

Survive we will.

BUT IN WHAT SHAPE OR FORM?

WHAT DOES OUR FUTURE HOLD? In these uncertain times, this is the question on many South Africans' lips. Will we become more prosperous and less divided as a nation or remain hugely unequal and generally poor? Will the ANC split, or eventually be forced into an alliance with the EFF after 2019? Could the DA rule the country after the 2024 elections?

In *Fate of the Nation* Jakkie Cilliers develops three scenarios for our immediate future and beyond: Bafana Bafana, Nation Divided and Mandela Magic.

Cilliers says the ANC is currently paralysed by the power struggle between what he calls the Traditionalists and the Reformers. It is this power struggle that has led to the inept leadership, policy confusion and poor service delivery that has plagued the country in recent years.

Key to which scenario could become our reality is who will be elected to the ANC's top leadership at the party's national conference in December 2017. Whichever group wins there will determine what our future looks like. This is a book for all concerned South Africans.



JAKKIE CILLIERS is a well-known political commentator and Africa analyst. He founded the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and currently serves as chairman of the board of trustees.

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JAKKIE CILLIERS

FATE of the **NATION**



'Incisive, bold and sobering. A revealing forecast and a call to action.'

— CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

FATE

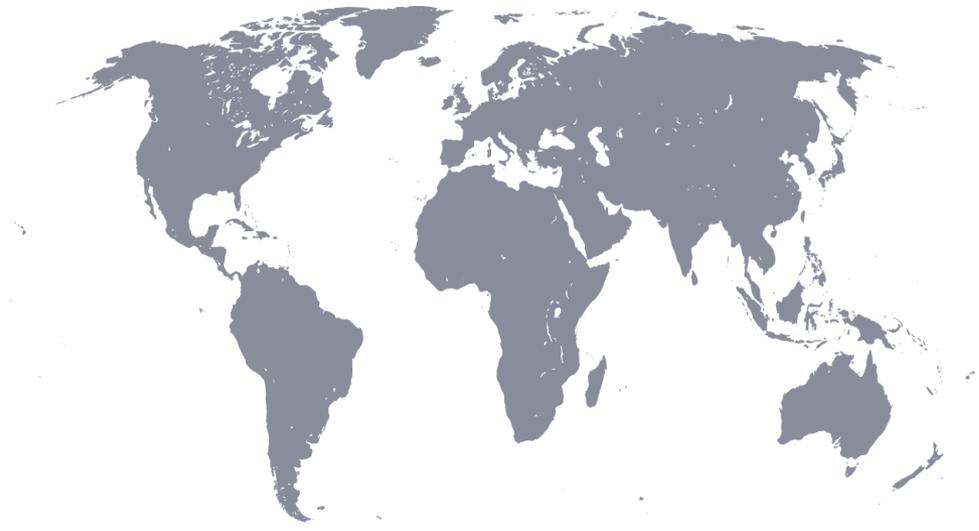
of the **NATION**

3 Scenarios for South Africa's Future

JAKKIE CILLIERS

Introduction: Scenarios past and present

1. Zuma and the future of the ANC
 2. The Republic of No Consequences
 3. What do recent elections tell us?
 4. Three scenarios for the immediate future and beyond
 5. Economic and human-development impacts of the scenarios
 6. Our four greatest challenges
 7. Why is our economy not growing?
 8. Crime, violence and instability
 9. South Africa in comparative context
 10. Towards meaningful radical economic transformation
- Appendix: International Futures forecasting system and modelling

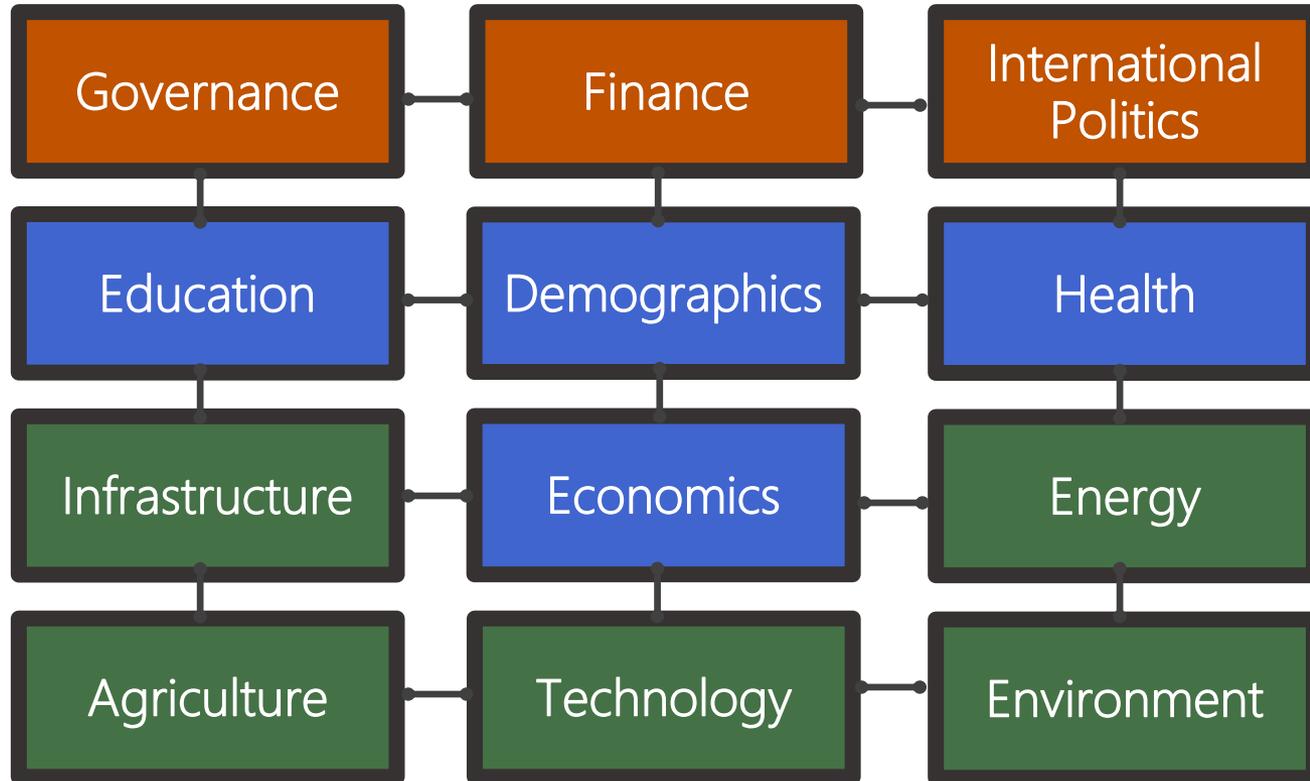


Explore past trends, and the path we're currently on

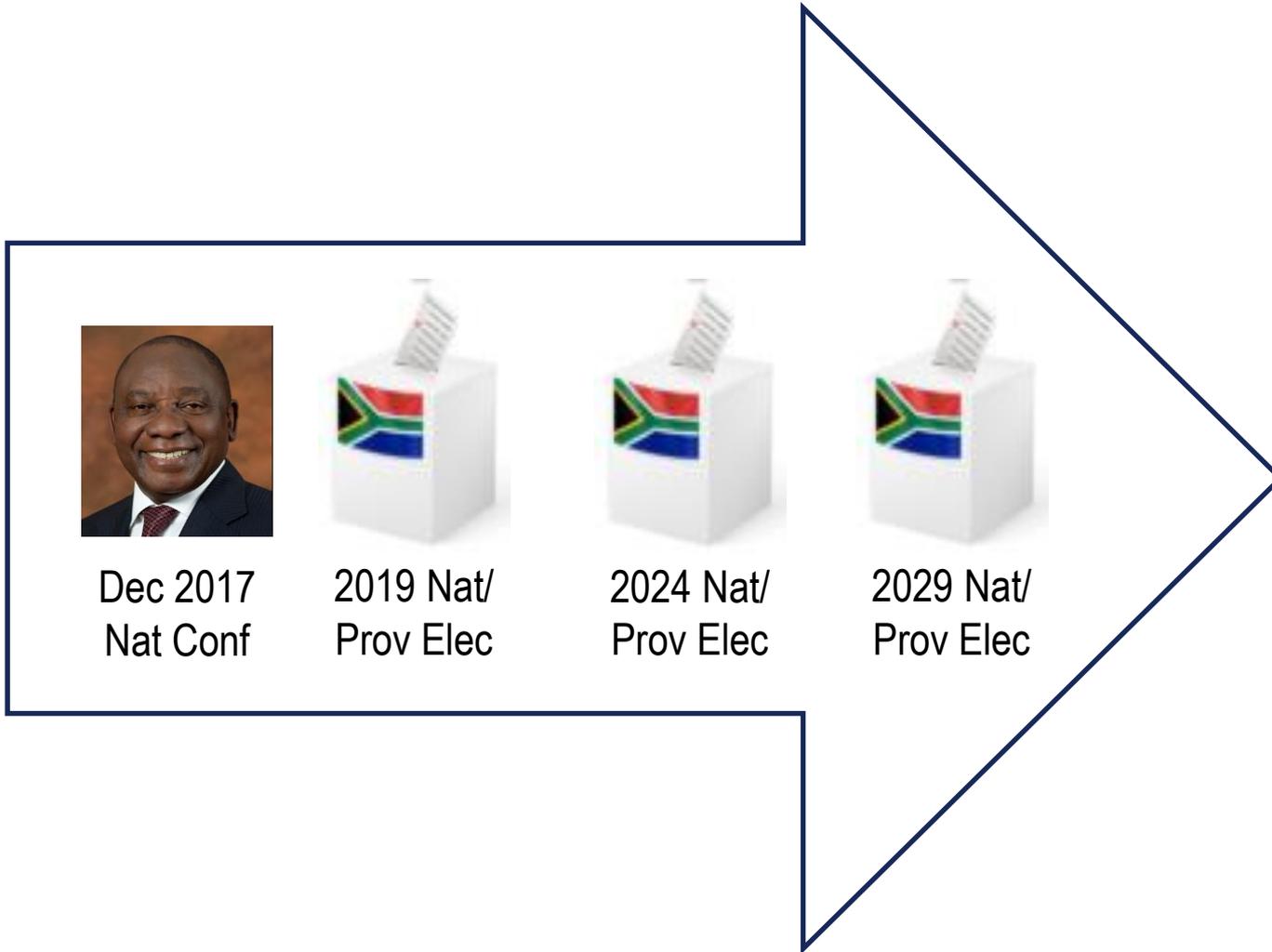
Understand how human, social, and environmental systems interact over time

Shape the way we think about and address major issues facing human development today

Includes over 3 500 historical series and forecasts over 500 variables
Covers 186 countries



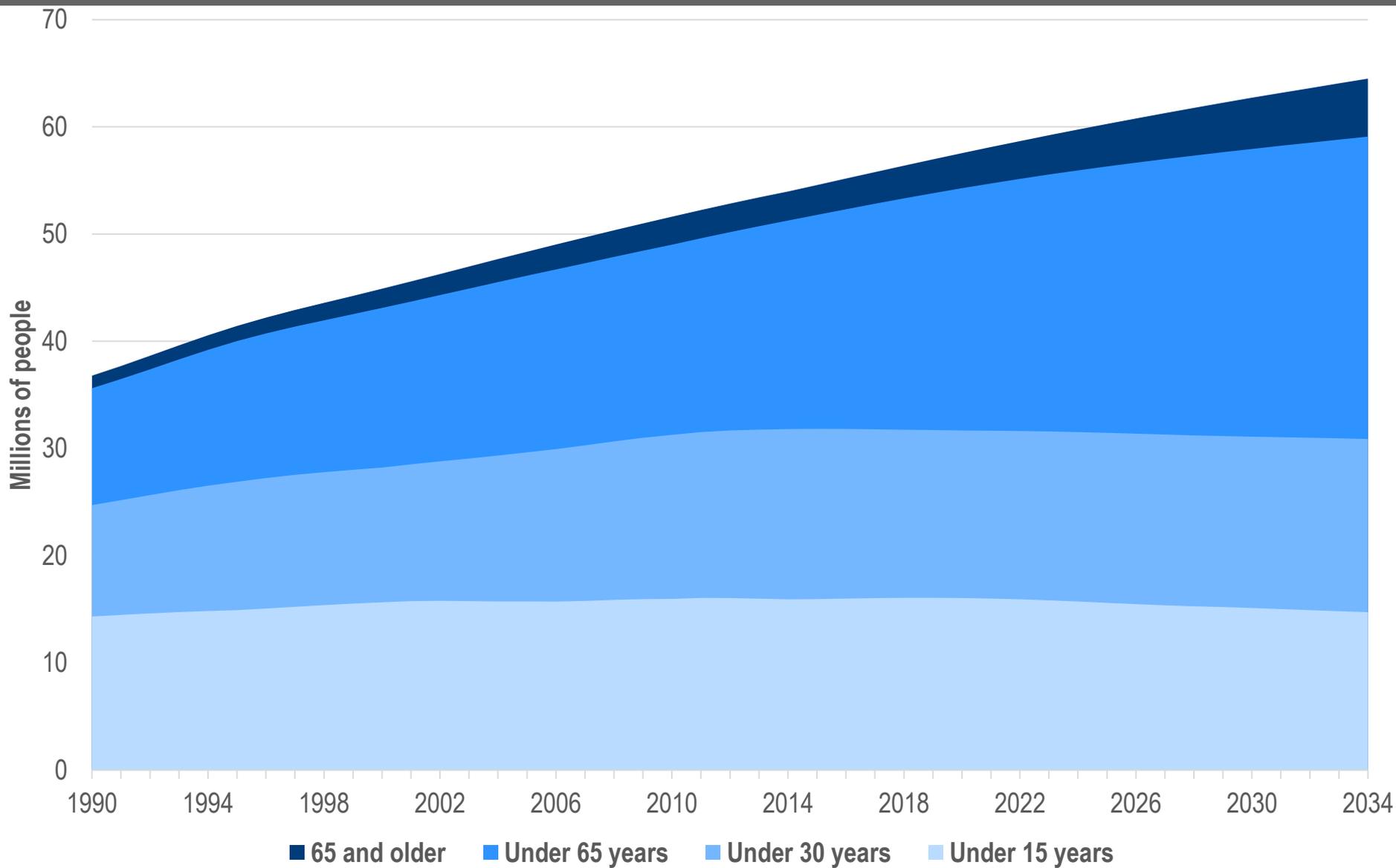
ELECTIONS FORECASTS



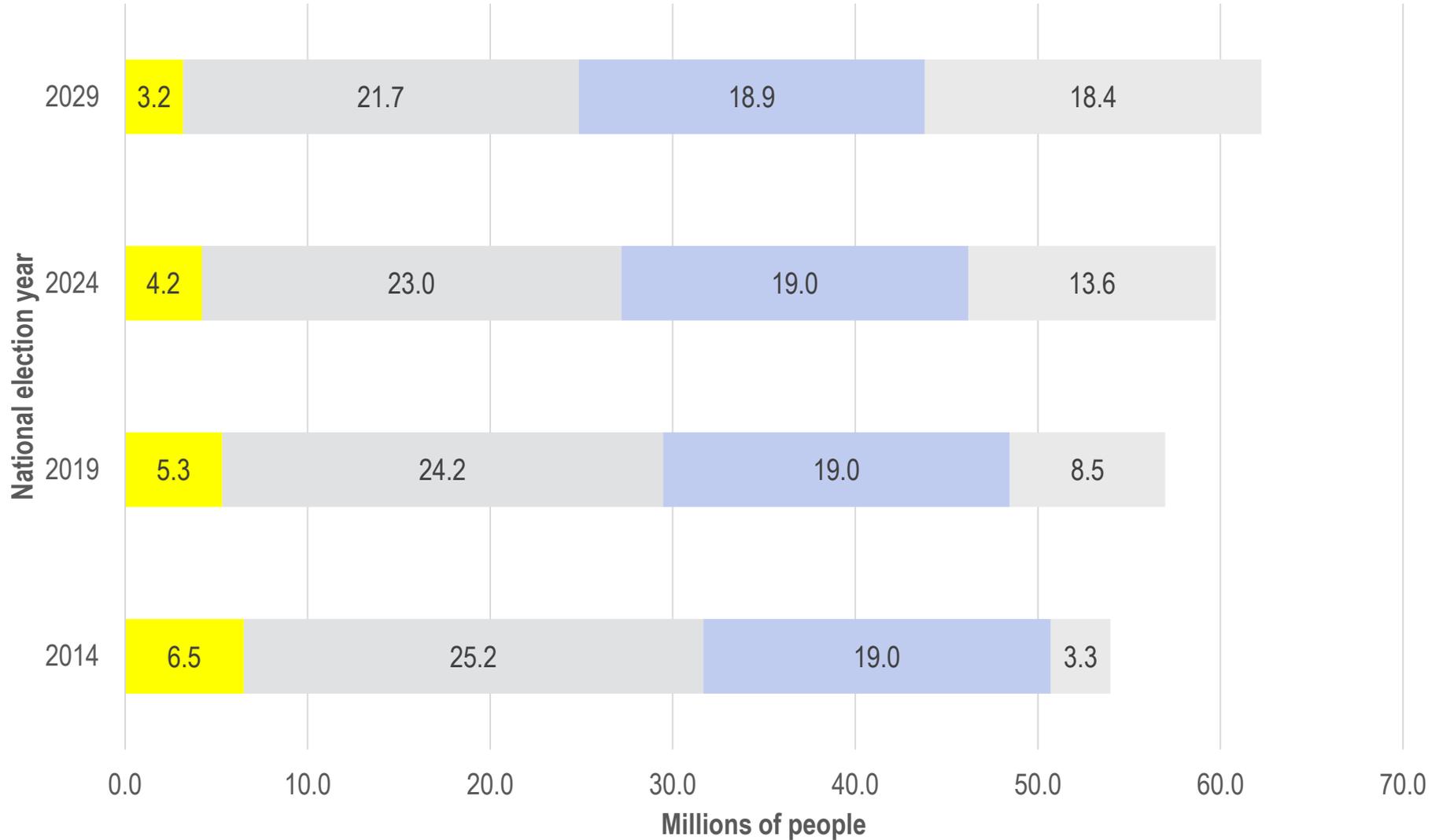
Reversing the current trajectory of the ANC or Competitive politics at national level



UPDATED POPULATION FORECAST

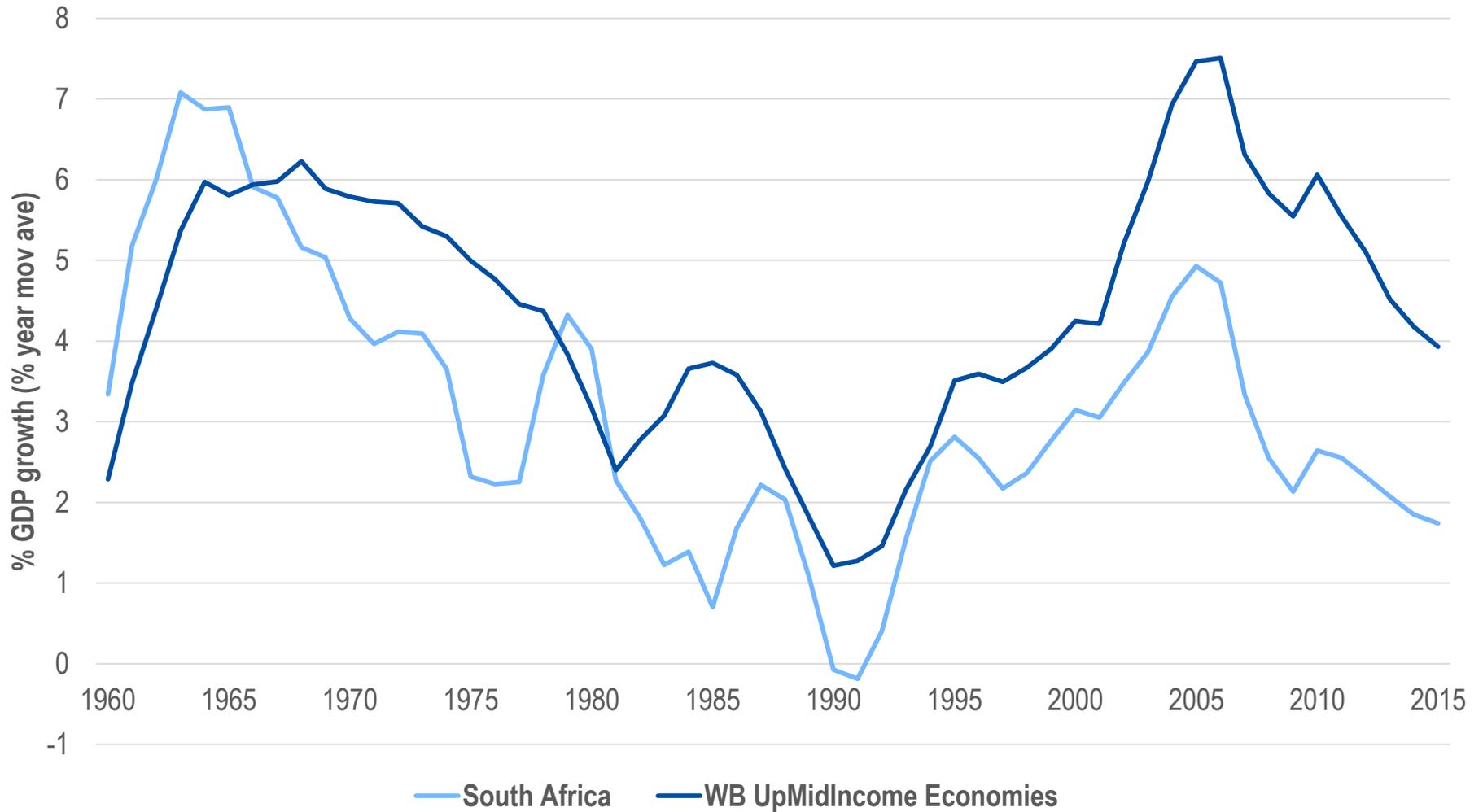


VOTER COHORTS

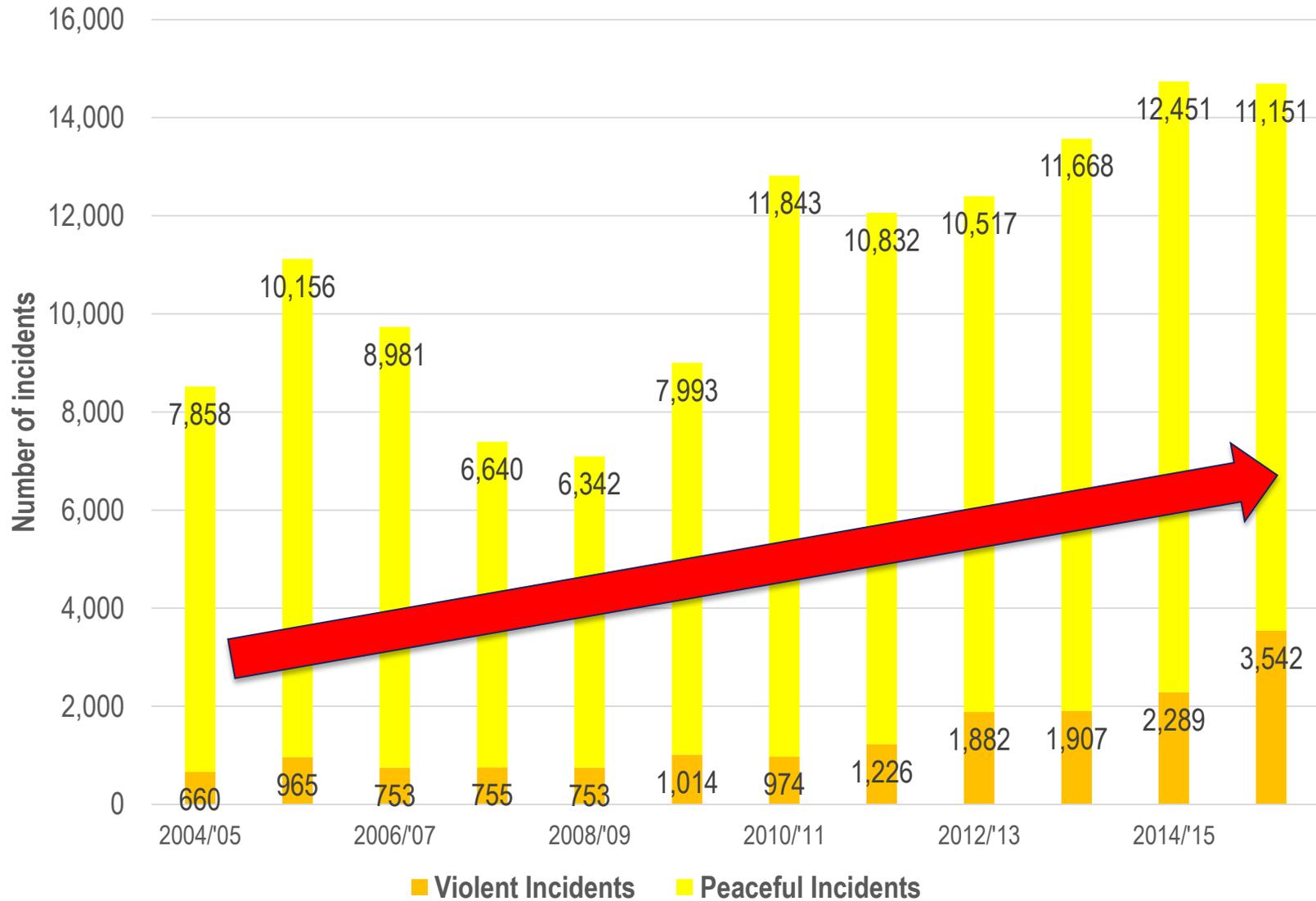


■ Born before 1961
 ■ Born 1961 to 1993
 ■ Born free too young to vote
 ■ Born free voters

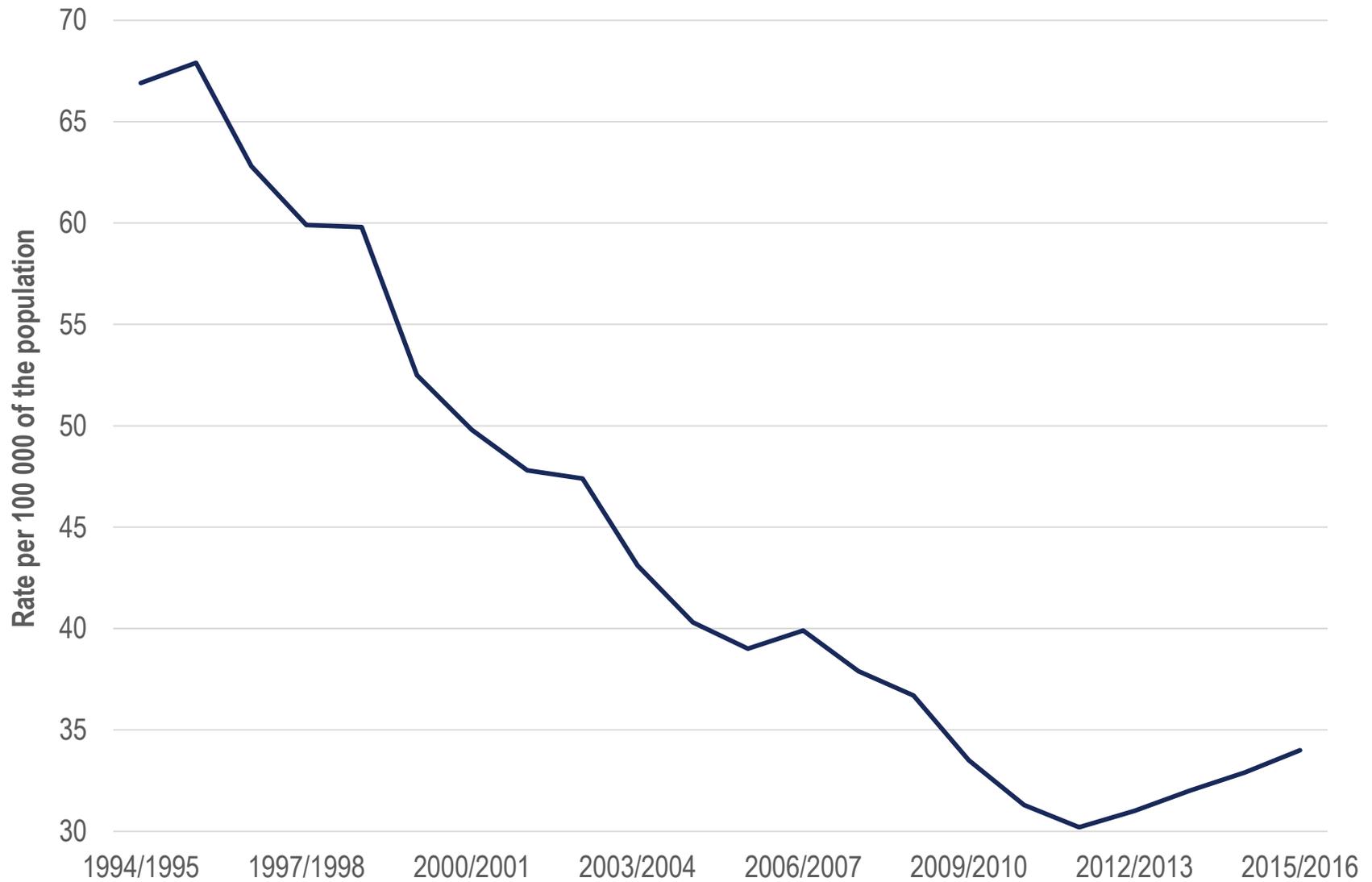
HISTORICAL GROWTH RATES



PROTESTS



MURDER RATE PER 100 000 PERSONS



DOMINANT FACTIONS IN THE ANC



TRADITIONALISTS

- Rural, black nationalist
- Socially conservative
- Dominated by isiZulu speakers
- Centralised state
- Redistributive policies and not constitutionalists
- Premier League, ANCYL, ANCWL and others



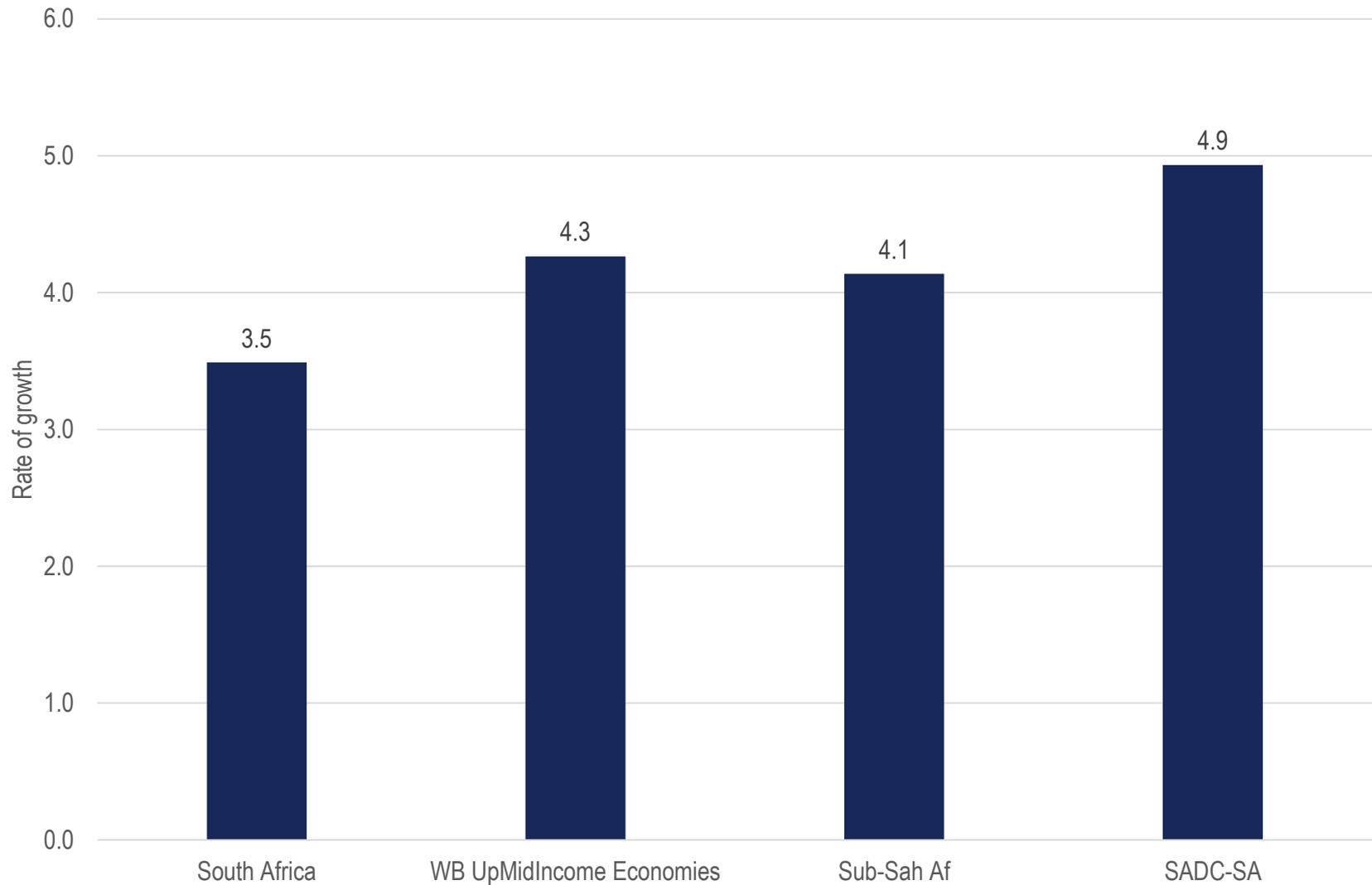
REFORMERS

- Social democrats
- Typically urban
- Supported by born-free voters with jobs
- Multi-ethnic
- Mixed economy & inclusive economic growth
- Gauteng ANC and others

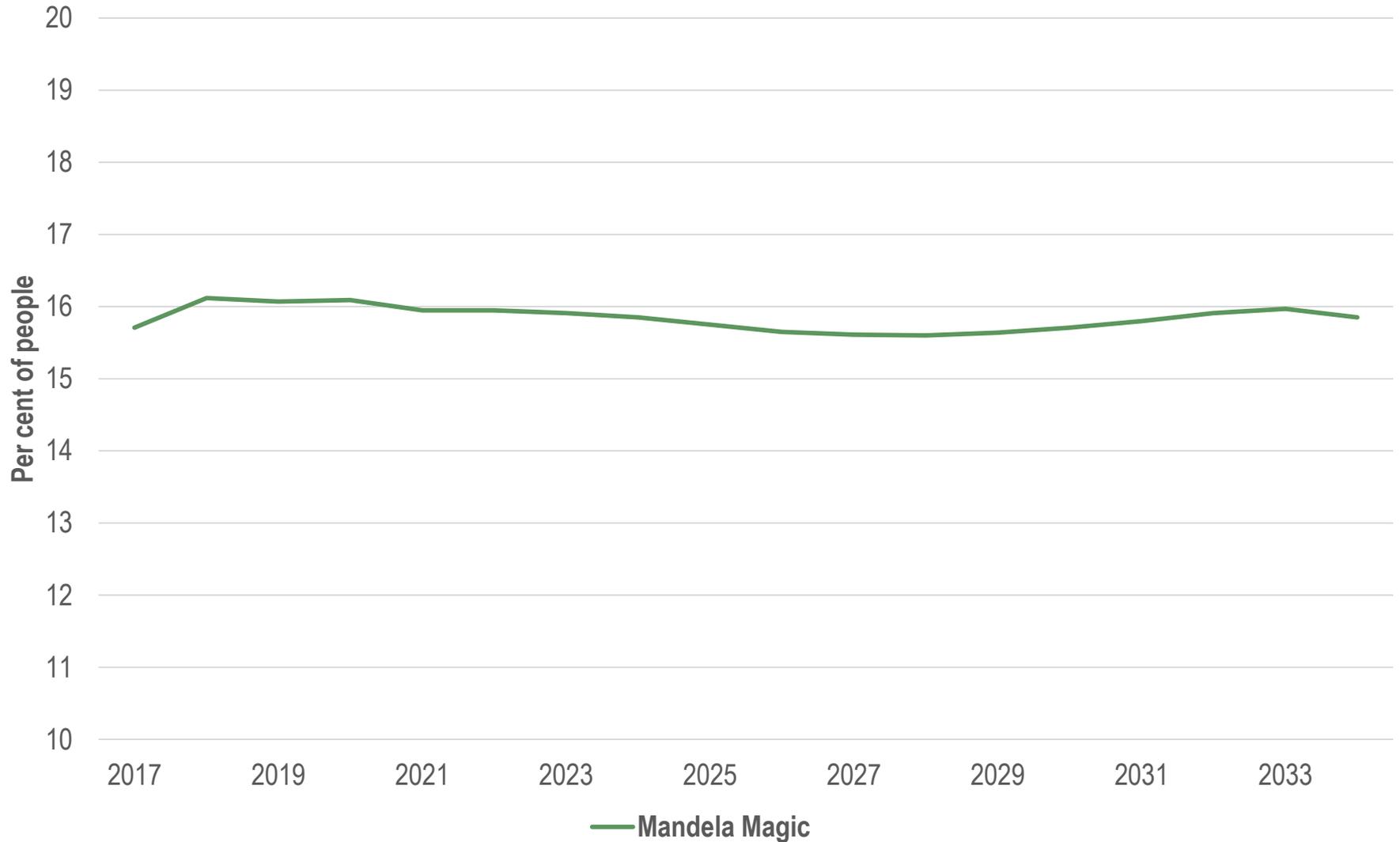
- Unhappy with Zuma
- Not voting or protest vote
- Former supporters of Mbeki and others

SHIFT VOTERS

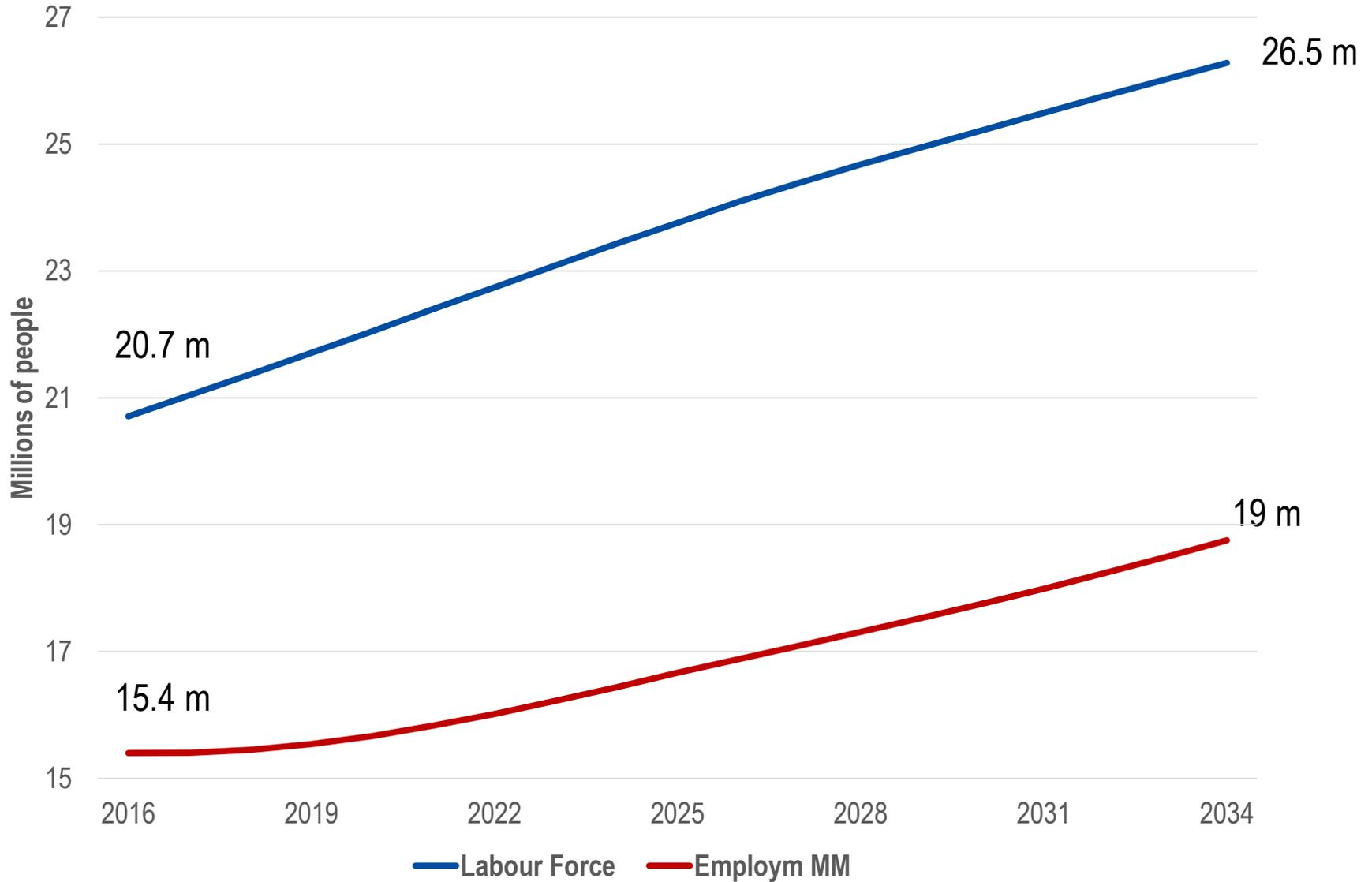
FORECAST OF AVE GDP GROWTH RATES TO 2034



POVERTY AS % OF PEOPLE (US\$1-90)

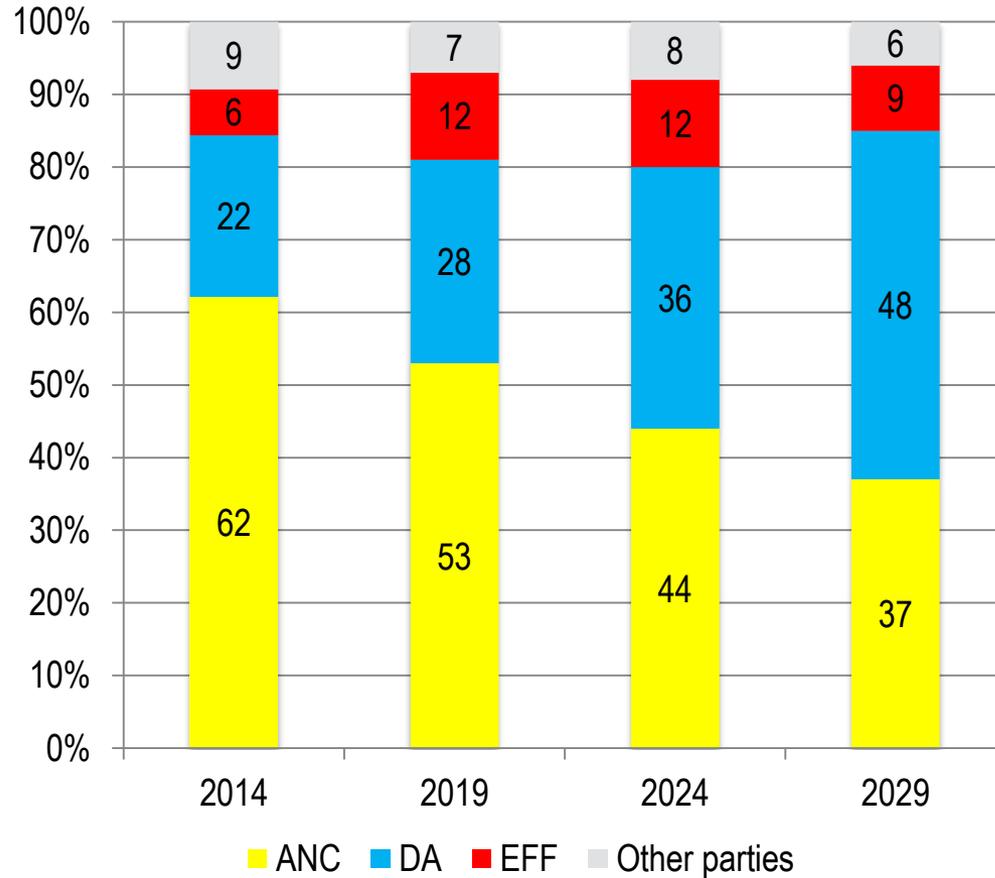


UNEMPLOYMENT

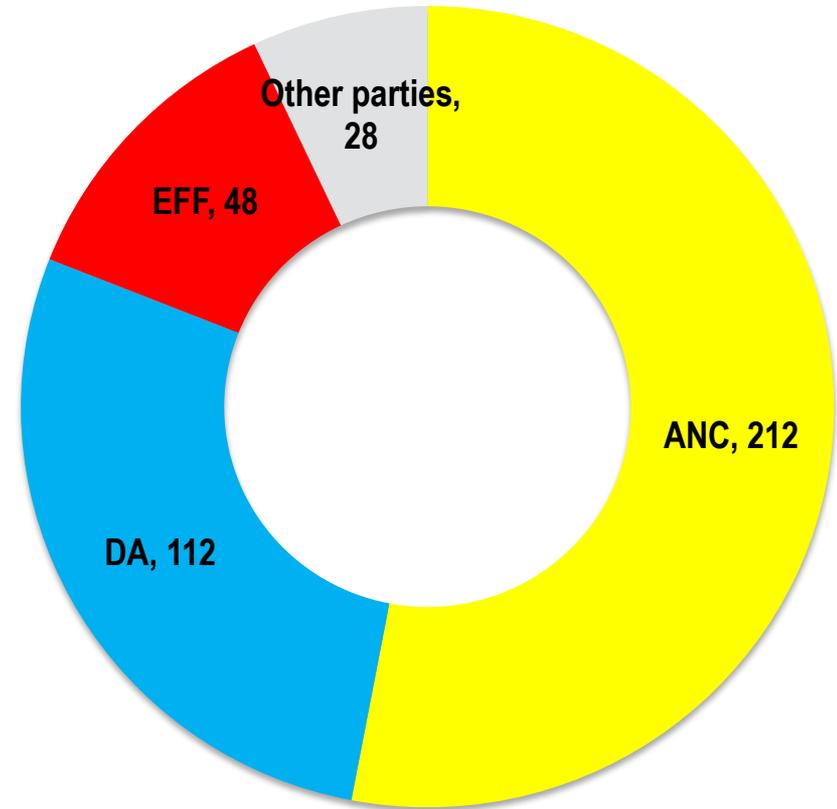


- Probably avoided downgrade
- J Zuma resignation imminent
- SA needs to utilize positive bump
- New cabinet shortly ...Who?
- But ANC divided and Tripartite Alliance a drag – unity?
- DA struggling in WC and EFF needs a new issue ...
- Allow Zondo Commission to chip away
- Key senior appointments & a stable policy framework
- Dismantle the security state
- Elections for UNSC seat & presidency of BRICS

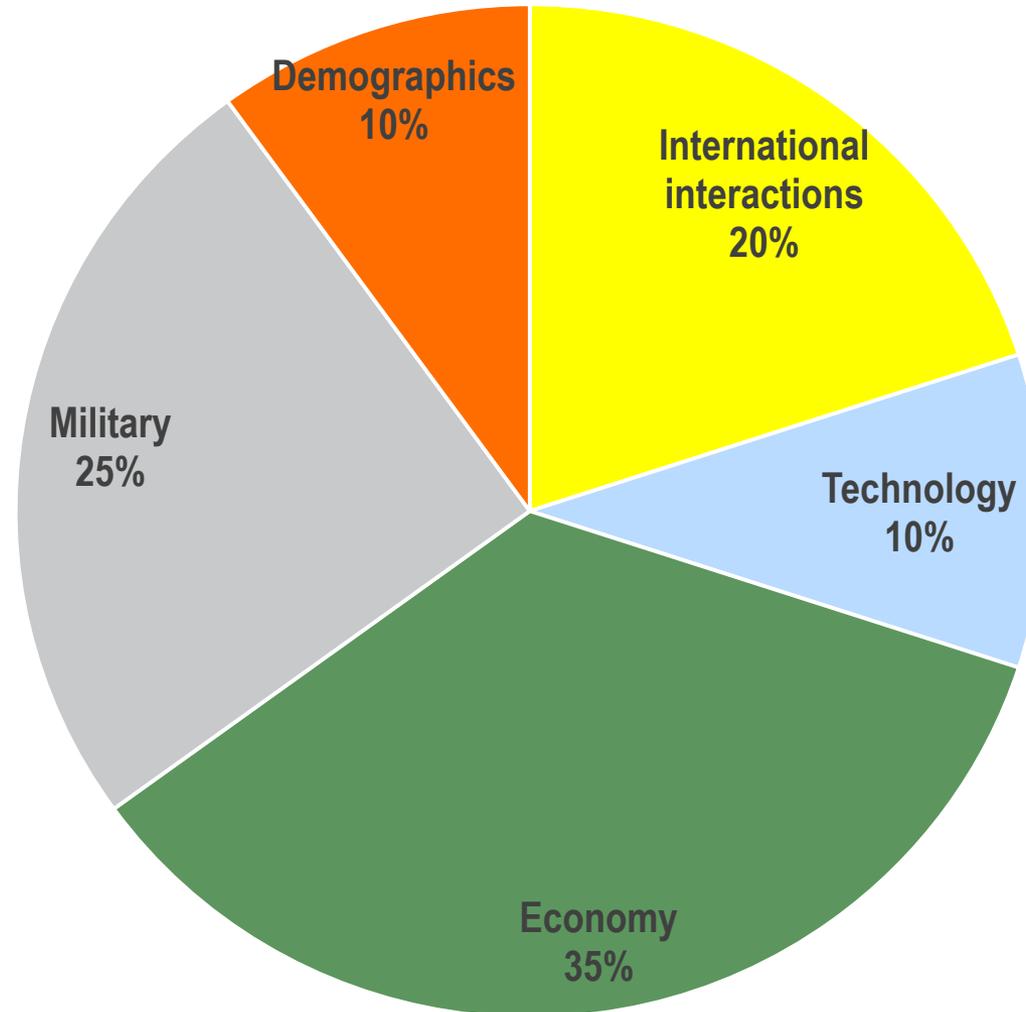
BAFANA BAFANA ELECTION RESULTS



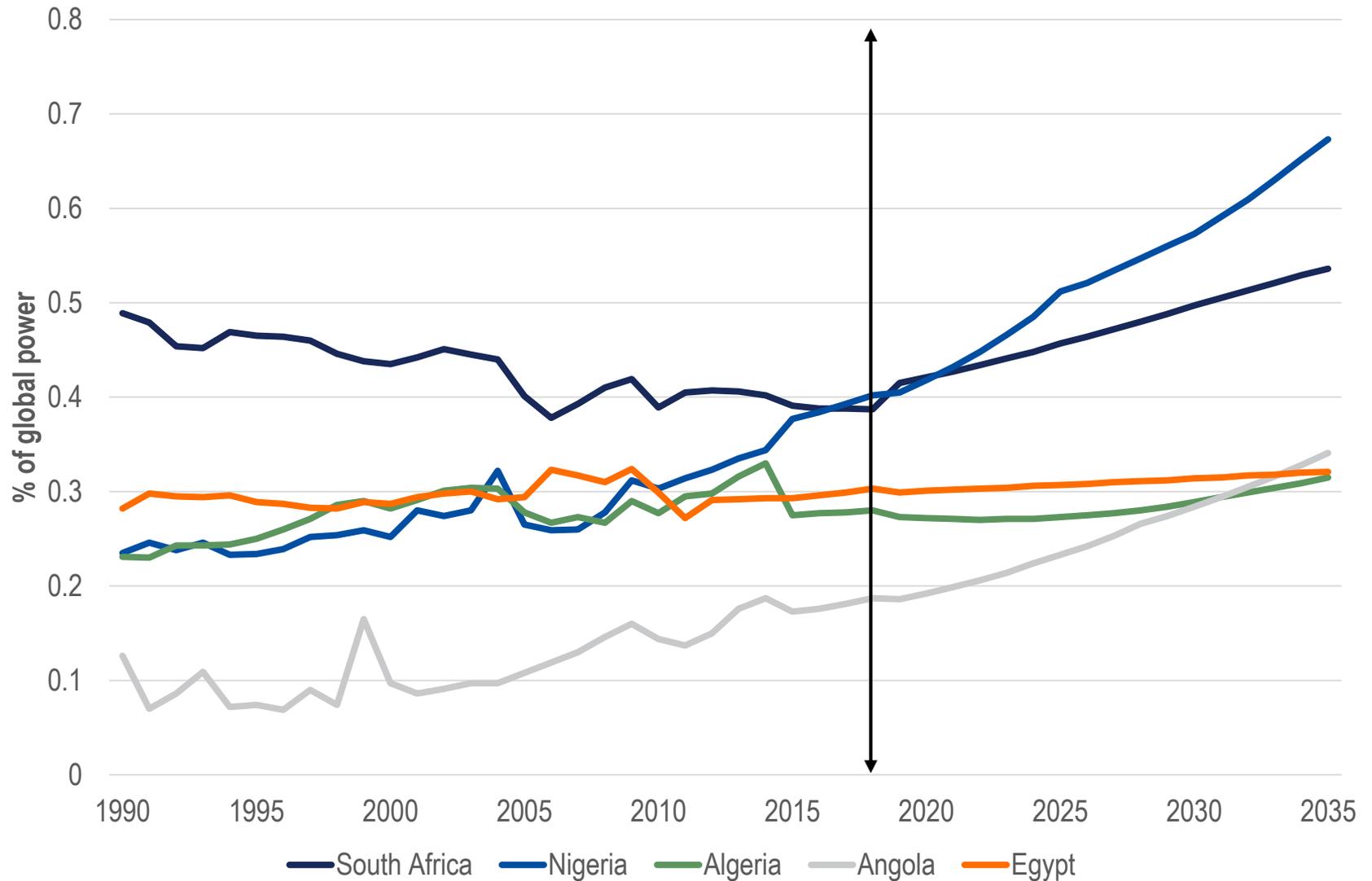
Seats in NA 2019



1. Update and implement the NDP
2. Focus on employment-intensive growth
3. Build economic inclusion
4. Fix education
5. Free up the economy and reduce concentration
6. Change the narrative
7. How to modernize the ANC?
8. Foreign policy?

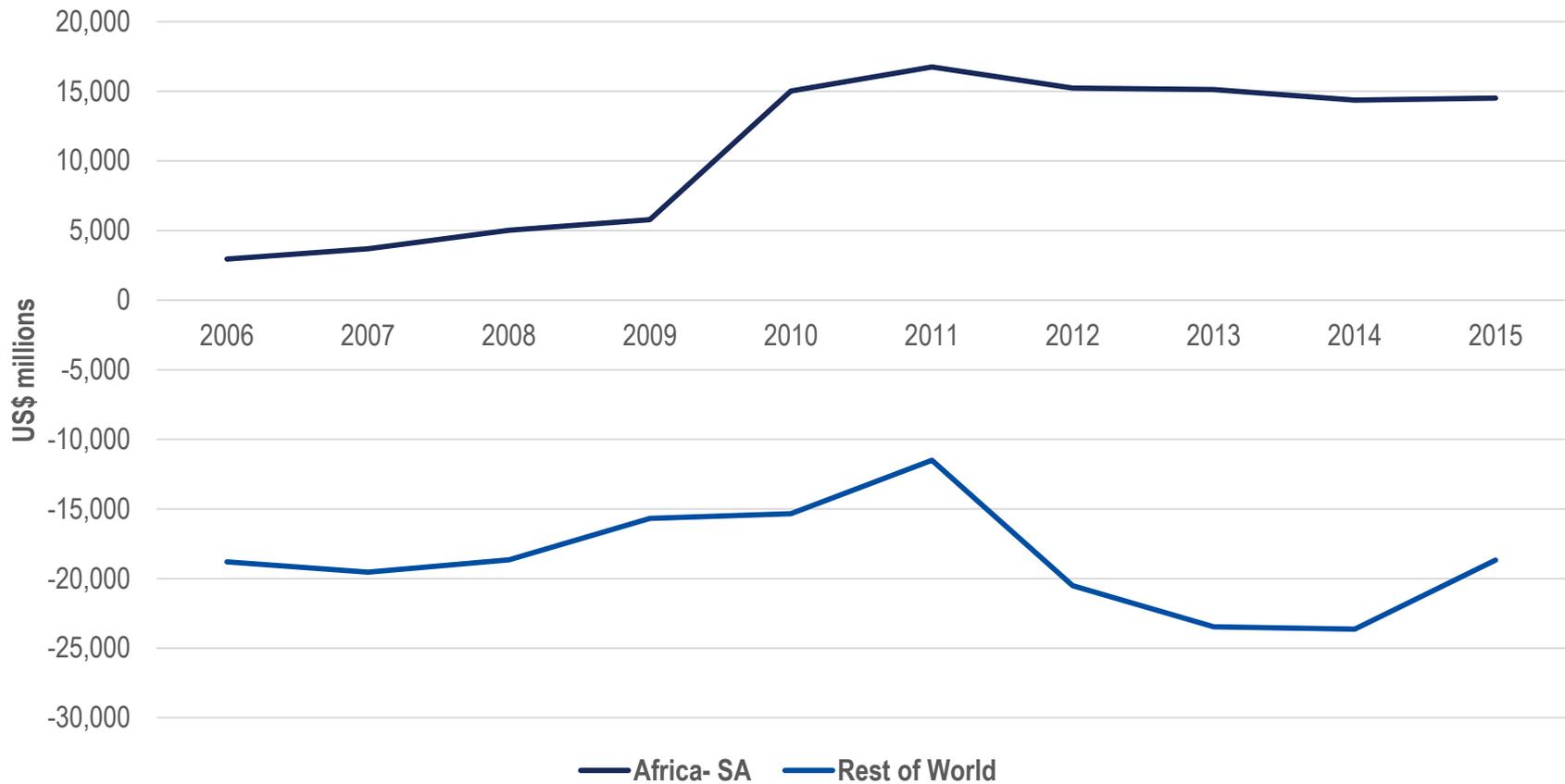


TOP 5 IN AFRICA



- Focus on Africa – regional economic integration = economic diplomacy
- Reduction in cadre-deployment & number of missions
- Irritating elements may disappear, eg ACIRC
- More even-handed and less strident, eg EU
- Less dissonance between values in constitution & foreign policy stance, eg ICC
- More coherence between departments?
- Limited return to multilateralism
- Limited peacekeeping
- An escape from perennial sense of victimhood?

SOUTH AFRICA: BALANCE OF TRADE



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