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THE INAUGURAL SALZBURG GLOBAL LECTURE

BEYOND JUST US: CROSSING THE RUBICON OF HOPE THROUGH JUSTICE-CENTERED LEADERSHIP

LECTURE DELIVERED BY THULISILE MADONSELA

Seventy Years of Brid n:





Delivered by **Thulisile (Thuli) Madonsela**
Former Public Protector of South Africa

Introduced by **Clare Shine**
Washington Correspondent
Vice President and Chief Program Officer
Salzburg Global Seminar

Concluding remarks by **Heather Sturt Haaga**
Immediate Past Chair, Board of Directors
Salzburg Global Seminar

This lecture was delivered **on the occasion of the**
70th Anniversary Gala Board of Directors Weekend,
held at **Schloss Leopoldskron in Salzburg, Austria on June 23, 2017**

INTRODUCTION TO THE SPEAKERS

LECTURER AND SPEAKERS

Thuli Madonsela is a human rights lawyer, equality expert, and former Public Protector of South Africa. She recently completed a one-year Fellowship at Harvard University, focusing on social justice, before joining Stellenbosch University as chairperson in social justice in January 2018. Madonsela began her career as a teacher before moving on to working with trade unions. She served as the Independent Electoral Commission's presiding officer and was later appointed to help draft the new constitution of South Africa put forward by then-President Nelson Mandela. She was appointed as a full-time member of the South African Law Reform Commission in 2007 by then-President Thabo Mbeki. She served from 2009 to 2016 as Public Protector of South Africa. In 2016, she was included in the BBC's "100 Women" list and became the first South African to receive the Forbes Africa Person of the Year Award. Madonsela is an advocate for gender equality and a member of the South African Women Lawyers Association (SAWLA) and the Business Women's Association of South Africa (BWASA). Madonsela graduated with a B.A. in Law from the University of Swaziland, and an L.L.B. from the University of the Witwatersrand.

Clare Shine was appointed Vice President and Chief Program Officer of Salzburg Global Seminar in 2012. She previously worked as legal adviser to the World Bank, European Union, Council of Europe and African governments, and led environmental capacity-building projects across four continents. Shine is a UK-qualified barrister, an Associate of the Institute for European Environmental Policy, a member of the IUCN Commission on Environmental Law, and a bilingual French speaker and professional facilitator. She holds an M.A. in English literature from Oxford University, UK and postgraduate degrees from London University and the Sorbonne University, Paris, France.

Heather Sturt Haaga, an artist residing in California, served as Chair of the Salzburg Global Board of Directors from 2011 to June 2017. Beginning with the Crescenta-Cañada Family YMCA in 1986, she has since served on ten boards and committees for both local and global non-profit organizations. Haaga is a trustee of Princeton Theological Seminary, a member of the advisory council for Princeton University Art Museum, and a trustee for Vassar College. She is also chair-elect of the board of directors for African Wildlife Foundation. As an artist, Haaga has had successful shows in Los Angeles and on the East Coast. She previously worked in advertising at J. Walter Thompson in New York, for the U.S. Postal Service in Washington, DC, and at Chesapeake and Potomac (AT&T).

INTRODUCTION TO THE LECTURE

THE INAUGURAL SALZBURG GLOBAL LECTURE

“Courage is not simply the opposite of fear; it is the audacity to act in pursuit of a cause you believe in, regardless of fear,” said Thuli Madonsela, a human rights lawyer and former Public Protector of South Africa, delivering the inaugural Salzburg Global Lecture.

The Lecture was established on the occasion of Salzburg Global Seminar’s 70th Anniversary Gala Board of Directors Weekend, centered around the theme of courage. In the midst of political upheaval and social fragmentation across the world, Salzburg Global chose its theme in recognition of the intensified need for courage – the courage to speak truth to power, to build coalitions for change and to see through hard choices.

Madonsela, who became widely known for her fearless commitment to justice and truth during her tenure as Public Protector of South Africa, delivered a speech reflecting on the theme of courage and setting the tone for the Board of Directors Weekend.

Madonsela highlighted some of the most pressing social issues of today, from persistent economic inequality to increasing political disengagement among young people. Despite these challenges, Madonsela said, there are glimmers of hope, such as the technological innovations that have spurred Africa’s own industrial revolution.

While calling on global leaders to find the courage to fight for progress and justice, Madonsela also urged the Salzburg Global Fellows and guests assembled for the Board of Directors Weekend to contribute to small acts of change.

“The peaceful world we yearn for lies in our collective hands. At the core of that world is social justice and the rule of law,” she said. “The invincible summer of hope that fueled the courage behind the Salzburg story lies in all of us. Together, through courage anchored in the invincibility of hope, faith and love, we are more than equal to the challenges of our time.”

The Board of Directors Weekend continued with panel discussions around “Speaking Truth to Power,” “Courage and Culture,” and “Courage for the Long Haul.” Panelists included award-winning political cartoonist Tom Toles of the Washington Post and founding member of the EY Global Women in Business Advisory Council Seema Khan.

Guests also heard from Ferdinand Richard, president of the Roberto Cimetta Fund, an organization which supports artists in conflict zones, and LGBT rights activist Bisi Alimi, both of whom are Salzburg Global Fellows. Other speakers included freedom of expression advocate Dunja Mijatovic, economist Guy Standing, and Salzburg Global Fellows, Baroness Usha Prashar and Mahasin Tanyau.



THE INAUGURAL SALZBURG GLOBAL LECTURE

BEYOND JUST US: CROSSING THE RUBICON OF HOPE THROUGH JUSTICE-CENTERED LEADERSHIP

—— **Thuli Madonsela**, *Former Public Protector of South Africa*

I am supremely honored to share some thoughts with you as we commemorate the great leadership behind the Salzburg Global Lecture. I'm deeply grateful to Salzburg Global Seminar for inviting me here as you celebrate your 70th Anniversary, and of course to Clare Shine, who is the one who found me... So thank you to all of you, and thank you to everyone who is here. The invite shows your interest and commitment to the wellbeing of my beautiful country, South Africa, which lies at the bottom tip of the equally beautiful African continent.

The Seminar itself bears evidence of your appreciation of our interconnected humanity, regardless of where we are placed geographically. I believe we are here because we believe in human solidarity. In Africa, we call that “Ubuntu.” I am because you are. My humanity is defined by yours, and my survival is tied up with yours. That’s the notion of Ubuntu.

The history behind Salzburg Global Seminar, and this Lecture, is a story of

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leadership in action inspired by commitment to human solidarity. Above all, as we have heard, it is a story of courageous leadership. It is a story of leadership that persisted despite the idea not receiving support when it was first mooted. It forever reminds us of the post-

World War Marshall Plan, which itself was a product of visionary leadership that in the end addressed social justice and contributed to peace. And this happened at a time of devastation, despair and an uncertain future. What I take away as a person from the founders of this place is their ability to lead without a title — to see what you think needs to be fixed, and decide that you can fix it.

It is also about reaching out to people who are not like yourself and building bridges across culture. And lastly, it is about leadership that thinks as if there was no box. Because for most of us, we do what is familiar. Because as humans, we are programmed to consult our boxes in our head before we can embrace something new. It's natural. But these ones were prepared to think as if there was no box. And I think that's the story of this place, and the story of the people who are associated with it. As an invitee, I am grateful to be part of this.

Leadership often entails enduring the lonely experience of seeing what's not yet visible to the rest, and convincing them about what you see. I am certain that we have all had situations where we have seen what our colleagues, even our fellow professionals, have not yet seen. But, believing in that dream, we have carried them through. And that's the secret of great

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leadership. It is really about the audacity of hope, the belief in what has not yet been seen, and what is not always tangible. Courage, I believe, is powered by the invincibility of hope, anchored in the love of what you believe in, and in faith that it is achievable. We meet today at a time when the world is at a crossroads.

LEADING A WORLD AT CROSSROADS

You will agree with me that ours is a time of unprecedented turmoil and uncertainty. Yet, it is also a time of great possibilities and hope, provided we can see what is beyond what is immediately visible. In terms of what's visible, we can see that unemployment is at its highest level in most countries, including these parts of the world. Where I come from, unemployment is at almost 30 percent right now. And for young people — who are the majority of the population, about 70 percent of the population is young people — among them, unemployment is at 54 percent. It's said that the rest of Africa will have its population being [majority] young people by 2023. Or rather, 60 percent of the African population by 2023, which is about six years from now, will be young people. So that's what we can see right now. We also see that jobs are getting more scarce, and with the fourth industrial revolution, which is about digitalization, there will be more jobs lost. Poverty remains a very serious challenge in all parts of the world. And this is despite the great strides we all made during the millennium and the sustainable development goals, and the strides we are making under the sustainable development goals.

In many parts of the world, many go to bed without food. A few years ago, my daughter — who is here right now, Wenzile — discovered students living in toilets at a university. Some were sleeping in libraries, and many of them were going days without food. In their hunger for education, they were not prepared to eat. Just a few days ago, ENCA TV showed us the same picture at two different universities, where young people are sleeping in toilets, corridors, abandoned classrooms, etc. Again, the issue of hunger was raised. When I was working at the South African Law Reform Commission as a full-time Commissioner, we got to meet students that were engaged in sex work purely to pay for education, food and accommodation. The sad part is that many of our people are increasingly skeptical about the value of democracy. At a dialogue we had last week with young people on Youth Day, one of the students — who was procured by my son, Wantu, who was curating the dialogue together with other young people — was a poet. I was

shocked when at the end of the forum, she basically said, “We don’t want democracy. We want freedom.” She was the second young person to say that... These are educated people; these are professionals who are working. They feel that democracy has not delivered on its promises.

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And you know about extremism all over the world. People gravitating towards different forms of extremism, whether it be terrorism or right-wing-ism, whatever you want to call it. But that’s one of the problems. Wars are exacerbating poverty and under-development, particularly in Africa and the Arab world. This has contributed to a global refugee crisis, which has spilled over to

Europe and the rest of the western world. Neighboring states, on the other hand, are battling with the challenge of sharing resources with refugees. I know this because in South Africa, it’s a big battle to plan for the population and have refugees arriving every day. Kenya is battling, Tanzania, and many other countries.

But this is a time when a lot of good things are also happening. We have unprecedented progress in technology, particularly digital innovation, medicine — people are living longer than they used to because of advances in medicine. In engineering, they are about to have a flying car.

Many of our people have vast amounts of wealth, even in my country, there are people with huge amounts of wealth. And in my country, many of those did not have that wealth before democracy. So in the last 23 years,

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we have produced some of the richest people in Africa, and in the world.

We’ve also done well in the pursuit of Millennium Development Goals, and are doing well with global action towards sustainable development goals, which includes fighting climate change and preserving our habitat. And one of the greatest things that’s

happening with global action, at the level of sustainable development goals, is the fact that finally we are embracing the idea of human solidarity and social justice. It's not a new notion; it was in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If you look at the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it has a whole lot of provisions about social justice, including social and economic rights. But something went wrong in the many years of prosperity that we forecasted a lot of social and economic rights.

We have a whole lot of good things happening; we have a lot of challenges. That's why I'm saying that it is a time of turmoil, great uncertainty, but also a time of enormous opportunities. And what lies ahead, regarding the fate of humanity, depends on the appropriateness of the actions that will be taken by our leaders. And the question is, who are our leaders? My view is anyone who wants to be a leader is a leader. Even those who don't want to lead are leaders, because as young people know, sometimes you lead without wanting to lead. I know, for example, the first young person who turned up with torn jeans really didn't have the time to fix them, but because that young person was regarded as a cool kid, soon everyone was going around with torn jeans. Honestly, there is unconscious leadership in the world. And think about it, there are a lot of things you do in your life at home, at work and in society, and you mean for no one to follow you. But soon you find people wearing the kind of suit you're wearing, the shoes you're wearing.

Going forward, it will depend though on conscious leadership — the conscious leadership we embark on. And the courage to go beyond what we know. And as Clare said, also the courage of what we ourselves are sure of.

The difficulty though is that, in times of great challenges, it is easy to be overwhelmed by that which we fear. There are a lot of things we fear. We fear failure; we fear the unknown. At the moment, in terms of practical things, people fear poverty; they fear being left behind. And people fear the effects of climate change, and people fear being swarmed. But if we focus on what we fear, we miss the opportunity to identify possibilities for progress. And there's also the risk of spiraling into perpetual failure.

I have a sense that you will agree with me that our progress at all levels requires the kind of leadership behind the Salzburg story. We need

leadership that focuses on the glimmers of light amidst darkness. We need leadership that leverages those sparks of light, and turns despair into hope, and stagnation into progress.

But we also need leadership that stays the course, because when you start something new, things don't always turn out the way you want them to, and you may need patience. Which is what happened here, among the dreamers who founded this place. But with regard to democracy, and the problems I've mentioned, we do need to ensure that group progress translates into meaningful individual progress for all, not just some. Otherwise, those that are left behind have no vested interest in the progress of the group. That is why justice, particularly social justice, is important for sustainable human progress.

I would say the greatest challenge of our century is the challenge of leadership that ensures inclusive human progress, and this challenge is more real where I come from, Africa. This is a continent that was justifiably praised by *The Economist* in December 2011 for being a rising continent. At that time, six of the fastest-growing economies were based in Africa.

Even as we speak right now, many of the fastest-growing economies are from Africa. I just read the other day that the fastest-growing economy is Ethiopia, and that is in Africa. But there is that paradox of growth and decay at the same time. We grow with innovation, and the thing about M-Pesa, the technology to transfer money through the cellphone to give to the poor, that came from Africa. But how we make democracy work for all is the challenge we face.

I honestly see a growing cry for a match between societal progress and socioeconomic improvements in the lives of all. This challenge is exacerbated by the view that some people use state power to enrich themselves, their families and those who are linked to them biologically, by marriage or politically. When I meet young people, there's often a sense of despair regarding state jobs. They feel that we're losing when it comes to meritocracy in many of these jobs. Some of them also feel that entrepreneurial support is often politicized, which kills their spirit.

Then there's the challenge of the rule of law and that some are able to



evade it because they are powerful politically or financially. These are the challenges that confront Africa, although it is growing admirably. And some of these challenges confront the world. But why should you care? Austria is so far away from Africa, and so far from South Africa, which is at the tip of the African continent. Because we're in the same boat. If we sink, you sink too. The difference is that we will go down first, but follow us you will. It becomes important that we help each other. But how do we help each other? How do we take things forward?

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COURAGE POWERED BY THE INVINCIBILITY OF HOPE

Courage, powered by the invincibility of hope, is what brought us here. And in South Africa, where I am right now, my country, courage is what gave us progress. What makes us courageous is not the absence of fear, but the invincibility of hope when combined with faith and love. It was this combination of this courage, faith and hope, and the love of peace, that helped South Africa to clutch itself from the brink of catastrophe. And it took a couple of selfless men and women to do that. And many of them started working tirelessly during apartheid, and those would be people like Pixley ka [Isaka] Seme.

But there are two specific leaders that I think match the courage of the young people who founded this place. It is former President Nelson Mandela, and former President F. W. de Klerk.

When the peace process was threatened, after the murder of Chris Hani, President Mandela's reaction was nothing short of epic. He had the courage to believe that the process could go forward, regardless of despair. And he also had faith in himself and his ability to convince others that going forward was worth doing. The social political temperature had skyrocketed at the time.

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It must have been the invincibility of hope, faith and the love of peace that powered Mandela's audacity to transcend fear. I'm certain that he was afraid. He was afraid that things might not go right. And that day when he addressed people on TV, he may have thought, "What if they don't listen to me?" And often leaders choose not to address a crowd, because they think that,

"If they reject me, my credibility will be shattered." But Mandela did it.

In her book titled *Confidence*, Harvard Professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter pays tribute to Mandela's leadership during South Africa's transition to

democracy, particularly following Chris Hani's murder. She hails Mandela's leadership as the kind of leadership for sustainable success. Its key, as she sees it, lies in confidence building, which included the ability to turn losing streaks into winning streaks. And that's what Mandela did. I believe that Mandela's kind of leadership is the kind we need right now — that ability to turn a losing streak into a winning streak.

Mandela's counterpart, de Klerk had his own rubicon to cross. He wasn't 100-percent sure that when they released Mandela, everything would go according to plan. It took a lot of courage, faith and a greater love to do that and to believe that things would be okay. Because that release of Nelson Mandela, and unburdening of political parties could have unleashed something that he could not control. And he too was guided by the invincibility of hope, and a love of peace that transcended his fear

JUSTICE BEYOND “JUST US”

I believe though that to do the things that were done by Mandela and de Klerk, and the leaders whose legacy we celebrate today, was also powered in a notion of justice beyond just us.

Often, it's more difficult to be courageous when the problem that needs to be solved does not immediately affect you. But people who are visionaries can see how it's going to affect you down the line, even if it immediately doesn't affect you.

For example, there isn't terrorism in our part of the world today. But it's something that leaders who are visionaries will think about. If it exists elsewhere in the world, we need to be concerned about it. Because somewhere down the line, it will affect us.

The vision of justice beyond just us in South Africa informed leaders like Mandela and de Klerk and all of the ones who spoke to communities

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and helped us to craft the way forward.

It meant embracing the concerns of others beyond your own group. And if you look at the South African Constitution, it's about that really. It's about trying to take care of everyone's concerns and not just the concerns of one group.

The notion of justice beyond just us is transcending victimhood. If you're a leader, and you feel like you're a victim, you're more

likely to use your power to settle your own score.

And I know this because it has personal significance for me. As a child of apartheid, I had to transcend my own victimhood to be able to meaningfully contribute towards building a new society beyond the stratifications of humanity on the bases of race, gender, disability, nationality, religion, age, sexual orientation, among others. As a lawyer, it is important to transcend victimhood. My work as the Full-Time and Executive Commissioner in the South African Law Reform Commission required me to think about justice beyond "just us," and more recently as a Public Protector in the last seven years. I was accused, as a Public Protector, by a few who thought I was failing to treat my former fellow combatants, and fellow black people, favorably. And they thought it was my duty to treat people like me more favorably. Needless to say, I didn't share that view.

As a child growing under apartheid, it was not the color of the oppressor that informed our struggle; it was the oppression and injustice entailed in it that we fought against.

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Former President Nelson Mandela, who said at the Rivonia trial in 1963, "I have fought against white domination, I have fought against black domination..." And those are the people who inspired us, this vision of justice beyond "just us."



My father informed my formative years, and my story of engaging with the South Africa of our dreams started at the dinner table with my father's personal stories of economic resistance. But he didn't just tell us about his own resistance stories. He also told us about Mandela, James Sofasonke Mpanza and Pixley ka [Isaka] Seme, among others. My mother, when alone, told us her own stories about fighting against injustice, particularly domestic violence. And these were stories about justice for yourself and justice beyond "just us."

I must say though, what I find fascinating about these stories of injustice from my parents is that they told these stories in the way that the hunter tells his story when he has been in fights with lions. And of course if you start questioning whether the hunter is telling the truth when he says he's always been able to beat the lions, the hunter will tell you, "Let the lions tell their stories."

After qualifying as a lawyer, I was a trade unionist, and one of the things that happened as a young lawyer was coming across young people who were

on death row because of the common purpose principle. They hadn't killed anyone, but the judges decided that their guilt didn't matter because they were associated with the people who had killed the person. This struck me as wrong, and I approached Priscilla Jana, who was doing a lot of work for people who had been wrongly arrested, were in detention or were waiting to be killed on death row. She agreed with me that these people had been wrongly convicted, and she represented them. They were removed from death row; but as you know, if you have been on death row, life can never be the same again. She also had to represent me later when I was detained without trial for about three months.

Other people with the notion of justice beyond "just us" would be people like Victoria Mxenge — I don't know if you've heard about her. But that's a lady whose husband was killed by the apartheid state for defending armed combatants and for assisting them. And after her husband was killed, she continued to do exactly that, and they killed her. And I was fortunate to attend her funeral and get a deeper sense of what drove her. Why did she have the courage to do this? What drove her? Why did she have the faith that this work was worth something?

She wasn't the first. There were many, like Pixley ka [Isaka] Seme, the first black lawyer who helped draft the ANC's first constitution and contributed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Charlotte Maxeke, the first black woman graduate who used her skills to help migrants, women and children. And she courageously asked for a meeting with the president of the day, to discuss her concerns, and she got it. And this was a time when even white women were not regarded as persons with agency to practice as lawyers. But she thought that she could have that meeting to advocate for the disadvantaged. That required courage, but more importantly a notion of justice beyond "just us."

Another person who showed the same courage, and the notion of justice beyond "just us," is Olive Schreiner, an English woman and novelist, who defied the odds to become a great writer. She used her voice to challenge the irrationality of valuing human beings on the basis of race and gender. Because of her ideas, and her challenging racism and sexism, she found

herself on the wrong side of the powers that be at the time, and the prime minister at the time was Cecil John Rhodes. Despite everything, these people had hope that things could be turned around, and because of them, we eventually got democracy.

THE DEMOCRACY DREAM

In chapter four of her book, *No Longer Whispering to Power*, Thandeka Gqubule, with whom I was detained without trial during apartheid, talks about why people struggled and why people had the courage to struggle. And she says it's because they dreamt of another country, and that is what powered them. But if you read that book, particularly the chapter on "Another Country," she suggests a bit of sadness. She seems to be disappointed that the country that drove her to join the struggle, and endure detention without trial, is not yet there.

"The people shall govern" boldly declares the *Freedom Charter*, a document developed in 1955 which envisaged democracy as the government of the people, by the people, for the people. And that of course suggests people getting involved in governing beyond just the ballot box. It also suggests that as people govern, if they're governing for the people, the fruits of democracy should be enjoyed by all. My colleague, Thandeka does not seem to feel that that is fully happening.

In the paper, I talk about democracy and defining it. "Demos" is a Greek word that means "people", and "cratos", another Greek word, which means "power." Democracy, accordingly, is people's power. And young voices today are asking, "Where is people's power?" And whether you're talking about South Africa or the rest of the world, there is that question.

But I think for me, one of the most interesting voices around the fruits of democracy is Kwame Nkrumah, who with courage and boldness as Ghana's first president, made a promise to his people. He said the following:

"We shall measure our progress by the improvement in the health of our people; by the number of children in school, and by the quality of their

FOR ME, ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING VOICES AROUND THE FRUITS OF DEMOCRACY IS KWAME NKRUMAH, WHO WITH COURAGE AND BOLDNESS AS GHANA'S FIRST PRESIDENT, MADE A PROMISE TO HIS PEOPLE.

education; by the availability of water and electricity in our towns and villages, and by the happiness which our people take in being able to manage their own affairs." (Broadcast to the Nation, 24 December 1957)

And I've particularly noted and bolded that part, when he said that people should be happy to manage their own affairs, which meant that the state would be an enabler, not just a state that gave people welfare. Because

for agency, it was important that the state creates the necessary conditions for people to pursue their own success.

Nkrumah believed this was possible because he said the following in 1965: *"We have the blessing of the wealth of our vast resources, the power of our talents and the potentialities of our people. Let us grasp now the opportunities before us and meet the challenge to our survival."*

This promise is the same as the South African constitution's promise to its people. The South African constitution promises the people of South Africa a new South Africa, where everyone's potential is freed in their lives, and their lives are improved. It also promises them basic human rights, such as the right to food, water, social security and health care, in addition to civil and political rights. But of course, all of this is predicated on freeing the potential of people so that they can improve their own quality of life. Of course, the state would then come in and help those who need to be helped, because maybe they are sick or cold.

BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THE PROMISE AND REALITY

The office I was involved in for the last seven years exposed me to the gap between the promise and reality. It was an office inserted in the constitution specifically because it was understood that our traditional accountability

mechanisms, the so-called “trias political”: legislature, executive and judicial might not be enough. In fact, President Nelson Mandela, said even the most benevolent governments have within them the propensities for human failings, and that’s why he had these additional mechanisms to reinforce accountability.

This office is similar to an ombudsman office in Europe, which originated in Sweden about two centuries ago. But it has more powers than the ordinary ombudsman, both in terms of scope of work — it would investigate matters of criminality in state affairs; it could investigate fraud, theft of public property and corruption; and it also has binding powers. Its binding powers are confirmed by the Constitutional Court, in the case of *EFF v Speaker of the National Assembly and Others*. It’s a case that’s centered on the president’s failure to implement the findings of the public protector in the report “*Secure in Comfort*,” which was about the president looking the other way when public funds were used to renovate his private home in the name of security — and because those renovations were rather opulent and could not, most of them, be justified as security features.

South Africa’s democracy has more of these innovative mechanisms — it’s not just the public protector. There is a whole chapter in the constitution that is devoted to these administrative accountability mechanisms. And the synergistic operations of the judiciary, and these constitutionally-entrenched administrative bodies, such as the public protector, have been marvelous for our democracy, and also the same in countries such as Kenya, among others.

The office empowers people to push back against the exercise of public power. It strengthens democracy in that it gets people invested in the project, because it gives an agency to engage with. Most of you might know about the investigation of corrupt practices, but I think the genius of the office is in its ability to address ordinary administrative injustices and day-to-day exercises of state affairs, whether the state hasn’t paid you, or given you your ID or business license, things like that.

And one of the things we introduced during my time was face-to-face. Somebody said it’s difficult to hate a person when you see them. I also found as a public protector, it’s difficult not to feel for a person when you look



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them in the face. In the past, the office used to write letters; and it's so easy to be dismissive when you're writing a letter. But when you have another person sitting on the other side of the table and looking at you and saying, "You wronged me; and because of you, I'm homeless," it's very difficult not to be touched. And because of this, we're able to get more matters resolved through alternative dispute resolution. And because of that, many ordinary people whom we fondly refer to as "Gogo Dlamini" got versed in the democracy project.

But I just want to say though, that the public protector, the courts, and many other oversight organizations have done a great job to make sure that those who exercise power and hold state offices are held accountable and

that they do their job all the time, and that when they drop the ball, they are answerable and make amends. That is great. However, no democracy can survive through the crusading of the courts and the administrative oversight bodies.

I'm hoping that a case that was decided yesterday by the chief justice, another EFF matter, is going to help provide guidelines for those who are in public office, to ensure that they get things right most of the time. And many do. But sometimes it's the most senior that often don't get it right, which creates problems for democracy. And the president has been on the wrong side of the law for quite a number of matters, which has led me and many others to believe that in South Africa, and possibly in many parts of the world, we don't necessarily need to change our constitutions, or the laws or policies. We need to think more carefully about who we place in positions of leadership. If people are not ethical or committed to justice beyond "just us" before they go into public office, you can't assume that when they go into public office, they are then going to commit to that. And part of what we're doing from our side is to create platforms for discussing democracy.

We've started a foundation, together with colleagues, that is a democracy leadership support foundation. And among other things, it's about rethinking democracy. Not to throw it away, but think about how democracy should respond to 21st century challenges — among those accountability, integrity and ensuring that democracy waits for all. And through acts of courage, at home and also in this world, we can find answers to make sure that the progress humanity has made is shared by all.

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The peaceful world we yearn for lies in our collective worth. And at the core of the new world that we all want is a world based on social justice and the rule of law. The invincible summer of hope that fueled the courage behind the Salzburg story lies in all of us. Together, through courage anchored in the invincibility of hope and love, we are more than equal to the challenges that face the world today.

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Thulisile Madonsela



THE INSTITUTION AND ITS WORK

SALZBURG GLOBAL SEMINAR

Salzburg Global Seminar is an independent non-profit organization founded in 1947 to challenge current and future leaders to shape a better world. Our multi-year programs aim to bridge divides, transform systems and expand collaborations.

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For more info. please visit:
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