

**FOR LEADERSHIP****BY: DR F V Z SLABBERT**

The 20<sup>th</sup> Century will also be known as the period when authoritarian regimes moved towards rather uncertain democratic outcomes. Each country has its own peculiarities in this transition and identifying them enables one to better understand the dynamics of the current situation. South Africa is no different. A couple of factors stand out:

1. S.A. moved from extreme repressive stability under a National Security Management System (NSMS) towards consensual stability under a liberal democratic constitution.
2. This was achieved through a process of negotiation between parties i.e. the ANC and the NP who, for most of their struggle against each other, swore they would rather die than talk to each other.
3. The NSMS played a critical role in promoting negotiations and once this was successful lost all its political relevance. Today SA has no politicised military to speak of.
4. The consequence of the above was to open up enormous scope for Civil Society action. At the same time, the "Liberation Struggle" not only promised freedom, but also delivery. One has but to glance at the Freedom Charter to realise this.
5. However, just as the ordinary deprived individuals experienced state repression under apartheid, they also expected a liberated state to provide essential services. It has become abundantly clear, that the liberated state has neither the capacity nor infrastructure to bring about efficient delivery in housing, health, education, law and order etc.

6. The question than becomes: What is the centripetal force that holds the ANC together in the new order? There is no simple answer to this question. In the struggle it was the dream of liberation . Now that this has been achieved, it would seem to be the idea of dispensing patronage and privilege. Zuma was quick to realize this and has made it his central political platform. "Vote for me and you will have services and jobs". At the same time this highlights the failure of the Mbeki regime.
7. However, the pervasiveness of alleged corruption in both camps is creating a groundswell well of anger and rejection amongst old and new ANC members. I have spoken to some of them from Soweto and the attitude seems to be: "a curse on both the houses of Zuma and Mbeki". It is going to be fascinating to see how this discontent manifests itself electorally. I think it is too late for a new party to be ready in time for the next election, and anticipate a low voter turnout as a mark of protest.
8. However the lack of efficient delivery is likely to persist and I anticipate more and more of the aggressive anarchy that is beginning to manifest itself. Here I think not only of Khutsong, but also special interest lobbies like women, youth, organized labour etc.
9. Given the instability that this will create and the alienation of foreign/domestic investments, is there the likelihood of a resurgence of the military playing a more interventionist role?
10. Or can the ANC manage the changes from liberation movement, to political party to efficient government successfully? Keep a close watch on the build up to the next General Election.