



'Gains since 1994 have reversed under Zuma'

'Graft, crime, and poor service delivery are true state of SA'

THIS year marks the end of President Jacob Zuma's first term in office. But what is the true state of the South African nation five years on?

Zuma has presided over a series of major crises: the poor performance of our economy, the rapid increase in corruption and cronyism, and numerous challenges with the quality of our education system. We have also seen an increase in incidents of police brutality owing to a militarised police service, as well as the prevalence of service delivery protests.

This, coupled with policy uncertainty arising from tension between the National Development Plan and the New Growth Path, has had a deeply negative effect on investor confidence in our country.

Despite numerous promises of jobs and economic growth from Zuma's ANC, the opposite has come true. Over the past five years, 365 750 South Africans have joined the ranks of the unemployed every year – almost double the number of previous years.

The number of discouraged job seekers nearly doubled to reach 2.24 million by the third quarter of 2013. In Zuma's fourth year as president, GDP growth dropped to just below 2 percent, down from an average rate of 4.23 percent during the presidency of his predecessors.

During the years of Thabo Mbeki, we at least saw a relatively well-run economy. During his presidency, the unemployment rate, using the expanded definition, dropped from 35.5 percent to 32.4 percent.

All of these gains have been lost. Despite the continual promises of growth, Zuma's ANC has failed to deliver. Since taking the Presidency in 2009, and promising to create 5 million jobs by this year, we've only seen 126 000 people join the ranks of the employed. More worryingly, a further 1.4 million people have joined the ranks of the unemployed.

We know this to be the result of poor fiscal policy, including large national government debt and a failure by the government to manage economic risks and foster growth. It is also because President Zuma refuses to pick a side – he panders to



Lindiwe Mazibuko

the interests of his tripartite alliance partners because he puts what is in his best interests ahead of what is best for all South Africans.

Adding to our economic woes is the unforgivable reality that an estimated R675 billion has been lost to corruption since 1994. If anything, corruption is one of the greatest inhibitors of growth in South Africa. That is why we should all be shocked to learn that South Africa has dropped 17 positions on the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index during Zuma's term of office.

But we should not be surprised. From the very beginning, Zuma lacked both the credibility and the determination to combat corruption. His party disbanded the Directorate of Special Operations (the Scorpions) – a key corruption-fighting unit – instead of strengthening it. And instead of answering to 783 charges of corruption, Zuma has done everything possible to avoid his day in court.

Today, this pattern continues. The president ducks and dives to avoid providing South Africans with the truth about his involvement in the spending of more than R200 million in public money upgrading his private residence in Nkandla. And he spends millions of rand of the people's money delaying the release of the "spy tapes", as well as a judicial review into the dropping of charges against him.

The key question to which every South African parent wants an answer is whether the education their child

receives will help them find a job and build a better life. The answer remains unacceptable for too many of our fellow citizens.

The Department of Basic Education has itself admitted to about 17 percent decline in the number of candidates who wrote maths and physical science respectively between 2009 and last year. This means that the number of pupils who could be potential candidates for engineering, medicine, or any technical study at tertiary level is decreasing. Added to this, in 2008 there was a shortage of 4 890 maths teachers and 4 551 science teachers countrywide.

Another major drag on the quality of our education system is Zuma's pandering to the Cosatu-affiliated trade unions. The SA Democratic Teachers Union continues to hinder key education policies that could ensure better quality education – including competency tests for matric markers and teacher performance monitoring.

Textbook delivery has also been a major blight on Zuma's record over the last term. Pupils in Limpopo went without textbooks for over six months of the school year, and a court held that the government was infringing upon the basic human rights of its learners. According to reports in 2013, 140 schools in the province had

not received their full complement of textbooks by the end of January 2013 – a clear indication that past problems still persist.

Added to this are lingering problems with the delivery of infrastructure needed to educate our children. According to the National Education Infrastructure System, in 2011 2 402 schools in South Africa did not have access to safe water sources, and 2 611 schools had an irregular supply of these most basic provisions. In this same year, 11 450 schools still had pit latrines, and 913 schools had no toilet facilities at all.

In order for South Africans to live lives of value, they must feel safe in their homes and in their communities. But for too many South Africans, violence and fear have become a way of life.

The official crime statistics of 2012/13 tell us that little progress has been made in reducing violent crime: the murder rate is up for the first time in five years, and drug-related crime has been significantly higher in the Zuma years than in preceding presidencies.

Property-related crime (including burglaries, stock theft and theft from vehicles) has increased by 5.9 percent under Zuma's presidency (after decreasing by 20 percent in the five years prior), and the illegal possession of firearms has also increased 5.9 percent over the course of Zuma's stewardship.

Not only is the SAPS failing to protect citizens from crime, but recent incidents of police brutality have positioned the police service as a major pre-

cipitator of social wrongdoing and injustice.

The final area of major concern for South Africa is service delivery. Between 1994 and 2009, the percentage of households with access to electricity increased by 28 percent, but under Zuma's ANC the rate has decreased dramatically, with only an additional 6 percent of households gaining access to electricity.

Since 1994, the number of households with access to drinkable water increased by 33 percent. However, during Zuma's presidency this only increased by 3 percent. Similarly, while the number of households with access to sanitation increased from 51 percent in 1994 to 85 percent in 2013; there has only been a 2 percent increase in the last four years.

This failure to improve on the strong foundation that was left to him is the reason that President Zuma's administration today faces protest action after protest action.

Twenty years into our democracy, South Africa is undoubtedly a better place than it was in 1994. However, during Zuma's term in office, we have begun to witness a worrying reversal in the progress which has been made.

We can and must break this trend. South Africans can do this by giving the DA a chance to govern. We have the right policies to put right the wrongs of apartheid.

In the Western Cape, where we govern, we are prioritising basic services for the poor; improving education, and creating jobs. Indeed, we are realising the dreams of 1994.

We also have the right policies to end corruption and create jobs. That is why, if we are elected to national government, the DA will create 6 million REAL jobs and increase economic growth to 8 percent in the next 10 years.

The 2014 general elections will be a watershed moment in South Africa's history. South Africa simply cannot afford five more years of President Zuma.

We need to get South Africa back on the road to prosperity. We need to work again towards the dream of 1994. The DA is the party with the right policies and the right leadership to make this happen.

■ **Mazibuko is the DA's parliamentary leader**



EFF's aim is to plant seed of economic change

NELSON Mandela and his generation declared in 1944 – 70 years ago – that they would achieve freedom in their lifetime through a proclamation of Freedom in Our Lifetime. They indeed played their part and achieved what they achieved.

We need to however acknowledge that the political freedom realised with the first democratic elections in 1994 has not translated into economic freedom. Our people still live in unbearable conditions.

As the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), our aim is to deliver real economic emancipation to our people through the creation of sustainable jobs, fighting poverty and inequalities. We also need to transform the state and set a new agenda with the aim of reducing the huge costs associated with governance.

In this regard, our state of the nation address for 2014 will primarily focus on the following three broad categories:

- Radical transformation of the economy to benefit all citizens of South Africa.
- Provision of quality services to meet our social transformation objectives.
- Radical transformation of the state to make it more efficient and respond quicker to the demands of our people.

These are aimed at fighting poverty, unemployment, inequalities and most importantly under-employment, because even those employed in SA today are poor and part of the working poor. That should change.

We need to urgently attend to these issues because over the past five years, South Africa suffered high levels



Julius Malema

of mediocrity, directionlessness, corruption and insensitivity of government. It was within the past five years that workers were murdered at Marikana and many protesters were shot by the ANC government, and still no one is held accountable.

Prime among areas we should build capacity on, is to internally produce food, because as things stand, our country imports lots of food from various parts of the world.

Our approach to the food question is that we should be a nation that can feed itself by producing adequate food for domestic consumption and for export.

We will pass laws that compel all food bought by the government for hospitals, prisons, schools and even government functions to be food that is locally produced, particularly in small scale farming and agriculture.

This will be the seed for sustainable job opportunities for all.

To locally produce food products that will feed our nation, we need to expedite the land reform programme.

We will pass legislation which will make the state the official and only custodian of all land in South Africa, in a similar way the Minerals and Petrole-

um Resources Development Act has made the state the custodian of our mineral and petroleum resources.

Our drive to industrialise will mean that we should decentralise development and investment of key infrastructure. The development of Special Economic Zones should lead to the development of new cities and areas of real economic activity.

We need to decentralise industrial and economic development in South Africa in order to make sure that all areas are evenly developed.

Massive labour absorptive industrial development will also require the state's ownership and control of development finance and banking in a similar way that South Korea controlled its banking and finance sectors to finance infant industries.

The current development finance institutions such as the Industrial Development Corporation, Development Bank of Southern Africa, and sadly the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) are not adequate vehicles to address industrial and enterprise development because more than 90 percent of entrepreneurs cannot gain access to their finances due to lack of security.

Massive state-led industrialisation and enterprise development inherently come with risks, and the state should be prepared to take such risks if the country really needs to address unemployment.

With regards to services, the EFF government will build internal capacity to provide all the critical services, particularly the construction and maintenance of infrastructure such as roads, schools, hospitals, and universities. Since 1994, private corporations and construction companies have been the main source of corruption, mainly on price collusion and teaming up

with administrative staff of government to inflate prices and deliver poor services.

As a result, the state will officially launch the following companies to do work on behalf of the state in all areas:

- State cement company to produce cement for all construction programmes.
- State construction company to build schools, houses and transport infrastructure on behalf of the state.
- State pharmaceutical company to manufacture and produce medication for all our hospitals.

Attempts by established pharmaceutical firms to oppose this on the basis of patents will be fought aggressively by the EFF government.

These will constitute the core of what EFF government will do over the next year, and will pass legislation that abolishes the tender system in the performance of functions the state should perform.

The EFF government will introduce free education for all South Africans until undergraduate level, and ensure that there is improvement in the quality of education provided. There will never be a matriculant who goes to a university without computer literacy skills because our government will introduce those to all learners in the pre-secondary stage.

We will from 2015 send a minimum of 10 000 students to the best universities across the world to gain skills, education and expertise on various skills with the understanding that after their graduation, they will work in South Africa for a minimum of five years.

We will improve the scope of the National Health Insurance and make sure that it is implemented in all areas as soon as possible. There should never be a difference between public and private health care institutions in

South Africa.

Because poverty is astute and a continued basis of many social ills, EFF government will continue with the provision of grants, with the ultimate objective of reducing grant dependents in the next five years because jobs would have been created.

As a new government, we are going to engage in processes that will lead to radical reduction of costs associated with running an administration. Part of what the EFF government will do from 2014 are the following:

- One administrative and legislative capital city which will be Tshwane. This will avoid the travel costs and waste of time associated with the current arrangement.
- All government officials, including ministers will use their own salaries to buy their own houses and cars.
- The government will never spend money on alcohol, under no circumstances.
- The Presidency will be provided with one official residence in Tshwane and the state will not be responsible for residences other than the official residence.
- Establishment of state corruption specified courts to promptly respond to incidents of corruption with the aim of firing and blacklisting corrupt state employees and private companies.

These mechanisms will be part of the things we intend to do as a matter of urgency. Details of what the EFF government will do in other areas will be given by EFF government ministers during their budget votes and speeches.

■ **Malema is commander in chief of the EFF.**

After 20 years of democracy, what matters is state of leadership

ALMOST 20 years ago, on May 24, 1994, Nelson Mandela delivered his historic first State of the Nation address as the first democratic president of South Africa.

In arguably his most eloquent and certainly most important speech since the Rivonia Trial, he laid out an inspired vision for reconciliation, reconstruction and reintegration to bring South Africa out of the abyss: "A rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world," he surmised in his inaugural speech.

In a typical gesture that would symbolise his reconciliation agenda, he started his address with an extensive acknowledgement of and reading of the late Afrikaner poet Ingrid Jonker's *The child is not Dead*, which was written in the aftermath of the Sharpeville anti-pass demonstration massacre.

Long before he would have a historic visit and afternoon tea with apartheid architect, Dr HF Verwoerd's widow, Betsy, he advised South Africans: "We must, constrained by and yet regardless for the accumulated effect of our historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny."

He knew the power of sports to reconcile a nation long before the historic moment when he joined Francois Pienaar to hoist the Webb Ellis trophy victoriously at the 1995 Rugby World Cup or 2010 when South Africa became the first African country to host the Fifa World Cup. "In our dreams we have a vision of a country at play in our sports fields."

He laid out a Reconstruction and Development Plan to deliver the better life promise with decent housing, access to electricity, water and health care, decent jobs and education, addressing youth issues with the establishment of the National Commission on Youth Development, and respect for the rule of law.

Delivered a day ahead of Africa Day (May 25), his State of the Nation address was a perfect occasion to announce the reintegration of South Africa into the global community – UN Security Council and the Commonwealth, and affirm an identity with Africa and the world: "We are Africans and a citizen of the world."

While over the years, the RDP has made way for Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) during the Thabo Mbeki tenure, and now the National Development Plan (NDP) in the Jacob Zuma era, Mandela's maiden State of the Nation address was the barometer for moving South Africa forward, and the baton for the ruling party; for Mbeki and Zuma.

It set the terms of contract between the people, the world and the ruling ANC.

Although in 1994 it would have seemed odd to imagine any opposition to the ANC's agenda for a better life and a universal rejection of apartheid South Africa's evil past, Mandela's vision nonetheless defined the battleground for the opposition that represented 35 percent of the country's electorate.

Twenty years hence, the nation is in a different state, and created a challenging context for Jacob Zuma's last first-term State of the Nation.

Whereas Mandela's State of the Nation was delivered off the first democratic elections, Zuma's is ahead of and postured to shape the dialogue for the May 7 elections and the first real opposition challenge to the ruling party's dominance.

It was delivered with the DA's challenge to build on their 17 percent in 2009 against the ANC's goal to consolidate its 66 percent majority in mind. Mandela did not have the DA, EFF and AgangSA distracting his vision. Whereas there was relative "labour peace" and a harmonious relationship between government, labour and citizens, between 1994 and 1999, there has been an unprecedented surge in industrial strike action since 2005.

There are now as many as 32 strikes a day this year encompassing labour and service delivery, with the devastating 2012 Marikana massacres firmly lodged in the conscience of South Africa as the low-light of a troubling era.

Whereas the RDP as the anchor of "a better life for all" agenda was a relatively universally understood development agenda, the NDP has had a challenged debut as the 2030 vision to accelerate economic growth, eliminate poverty, and reduce inequality.

Whereas Mandela and Mbeki squarely located South Africa within the African agenda, Zuma's unfortu-



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nate "don't think like an African" and disparaging Malawi off-the-cuff comments reinforced a growing pan-African perception that South Africa was the southern part of Africa, but South of Africa – beyond Africa. While South Africa's GDP grew 2.5 percent from \$80 billion in 1994 to around \$400bn fuelled by prudent monetary, fiscal policy and consistent growth, the latest World Economic Forum's global competitiveness report shows South Africa's declining competitiveness.

It has been overtaken by Mauritius with only an \$11.5bn GDP, and slipped one place to 53 out of 148 nations, from a historic high of 35.

While the GDP grew an average of 3.2 percent since 1994, peaking at 5.6 percent in 2006 and a low of 1.5 percent in 2009, it is now projected to grow at 2-3 percent, putting a challenge for the government to maintain its development agenda. Between 1980 and 1994, during the apartheid era and conflict, it achieved a 1.4 percent average GDP growth rate.

A stark contrast to the rest of rising sub-Saharan African nations which in the last 13 years recorded a 5.6 percent average growth rate. The Economist projects that seven of the top 10 fastest growing economies in the world by 2015 will be African. South Africa is not among them.

While the sporting exploits of Josia Thugwane, Penny Heyns, Chad le Clos, Springboks in 1995 and 2007 Rugby World Cups and Bafana Bafana ranked best in Africa and 16 in the world in 1996 affirmed Mandela's belief in sport as a unifier and embodiment of the upstart democracy's competitiveness, recently Bafana Bafana's performance has become a microcosm of brand South Africa – unequal and inconsistent, despite the enormous talent and resources at our disposal.

It is no coincidence that Bafana Bafana's ranking now at a lowly 54 is comparable to South Africa's World Economic Forum (WEF) Competitiveness ranking of 53 out of 148 states.

The 20th State of the Nation address of a democratic South Africa, while anchored around the 20-year achievements of the ruling party and the NDP as a vision of the future, finds a nation dealing with the key issues for South Africa identified in a recent government study as unemployment (62 percent), crime (33 percent), housing (26 percent), roads (22 percent) and corruption (20 percent).

While South Africa has made tremendous leaps in creating a better life for all and its position in the world, we are in many ways right where we started, with an urgent three-pillar challenge – reconciliation of the haves and have-nots, reconstruction and reintegration of South Africa to its rightful African and global place.

To move the country forward and deliver of Mandela and the ANC's inaugural goals "to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and to guarantee freedom for all South Africans," South Africa will have to rethink its game plan. South Africa must mobilise around and actualise the NDP, fight rampant public sector corruption, and become competitive again.

But between the naive hope of the Mandela era and the despair and real challenges of the Zuma era, where the state seems in disrepair, few will disagree as an old post-slavery Baptist preacher once acknowledged: "Lord we ain't what we should be and we ain't what we gonna be, but thank God Almighty, we ain't what we was."

While South Africa can do and deserves better, it is a better life than it was 20 years ago.

But given the issues of the state of the nation today, the achievements of the last two decades are now history, and no longer a yardstick for a winning nation.

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