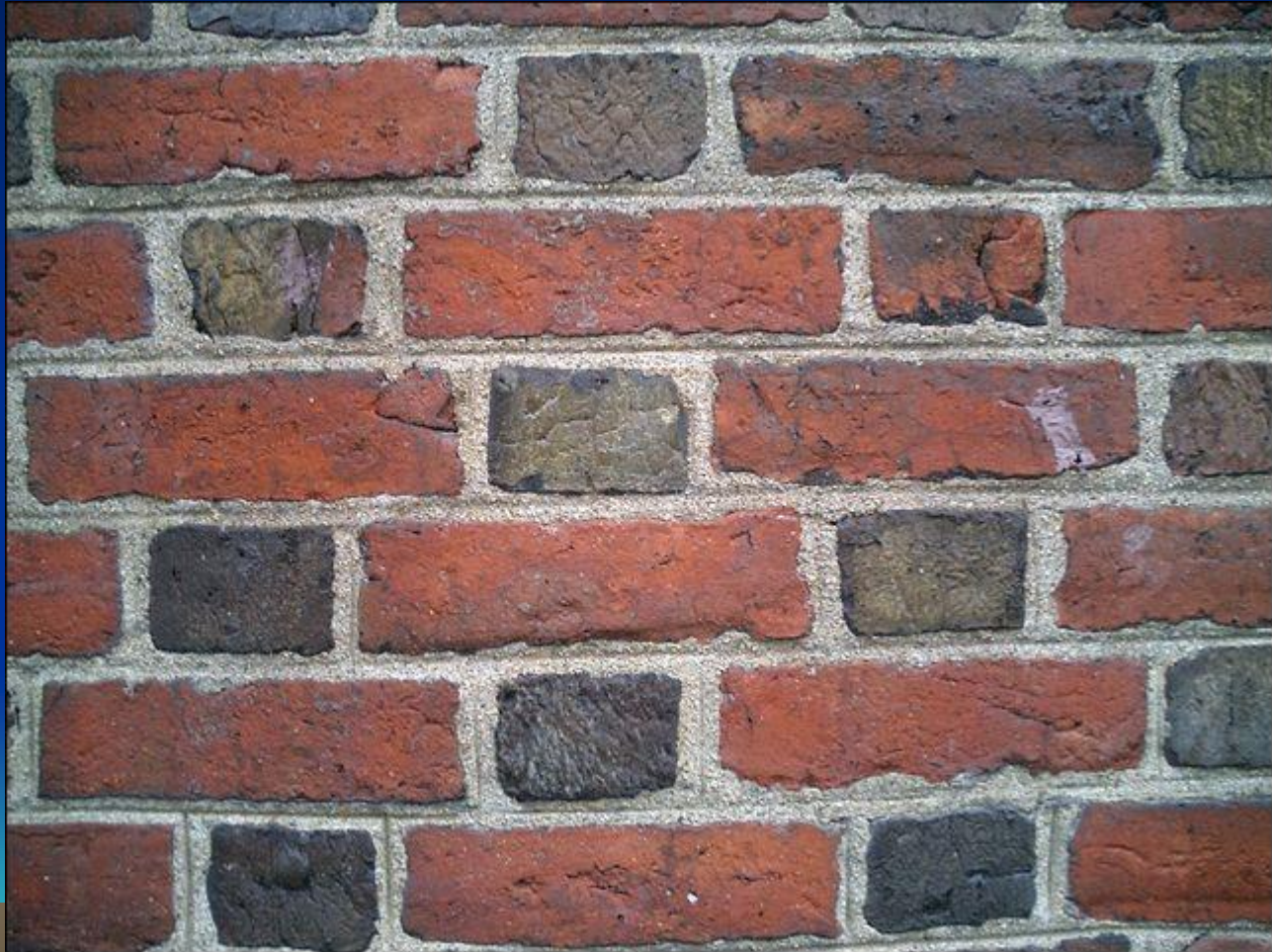


SOUTH
AFRICA'S
JOYFUL
SUCCESS



© 2005 FIFA TM

BRICS



Challenge: Complex/Diverse/Unequal

- **Ethnicity & Languages):**

11 official languages (& more).

Zulu 22.9% Xhosa 17.9% Afrikaans
14.4%

- **Apartheid Legacy:**

(4 'Race/class' groups)

Econ/Socially/Ed/Jobs/' Mentally'

Urban&rural geog



Scorecard : Political 1

- Peaceful Transition A+
- Democratic Consolidation B+
- Authoritarian/Plural B+
- One Party (ANC) effects? trends ? B+?
- No political prisoners A+
- Fair Elections A+



Political 2

- Transparency/**Corruption**? B-
- President? From A+ to B- (trend?)
- Foreign Policy – ambitious ‘from global human rights’ (B-) to ‘national interest’ and ‘Africanist’ (A-) & peacekeeping A-
- Civil Society/Media Freedom A-



Scorecard: Economic & Social 1

- Macro Economic Management A-
- Revenue Mobilization A+
- **Job Creation C+**
- **(Unemployment 25% ... 40%)**
- Inequality Reduction C+
(Similar to Apartheid; but a Black Middle Class)
- Housing for the Poor B (3 mil built/Quality?)
- Service Delivery B – (Protests)



Econ and Social 2

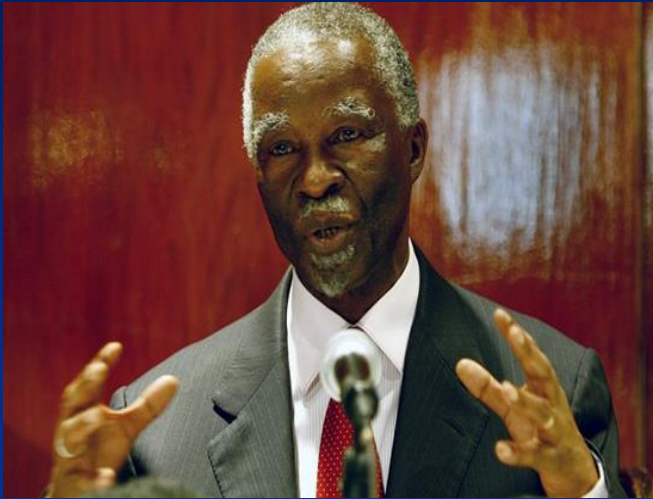
- Crime C- (now C+)
- **Education** A- for the rich/C for the poor
- Health Delivery: Middle Class A-/Poor C
- Welfare: Pensions/Child Grants/Disability Grants A –
- HIV Aids C- (now B-)



From MANDELA (M, M, M, to ZUMA (to R?)



The other M's



The ZUMA puzzle



Zuma: Why?

- Anti-Mbeki vote
- Role in ‘the Struggle’
- Popular/Populist/
Unions/Youth
- A Zulu “Traditionalist”
- Corruption & Rape
Charges - Not Guilty
- Vacuum of other
leaders



Zuma in Practice

- Astute politician
- Good directions on HIV & Education; but not others? (maybe crime)
- Peace-maker Pretensions
- No will to take sides
- Lacks political interests; comprehension?
- Aggravating ethnic impulses: Zulu nationalist? “Our Turn to Eat Politics”?



Hope? New ANC VP?

Cyril Ramaphosa

(Venda? Ethnicity)

Anti Apartheid Leader

Trade Union Leader

Key to Negotiations

‘Lost’ to Mbeki

Millionaire Extraord

VP Of ANC Dec 12



Opposition: Helen Zille & DA 2% to 10%



One Ruling Party since 1994

- **African National Congress**
- + SACP
- + COSATU
- (National Democratic Revolution ??)

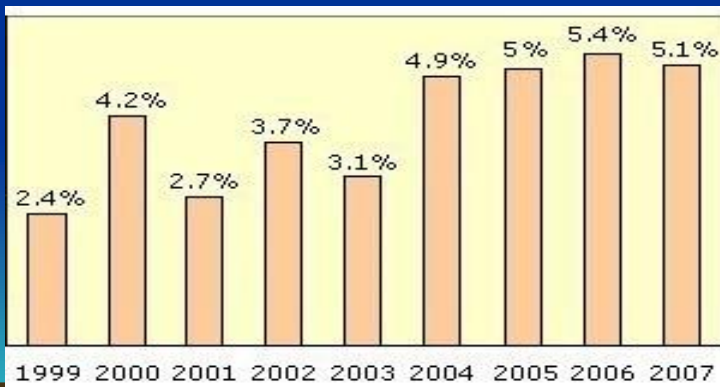


Corruption Curse

- TI: 2001 38th 2005 51st 2010 54th
- *In one paper on one day:*
- ***Arms Deal Commission
Minister Shiceka's unlawful use of
money on trip overseas 2
Senior Ministers Scandal re Food
for Oil in Iraq National Police
Commissioner re leasing property
..... Municipal corruption issues***



Three Economies



Growth Rate: Needs to be 5% annual



source: TradingEconomics.com; Statistics South Africa

Poverty/Inequality: Worse now?



White/Asian/Colored/African Income

- Whites 100
- Year Asians Coloreds Africans
- 1917 22 22 9
- 1980 26 19 9
- 1993 42 19 11
- 2000 45 23 15
- 2008 60 22 13



Poverty/Inequality

- % below \$1.25 (ppp) per day below \$2.50
 - 1994 17.0 33.5
 - 2010 9.7 25.3
- Share of poorest Quintile (in national consumption) % u-weight u-5s
 - 1994 2.9 1994 9.3
 - 2010 2.8 2005 10.1



HIV – ‘Ahmat’ vs Mbeki



.... crime (SHOCKING BUT ...)

' 04/05

'11/12

- *Commercial:*

53931

88050

- *Drug Related:*

84001

176307

Murders:

18793

15609

- *Sexual Offences:*

69117

64514



Marikana mine killings 2012

- Platinum mine strikes
- Police shoot: kill 34 injure 75
- Actors Lonmin (UK), ANC Govt, Police, NUM (ANC/Cosatu allied), AMCU (new more radical union), Malema/Ramaphosa
- Illustrates gulf between wealthy and poor failed promises/frustration
- & Govt dilemma



Service delivery



Service Provision



& Protests



Xenophobia 08



What needs to be fixed?

Education

+

Unemployment

+

Corruption

=

Capacity (to deliver & compete)



Conclusion: Strategic Policy Vacuum

- Capitalism vs Unions
 - Intra-Tripartite Ruling Alliance Dynamics
 - Past/Legacy vs Future (e.g. BEE)
 - Redistribution vs Competitiveness
 - Poverty/Inequality vs Growth/FDI
 - Lack of Vision/Courage at the Top
- = Policy Stuck in Quagmire**

