Gimme Hope Jo’anna
Scenarios for South Africa
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2019 NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS

2019 per cent support
ANC, 57.5
DA, 20.8
EFF, 10.8
IFP, 3.4
FF+, 2.4
Other, 5.2

2019 seats in National Assembly
ANC, 250
DA, 84
EFF, 66
IFP, 15
FF+, 10
Other, 19
RAMA PHALA PHALA

• Arthur Fraser - 5 men broke into Phala Phala on 9th February 2020, stole large amount of cash, lived lavishly, fled into Namibia
• Ramaphosa in Addis Ababa, reported it to protection unit (Maj Gen Roode) who investigated but no case opened
• Around $600 000 (R9m) from sale of a buffalo
• Ramaphosa a billionaire – part of top 0.001%
• Motivation
  • Fraser implicated in final Zondo report & ongoing forensic investigation in SSA
  • ANC elective conference in December 2022 – RET
  • Did president report forex to Reserve Bank within required period?
  • Implications for ANC elective conference in December…

2022

State of the ANC in 2022
Largest party by substantial margin
But large urban stay away voters
Leading to rnalisation of its support base
Weak leadership, factionalism, lack of accountability, corruption, poor service delivery
Consumed by infighting

ANC National Policy Conference

30 ANC Regional conferences

8 ANC Provincial conferences

State of the opposition in 2022
Unable to capitalise on urban black voters that are disaffected with ANC
DA at threat of becoming a regional party?
EFF at a ceiling?
Too early to pronounce on ActionSA
IFP resurgence in KZN?
Space for a new party?

ANC 55th Elective Conference Dec 2022

2022 - ongoing disunity in ANC
Intra-party violence, RET onslaught continues
A CRISIS IN THE MAKING: 2024 AS IMPORTANT AS 1994?

- Unlikely that ANC can save itself in time for 2024 elections:
  - Possibly still ongoing load shedding
  - Ongoing municipal collapse - electricity distribution, water supply, sewerage treatment, and roads.
- Future in the urban black vote but ANC increasingly rural - support drops with youth, urbanization and higher levels of education
- ANC steadily more federalised than ever – a collection of provinces held together by a cohort of aged leaders that gained national prominence in 80s and 90s - younger people from provinces push upwards
- For ANC election of Deputy President in December 2022 key

SO?

HUGE

opportunity for a party of coalition of parties that can capture the urban black vote and provide hope and inspiration for all South Africans in 2024!
BUT

LARGE UNCERTAINTIES
South Africa increasingly unstable and unpredictable

2022 AND SCENARIOS

- Bafana Bafana
- Thuma Mina
- Nation Divided
- Mandela Magic
THUMA MINA


2024: ANC retains national majority (51%) and narrows in Gauteng (48%). Factional divisions. DA (17%) loses support to ANC, and needs partners in WC, WP, EC/ (Cr22). Eff (16%) official opposition.

Can EFF save its long-term status?

2029: ANC resurgence continues (53%) but choice of new leadership in 2028 will be decisive. Squabbles among opposition parties for second place with static support; the opposition coalition takes Gauteng, possibly N Cape.

Thuma Mina 2024

Thuma Mina 2029

2022 AND SCENARIOS

ANC 55th Elective Conference Dec 2022

Ramaphosa re-elected as ANC president in Dec 22.

Ramaphosa steps aside ahead of ANC Dec 2022 elections.

Bafana Bafana

Thuma Mina

Nation Divided

Mandela Magic
LESS LIKELY: NATION DIVIDED OR MANDELA MAGIC

Nation Divided:
A wounded ANC. Remains united but loses significant support. Strong growth among opposition parties.

Mandela Magic:
RET candidate wins. But support for ANC plummets. Ramaphosa leads a breakaway/new party.

2024
Complex, unstable governing coalition nationally w/o or w/o ANC. DMR, ANC in opposition in Gauteng, KZN, Free State and N Cape. Opposition parties grow. DA 27%, EFF 13%, OneSA 6%, ActionSA 5%.

Potential for alliance?

2029
ANC support plummets to 28%, but still leads coalitions in Limpopo and Eastern Cape.EFF at 19%, but grows in North West. DA up to 34% and leads difficult national coalition government w/IP, ActionSA, OneSA, FF Plus. Coalition group in all other provinces.

Potential for merger?

2022
Formulation of new DA party (35%). From Ramaphosa party. DA, OneSA, ActionSA, IP, FF Plus, ANC EFC merge as official opposition (29%).

ALLEVIATING STRUCTURAL DRIVERS

• Not possible to redistribute our way to prosperity – we need sustained and rapid economic growth for decades.
• But Bafana Bafana growth forecast 2.4% to 2029
• A high-growth strategy (ave 3.4%) requires government to:
  • Unlock the constraints on electricity generation and distrib.
  • Step away from land reform without compensation including its partnership with traditional leadership;
  • Make a clear distinction between state and party;
  • Adopt an inclusive approach to South Africa’s economy and politics;
  • Stability and investment-friendly policies;
  • Partner with the private sector …
SO MUCH FOR POLITICS

Economics
Futures.issafrica.org

GREEN SHOOTS

- Mobilisation of civil society, media and business to save South Africa
- Electricity Eskom R1.2 trillion investment to 2030. Moving from:
  - State monopoly to open market.
  - Coal from +70% to solar, wind and gas.
- Avoided a debt crisis
- Balance of spending is shifting towards investment: infrastructure to grow to 30%
- Zondo commission wheels in motion ...
- Partnership with private sector now reality
- Recognition of division between political oversight and management
- Municipal officials barred from party political office. If dismissed for financial misconduct may not be re-employed for 5 years
- ANC electoral rules now require at least 2 women in top six structure
- Independent ports authority.
- Etc.
Thank you

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