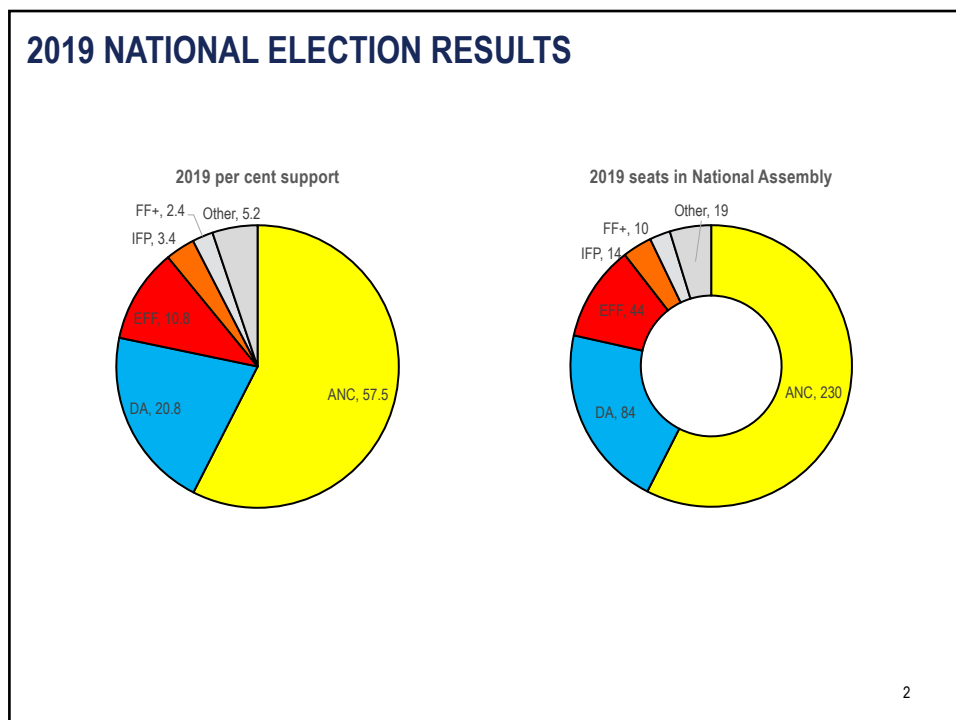


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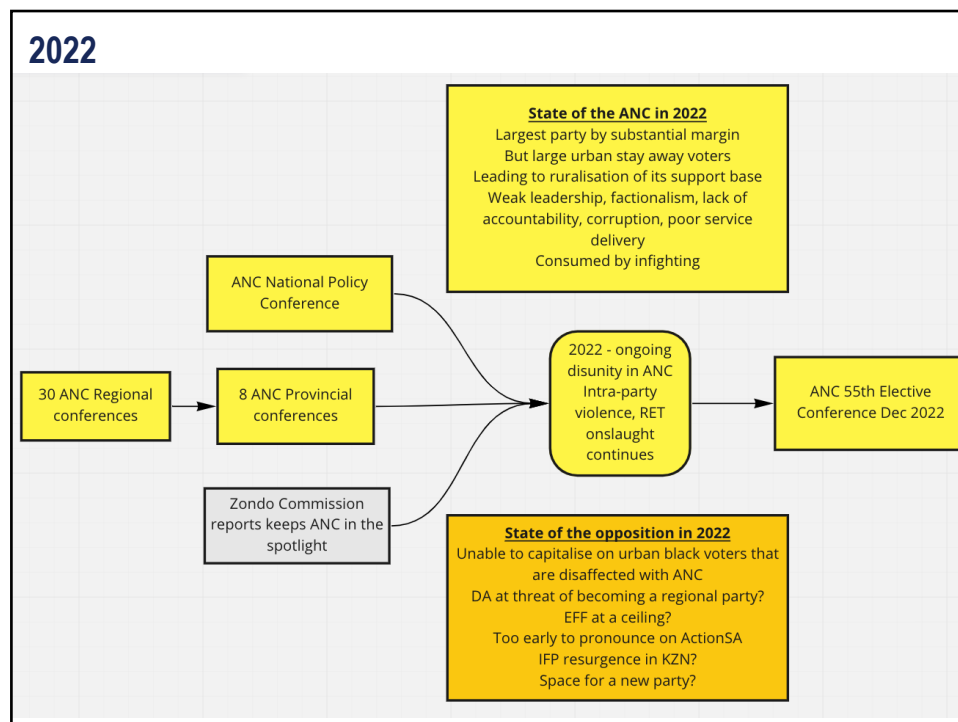


2

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...

3



4

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

5

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!

6

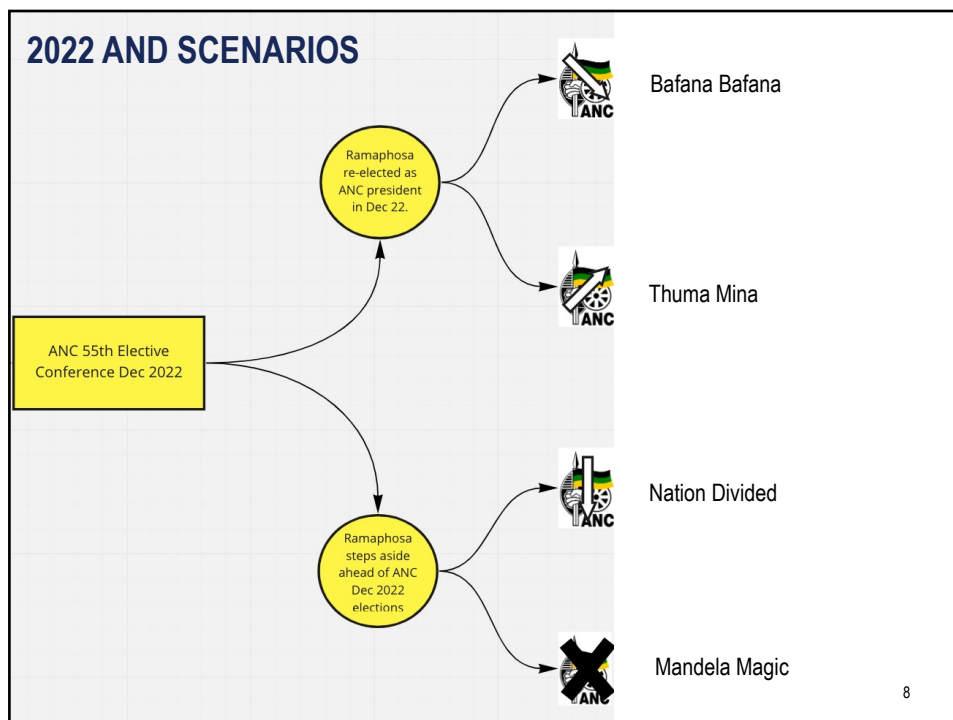
BUT

LARGE UNCERTAINTIES

South Africa increasingly unstable and unpredictable

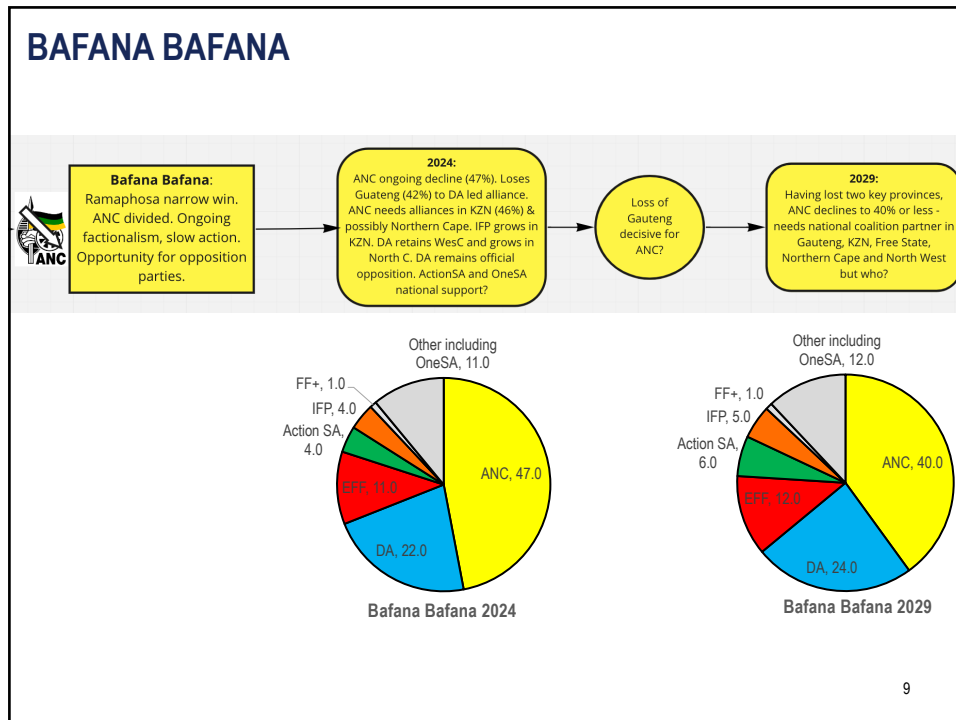
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2022 AND SCENARIOS

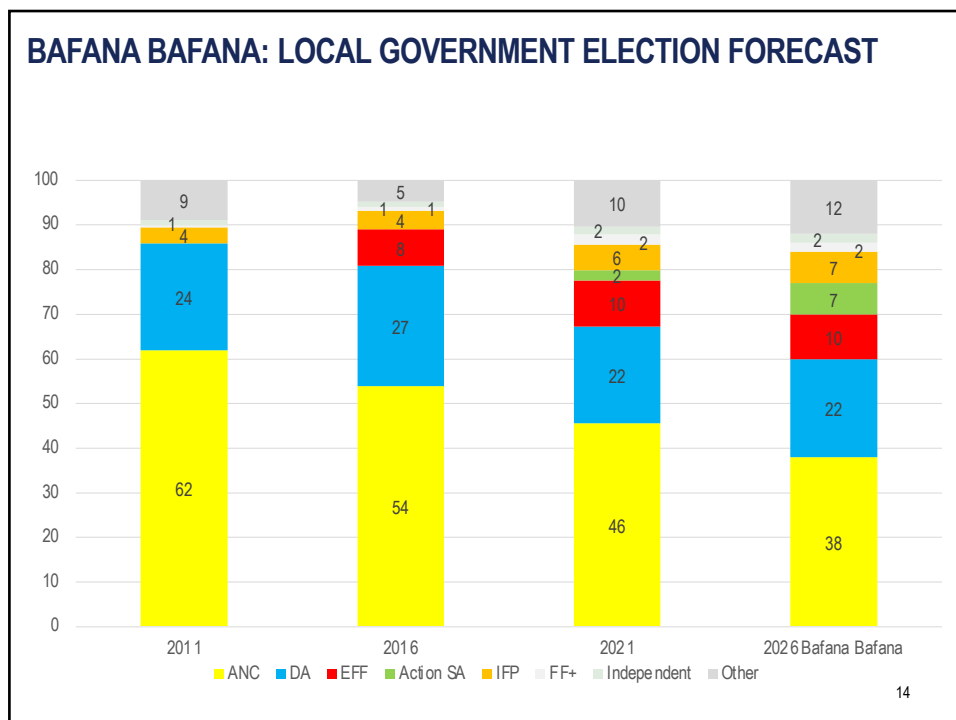


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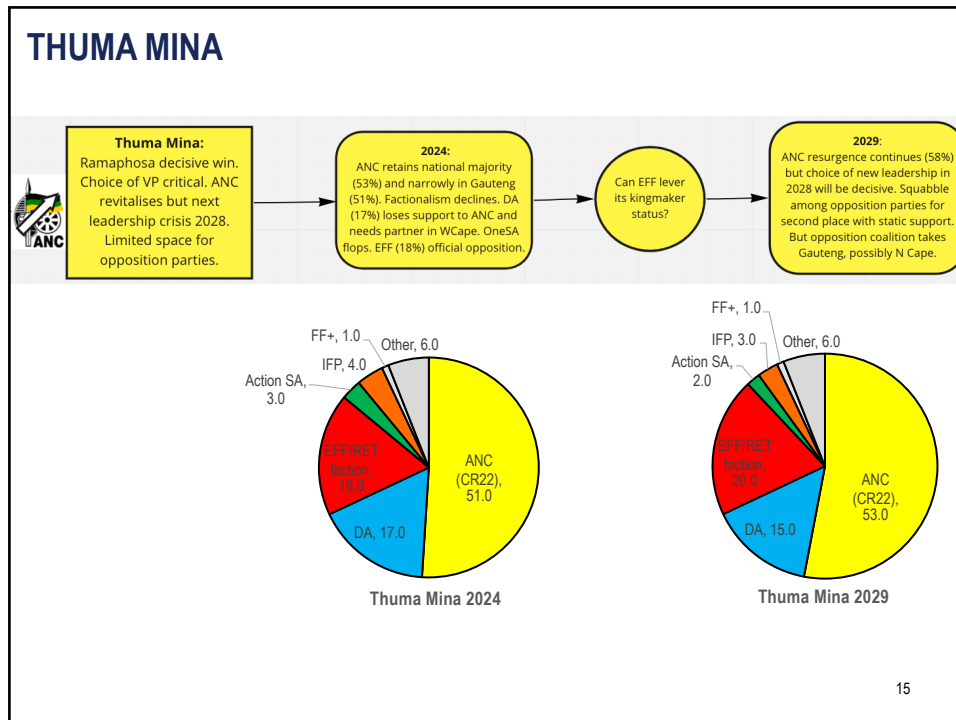
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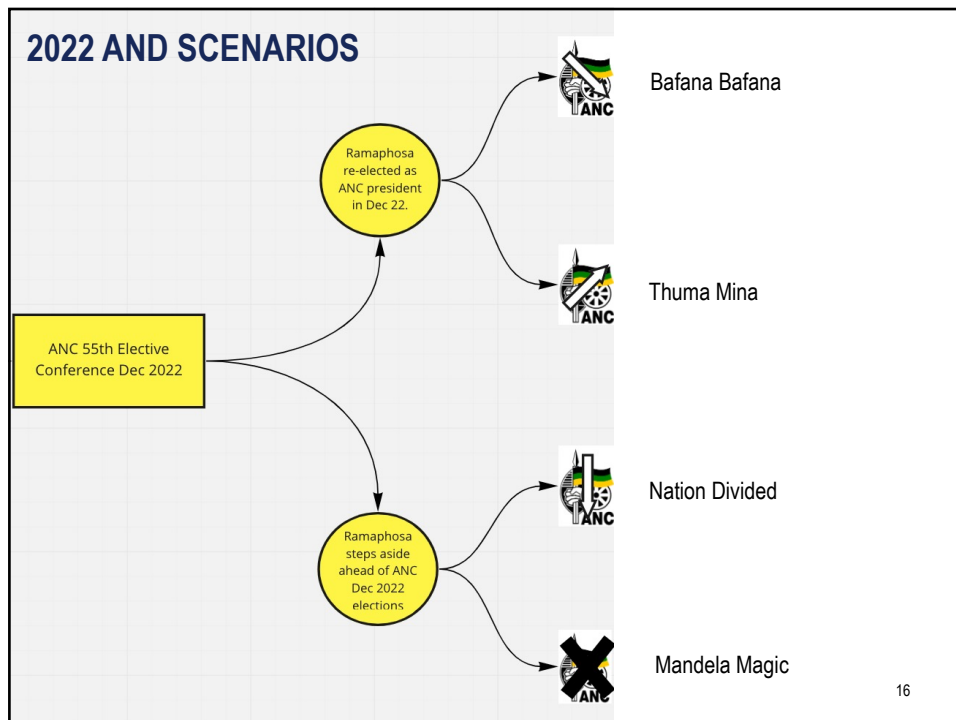
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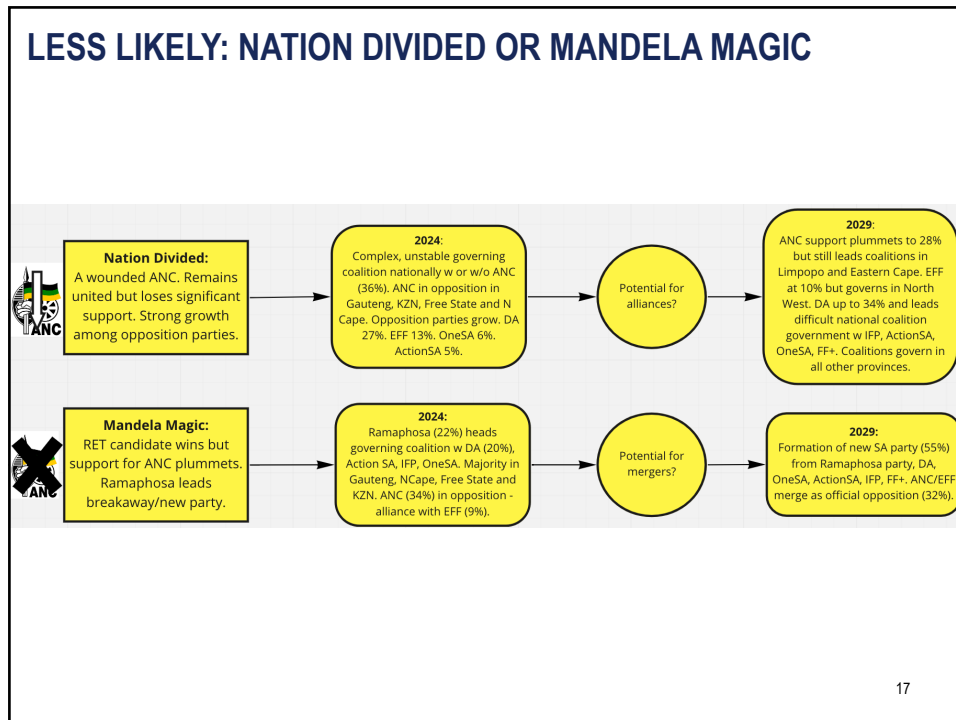
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17



SO MUCH FOR POLITICS

Economics
Futures.issafrica.org

21

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.

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