

**SAFM**

**After Eight Debate (Tim Modise)**

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45 min 50 sec.

**Tim Modise:** Good morning, welcome again to the After Eight Debate. We're going to be together until nine this morning. My guests, Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, as well as Ann Bernstein. Both of them participated in the Dinokeng Scenarios discussions. There is a conference, or a meeting called Dinokeng Scenarios. And Ann Bernstein is the convener thereof and Dr. Mamphela Ramphele one of the key participants. Ann Bernstein, good morning to you, welcome.

**Ann Bernstein:** Good morning, Tim.

**Tim Modise:** And Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, good morning, welcome.

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** Good morning, Tim.

**Tim Modise:** Pleasure to have both of you with us this morning. We'll talk about what Dinokeng is all about as well as the scenarios that you have plotted coming out of your meeting and the gathering that took place recently. Now this is an event that was covered by a colleague of ours, Busi Bopela [ph], who attended and she compiled this report. Okay, just to give you background, a sense of what Dinokeng is, the South Africans need to organise themselves and actively demand better service delivery, government accountability, if the country is to avoid falling into decline, a message that comes from the Dinokeng Scenario team, and it unveiled its three scenarios for the country, projecting to 2010, Busi Bopela reports.

**Correspondent:** With a new administration taking over the reigns of government, the Dinokeng Scenarios could not have come at a more timeous moment. The diverse team of 35 individuals who undertook the construction of the scenarios identified trends emerging within the body politic, these being the increasing disengagement of citizens from public life, weak state capacity, and self interested leaders in the face of poverty, unemployment and racial polarisation. Scenario one called Walk Apart described a

situation where the country continues on the same path with dire consequences. One result would be the emergence of Colombia style warlords, running parallel governments. Team convenor, Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, says there are already early signs of what could happen.

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** Criminals and warlords and drug lords have [unclear]... that we've got a very weak criminal justice system, and it is tied to poaching of perlemoen, which is exchanged for ephedrine which is the thing... the base for tik. And that tik is destroying the Cape Flats. And the people who are the drug lords are the only employed and upwardly mobile people, and they end up giving food parcels to old ladies, blankets to old ladies, it's there.

**Correspondent:** A possible outcome of scenario one will be the emergence of the strongman who'll use authoritarian methods to suppress a volatile society. The second scenario, Walk Behind, envisages the state assuming the role of leader and manager in the economy. Some would argue it takes the form of the developmental state model that the ANC at its policy conference in Polokwane resolved to establish. According to the team risks associated with this situation is that the South African state's capacity reek and the state is likely to overreach itself. Ramphele again.

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** The state cannot ever be stronger to be able to meet all these challenges, and in that context you have a problem [unclear] so that the private sector withdraws even further, and foreign investors just won't show up, and so we end up with a real serious [unclear] crisis. The [unclear] consequence they're unimaginable [unclear]... and [unclear]. And we are really now in serious trouble.

**Correspondent:** Scenario three, Walk Together, has a far more optimistic tone. It envisages a more actively engaged citizenry which demands service delivery and accountability from government as time goes by. It sees the people and communities organising themselves into groups to facilitate the resolution of their own challenges. Ultimately a pact is formed between all sectors of society to work together towards the common vision of an educated, health and secure nation. Dr. Vincent Maphai cautions against cynicism regarding this model, citing a school in Thembisa which for him is an inspiration.

**Dr. Vincent Maphai:** In the middle of squalor and poverty every child was in uniform. The school started on time, the gates were locked at 7-30, every child was spotless. The computers were there, and the men in the squatter camp took turns in guarding the school. And you'll find moreover the [unclear]. These things do happen. When communities [unclear] initiative, miracles occur.

**Correspondent:** The construction of the scenarios is the first phase in a process that will see the team engaging with all sectors of society in an effort to stimulate debate and action around the issues affecting the future of the country. The new president of the Republic is one of the first people they plan to visit.

**Tim Modise:** That report by Busi Bopela. And I've already introduced Ann Bernstein and Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, good morning to you once again, welcome. Ann Bernstein, without further ado, let me talk to you. Start with you, tell me about Dinokeng Scenarios, what is this, when did you start with this? What's the objective behind it?

**Ann Bernstein:** Well, Tim, I think you should ask Mamphela to speak, she was the lead convenor, not myself, and let her tell you the bigger picture about the process.

**Tim Modise:** Alright. Dr. Ramphele.

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** Well, thank you very much, Tim. I think it's important to go back to the beginning of Dinokeng which was an idea that came up middle of last year, and we need to remember the political context of last year, middle of last year. It was post-Polokwane, there was a lot of uncertainty and a lot of unease about what was going to happen. And there was instability within the ANC as a dominant party, and scenarios are tools that are often used in moments of uncertainty, when you don't know what the future portends. And this is how the Old Mutual came to the conclusion to sponsor an exercise that started with three workshops in August, in September, in October, and ended up with a report which we published or we launched yesterday. This is an exercise that brought together a diverse group of South Africans, 35 of us, and we spent time thinking about what our country's future is likely to look like, what were the signs or the seeds of the future that we could see in the present, as in end of 2008. And we were

able to come up with a diagnostic of what we collectively thought was the state of the nation. And that state of the nation has got many positives which we regard as the gains since 1994, but there are also many negatives which we regard as seeds which can become real degenerative and lead us to decline. So it is out of that understanding that we started looking at what are the dynamics that are likely to shape our future, and the conclusion of the team is that there are... there is an interplay in every democracy between citizens and the level of their engagement, their demands for accountability, and their responsibility for sustaining and protecting the institutions of democracy on one hand, and a state's capacity. And state here is very important to define because in South Africa one of the biggest problems that has happened is that since 1994 there has been a confusion and a conflation of the leader, the party, the government and the state. They are taken as one. Whereas the state is the sovereign body that belongs to all of us, and the institutions of the state that include the three levels of government, that include the Chapter 9 institutions like the Human Rights Commission and others are the guardians, they are the foundations of our democracy. So we believe that our state has... is at the point where it is blatantly clear that it lacks the capacity to address all of the challenges that we face, some of which come from our legacy pre-1994, others come from either wrong policy choices or the unintended consequences of policy choices that we have made.

**Tim Modise:** Now you have come up with three scenarios, you are projecting into a future that goes up to 2010. We'll look at those three potential scenarios. Let's look at the trajectory that we're moving from at this point, Ann Bernstein. Your analysis of current South Africa, what do you think the situation is? What are the critical challenges and where do you think the strengths lie at this time in our society?

**Ann Bernstein:** Well, Tim, I think for me one of the most important things coming out of the Dinokeng conversations was that you had a group of people from very different spheres in our society, having an opportunity to talk. And what was I think most striking was that we very quickly agreed that South Africa today faces some very difficult choices, and that we really are at a crossroads. A whole lot of things are now starting to go wrong. That doesn't mean we deny the achievements since 1994, and one needs a balanced perspective. But taking that perspective there is no doubt that we are as a society if current trajectories continue in deep trouble, and one of the major factors in

that is a very weak state with declining capacity to address our critical challenges. And the indicators of this stretch far and wide, from the fact that life expectancy is declining dramatically in my view for all South Africans overall. The current state of our education where for the vast majority of mainly black South Africans you cannot get a decent schooling education. And one of the most worrying things of all is the state of unemployment which is now in the global recession going to go up quite significantly. So we have one of the highest unemployment rates in the world and this particularly affects young people, and the statistics there are absolutely staggering. If you're a young person from say ages 18 to 34 your chances of being employed are extremely slim, especially if you don't have a matric which most people don't. So this is a series of very worrying factors and what struck me was the speed with which people from such different circumstances all agreed on the very bad set of indicators that we face today.

**Tim Modise:** Right, now we... let's... that's the kind of situation we find ourselves in. Let me take a step back and ask about the intended audience of the Dinokeng scenarios report, and what do you expect the audiences to do with this report?

**Ann Bernstein:** Well, I think one of the intentions of Dinokeng and this is very important if you consider where the society has come from, and we're not quite sure exactly where we're going. One of the intentions is to create the platform, a protected space if you like, for lots of different South Africans to feel free. To have a very frank and honest conversation about the state of the nation. And that if Dinokeng achieves nothing else just enabling lots of different people all over the country to talk about South Africa and what's going wrong and what we might do to fix it would be a very important contribution. So the audience for this is as far and as deep as we can reach.

**Tim Modise:** Now, Dr. Ramphela, the true measure of character is how a nation or an individual rises to any challenge that they are faced with. Given the current situation, the challenges that the country faces, this offers us a lot of opportunities to take a particular path. Which one do you think it is that this time when you look all around yourself, are we doing the right things to help us go on a path that you think will lead to the preferred scenario?

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** You know, Tim, what encouraged us as Anne indicated is that over a short period of time 35 people from very diverse backgrounds quickly came to an agreement about those challenges. But we also did something else, which is to look back at our history to say what are the moments in our society where we as South Africans came together and really did some unbelievable things, and just think back to the pre-1994 negotiations. No one in the international arena gave us a chance of having a political settlement made in South Africa. There was a view that the divisions were too large, the chasm too wide, we wouldn't be able to come together. We did. And what was the ingredients of coming together? First of all the alternative was too ghastly to contemplate. Second, it was a no win situation for either of the parties. Third, leadership. The leadership of Mandela and De Klerk got us over that hump, it was a bumpy road. No one is suggesting that deciding to work together is an easy path. And so we believe that the opportunity of tackling our challenges lies in our ability as a nation at different parts of our history to come together and to look at what are the things that we share which are... which really make us a nation. Because Tim one of the characteristics of South Africans is that when you talk to them they're first black or they're this, they're that, before they tell you about being South Africans. And we think that that sense of nationhood needs to be emphasised and we need leadership that can inspire us to return to the vision of our Constitution that enjoins us to build a non-racial, non-sexist South Africa. If we focus on that vision we look at the values in our Constitution that is very much human rights based. We have the foundation on which to come together as South Africans and tackle these four key challenges. Education, unemployment and poverty. Health and safety and security. We believe it's possible. And we have been through what we call a quiet phase.

**Tim Modise:** Sure.

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** We have talked to people in the ANC, we have talked to President Motlanthe in his capacity as president, we have talked to the unions, we have talked to the private sector. No one disagrees with our diagnosis and everyone is beginning to say what can we do?

**Tim Modise:** Okay.

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** It is not for Dinokeng to tell South Africans what to do, but it is for Dinokeng to create the space for people to talk about what should be done.

**Tim Modise:** I want to look at two points in a moment, I want to look at the scenarios that you have mapped out, there are three such scenarios. One to look at the political institutions as they are currently established as well as the economic makeup of the country to look at whether it can respond to the challenges that you have listed. We'll do that in a moment, but you also can give us a call at 0891104208, share with us your thoughts. Where do you think we're headed to as South Africa, given the current situation? And your role in it? How do you... what kind of future do you want to create? Which one do you prefer and what is your role going to be? At 0891104208, SMSes 34701. SMS 34701 and prefix your message with the word 'debate'.

**Tim Modise:** Twenty-seven minutes past eight. My guests, Ann Bernstein and Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, we're talking about the Dinokeng Scenario Planning. The series of meetings have been held over time and yesterday they launched the... a book, three futures for South Africa, which maps out the three scenarios that are possible given where we are now. And we've got to make specific choices. Let's look at them. Walking Apart, Walking... Walking Together is the last one. The second one, Walk Behind. So it's Walk Apart, Walk Behind and Walking Together. Ann Bernstein, you want to explain those?

**Ann Bernstein:** Tim, I want to just add to something that... before we get to the actual scenarios. I think it's important not to interpret this message in a way that sounds naïve, which is... which is to say that what South Africa needs is this combination of bold leadership that is going to actually have the courage to deal with the challenges we face. Because now more and more of us as Mamphela was saying, we should all agree on a lot of the things that are going wrong, some are more controversial, but the real issue is what to do now. And I was struck recently by the Minister of Education who was quoted saying that we need courage in the country to confront the teachers unions. And I think that's what we're looking for in terms of the next Cabinet. We're looking for the courage to lead on some bold issues which requires doing things differently from how we've done them in the past. And that's the only way we're going to start to tackle what are some very big challenges for the country. Now that doesn't mean citizens and others don't

have responsibilities as well. I'm continually amazed that we don't have more parents out in the streets shouting about the poor quality of education that their children are getting, and I wish in ten years' time that we could have more people holding individual schools to account for abysmal performance, but it is that mixture that I wouldn't want listeners to think that we're naïve about the really tough choices that are going to have to be made and can only be made at the most senior political levels.

**Tim Modise:** Well, there are values as well that must underpin the bold leadership that you're talking about, right? What do you think those values are, Dr. Ramphele?

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** The values that ought to inform our relationships in the home, in the communities, in the workplaces, in the corridors of power and in the country as a whole are those that are clearly spelt out. We speak a lot in South Africa about Ubuntu. It's just a slogan. What it really means is that you regard the other person as a sacred connection with you, as Neville Alexander put it very elegantly, that in fact Ubuntu it's about life as the great chain of being. If that is what informs us then as an employer or as a teacher or as a nurse you can't treat the people that you interface with with the lack of dignity that we hear about constantly, whether it's in civil service or anywhere.

**Tim Modise:** Let me interrupt you there because we have to take the same thing into the private sector as well. Just after half-past eight and time for this morning's news wrap.

**Tim Modise:** And coming back to Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, Ann Bernstein. Now let's look at the economic situation in South Africa at the moment. Does it... what we have in South Africa economically speaking, does it support the positive scenario that we desire?

**Ann Bernstein:** Well, Tim, I think the fact is and we need to be focusing on this a great deal more than we are, South Africa because of the global economic crisis we are... our economy is screeching to a halt and we're hearing the skid marks all around us from unemployment going up in significant numbers, to manufacturing going down, to investments leaving our shores, and we're going to see the consequences of that more

and more as the year progresses. So this is not an ideal economic time at all. But in some ways this is an opportunity because it provides the opportunity for business unusual if you like and then my view that's absolutely what is required to think afresh about South Africa's priorities and challenges. And just to build on what Mamphela was saying earlier, one of the things that we don't hear in the values discussion is we hear a lot about what's in the interest of political parties, but a lot less about what's in the public interest, what's in the national interest and what I would like is for civil servants who are after all employed with public money to be talking a lot more about what's good for everybody in the country and what are my responsibilities in the public interest as a civil servant. And one of those is to be as excellent and as thorough at my job as I possibly can, and that immediately leads you to are we appointing the right people into critical jobs in the public sector.

**Tim Modise:** And of course the private sector as I indicated has got a role to play here as well, that it cannot just be about the bottom line for the enterprise concerned, but it's got to be also what's good for the country, isn't it?

**Ann Bernstein:** Well, this is a complicated issue. What's good for the bottom line of company is survival, and that's the framework within which we are going to be operating in this economic crisis, so make no mistake about it, the most responsible thing companies can be doing now is to run companies that survive this downturn. And that's going to be very tough indeed.

**Tim Modise:** But I'm talking about things like so-called corporate greed and fat bonuses for the fat cats within organisations. The wealth gap and so on, that you know we can talk about values, trust and so on, but if members of the public, the workers, believe or get a sense that those who are well off are not willing to share the tensions that exist in our economy will continue.

**Ann Bernstein:** Absolutely, Tim, and this is the larger debate which I'd be happy to have with you at another time.

**Tim Modise:** Yeah, okay.

**Ann Bernstein:** But of course all South Africans need to live by the values of the Constitution.

**Tim Modise:** Sure.

**Ann Bernstein:** And to be thinking about what are my obligations to everybody else.

**Tim Modise:** Now let's... I want to bring in the listeners here. They've been holding for a while. Jurg and Alfie, I'm coming to you in a moment. But let's very briefly, Dr. Ramphela, outline what the three scenarios are.

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** The three scenarios are Walk Apart which is doing what we are exactly doing now, where everything for many people is me, myself and I. And we have a corrupt and ineffective state in a number of areas. Of course we've got other areas where there is efficiency and effectiveness. We've got distrusting and protective citizenry, where people really just whisper. That's the Walk Apart. And that we believe if we continue on that pathway by 2020 we really are in such trouble because there is... the global crisis is going to lead to loss of jobs as Anne was saying, the public works programs and the safety nets are going to in the end give in, because you won't be able to continue to do that without generating jobs. And that's where you get chaos and then you get the rule of the strongman and South Africans don't react very well to that. The next scenario is what we call Walk Behind. We as South Africans are conditioned to following leaders, so we believe it's quite plausible that we can relax and say we've got a state that is going to be a developmental state, where the government is committed to addressing our problems, they're going to intervene in the economy and be directive, and we as citizens our job is to comply. That we believe is not sustainable, not least because no state has capacity to both the regulator and an enabler and a doer in the economy. And our state is particularly weak to do the core business of the state, and so where is the capacity going to come from to do all these other things? And then finally is the Walk Together, where we believe it's not the panacea that is going to solve all of our problems, but if each and every one of us regard ourselves as citizens and leaders and we take on the responsibilities rather than simply looking at our rights we believe we can work together, both civil society, the private sector, the government, over time to build the trust that is required for a collaborative and an enabling state on one hand, and an

engaged and active citizenry on the other. But leadership, leadership and bold, courageous decision-making will be essential to get us to 2020 where it's not all milk and honey but at least we're on a sustainable developmental path.

**Tim Modise:** Well, those are the views of my guests this morning, we're talking about the work that's been done by the Dinokeng Scenario planners, and a lot of thinking and work has gone into that, and they have produced a report which was published yesterday. Now Jurg, you're in Cape Town, good morning, welcome.

**Caller:** Morning, Tim, morning to your guests. I'm speaking as the spokesperson for the South African New Economics Network. I'd like to put... contextualise the whole problems in a global situation. We're facing globally a triple crisis, an energy crisis, that is oil depletion, environmental crisis, climate change, and resource depletion, and an economic crisis. Now a lot of these problems are systemic problems that require systemic solutions. For the last 15 years we have tried trickle down economics, conventional neo-liberal economic policies which have failed, failed to address the wealth cap in this country. The inequality creates this huge joblessness which persists, which is going to get worse with this economic crisis. So whatever scenario planning has to factor anything like oil depletion and petrol collapse and how do we build resilient communities? How do we address it? We can't address this without addressing the money system. And a money system that is based on interest, compound interest and perpetual growth is unsustainable in a world of limited resources. And therefore we have to address... we cannot speak to conventional, orthodox economic policies that have failed to address these issues and we've got to seriously as a society address changes in economic policy and thinking. We need to look at investment in renewable energy which are labour intensive, will create hundreds and thousands of low skilled jobs, putting up solar water heaters, making it compulsory, getting government to invest and subsidise it. We need to look at a basic income grant. And stop looking at the basic income grant as a handout, look at it as investment in the people, as a hand up, a leg up to the people.

**Tim Modise:** Alright.

**Caller:** To [unclear] and stimulate demand for goods and services.

**Tim Modise:** Sure, Jurg, thanks very much for talking to us, and I hope we have your details. Do we? Because you've been raising these issues for some time now and I'd like to take you on or rather give you a much bigger platform to express your views and have a bigger debate around those issues. Alfie, you're in Ruimsig, good morning, welcome.

**Caller:** Distinguished people, good morning. Tim, I've said it before that in South Africa we have a [unclear] society, we're operating in silos. I think individuals we are giants, and you know as a collective we are dwarfs. Let me point out on the issue for example of education, we are not able to arrest issues. We're creating problems and we [unclear] to extinguish them when they become fires. The reason why I'm saying that is that the education system that we have, have we diagnosed it to see how responsible it is and how you know [unclear] it is. Currently we produce unemployable graduates and after that we go on and create agencies, we create SETAs to try to arrest what we created ourselves as a problem. So what I'm trying to say is that it all boils down to one common denominator which is education. We need to create an education system that is socially responsible, that is work based, that is career orientated. And in that sense you'll arrest all these problems. I'll ask one question to the panel, the issue of unemployment, there're a number of people who fall in the category of youth, that are supposedly unemployed whereas they were supposed to be [unclear] education system where you raise the bar and say only with your diploma, it's not adequate enough. Go on and on a lifelong learning to become even a professor or a doctor. In that way the state will take responsibility of this youth in a more responsible way until a person is prepared to enter the job market.

**Tim Modise:** Alright, Alfie, thanks very much and we'll get the panellists to respond. Ismail you're in Cape Town, good morning.

**Caller:** Thank you for taking my call, Tim. You know, I've been trying for four years I've written to president Mbeki about introducing art as a compulsory subject, you know, in the schools from Grade R to Grade 7. You know, it will instil values in our children, you know? But I wish the lady... Mrs. Ramphela, can help me to introduce as a compulsory subject from Grade R to Grade 7. To expose our youth to the values that was taken away from our forefathers and our great, great parents.

**Tim Modise:** Alright, Ismail, thank you. Okay. Ann Bernstein, Dr. Ramphela, your responses to those questions and comments?

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** Anne, why don't you take the economy one and then I'll deal with education.

**Ann Bernstein:** Right. Well, I think you're right, Tim, a debate about economics would be useful and all the issues that both the questioner raised and you yourself raised. The question raises a whole lot of issues most of which I happen to disagree with him about. I think that the history of the last 50 years has shown that whatever its flaws, a market based economic system is the very best way to create wealth and to help millions, hundreds of millions of people to move out of poverty. So I don't question that that's the right way to go, and I don't think our new president seems to question that either. So I'm... don't think this is a time to rethink market economics. It might be a time to rethink the rules about finance capital and bank regulation, but I don't think it's a time to question what has been the most effective wealth creating machine the world has ever known.

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** I want to tackle the issue of education because both the third and the fourth caller have raised... I mean, the second and third caller have raised. I couldn't agree with you more, and I think the scenario team put education as number one. Because at the end of the day whatever the nature of our economy, our problem in terms of persistent inequality and poverty arises out of our failure to educate young people. Our failure to educate them at a level where they not only are ready for the job market but they can be job creators. And I think this is... if you were to stop everything else, and focus on one thing, it will be education and skilling of the population, because that will deal with the issue of unemployment and poverty in the way that it has been shown all over the world. Our problem with education is not money. It is a choice we made in terms of the curriculum which works nowhere else in the world. There is no country in the world that has made outcomes based education work. And that is a policy choice which we need to reserve, we need to have the courage of leadership as the government, as civil servants, and as citizens including parents to say we have tried this for ten years, we have seen no good outcome, let's go back to basics. Reading, writing,

mathematics and reasoned thinking. And it's in that context that art as whether it's a compulsory subject or is... it is in fact a very good tool to get young people including kids in preschool to express themselves. So I couldn't disagree with any that. But what we need is the courage on the part of our incoming government to say we have experimented enough with this curriculum, it hasn't worked, it will not work, it hasn't worked anywhere else in the world.

**Tim Modise:** Alright, we'll be reading out some of the SMSes in a moment. We have received SMSes from Siphon, Peter, Mark and Bos. I'll be reading your SMSes in a moment. But in the meantime give us a call. We're at 0891104208.

**Tim Modise:** Eight to nine, we're discussing the Dinokeng Scenarios with Ann Bernstein and Mamphela Ramphele. Three scenarios. Walking Apart, Walking Behind and Walking Together. The positive one that everybody is rooting for is the Walking Together scenario, the opportunity's there. The SMSes read, Jay says whites are disengaging as any criticism, even justifiable is labeled racism. Peter says, help us, the Rainbow Nation is becoming Animal Farm with more equal criminals, party favourites hogging the citizens' future. Siphon says, how different is scenario planning from prophecy. And Mark, Cape Town, says how do you explain this? No money for free education for ARVs in the Free State, but 75 million rand made available for inauguration bash, so much for priorities. Valerie says I don't trust these academics, why confront unions? They have their agenda and they must tell us what their agenda is. Bos in Brits says, how can ordinary South Africans participate in the Dinokeng initiative? Another says, Dominique says I would prefer the Walk Together scenario as it is inclusive and entails collective decision making and contribution to governance. Stitch in Florida says, please touch on parents who take their children to school... to fee paying schools but simply do not pay, it is irritating and frustrating. Ivan, have any prominent politicians or businessmen bought into this idea, he would like to know. Peter says Parliament is supposed to be the platform where these issues are discussed, and Ian in Witbank says where can I get a copy of the report. So a whole number of questions here, but I'm going to ask you to briefly respond to these questions. Mamphela Ramphele.

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** Well, the issue of prophecy versus [unclear], this is not a prophecy, this is a way of thinking. And it doesn't necessarily mean that the scenarios

will necessarily unfold in the way we have put them there, but we have used what we know of the present to project over ten years, and of course the further out you go towards 2020 the less likely you are to be on the ball in terms of what is likely to unfold. But the very discussion of scenarios reshapes them, because if South Africans were to do what the method is, which is let's take ownership of our society and let's lead and let's think boldly about alternatives to some of the mistakes in terms of policy, in terms of implementation that we have made. That already changes what we are talking about here. Now the issue of agendas, I mean, when people start saying people are doing something because they have an agenda, this is exactly the problem we have. That we need to have an open, honest discussion. If you think there is an agenda, what is the agenda? Because our agenda is to promote open debate including around issues of the nature of our economic policy framework, in terms of how we enable our economy to generate and sustain jobs while making sure that we are resilient against the crisis in terms of finance, in terms of energy and in terms of climate. And so I don't believe that people should hide behind slogans like what is the agenda, because that is a way of silencing discussion. And what we need is to actually promote discussion. The report is on the web, [www.dinokengscenarios.com](http://www.dinokengscenarios.com).

**Tim Modise:** And Ann Bernstein, would you like to add?

**Ann Bernstein:** Yes, I think the most important thing about Dinokeng can be summarised this way. A group of South Africans met and agreed that the country is going the wrong way in many, many respects, and that important decisions have to be made. Scenarios are not prophecies, they're not predictions, they're ways of thinking. And the key issue is that South Africa's future is not written in stone, and what all of us do from the new president and his Cabinet to each one of us listening to this program, what we all do now can make a difference to the kind of future South Africa has. So don't be satisfied with shoddy service or a whole lot of things that you see going wrong. Get involved, and hold people accountable if they have public positions, and discuss these scenarios and this report, there might be other scenarios that could come out, and that people should feel safe to have a frank and honest conversation without being pigeonholed into having an agenda as the one SMS said, rather than just being a concerned South African who has views about what would be good for the country.

**Tim Modise:** Or being labeled racist on the other hand or on the other hand people saying, generalizing, stereotyping, saying well what do you expect from blacks?

**Ann Bernstein:** Right.

**Tim Modise:** That sort of thing. Right. But now, you know, we've had this discussion, the institutions that we have in place, are they best placed to serve us, to do the kinds of things you've mentioned? Briefly.

**Ann Bernstein:** You mean state institutions.

**Tim Modise:** State institutions including the political process. I mean, are people empowered enough to have a say, to determine the kind of future they want?

**Ann Bernstein:** Well, on paper South Africans have a lot of rights, and that's the beauty of our Constitution. You have the right to vote for anybody you want. It's a secret ballot. Municipal elections are coming up in two years' time, we've just had a massive general election, but that's not what democracy is only all about, elections. It's about all sorts of other things. It's about keeping space open for institutions and individuals to say whatever they think and to have honest debate.

**Tim Modise:** Alright.

**Ann Bernstein:** Our institutions in state are at risk, and that's one of the findings of the report, that the conflation between state and party is putting a lot of our independent institutions at risk.

**Tim Modise:** Well, now very, very briefly Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, let's say we like the talk, and I'm sure a lot of reasonable people will say we understand what this talk is about, but where do we start? Give us an inspirational talk this morning, in 20 seconds. What should we do with what we like? What we've heard?

**Dr. Mamphela Ramphele:** The first thing to do is to ask the question what can I do as a citizen, as a leader, to make this future that we are talking about a better future. The

second is to say what can I do together with others to make a difference. And I would say in terms of state institutions we need to look at our electoral system.

**Tim Modise:** Alright, and this is how we end it. Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, I'm afraid we lost you there. And Ann Bernstein, thanks again for talking to us.