

Towards a new Paradigm – Sustainable Human Development

Quality of Democracy

The involvement of Civil Society in
democratic Governance –
Towards an alternative Governance
model - incorporating a Sustainable
Growth Path

Personal History

- IMCS / IYCS SA
- Review Group since 1976
- CAM
- Trade Unionist – Anti-Apartheid Movement – UDF – ANC – SACP (1980 -1990)
- Businessman – Mining –M&A - IT – Legal Insurance (1990 – 2000)
- Government – Setting up of GSSC (2000-2004)
- Political clashes – court cases (2004 – 2009)

Civil Society in Anti-Apartheid Era

- Underground Struggle Vs Utilisation of political space available legally
- Historical Liberation Movement (ANC) and multiplicity of arenas of struggle within Civil Society
- Critical role of church in providing a context for struggle – for mobilising ordinary people
- Trade Unions – ‘Workerist’ or ‘Populist’
- Community organisations – youth groups – student organisations – women's groups – sporting organisations – cultural groups etc
- UDF – Cosatu - Sanco

Transition to Post-Apartheid Democracy

- Ex-prisoners – UDF leaders (& civil society leaders) – ANC exile returnees. Leads to a clash of styles & jockeying for position
- Liberation Movement / Army To Political Party ‘Command Structure’ – to...
- Negotiations – GNU – First Elections – New Constitution
- At Local and Provincial (regional) and National level – Exodus of grass roots leaders to join elected structures – **Jobs & Salaries !!!**
- Civil Society gradually weakened

Challenges facing the new Democracy

- Poverty
- Health
- Education
- Crime
- Housing
- Social Services – Welfare Services
- Judicial system
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International Pressures

- History of anti-ANC / anti-Liberation movement attitudes from the West
- Support / solidarity / military support from Communist bloc
- New State had to tread a difficult path – Revolutionary expectations from below **Vs** International pressure to distance itself from ‘loony left’ – prove it had capacity to rule and deliver (and bring growth / development)

Uniting a divided Society

- ‘Mandela Era’ – GNU – Unity across racial divides – forgiveness – look forward not back!
- TRC – admit crimes publicly and get amnesty
- Consolidate control over Civil Service – urgent need to transform (de-racialise and bring in progressives) – end up with problem of loss of critical skills
- Mbeki era – from charismatic leader to ‘technocrat’ – ‘manager’ – ‘intellectual’

Centralisation of Power

- Locus of control in Government / Civil Service
- Weak party structures on ground – weak (be-headed) organs of civil society (inclu. Unions) – Church unsure of role (patriotic?supportive?critical?)
- Activists not in government feel marginalised
- Electoral system – proportional representation - Party in charge in various legislative structures
- Authority shifts from Broad Alliance to Party (ANC) to Executive to President (who appoints Executive)
- Over time locus of responsibility / power becomes top-down – not bottom-up
- Regions Vs Central Authority – Local Authority?

New Style – in name of 'effectiveness' & delivery

- Criticism and open debate increasingly curtailed – 'we handle things inside structures – not in public'
- Increasingly disempowered all other organs and structures – changed culture of lively contestation and debate to one of central authority
- Cabinet become 'Yes-men & women' – President increasingly lost touch
- Personal idiosyncrasies had devastating impact – Aids denialism – Touchy racialisation of all debate/criticism – Zimbabwe (defend our African Brothers from Western attacks)

Use/abuse of State Structures

- Scorpions / NPA used to attack/undermine political opponents
- Patronage to those in inner circle – in name of de-racialising the economy and including black business leaders (creation of new billionaires)
- Appointment of allies (inner circle) to key State / Parastatal structures
- Attacking any criticism as ‘ultra-left’ / ‘un-patriotic’ / ‘racist’ (if you’re not with me you’re the enemy)

Revolt

- Alliance of the ‘wounded and excluded’
- Cosatu (union federation) plays key role
- SACP – excluded as leftist critic in Mbeki era – also plays key role
- Many opportunists jump aboard
- Zuma (perceived as having been persecuted by Mbeki) elected ANC President – beats Mbeki
- Few months later – after clear that Mbeki intends to ignore new leadership (I’m the president of the country) – he gets removed as president
- (Bloodless coup – very significant!)

Aftermath of 'Coups' – national Election

- Elites in Mbeki's grouping excluded in uncritical and clumsy fashion
- COPE is formed as 'breakaway ANC faction'
- Accused of being coalition of those 'not prepared to accept' having lost positions in democratic process (inside ANC)
- Predictions of mass defection of voters come to naught – ANC wins with very comfortable (if slightly reduced) majority (66%)
- Unions and SACP have enhanced influence within new ANC and thus new Government

What does 'new ANC' represent?

- A number of characterisations have been proposed :-
 - A Shift to the Left (Populism)
 - A Shift to Opportunistic Nepotism

Shift to Left?

- Abandon GEAR & ASGISA
- Increased answerability to party – ‘grass roots’?
- Increased role of Unions (Cosatu) and SACP?
- Role of (other parts of) Civil Society unclear?
- Zuma the ‘Populist’ leader? (he won the election on the basis of promises to bring about real change – listen to the people – be answerable etc)
- Predictions of a ‘Shift to Left’ were overtaken by Global Fiscal crisis – with the West leading the charge to spend more and increase the role of the State – in the hope of averting long-term recession

Shift to Opportunistic Nepotism?

- Mbeki government just as open to this characterisation
- Alliance making up support base includes many opportunists – but also many committed to real change (Cosatu – SACP...)
- Charges against Zuma central to this thesis – need to acknowledge existence of ‘abuse of State Power’ involved here (doesn’t exonerate him)

Site of Struggle

- ‘New ANC’ is a definite ‘Site of Struggle’
- Use the space to try and cement alternative style – openness – criticism
- Use space to stamp out nepotism / cronyism
- Use space to encourage multiple centres of power and influence
- Use space to prevent a new elite from taking over the benefits of the old elite!

What about the Issues?

If it is not to be just a question of **who controls power** – then the Policy issues must re-emerge as the dominant determinant

SA is still characterised by very high levels of poverty / unemployment / underdevelopment, so we have no option but to grow/develop

- What kind of Growth path makes sense in context of Global Economic Crisis?
- What kind of Growth path makes sense in context of Global Environmental Meltdown?

Growth – the way ahead?

- High unemployment
- Relatively small formal sector
- Large income inequalities
- Forex earnings almost totally reliant on Commodities
- BOP issues – we buy abroad much more than sell abroad
- Financial sector critical in balancing our trade – flows from Shares & Bonds are critical

Growth – cont.

- Very high welfare needs – demands on the fiscus are high
- Coal-based Elec generation – just started building 2 new Power Stations (9 GW's)
- Developed Coal to Liq. fuel technology – promoting it world-wide – Sasol
- Sasol CTL plant is biggest single emitter of CO₂ in the world!
- SA is biggest CO₂ emitter in Africa

Growth – cont.

- SA built its economy - attracted foreign invest. - on basis of Cheap Abundant electricity
- Capacity reached from current plant – now investing in new (coal-based) technology
- CO₂ emissions from cars big factor – only alternative viable currently (in development) are Electric cars – but where will re-charge of batteries come from? (in SA from Coal)

Sustainable Growth Path

- Developing world must have the room & resources to develop – but cannot make Global situation worse or we all suffer
- Developed world caused the problem and create/d most of the GHG's – but cannot solve problem by themselves – even if they have to carry a huge load
- New renewable technologies required – economies of scale required to make them feasible – set-up & learning curve costs have to be borne largely by Developed World

Sustainable Growth Path

- If we allow GHG levels to go beyond 250ppm on sustained basis – will soon reach point where GHG emissions become self-sustaining – then there is no way back
- Can lower emissions by :-
 - Reducing or even removing our reliance on carbon-based fuels (Coal must go – Oil will probab. run out – but need alternatives – Gas is not much better – CTL and Shale Oils are even bigger GHG disaster!)
 - Using new (clean) technologies
 - Increased efficiencies can reduce consumption (currently and per unit of growth) by up to 35%)

Clean technologies

- Wind generation – Hydro generation – Bio-Mass-based generation – Solar Generation
- Solar
 - Thermal
 - Tower
 - Trough
 - Stirling
 - Photovoltaic
- Transport
 - Electric Cars / Buses / Trains / Trams
- Nuclear ???

Sustainable Growth Path

- Developing world (SA) needs to tackle poverty – unemployment – health – education etc – which require most of the resources available – yet need to adopt alternative technologies (or we all die)
- Need mechanism that allows for (forces) drastic reduction of emissions in Developed world and somehow transfers funds to Developing world to help fund transition to new (cleaner) technologies while meeting fiscal demands of development
- Carbon Taxes ? Trading Carbon Credits ? Direct subsidy to most-needy developed countries ?
- All of the above ?

Lessons from SA case

- Liberation struggle can easily be de-railed despite earnest, dedicated, efforts to achieve goals
- Ongoing role of Civil society in ensuring democratic answerability is critical (party grass-roots structures help – but are too easily bullied when things go wrong in party)
- Leadership has to be kept from entrenching themselves - while benefitting themselves and their cronies
- Struggle must remain about the issues / policies and not about individuals or factions (groups of individuals)
- We all need to be focusing on ways to mitigate effects of Global Financial Crisis on poor and disadvantaged – but
- Most urgent need is development of Sustainable Growth Path that urgently addresses Global Environmental Meltdown
- Church needs to play NB role in International Fora