THE PEOPLE’S CHARTER FOR AFRICA

We, the peoples of South Africa,

Grateful to Africa for feeding our bodies, sheltering us, inspiring our imaginations, and shaping our many cultures and spiritual beliefs;

Mindful that the ancestral wisdom of Africa teaches that we come into being through our relationships with the whole community of life and that to unfold our full humanity we must respect and live in peace with all beings;

Inspired by our love for this ancient land and for the animals, plants, mountains and rivers that are our kin and who safeguard the wellbeing our people;

Mourning the harm that has been caused to the community of life by the arrogant and disrespectful manner in which industrialised societies treat other members of that community;

Convinced of the need to take decisive action to turn the course of our societies away from selfishness, greed, exploitation, and separateness;

Determined to create healthy human communities in which everyone lives well through respecting Earth in all her many forms;

Standing in solidarity with all who defend the rights of the natural communities to which we belong;

Pledge ourselves to strive whole-heartedly together to live in harmony within the community of life and to respect and defend the rights of all beings to fulfil their role within that community.
Earth is sacred

Earth is sacred to us and no person or legal entity has the right to pollute or degrade the soils, waters, and atmosphere that sustain life.

All plants, animals and other creatures are our kin and we shall respect, uphold and defend their rights to play their unique role within the community of life.

Sacred forests, pools, mountains and other places shall remain wild.”

Each has the right to its place in the community

Every creature, large or small, every plant, rock, mountain, river, or sea that has come into being has the right to exist in its place, to be respected and to fulfil its role within the community of life.

All shall live well

We shall respect the rights of all the other members of the natural communities to which we belong so that all may live well in harmony with one another.
We shall safeguard the fertility of the soils, the purity of water and air, and the health of natural communities that make living well possible so that all beings can live well now and in the future.

Human communities shall provide their people with food, water, shelter and social opportunities in ways that do not prevent natural communities from doing the same for their other members.

No person has the right to pursue their own wellbeing at the expense of the natural communities, systems and processes that sustain us all.

A giving for every taking

Every person and each generation shall maintain natural balances by giving to natural communities in return for what they receive.

Until the composition of the atmosphere is restored to balance each person and each generation must ensure that their presence on Earth causes more carbon to be removed from the atmosphere than is released into it.

Healing shall replace exploitation

Human activities that disrupt vital ecological balances and functions shall be stopped and replaced with practices that improve the health of natural communities.

Practices that erode the land and deplete the natural fertility of the soil shall be replaced with growing and harvesting practices that work with natural processes to enhance the fertility of the land and the health and resilience of natural communities.

Communities shall decide for themselves

The rights of people to benefit from the land and other beings flows from their relationships with them and decisions that impact on the integrity or health of a natural community shall be made by people who have deep relationships with that community and will experience the consequences of the decisions most directly.

Those who are not part of a natural community do not have the right to make decisions or take actions that harm or threaten the integrity, health or functioning of that community.

Those who intentionally or recklessly damage natural communities or put them at risk shall forfeit the right to make decisions that may harm them.

Communities shall protect themselves

Each community has the right to defend itself from being harmed by outsiders. People who respect and live in harmony with the other members of a natural community shall care for and defend that community and stop human activities that they have good reason to believe may harm the community.

Life before property and profit

The rights of present and future generations to live in harmony within healthy natural communities shall prevail over the rights of any person or legal entity to property or profits.

The interests of corporations, the state and other artificial entities shall not be permitted to take precedence over the interests of natural communities.

Those that harm Earth shall be held accountable

Any person or legal entity that harms or profits at the expense of a natural community shall be held accountable for restoring its integrity, functioning and health.

No person shall be permitted to use corporations or other legal devices to avoid or limit their responsibilities to their fellow members of natural communities.

Corporations and legal entities that harm or violate the rights of natural communities shall forfeit their privileges as legal persons.

All shall have legal rights

The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth shall be adopted and implemented.

Laws that recognise, respect, and protect the rights of all members of natural communities shall replace those that give people or legal entities the right to pollute the waters, seas, soils, and atmosphere, to inflict cruelty and to violate the rights of natural communities.

Public bodies shall safeguard the conditions for living well

Public bodies shall promote human development through living well in respectful co-existence within natural communities and shall safeguard the conditions necessary to do so.

In order to do so they shall:

(a) make the effective protection of the integrity and health of natural communities and the maintenance of the conditions necessary to live well their highest priority;
(b) develop and implement policies, laws and systems that prevent human activities from disrupting the natural processes and functions on which we all depend;
(c) cease funding activities that disrupt or endanger vital natural processes and systems; and
(d) promote values, technologies, production methods and behaviour patterns that enable people to live well and that benefit the whole community of life.
Let all people who love Earth now say, as we say here:

WE SHALL STRIVE TOGETHER, INSPIRED BY OUR LOVE OF LIFE UNTIL ALL ARE LIVING WELL!

MAYIBUYE IAFRIKA!      IAFRIKA MAYIBUYE!
Major sites for neoliberal plus sustainable dev. discourses

“A gift from the corporate world!”

Johannesburg World Summit 2002

Sustainable Development

Profit
Self Regulation
Unfair Trade
but will divisions continue between greens and reds?
South Africa’s Reconstruction and Development Programme and post-apartheid socio-economic policies: What relevance today?

presented by Patrick Bond (RDP co-editor, 1993-94; RDP White Paper chief drafter, 1994; RDP Policy Audit co-editor, 1999; editor/drafter of a dozen post-apartheid policies)

1) SA and the social-democratic tradition
2) Background to SA liberation, RDP
3) RDP method and selected content
4) Post-apartheid diversion from RDP
world’s leading scholar of social democracy, Gosta Esping-Andersen


- Where did social democracy come from, and what policies cause welfare states to look the way they do?

  - first through trade unions, then a political party, Scandinavian workers attempted to ‘decommodify’ labour-power (through assuring benefits that allow them to leave the job market) and to ‘destratify’ access to welfare services (‘universalism’), and in the process to build in redistribution to contribution systems.

  - Class coalitions are crucial to understanding how a numerically-important but minority class (workers) can forge alliances with, e.g., rural people, to establish ‘social-democratic’ systems, and conversely why close relations between capital and the state often lead to ‘liberal’ welfare systems that commodify labour and establish means-tests for benefits.

  - The three clusters of welfare states have developed are social democratic (Scandinavia and some other N.European countries); corporatist (middle-Europe); and neoliberal (Anglo-Saxon countries).
South African liberation dates

1912 – ANC formed, Gandhi’s *Satyagraha* civil disobedience (for Indians)
1955 – *Freedom Charter* developed by all branches of Congress Movement
1960 – Sharpeville Massacre (69 dead in nonviolent Pan Africanist Congress demo)
1961 – ANC turns to ‘armed struggle’ and international pressure
1963 – Nelson Mandela imprisoned for 27 years, ANC banned and exiled
1973 – rise of trade union movement in Durban, and Black Consciousness Movement
1974-75 – liberation of Mozambique/Angola from Portugal
1976 – student uprising in Soweto
1980 – liberation of Zimbabwe from Rhodesian colonialism
1980s – slow, uneven reforms with repression
1984 – upsurge of urban civic movement protests, several states of emergency declared
1985 – SA’s worst economic crisis, leading English capital to finally break alliance with apartheid regime
1986 – sanctions intensify, secret talks with ANC begin in earnest
1988 – SA loses battle to Angolans/Cubans at Cuito Cuanavale
1989 – Namibia liberated from SA colonialism, Soviet Union falls apart, PW Botha has stroke and reform-minded FW deKlerk becomes apartheid’s leader
1990 – Mandela released, ANC/SACP unbanned, ‘talks about talks’
1993 – SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani assassinated
1994 – ANC adopts RDP, wins 66% vote in election, takes power
**Decisive factors in ending apartheid:**

- **Internal protest** – by unions, students, communities – costly, difficult to control
- **SA military unable to control Southern African region**
- **With end of Soviet support, ANC more openly pro-Western**; elite deal-making feasible; corruption oiled transition
- **Economic crises** created business desire to end sanctions, find exit route from apartheid and from SA’s small market
RDP precedents

– *Freedom Charter* (1955)
– other ANC and civil society statements
– *Preparing to Govern* (1992)
– organic struggles over decades
– Cosatu debates led to RDP team, Sept 1993
– *Making Democracy Work* (MacroEconomic Research Group), November 1993
– December 1993 IMF loan agreement – negated much of the subsequent RDP
Major **section headings** of Freedom Charter, South Africa’s first social-democratic manifesto

- The People Shall Govern!
- All National Groups Shall have Equal Rights!
- The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!
- The Land Shall be Shared Among Those Who Work It!
- All Shall be Equal Before the Law!
- All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights!
- There Shall be Work and Security!
- The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!
- There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!
- There Shall be Peace and Friendship!
controversial clause in 1955 Freedom Charter:
The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth!

• The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

• **The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;**

• All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

• All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.
The RDP methodology:
each sector mandated to include

- Problem Statement
- Vision and Objectives
- Policy mandates and targets
- Implementation
- Financing
The RDP

PREFACE

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE RDP
   1.1 What is the RDP?
   1.2 Why do we need an RDP?
   1.3 Six basic principles of the RDP
   1.4 The key programmes of the RDP
   1.5 Conclusion
The RDP

2. MEETING BASIC NEEDS
   2.1 Problem statement
   2.2 Vision and objectives
   2.3 Jobs through public works
   2.4 Land reform
   2.5 Housing and services
   2.6 Water and sanitation
   2.7 Energy and electrification
   2.8 Telecommunications
   2.9 Transport
   2.10 Environment
   2.11 Nutrition
   2.12 Health care
   2.13 Social security and social welfare
The RDP

3. DEVELOPING HUMAN RESOURCES
   3.1 Problem statement
   3.2 Vision and objectives
   3.3 Education and training
   3.4 Arts and culture
   3.5 Sport and recreation
   3.6 Youth development
The RDP

4. BUILDING THE ECONOMY
   4.1 Problem statement
   4.2 Vision and objectives
   4.3 Integrating reconstruction and development
   4.4 Industry, trade and commerce
   4.5 Resource-based industries
   4.6 Upgrading infrastructure
   4.7 Reform of the financial sector
   4.8 Labour and worker rights
   4.9 Southern African regional policy
The RDP

5. DEMOCRATISING THE STATE AND SOCIETY

5.1 Problem statement
5.2 Vision and objectives
5.3 Constituent Assembly
5.4 National and Provincial Assemblies
5.5 National and provincial government
5.6 Security forces
5.7 The administration of justice
5.8 Prisons
5.9 Restructuring the public sector
5.10 The public service
5.11 Parastatals and state development institutions
5.12 Local government
5.13 Civil society
5.14 A democratic information programme
The RDP

6. IMPLEMENTING THE RDP
   6.1 Problem statement
   6.2 Vision and objectives
   6.3 Implementing and coordinating structures
   6.4 Planning frameworks
   6.5 Financing the RDP
The RDP’s growth/development link

If growth is defined as an increase in output, then it is of course a basic goal. However, where that growth occurs, how sustainable it is, how it is distributed, the degree to which it contributes to building long-term productive capacity and human resource development, and what impact it has on the environment, are the crucial questions when considering reconstruction and development.

The RDP integrates growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution into a unified programme. The key to this link is an infrastructural programme that will provide access to modern and effective services like electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health, education and training for all our people. This programme will both meet basic needs and open up previously suppressed economic and human potential in urban and rural areas. In turn this will lead to an increased output in all sectors of the economy, and by modernising our infrastructure and human resource development, we will also enhance export capacity.
The RDP’s growth/development link

Five key programmes are:

- meeting basic needs;
- developing our human resources;
- building the economy;
- democratising the state and society, and
- implementing the RDP.
The RDP’s growth/development link

The first priority is to begin to meet the basic needs of people - jobs, land, housing, water, electricity, telecommunications, transport, a clean and healthy environment, nutrition, health care and social welfare. In this way we can begin to reconstruct family and community life in our society...
The RDP’s growth/development link

A key focus throughout the RDP is on ensuring a full and equal role for women in every aspect of our economy and society. With this emphasis and with the emphasis on affirmative action throughout the RDP, we must unlock boundless energies and creativity suppressed by racism and discrimination.

An arts and culture programme is set out as a crucial component of developing our human resources. This will assist us in unlocking the creativity of our people, allowing for cultural diversity within the project of developing a unifying national culture, rediscovering our historical heritage and assuring that adequate resources are allocated.
The RDP’s globalisation warning

The pressures of the world economy and the operations of international organisations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and GATT, affect our neighbours and South Africa in different ways. In the case of our neighbours, they were pressured into implementing programmes with adverse effects on employment and standards of living. It is essential that we combine to develop effective strategies for all Southern African countries.
RDP’s neoliberal economic mandates

• maintaining excessively strict limits on state expenditure;

• promotion of international competitiveness;

• endorsement of an independent Reserve Bank insulated from democratic policy inputs.
RDP’s progressive social promises

- RDP’s central commitment to meet basic needs of all South Africans, in first five years of liberation;
- a million new low-cost houses available to even the poorest South Africans;
- electrification of 2.5 million houses;
- hundreds of thousands of new jobs;
- redistribution of 30 per cent of good agricultural land;
- clean water and sanitation for all;
- a cleaner environment;
- full reproductive rights for women;
- universal primary health care and social welfare;
- massive educational initiative.
The RDP’s progressive institutional promises

Several specific foundations which might one day form the basis for deeper socio-economic transformation:

• new Housing Bank to blend state subsidies with workers’ pension funds (protected against repayment risk) so as to ensure loans were affordable’

• call to change (by law) directors of the major mutually-owned insurance companies to encourage reinvestment;

• decisive commitment to reproductive rights (the RDP pointed out women’s existing oppression and offered solutions);

• anti-trust attacks on corporate power.
The RDP’s progressive political promises

The RDP supports what was termed ‘a strong but slim state’ which would continually empower civil society through not only capacity-building but also opportunities to input into major decisions;

in the *RDP* chapter on ‘Democratising State and Society,’ the phrase ‘deepening democracy’ took on more substantive content through explicit endorsement of direct democracy (‘people-driven development,’ ‘community control,’ etc).
Most progressive provision in the

*RDP White Paper* (September 1994)

‘A vibrant and independent civil society is essential to the democratisation of our society which is envisaged by the *RDP*. Mass-based organisations will exercise essential checks and balances on the power of Government to act unilaterally, without transparency, corruptly, or inefficiently. The *RDP* envisages a social partnership and Government should therefore provide services and support to all sectors, especially organised labour, the civics, business, women’s groups and the churches ... Government has a duty in terms of the *RDP* to encourage independent organisation where it does not exist, such as rural areas ... Strong consumer and environmental movements are essential in a modern industrial society and should be facilitated by Government.’
The RDP

‘We have emerged as the majority party on the basis of the programme which is contained in the Reconstruction and Development book. That is going to be the cornerstone, the foundation, upon which the Government of National Unity is going to be based. I appeal to all leaders who are going to serve in this government to honour this programme.’

Nelson Mandela, May 1994

the RDP was a multisectoral programme whose analysis, visions, concrete demands and implementing strategies were the result of decades of everyday struggles, and since as drafters we tried to respect the integrity of those struggles, and since the document was constructed in late 1993 and early 1994 in the most participatory manner feasible under the circumstances,

RDP bears ongoing consideration... in part because RDP mandate was ignored, and racial apartheid was replaced by class apartheid
inherited racial-apartheid ‘Swiss cheese’ geography of white (and ‘Indian’ and ‘coloured’) areas, with bantustans for rural black Africans.
The Rainbow Nation and its contradictions
Towards a neoliberal apartheid?


now: class-apartheid ‘Swiss cheese’ geography of formerly white areas and former bantustans: correlation of bantustans to current poverty and state service shortages
Why? ‘Globalisation made me do it!’ (refrain from ANC)

World Bank, IMF offered loans, ‘advice’, early 1990s

• $850 million IMF loan to South Africa in December 1993 carried conditions of wage restraint and cuts in the budget, which in turn hampered the transition to democracy;

• World Bank promotion of ‘market-oriented’ land reform in 1993-94, based on willing-seller, willing-buyer, so that instead of 30% land redistribution as promised in 1994, less than 1% of good land was redistributed;

• World Bank endorsement of bank-centred housing policy in 1994, with recommendations for smaller subsidies, pit latrines, no electricity connections, inadequate roads, and communal taps instead of house taps;

• World Bank's conservative role in welfare commission in 1996, which recommended a 44% cut in the monthly grant to impoverished, dependent children from R135 per month to R75;

• World Bank's participation in failed Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy in June 1996, through contributing both two staff economists and its economic model, etc...
20th c. South African growth/decline

globalisation and world stagnation

deglobalisation: growth of infant industries during Great Depression
declining SA manufacturing profit rate

Why in SA (and everywhere)?

depth-rooted ‘overaccumulation crisis’ (and then 1985 banking crisis) finally responsible for late 1980s break between white Johannesburg capital and racist Pretoria government

Source: Nicoli Nattrass, Transformation 1989
YOU’LL BE GLAD TO KNOW THAT ACCORDING TO THE ANALYSTS, THE ECONOMIC FUNDAMENTALS ARE IN PLACE.
results of neoliberalism

- society became much more **unequal**, with the Gini coefficient up from an extremely high 0.60 in 1994 to 0.72 in 2006;
- **unemployment doubled** to a rate around 40% (if those who have given up looking for work are counted, around 25% otherwise);
- state delivery of houses, water/sanitation, electricity, healthcare and education are considered either **inferior or more expensive** than during apartheid;
- a ‘general decline in the state of the **environment**’ since 1994, according to the leading state regulatory official following a 2006 ecological audit;
results of neoliberalism

- most profitable sectors of the SA economy, as everywhere, have been finance, insurance and real estate, due to speculative and trade-related activity associated with late neoliberalism;

- labour-intensive sectors such as textiles, footwear and gold mining shrunk by 1-5% per year, and overall, manufacturing as a percentage of GDP also declined;

- private gross fixed capital formation was a meager 15-17 percent for most of post-apartheid era;

- GDP growth fails to incorporate the depletion of non-renewable resources, and if such calculation is adjusted, SA would have a net negative per person rate of national wealth accumulation, according to even the World Bank.
interest rate reactions

highest ‘real’ (after-inflation) rate in SA history

removal of financial rand exchange controls, March 1995

Source of graphs: UNDP SA HDR 2003
last year, only Greece had higher interest rate (Feb 2011)
SA economy driven by consumers, in turn driven by untenable credit surge

Source: IMF

Domestic Credit and Broad Money
(12-month flow, percent of GDP)

- Private credit
- Broad money
- Mortgage advances
Consumer debt reaches unprecedented heights

Source: SA Treasury
SA: world’s biggest property bubble: 389% increase, 1997-2008

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Latest Q4 2007</th>
<th>1997-2008</th>
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<td>Sweden</td>
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<td>Japan</td>
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<td>United States (Case-Shiller ten-city index)</td>
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key factor: overproduction for stagnant market
(proxy: manufacturing capacity utilisation)
Johannesburg Stock Exchange speculation continues

Share prices

Indices: 2 January 2006 = 100

South Africa: All-Share Price Index (rand)

United States: S&P 500 Composite Index (US dollar)

Euro area: Euro Stoxx 50 Index (euro)
investment reaction to stagnation: capital strike

SA’s biggest firms moved offshore, many after getting permission by Trevor Manuel to relist financial hq on London Stock Exchange

Anglo American, DeBeers, Old Mutual, SA Breweries, Investec, Didata, Gencor (BHP Billiton), Liberty Life

English-speaking capital escapes to London
current account deficit mainly due to dividend/profit/interest outflows

English-speaking capital escapes to London, with profits and dividend outflows
# SA: world’s most risky emerging market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Current-account as % of GDP*</th>
<th>Short-term debt as % of reserves*</th>
<th>Banks’ loan/deposit ratio</th>
<th>Overall risk ranking†</th>
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Sources: HSBC; Economist Intelligence Unit  
*2009 forecast  †Higher score implies higher risk

*The Economist, 25 Feb 2009*
in part to cover outflows, rapid rise in SA foreign debt: from $25 bn in 1994 to $120 bn today

Source: SARB, RMB FM Research
SA Treasury’s (brief) ‘Keynesian’ moment

National government finances
Percentage of gross domestic product

Fiscal years
2001/02 2003/04 2005/06 2007/08 2009/10 2011/12*

Expenditure
Revenue
Surplus
Deficit

* April–September 2011
The current economic environment is shaped overwhelmingly by the prevailing global economic crisis.

While the crisis first appeared in the financial sector, it has now become a deep real economy and jobs crisis, which threatens to severely damage economies in the developed and developing world.

Domestic economy is in recession GDP contracted by 6.4% in Q1 2009.

The crisis threatens South Africa’s industrial base:
- Manufacturing production decreased by 11.7% in March ‘09.
- 23 of 39 industrial subsectors experienced output declines, including in basic steel products (-24.1%), autos (-26.8%).
‘Developmental state’ to the rescue?

- **Coega** industrial complex aimed at attracting persistently elusive aluminium smelter (by early 2008 electricity shortages made this unlikely as it would add 3.5 percent demand to the stressed grid while creating only 800 jobs);
- **Lesotho Highlands Water Project** mega-dams which permit hedonistic water consumption in Johannesburg while raising prices for townships;
- several bloated **soccer stadiums** for 2010 Soccer World Cup;
- **R64 billion arms deal**;
- more than R1 trillion on **nuclear and coal-fired power plants** notwithstanding danger of nuclear and SA’s world-leading CO2 emissions rate; and
- **Gautrain** R20 billion fast rail network allowing wealthy travelers easy albeit expensive access between Johannesburg, Pretoria and the OR Tambo airport.
SA has lower debt than peer economies Malaysia, Brazil, Argentina, Thailand

should Pretoria spend more to meet SA’s vast socio-economic needs?
National People’s Convention Charter
February 2008, Harare

• Signatories include community, labour, church, youth, women’s, political, human rights and other groups, for example,
  – the Combined Harare Residents’ Association,
  – Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition,
  – International Socialist Organisation,
  – Media Institute of Southern Africa,
  – National Association of Non-Governmental Organisations,
  – National Constitutional Assembly,
  – Progressive Teachers’ Union of Zimbabwe,
  – Women of Zimbabwe Arise,
  – Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development,
  – Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions,
  – Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights,
  – Zimbabwe National Students Union and
  – Zimbabwe Social Forum
• Because the colonial and post colonial periods resulted in massive growth in social inequality and marginalisation of women, youths, peasants, informal traders, workers, the disabled, professionals and the ordinary people in general, we hereby make it known that our national economy belongs to the people of Zimbabwe and must serve as a mechanism through which everyone shall be equally guaranteed the rights to dignity, economic and social justice.
National People’s Convention Charter
February 2008, Harare

• people-centered economic planning and budgets at national and local government levels that guarantee social and economic rights
• public programmes to build schools, hospitals, houses, dams and roads and create jobs
• equitable access to and distribution of national resources for the benefit of all people of Zimbabwe.
• equitable, open and fair redistribution of land from the few to the many.
National People’s Convention Charter
February 2008, Harare

- free and quality public health care including free drugs, treatment, care and support for those living with HIV and AIDS;
- a living pension and social security allowances…;
- decent work, employment and the right to earn a living;
- affordable, quality and decent public funded transport;
- food security and the availability of basic commodities at affordable prices, where necessary, to ensure universal access;
- free and quality public education from crèche to college and university levels;
- decent and affordable public funded housing;
- fair labour standards…; and
- removal of all obstacles on the right of small traders, small scale producers and vendors to trade and earn a living.
National People’s Convention Charter
February 2008, Harare

• the right of the people of Zimbabwe to refuse repayment of any *odious* debt accrued by a dictatorial government

• **Protection of our environment from exploitation and misuse, whether by individuals or companies.**
The Zimbabwe People's Charter, Zimbabwe National Peoples' Convention, Harare, 9/2/08

We, the People of Zimbabwe, After deliberations amongst ourselves and with the full knowledge of the work done by civic society organizations and social movements; With an understanding that our struggle for emancipation has been drawn-out and is in need of a people-driven solution; Hereby declare for all to know that:

Political Environment In the knowledge that our political environment since colonialism and after our national independence in 1980 has remained characterised by: a) A lack of respect for the rule of law; b) Political violence, most notably that which occurred in the early to late 1980s in the provinces of Midlands and Matabeleland, and that which occurred in the years from 1997 to present day, where lives were lost as a result of government actions undertaken with impunity; c) A lack of fundamental rights and freedoms, including freedom of expression and information, association and assembly, all characterised by the militarization of arms of association and assembly, and all other fundamental rights and freedoms as provided under international law to which the state has bound itself voluntarily. All people in Zimbabwe live in a society characterised by tolerance of divergent views, cultures or religions, honesty, integrity and common concern for the welfare of all. All people in Zimbabwe are guaranteed safety and security, and a lawful environment free from human rights violations and impunity. All national institutions including the judiciary, law enforcement agencies, state security agencies, electoral, media and human rights commissions, are independent and impartial and serve all the people of Zimbabwe without fear or favour. There exists a free and vibrant media, which places emphasis on freedom of expression and information and fundamental freedom, which guarantees independent public media as well as a vibrant and independent private media. All people in Zimbabwe live in a society, which is the embodiment of transparency, with an efficient public service and a belief in a legitimate, people-centred state. And hereby further declare that never again shall we let lives be lost, maimed, tortured or traumatised by the dehumanising experiences of political intolerance, violence and lack of democratic government. Elections Fully believing that all elections in Zimbabwe remain illegitimate and without merit until undertaken under a new democratic and people-driven constitution, The People shall have all elections under a new people-driven constitutional dispensation characterised by: a) Full access to the media, which is independent, impartial and operates in a transparent and accountable manner; b) A process of delimitation, which is free from political control, which is accurate, fair, transparent and undertaken with full public participation. A continually updated and accurate voters' roll, which is open and accessible to all. Transparent and neutral location of polling stations, agreed to through a national consultative process devoid of undue ruling or opposition party and government influence, which are accessible to all including those with special needs. Voter education with the full participation of civic society that is both expansive and well-timed in order to allow citizens to exercise their democratic right to choose leaders of their choice to the full; c) International, Regional and Local Observers and Monitors being permitted access to everyone involved in the electoral process. An Electoral Court, which is independent and impartial, well-staffed and well-resourced to address all issues relating to electoral processes, conduct, conflicts and results in a timely manner. Constitutional Reform Holding in relation to constitutional reform that a new constitution of Zimbabwe must be produced by a people-driven, participatory process and must it guarantee: - a) That the Republic of Zimbabwe shall be a democracy, with separation of powers, a justiciable Bill of Rights that recognises civil, political, social, economic, cultural and environmental rights; b) Devolution of government authority to provinces and to local government level; c) A multi-party system of democratic government based on universal suffrage and regular free and fair elections and the right to recall public officials; d) The right to citizenship for any person born in Zimbabwe. Birth certificates, national identity documents and passports shall be easily available for all citizens; e) A credible and fair election management body and process; f) An independent, impartial and competent judiciary; g) The protection of labour rights and the right to informal trade; h) The protection and promotion of the rights of people with disabilities; i) Independent and impartial commissions which deal with gender equality, land, elections, human rights and social justice; j) An impartial state security apparatus; The People shall have a constitutional reform process, which is characterised by the following: - Comprehensive consultation with the people of Zimbabwe wherein they are guaranteed freedom of expression and information, association and assembly. - The collection of the views of the people and their compilation into a draft constitution that shall be undertaken by an All-Stakeholders' Commission composed of representatives of government, parliament, political parties, civil society, labour, business and the church with a gender and minority balance. - A transparent process of the appointment of the All-Stakeholders' Commission members as well as their terms of reference. - The holding of a national referendum on a draft constitution that begins with the recognition of the massive growth in social inequality and marginalisation of women, youths, peasants, informal traders, workers, the disabled, professionals and the ordinary people in general, in which the nation shall be consulted to decide whether Zimbabweans shall accept or rejects the new constitution, which addresses the above problems. - The People shall have a constitutional collection of the views of the people and their compilation into a draft constitution that shall be undertaken by an All-Stakeholders' Commission composed of representatives of government, parliament, political parties, economy belongs to the people of Zimbabwe and must serve as a mechanism through which everyone shall be equally guaranteed the rights to dignity, economic and social justice which shall be guided by the following principles: - People-centered economic planning and budgets at national and local government levels that guarantee social and economic rights. - The obligation on the state, provincial and local authorities to initiate public programmes to build schools, hospitals, houses, dams and roads and create jobs. - Equitable access to and distribution of national resources for the benefit of all people of Zimbabwe. - A transparent process of public education from crèche to college and university levels. - Decent and affordable public funded housing. - Fair labour standards including: o A tax-free minimum wage linked to inflation and the poverty datum line and pay equity for women, youth and casual workers. o Safe working places and adequate state and employer funded compensation for injury or death from accidents at work. o Protection from unfair dismissal. o Measures to ensure gender equity in the workplace, including equal pay for work of equal worth, full and paid maternity and paternity leave. - Access to trade within and without the national borders and removal of all obstacles on the right of small traders, small scale producers and vendors to trade and earn a living. - A national Value System Believing that we must commit ourselves to a national value system that recognises the humanity of every single individual in our society which we shall call ubuntu, hunhu, The People shall commit to: - Provide solidarity wherever needed to those that are less privileged in our society as individuals or in any other capacity. - Equally respect people of all ages. - Challenging intolerance by learning and respecting all cultures and languages. - An inclusive national process of truth, justice, reconciliation and healing. - Recognising all people involved in the liberation struggle. And that this be done with an emphasis that ubuntu/hunhu is passed on from one generation to the next at national and community level. Gender Holding in relation to gender that all human beings are created equal, must live and be respected equally with equitable access to all resources that our society offers regardless of their gender, and that gender equality is the responsibility of women and men equally, we recognise the role that our mothers and sisters played in the liberation of our country from colonialism and their subsequent leading role in all struggles for democracy and social justice. The People state that these fundamental principles must be observed and upheld at all levels of the People's Charter, both on paper and in practice, where decisions are made about the following: - Our national budget and economy. - Our legislative and government processes in order to allow representative quota systems. - Provision by the state of all health care and all sanitary requirements of women. - An understanding that women bear the brunt of any decline in social welfare security, economic and political systems. Youth Believing that at all given times the youth, both female and male, represent the present and the future of our country and that all those in positions of leadership nationally and locally must remain true to the fact that our country shall be passed on from the generation to the next, The People state that, in order for each generation to bequeath to the next a country that remains the epitome of hope, democracy and sustainable livelihoods, the following principles for the youth must be adhered to and respected: The youth shall be guaranteed the right to education at all levels until they acquire their first tertiary qualification. The youth shall be guaranteed an equal voice in decision-making processes that not only affect them but the country as a whole in all spheres of politics, the national economy and social welfare. - The youth shall be guaranteed access to the right to health. The youth shall not be subject to political abuse through training regimes that confute political violence or any semblance of propaganda that will compromise their future as both individuals and as a collective. The youth have the right to associate and assemble and express themselves freely of their own prerogative.