From MANDELA to ZUMA in 2 Decades “Cry the Beloved Country??”
Hope
Rainbow Nation
South Africa’s Joyful Success
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
- 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
Poverty/Inequality: Worse now?
### White/Asian/Colored/African Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Coloreds</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
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</table>
### Poverty/Inequality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% below $1.25 (ppp) per day</th>
<th>below $2.50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1994</strong></td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2010</strong></td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>25.3</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Share of poorest Quintile (in national consumption)</th>
<th>% u-weight u-5s</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1994</strong></td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2010</strong></td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1994</strong></td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2005</strong></td>
<td>10.1</td>
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HIV – ‘Ahmat’ vs Mbeki
crime (SHOCKING BUT ...)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>’04/05</th>
<th>‘11/12</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commercial:</strong></td>
<td>53931</td>
<td>88050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Drug Related:</strong></td>
<td>84001</td>
<td>176307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Murders:</strong></td>
<td>18793</td>
<td>15609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sexual Offences:</strong></td>
<td>69117</td>
<td>64514</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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